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**THE CONVERSIONS OF THE GERMANIC WEST
FROM ARIAN TO CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY
A.D. 350-700**

by

ROSALIE MARIE SEFCIK

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1996

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AV	Anonymous Valesianus.
BG	Procopius, De bello gothico.
BV	Procopius, De bello vandalico.
CC	Corpus Christianorum, series latina.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
HE	Philostorgius, Historia ecclesiastica.
HE	Socrates, Historia ecclesiastica.
HE	Sozomen, Historia ecclesiastica.
HE	Theodoret, Historia ecclesiastica.
HF	Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum.
HG	Isidore of Seville, Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum, et Suevorum.
HL	Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum.
HP	Victor of Vita, Historia persecutionis Africanæ provinciae.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
AA	Auctores Antiquissimi.
MGH	
Scr. Lang.	Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX.
MGH	
Scr. Mer.	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum.
PG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca.
PL	Migne, Patrologia Latina.
PLS	Migne, Patrologia Latina Supplement.

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INTRODUCTION

On the feast day of the Ascension of Our Lord, 20 May 483 A.D., in the seventh year of his reign, Huneric, King of the Vandals and Alans, issued an ominous decree. Present at the reading of his edict was Reginus, the legate from the Byzantine emperor, Zeno. In the decree the Arian monarch summoned to Carthage on 1 February 484 all 466 Catholic bishops of his realm from North Africa and Sardinia for a disputatio--a debate with their Arian Christian counterparts. There, according to Victor of Vita,¹ the Catholic historian of Vandal Africa, the Catholic bishops were to demonstrate from the holy scriptures that theirs was the one and only true faith. Huneric chose to address the Catholic prelates as "bishops of the homoousions" using the Greek Christological term to imply their treasonable allegiance to the Catholic Byzantine emperor. For African Catholics, already stripped by Huneric of their public offices and forbidden to celebrate their Mass, there was no doubt that the king was planning to legalize a brutal persecution. African Catholicism hung in the balance. And yet, Roman Catholicism, viciously persecuted in the most fanatically Arian of the Germanic kingdoms, survived, a hundred years before being liberated by Justinian in 534.

So when Samuel Dill speculated that "it might have

seemed probable at the end of the fifth century on a calculation of forces that the religion of Europe was destined to be Arian,"² he was referring to what might have become a watershed in the history of western civilization. The Visigoths, Vandals, and Ostogoths, who, in the fifth century, had politically defeated the Roman Empire in the West, were heretical Christians. As Arian Christians, they worshipped a Jesus Christ, Son of God, who was divinely subordinate to God the Father. A crucible for Catholic Romans was in the making when the Arian Germans became their rulers in Gaul, Spain, North Africa, and Italy.

By 500 A.D. Catholicism had lost governments on two continents. But by 700 A.D. Western Europe and North Africa had been won back through military conquests and the personal conversion of Germanic kings. Justinian's armies had destroyed the Vandals in North Africa (534) and the Ostrogoths in Italy (554). Reccared, king of the Visigoths in Spain, had converted to Catholicism in 587. The Lombard kings and dukes had rearianized half of Italy in the late 500s. But a century after their invasion, the Lombards too had converted to Catholicism through the efforts of their kings, Aripert I (653-61) and Perctarit (672-88).

This dissertation will delve into the theology and politics behind the Arian and Catholic conversions of the Germanic West from 350-700 A.D. How and why did the German tribes convert to Arian Christianity? Why isn't Europe

today Arian? When the government was theirs, why did the Arian kings not convert their Catholic subjects? How did a religious culture which had lost its political authority survive and finally prevail?

With the conversion of the last Arians of the West, the Italian Lombards at the end of the seventh century, it was Roman Catholicism, not Germanic Arianism, which would characterize Western Christianity for almost a millennium--its spirituality, theology, and Church/State relations--until the time of the Protestant Reformation. The transcendental divinity of Jesus Christ, Son of God, consubstantial with his Father (homoousios), so vigorously championed by the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.), has to this day remained the heart of Christianity.

The historical problems as to how "Arianism held and lost the future of the world"³ and why medieval Europe became Catholic instead of Arian raise issues which this thesis will confront: a)the theological and political attractions of Arianism within the late Roman Empire, where it was condoned by Constantine and later sponsored by Constantius II and Valens who spurred the Arian conversions of the Danubian Goths; b)the negligible roles of the Papacy and Catholic missionaries in converting the Germanic tribes; c)the erratic tolerance/persecution policies of the Arian kings towards their Catholic subjects; d)the Catholic resettlements after conversion which differed

from realm to realm.

This study will focus on the Arian/Catholic conflicts in the kingdoms of the Visigoths, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards in ways which have not been attempted before. We will comparatively study pan-Arian trends in each national tribe's theology, politics, and art. To date, research on the Arian/Catholic conversions of the early medieval period has been treated in book chapters or in articles on the individual tribes. Within our comparative study of German Arianism, we will ascertain whether Arian/Catholic relations can be clarified by the evidence as it now exists--ecclesiastical histories, church councils, sermons, apologetics, imperial and barbarian law codes. The limits of our attempts to resurrect a lost religion are all too obvious. We are dealing with records from the Dark Ages. Moreover, in that Arianism eventually lost out as the dominant Christianity, heretical writings, both imperial and barbarian, were expunged. What was preserved, exists only precariously, as quoted by hostile Catholic authors, but, nonetheless, still gives us a sharp taste of the scriptural wars engaged in by both sides.

We can also search for Arianism in hidden sources of the early Middle Ages, primarily in manuscripts bound with Catholic works. For instance, some Arian sermons have survived because they wore a Catholic camouflage as in the Ostrogothic Ms. 51 from the Capitulary Library

in Verona, Italy. These Arian sermons were not destroyed because they were deemed not likely to pervert the faithful, except for one defiant, polemical tract on the Trinity.

To supplement the documents, numismatic and iconographic evidence will be culled, wherein lies another original contribution to this subject. Can certain Christian signs and legends on late imperial and barbarian coins be interpreted as Arian? Have any Arian representations in art survived? Is there any evidence that Arians and Catholics shared the same liturgy? These areas have only been tentatively explored as ancillaries to the documents. The same holds true for archaeological reports, which, on the Germanic West, have proliferated during the last twenty years. Can archaeology substantiate our sources, or tell other stories? A case in point, is Vandalic Africa where excavations in Carthage have corroborated Victor of Vita's tales of decayed Catholic churches and repression under Vandal rule.

We therefore intend to draw conclusions as to the dynamics of conversion and to the relationships between religions and regimes. Arianism began as a Christianity with zealous disciples and missionaries who preached the Arian Godhead to both town and country. In 318 A.D, its presbyter founder could never have imagined the theological and political turns of his Christian revolution, which, for four centuries, would inherit the wind.

N O T E S

1. Victor of Vita, Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae 2,39, Patrologia latina 58,213. Henceforth PL.

2. Samuel Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), 26. Reprint of the 1926 edition.

3. Henry Melvil Gwatkin, The Arian Controversy (London: Longmans and Green, 1914), 65.

P A R T O N E

ARIAN AND CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITIES--

THEOLOGY AND POLITICS IN THE

LATE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER 1

THE ARIAN HERESY

The Arian heresy, which proclaimed Jesus Christ as a secondary, inferior God, had its roots in the New Testament's elusive wording of the divine relationship between God the Father and God the Son.¹ In the Gospels Jesus Christ had movingly announced his oneness with his Father: "The Father is in me and I in him" (John 10:38). But he had also referred to his own divine subordination: "I go unto the Father: for my Father is greater than I" (John 14:28).² Furthermore, St. Paul had given a platonic definition of the Son of God as "the image of the invisible God, the first born of all creation" (Epistle to the Colossians I:15). Still another prime subordinationist passage was from Proverbs 8:22 where Wisdom had declared: "The Lord created me the beginning of his ways." How then could Jesus Christ be co-essential, co-eternal with the Almighty God who had created heaven and earth? It was the scripturally based, ontological answer to this doubt given by the presbyter Arius (ca. 270-ca. 336) of Alexandria which would evolve into a heresy accenting the divine inferiority of Jesus Christ.

In a letter (ca. 318)³ which he wrote to his powerful friend, Eusebius, the bishop of Nicomedia, Arius repeatedly complained that he and his followers were being persecuted

because they did not preach the beliefs of their bishop Alexander (312-328). Arius proceeded to mock Alexander's beliefs on the co-eternality of Jesus Christ through a sing-song jingle: "ἀεί θεός, ἀεί υἱός, ἅμα πατήρ, ἅμα υἱός"⁴ ("forever God, forever the Son, as it is with the Father, so it is with the Son"). In what would become his rhetorical trademark, Arius constructed an ontological syllogism: "Ἀρχὴν ἔχει ὁ υἱός, ὁ δὲ θεός ἀναρχός ἐστι"⁵ ("The Son has a beginning, but God is without a beginning"). As we shall later notice, the original Arian belief that the Son of God had a beginning would be preserved in the Arian theology and art of the following three centuries.

Arius could legitimately claim that most bishops in the East including the two Eusebii of Nicomedia and Caesarea shared the same subordinationist theology.⁶ Arius's own words are seemingly at odds with the contemporary picture drawn of him: "the lonely grandeur of the Alexandrian heresiarch."⁷ Arius's solidarity of support was not an idle boast as he later would remind and infuriate an emperor by also claiming the support of the Libyan masses. But why as, a presbyter, did he publicly challenge his bishop over a theological interpretation and rallied episcopal opposition against him is still a mystery.⁸

Only three of Arius's letters and fragments of popular verse from his Thalia, as preserved by his archenemy, Athanasius, have come down to us. Even Arius's followers have

not given us titles or subjects of their founder's writings.⁹ What little we have is enough, though, to justify Arius's reputation as skilled in dialectical art according to the Catholic historian, Socrates (ca. 380-440).¹⁰ Arius would further employ ontologic syllogisms in what is considered his credo letter (ca. 320), addressed to Alexander.¹¹ Arius presumably wrote this manifesto in exile at Nicomedia after his excommunication by a synod of Egyptian and Libyan bishops, which Alexander had summoned. Arius began by confirming his faith in "ἕνα Θεόν" ("one God") in the typical format of a Greek-speaking Christian in the eastern Roman Empire: "The Eastern precedent was for creeds to open with an assertion of belief in ONE GOD."¹² The first Arian fundamental was and always would be monotheism, the supremacy of the Godhead. Arius repeated "μόνον" eight times in listing the attributes which most fittingly belonged to God the Father such as: "only unbegotten," "only eternal," "solely without a beginning" ("μόνον ἄναρχον").

From monotheism, Arius moved quickly to his dogma of the Son's divine subordination, calling Jesus Christ, whom he rarely referred to by name, as "κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ τέλειον" ("a finished creation of God"), created by God's will. This was an unprecedented definition of Jesus' divinity, destined to have theological shock value. And Arius, anticipated the soon to become official Catholic response,

of the Son's consubstantiality with the Father ("μέρος ὁμοούσιον τοῦ Πατρὸς"). But he queerly equated the Catholic homoousion to the teaching of Mani, the founder of Manichaeism.¹³ For Arius only God the Father was without a beginning, "supremely alone"--"ἀναρχός μονώτατος." A co-essential Jesus Christ would diminish God the Almighty in making Him corporeal, divisible, and mutable.

Arius had mischievously reminded Alexander that, as bishop, Alexander had also preached in his own church that God had existed before His Son. In fact, Alexander in his credo letter (ca. 320) had used Pauline language in referring to the Son as the exact "εἰκὼν τοῦ Πατρὸς" ("icon" or "copy of the Father").¹⁴

Early in his letter Arius had, with pride, confessed to his bishop that "this is the faith of our ancestors which we have learned from you, blessed pope."¹⁵ We will have many occasions to observe how the charisma of ancestral faith would prove just as crucial to the Germanic Arian tribes. No doubt, Arius was alluding to the three Alexandrian giants, Philo, Clement, and Origen¹⁶ whose platonic hierarchies of the Godhead were inspirations. Philo (ca. 25 B.C.-ca. 50 A.D) had designated the Logos/Word of God as a "second God" ("δεύτερον θεόν").¹⁷ Clement (fl. 180-203) had characterized the Logos as the "deacon of God" ("διάκονος, λόγος θεοῦ").¹⁸ The redoubtable Origen (ca. 184-254) had speculated that the Son had a

different substance from the Father and used the Greek word ousia which would make theological history ("ουσία").¹⁹ But Origen never called the Son of God a "creature." Why then was the reaction to Arius so hostile?

But why did this crisis latent so long and attested to by the writings on non-Christian thinkers as well, and experienced by numerous Christians end in a metaphysical tragedy only in the case of Arius? Why did the affirmation of the transcendence of God without any nuances lead Arius to confess a created Son and thus become a fatal scandal in the ecclesiastical community?²⁰

To answer these questions, we have to tackle the Arian crisis on three fronts. Firstly, as a breakdown in ecclesiastical discipline. A presbyter had very publicly embarrassed his bishop and, worse yet, had petitioned his bishop's peers for support. Secondly, on Arian Christology, the determination of priorities within the Godhead with the Son of God as a lesser god. Arius saw no role for Jesus Christ as Redeemer of mankind. The heretic's forte of rationalist theology cancelled out all spirituality in his doctrines. Thirdly, the popularizing of Arian theology. In fourth-century Alexandria ideas about divine relationships were in the air. These subordinationist ideas had filtered down to the masses where funerary inscriptions from Egypt hint at the convoluted debates of the ecclesiastical elite. Such typical acclamations were characterized by a formulaic style:

God alone is in heaven.
God is one.
God the Helper is one.
Jesus Christ is victorious.
Jesus Christ is God who conquers wickedness.²¹

Arius would contribute to this popular theology. The heretic did not think it beneath him to compose his Thalia (The Banquet)--metric verses, aimed at sailors, millers, and city workers. Here was where Arius was the most dangerous--with the masses. And well did his opponents know it. Later Arian missionaries would also show ingenuity in converting the Germanic tribes by accommodating a sophisticated Hellenistic theology to their barbarian cultures.

In Arius's case, however, an appeal to theological traditions could not prevent his excommunication and exile in 318-319. At this juncture, imperial politics became entangled with Arianism. Arius sought refuge with his friend, Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. Eusebius was related to the imperial family through Licinius. The eastern emperor had married Constantine's sister Constantia, known to have Arian sympathies.²² Licinius, conscious of the civil disorders faced by Constantine, his co-emperor in the West, over the Donatist schism, banned church meetings. But this ecclesiastical blackout did not last long. It would be another emperor who would confront the intensifying Arian crisis.

N O T E S

1. Jaroslav Pelikan, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition 100-600, vol. 1, The History of Christian Doctrine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 246 explained this ambiguity: "The problem of attributing both the divinity and the humanity, both the miracles and the crucifixion, to the same subject could have been resolved if the New Testament itself had been more precise in its language. As in other cases, the transmission and translation of the biblical text introduced a greater precision than the text itself had possessed."

2. For the divine Jesus of the Gospel of St. John, see William Foxwell Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process, 2d ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1957), 389: "One cannot, of course, place John on the same level with the Synoptic Gospels as a historical source, but one is quite justified in maintaining that it does reflect a side of Jesus which was too mystical for the ordinary man of that day to understand and which He presumably held in reserve for a few intimates." The antithesis to Albright's interpretation would be that the mystical Jesus was John's unique creation. We shall observe how Arian exegetes will cultivate Johannine passages on the subordinate Son of God.

3. The early chronology of Arianism was established by the German scholar, Hans-Georg Opitz, Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streits 318-328, fasc. 3 of Athanasius: Werke (Berlin: Walter Gruyter, 1935). Opitz, who died on the Russian front in 1943, had ranked Arius' letter as the first document of the Arian controversy. Opitz's sequential dating of these early documents, for the most part, has withstood the test of time.

4. Theodoret, Historia ecclesiastica I,4, Patrologia Graeca 82,912. Henceforth HE and PG.

5. Theodoret, HE I,4, PG 82,912.

6. R.P.C. Hanson, The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318-381 (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clark, 1988), xix. Hanson finished his 931 page

history of dogma shortly before his death.

7. Charles Kannengiesser, Holy Scripture and Hellenistic Hermeneutics in Alexandrian Christology, Colloquy 41 of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 24.

8. See W.H.C. Frend, The Rise of Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 493, who traced the ecclesiastical origins of Arianism to the bitter relations between the Christian faithful and the lapsed believers during the Great Persecution in Alexandria between ca. 304-313.

9. Hanson, The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God, 6.

10. Socrates, Historia ecclesiastica 1,5, PG 67,53. Henceforth HE.

11. Athanasius, De Synodis 16, PG 26, 708-712.

12. J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 3d ed. (New York: Longman, 1972), 132.

13. Arius had garbled the teachings of Mani (216-77). Manichaeism was a dualistic religion which proclaimed two, uncreated first principles, light (good) and darkness (evil). The Manichaean Jesus Christ was not the Son of God. See Frend, The Rise of Christianity, 314-18.

14. Theodoret, HE 1,3, PG 82,905.

15. Athanasius, De synodis 16, PG 26,708.

16. Two of the best studies on proto-Arianism are by Pollard and Barnard: T.E. Pollard, "The Origins of Arianism", Journal of Theological Studies 9 (1958), 103-111 and L.W. Barnard, "The Antecedents of Arius," Vigiliae

Christiana 24 (1970), 172-188. Pollard, 111 concluded that "Arianism may be viewed as an attempt to make the biblical Father-Son relationship fundamental and central in theology rather than the philosophical God-Logos relationship." On the other hand, Barnard, 187 who cut through the Christologies of six pre-Arian thinkers, judged that "Arianism was foremost a matter of philosophical dualism. In the fourth century any attempt to construct a theological system which allowed a position for the Son, while keeping such an initial philosophical position intact, was bound to lead to something like Arianism." For the Alexandrian Jewish, Platonic, and Christian synthesis of a celestial hierarchy, headed by a supreme deity, the One, whose Logos (Wisdom/Word of God) was a divine intermediary, see Roelof Van den Broek, "Jewish and Platonic Speculations in Early Alexandrian Theology," Roots of Egyptian Christianity, ed. Birger A. Pearson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 190-203 and A.F.J. Klijn, "Jewish Christianity in Egypt," Roots of Egyptian Christianity, 161-175.

17. Quaestiones in Genesim 2,62, Loeb edition of Philo Supplement I (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 150. Philo was a Jew whose adoption of Greek philosophy made him effective in Christianity but excluded him from Jewish tradition.

18. Paedagogus 1,4, Clementis Alexandrini Opera, vol. 1, ed. William Dindorf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1849), 127.

19. Libellus de oratione 15,1, PG 11,465. The best book on Arius as rationalistic theologian is R.D. Williams, Arius: Heresy and Tradition (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1987), 143 who bridged the theologies of Arius and Origen: "First of all, Arius stands in the tradition of Origen in so far as he holds to the transcendence of the Father, the impossibility of believing in two co-ordinate agen(n)eta, self-sufficient first principles...and he probably has Origen on his side in repudiating the homousios and the idea that the Son is 'out of' the Father's substance."

20. Kannengiesser, Holy Scripture and Hellenistic Hermeneutics in Alexandrian Christology, 26.

21. Translated by S. Kent Brown from G. Leclercq,

Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Egypte
(Cairo: L'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1907)
in "Coptic and Greek Inscriptions from Christian Egypt:
A Brief Review," Roots of Egyptian Christianity, 36-37.
In this article the author stressed the need for more work
on the organization of the vast number of inscriptions
from Christian Egypt.

22. Sozomen, Historia ecclesiastica 2,27, PG 67,1010.
Henceforth, HE.

CHAPTER 2
CONSTANTINE AND THE
ARIAN CRISIS

Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus was acclaimed sole emperor of the eastern and western empires on 18 September 324 after defeating Licinius at the battle of Chrysopolis. It is inconceivable that the Arian crisis was a surprising phenomenon for the new emperor. And yet, our historians would lead us to believe that Constantine was deeply upset when, at this time, he first heard of the turmoil in the East.¹ Concerned that converts were falling off because of the factional infighting, Constantine lost little time in quelling the unrest. Via his trusted Western advisor, Ossius, bishop of Córdoba, the emperor sent a letter to Alexander and Arius in which he blamed them equally for the tumult. Both parties, as harangued by the emperor, had shown off their overcleverness in preaching vast, incomprehensible doctrines of faith. Constantine implored them to share the same faith and achieve a harmonious reconciliation.²

The emperor had chosen to say nothing about the theological core issue--the divinity of Jesus Christ. Indeed, the emperor, who has been characterized as "scripturally illiterate,"³ had failed to cite the exact biblical passage (Proverbs 8:22), the very public exegesis of which

he said, had sparked the controversy. Throughout his emotional letter, the emperor insisted that there really was no doctrinal controversy.⁴ So judging from Constantine's letter, was the Arian crisis "beyond his depth?"⁵ Or was the emperor trying to defuse a very explosive situation?

Nowhere in this correspondence did Constantine threaten coercion in order to bring about a resolution. The emperor had been badly burned by his mishandling of the Donatist Christians in North Africa between 313-321.⁶ We must spend some time to examine Constantine's role in the Donatist conflict, which influenced his later Arian decisions. The Donatist schism had begun as a challenge by the Christian clergy and faithful to the consecration of a bishop who had once been a traditor by another traditor bishop. The traditores were those ecclesiastics who had refused the crown of martyrdom by literally handing over to the Roman authorities Christian books and liturgical vessels during the Great Persecution of Diocletian between 303-05. Under the leadership of the Carthaginian bishop Donatus, (313-47), these episcopal consecrations were deemed invalid. The Donatists thereby mistakenly correlated the sanctity of the consecrator with the efficacy of the sacraments. A new era in Church-State relations would dawn when the Donatists appealed for imperial intervention. In his capacity as western emperor, Constantine summoned three church councils at Rome (313), presided over by Pope

Miltiades, at Arles (314), and at Milan (316) to end the schism. All three councils ruled against the Donatists who had insisted on the rebaptism of traditores. The ninth canon of the Council of Arles had decided against rebaptism of the traditores, and, in doing so, had established a Catholic position which would remain consistent over time. Arians would stand firm on the rebaptism of Catholics, whereas Catholics accepted the validity of baptism, even according to Arian rite.

Time and again, Constantine supported the conciliar decisions against the Donatists, who besieged the emperor with letters of dissatisfactions. The exasperated emperor complained: "Meum iudicium postulant qui ipse iudicium Christi exspecto."⁷ It is believed that the emperor finally resorted to the persecution and exile of the Donatists in 316/317, although there was no mention of these legal proscriptions in the Theodosian Code.⁸ The consequences of Constantine's persecutions were disastrous. Civil disorders proliferated with a variety of political malcontents, including the Berbers and Circumcellions, joining the Donatists in armed resistance and the ransacking of the North African countryside, particularly Roman villas.⁹

By 321, the emperor, who needed to consolidate his support in the West if he were to defeat Licinius in the East, ended his persecution of the Donatists. In his famous letter of tolerance of that year,¹⁰ the emperor confessed

to have resigned himself from reasoning with madmen, and instead, was content to leave them to heaven. As W.H.C. Frend concluded, "the lesson, however had been learned: Never again did he seek to beat into submission a movement within the Church."¹¹ The emperor would later penalize the Donatist schismatics and Arian heretics by subjecting them to compulsory public duties, from which Catholics were exempt.¹² Yet ever wary of public disorders, Constantine would condone the Donatist confiscation of a Catholic Church which he had built at Constantine, Numidia. In his rescriptum of 330, addressed to eleven Numidian bishops, the emperor commended the bishops for not exacerbating the situation by taking the law in their own hands and thereby inciting the uncontrollable mobs: "inter turbas atque concentus sui similes incitarent, atque ita aliquid existeret, quod sedari non oporteret."¹³ The emperor merely agreed to build another basilica for the Catholics from imperial funds. For the first Christian emperor, the Donatist impasse would serve as a dress rehearsal for the more doctrinally crucial, less geographically restricted Arian crisis.

Constantine's intervention in Arianism thus took place within the framework of his tolerance of a schismatic Donatist Church. Yet three years after he recognized the existence of the Donatist Church (321), the emperor made it quite clear that he would not recognize a third Christian

Church of the Arians. Whatever replies, if any, he received from either Arius or Alexander are unknown to us. But it is obvious from the ensuing chain of events that the emperor's plea for reconciliation fell on deaf ears. Whereupon, Constantine's recourse was to resolve the crisis quickly, through a general church council, over which he would preside. A risky recourse, since it is to be remembered that the emperor had called three previous councils to end the Donatist-Catholic schism, had bound himself to conciliar decisions in favor of Catholicism, only to see Christian peace shattered. In fact, Constantine probably regretted that he never did preside over any of the three Donatist councils or to visit North Africa, as he had promised in 316.¹⁴ To facilitate his presence at this new council, the emperor chose a site, near Nicomedia, his eastern capitol, which was redolent with symbolism, Nicaea (Nike) for his victory over Licinius.

The "vast and sacrosanct assembly of Nicaea"¹⁵ (ca. May 20-late June 325) lived up to its expectations. Over 300 bishops attended, mostly from the eastern empire. Pope Sylvester sent two presbyters, Victor and Vincentius. At the center of the storm for the last six years, Alexander of Alexandria, was present, accompanied by his promising young deacon, Athanasius. We only have the filtered account of the conciliar proceedings left to us by the Arian historian, Philostorgius.¹⁶ The Arian party was represented

by a small minority, among the most prominent being Eusebius of Nicomedia.

No acta of the Council of Nicaea have come down to us. We must cautiously rely on eyewitness accounts by ecclesiastical partisans, Eusebius of Caesarea, Eustathius of Antioch, and Athanasius.¹⁷ Since we do not have an agenda, there is no way of knowing for sure how the Nicene creed was formulated nor what its precursor was, if any. As a statement of faith, laconic and lofty, the Nicene creed¹⁸ was at once traditional and transfiguring. Its monotheistic beginning--"πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν" ("we believe in one God")--was a deference to the Eastern Christians. But it was the Nicene definition of the Son of God as "ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς" ("out of the substance of the Father"), reinforced a few lines further as "ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί" ("of the same substance of the Father"), which was a big, very big concession to Western theological thought.¹⁹ The homoousion was reminiscent of the North African theologian, Tertullian (ca. 160-ca. 225) and his statement: "Filius non aliunde deduco, sed de substantia patris."²⁰

It was with the Greek-speaking world that the inclusion of homoousion in the Nicene creed would prove most troublesome. Eusebius of Caesarea said that Constantine had wanted it in the creed, had explained the doctrine as a mystery of faith, and that it actually had been introduced at the

council by the emperor himself.²¹ But the concept of homoousios had had a tortured theological past. It had been condemned by the Council of Antioch in 268. Moreover, it was unscriptural. Even a staunch pro-Nicene like Athanasius would, a quarter century later, have to apologize for its non-Biblical provenance and try to explain it rather tenuously.²² But it was Athanasius who reported, if we did not suspect already, that homoousios was included because it would enrage the Arians, who could otherwise support the Nicene creed.²³

Homoousios marked the crisis in Christian platonic thought and turned out to be the theological terminator of a platonic hierarchy of the divine to which the Alexandrian greats, Clement, Origen, and to an extreme degree, Arius belonged:

Homoousion heißt: Der Sonne steht auf der Seinstufe des transzendenten Gottes. Was wir vom transzendenten Gott aussagen, müssen wir auch vom Sonne aussagen.²⁴

Here we see the Nicene homoousios at its most revolutionary in its proclamation that the Son of God ascends to the the stage of the transcendental God the Father. To obliterate the Arian Christ, the Council of Nicaea had opted for theological overkill. To strand Arius and his followers, the Council of Nicaea had endorsed an unscriptural concept, which would bitterly antagonize non-Arian ecclesiastics.

And for the first time in the history of the Church, a council had anathematized heretical beliefs in the name of the catholic, apostolic church. Through an episcopal coalition forged by Alexander and Ossius, an "Ario abbandonato"²⁵ had been realized. Yet the First Ecumenical Council closed to none of the participants' complete satisfaction. Had Arianism been temporarily eclipsed? Would the emperor's firmness soften? Constantine was too much of a politique to imagine that his imperial muscle on the signatories would end the controversy once and for all.

In his letter to the Catholic Church of the Alexandrians (325) the emperor first attempted soothing persuasion. What Constantine wanted all Christians to do was to endorse the achievement of Nicaea, the "one and the same faith."²⁶ Shortly afterwards, though, we find the emperor dispatching a very blistering letter to the Catholic Church of the Nicomedians.²⁷ In this letter, the emperor informed the congregants that he had banished their bishop Eusebius together with Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, for harboring Arians from Alexandria.

The Constantine of 325-326 is thus an autocrat who will not be defied as "he writes to the churches after Nicaea like a medieval Pope."²⁸ But within a year there was curious change in the once stern pro-Nicene emperor. By 327 both banished bishops had been restored. It is unfortunate that during this crucial time, secure dating

does not exist for several key documents, including Arius's recall to court by Constantine, the heretic's submission of his creed, and Constantine's letter to bishop Alexander, ordering him to receive Arius back into the church of the faithful. These documents have been dated to 327 or 333 by various scholars.²⁹ What is certain, however, is that during this time, Constantine inclined towards Arianism and thereby changed the courses of imperial and early medieval Christianity.

For this heretical tilt by the emperor, Socrates blamed the rehabilitated Eusebius of Nicomedia and, especially, Constantine's beloved sister, Constantia, who on her death bed, had beseeched her half-brother to look kindly upon her Arian presbyter.³⁰ Later on, in the conversions of the Germanic kings during the early Middle Ages, we will note how also prominent were the roles of family members, particularly royal wives, be they Arian or Catholic. Socrates credited both Arians for the emperor's recall of Arius to court³¹ where the heretic submitted his lean creed, or as our historian would have it, his simulation of the Nicene faith.³²

Arius made his credo as minimally Christocentric as possible. Except for calling Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God and the Logos, he said precious little about the divinity of Christ and conspicuously omitted any reference to homoousios. In fact, Arius's use of the Logos

to define Christ must have seemed very old-fashioned, even during this time period of 327-334. Constantine, writing to Alexander, either the bishop of Alexandria, who died in 328, or the bishop of Constantinople (330-336), deemed this elusive creed to be in orthodox conformity with its illustrious Nicene predecessor. Yet Constantine intensely disliked Arius and made no secret about it in his sarcastic address: "Arius, I say, **the** Arius, has come to me, **the** Augustus."³³

In vain were the emperor's conciliatory efforts, for Alexander refused to give Arius communion. This provoked Arius in a now lost letter to threaten the emperor with civil unrest, infuriating Constantine who ordered the burning of all Arian books (what they were and how many there were, we will never know) and to pronounce a death sentence on all those who hid any treatises of the "Porphyrians."³⁴

We know of a reference in the Theodosian Code to Constantine's law on the Arians as Porphyrians (XVI,5.66) in Theodosius II's law denouncing the impious Nestorian heretics, given on 3 August 435.³⁵ Valuable as is this reference in corroborating Socrates, the compilers of the Theodosian Code did not preserve the exact text of Constantine's punitive law. The Code preserved only two Constantinian laws which subjected heretics and schismatics to compulsory public duties from which Catholics were exempt; title (16,2.1), aimed at the Donatists (31 October

313); and title 16,5.1 (1 September 326).³⁶ The latter law did not define the heretics and schismatics. But the posting locations of laws are good indicators for identifying unidentified miscreants. The law of 1 September 326 was addressed to Dracilianus, vicarius Orientis, and was posted at Gerastus, (present day Jerash, Jordan) where at the time there were likely Arian congregations.

If any draconian measures against the Arians were ever drafted during Constantine's time, the compilers of the Theodosian and Justinian Codes did not include them. The scholarly consensus is that Constantine preferred to spare the legal rods whenever possible, recognizing the limits of the law in religious persuasion: "But laws, of course, do not a Christian make."³⁷

Yet it can be argued that legislating against heretical beliefs consistently over a prolonged period of time and enforcing the laws are what made possible the triumph of Catholic Christianity at the end of the fourth century within the Roman Empire.

What conclusions can we draw about Constantine and his equivocations on Arianism? Was he wise or bewildered?³⁸ Constantine had the machinery of the state to crush Arianism. As to why he did not use these means can not be ascertained through extant documentation. We can infer that Constantine's Arian sister, Constantia, was a prominent factor. Her active championing of the once

discredited bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia, was coupled with the simultaneous decline in imperial favor of Constantine's former Western and Nicene advisor, Ossius. It was no small coincidence that the mention of Ossius disappeared from Constantinian documents after Nicaea. In short, Constantine may actually have come to be a true believer of the Arian message. Moreover, fear of another messy Donatist debacle with its civil upheavals most likely restrained the emperor. Arius had threatened Constantine with the Libyan masses, as quoted by Constantine from a now lost letter of Arius. The vitriolic emperor hurled counterthreats at him in his own voluminous reply, citing the prophecy of the Sibylline oracle: "Woe to you Libya"³⁹ and the terrible ordeals to come. In the letter Constantine had played on Arius's name, Arius-Ares, the god of war.

Three years after this exchange (ca. 333) the forgiving emperor recalled Arius again. The heretic was ready to receive communion in Constantinople when he died in a suspiciously violent way in a public lavatory, according to Athanasius, who could be trusted to capture the visceral flair of the occasion.⁴⁰ As for Constantine, at Easter the following year (337), the emperor was baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia. On 22 May of the same year, Constantine died. Rome never made the first Christian emperor a saint, although the Greek Orthodox Church did.⁴¹ To Catholic Romans Constantine had died an Arian Christian.

NOTES

1. Socrates, HE 1,7, PG 67, 53-55; Sozomen HE 1,16, PG 67, 909-910.

2. Socrates, HE 1,7, PG 67,56.

3. Robert C. Gregg and Dennis E. Groh, Early Arianism: A View of Salvation (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 162.

4. The scholarly consensus is that Constantine's grasp of theology left much to be desired. Leslie W. Barnard, "Church-State Relations A.D. 313-337," Journal of Church and State 24, no. 12 (1982), 339 judged that "although he had undoubtedly become a Christian of sorts, his theology was ambiguous and confused (he used the name "Christ" for both Father and Son) and retained many pagan elements." We have not detected Constantine's confusion in designating "Christ" for both God the Father and God the Son. The emperor's ecclesiastical advisor, Ossius would have no doubt clarified this issue. G.F. Chesnut, The First Church Historians: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius, Théologie historique 46 (1977), 171 noted that Constantine's panegyrist, Eusebius of Caesarea, was "embarrassed" by the emperor's "primitive" religion "in its crude mix of sun worship and partially understood monotheism. Even as he moved more completely into the Christian orbit, his religion continued to be based on such things as visions, sibylline oracles, relics of the true cross, and a somewhat overcredulous awe of the miraculous." Only Timothy D. Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 213 has defended the so-called theological naivete of the emperor as he verbally sought to convince both Arius and Alexander that their dispute was insignificant. Barnes thought that accusing Constantine of poor judgement is "unjust and anachronistic." "The letter does not necessarily indicate that in his private thoughts Constantine dismissed the issues as totally trivial; writing to the chief disputants, he naturally minimized their differences." Moreover, a case can be made that it is unreasonable to expect a Latin-speaking soldier like Constantine to have studied Hellenistic philosophy. And we must not forget, that possibly directing this questionably naive letter, was none other than Ossius.

5. Ramsay MacMullen, Constantine (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 169.

6. All nine of Constantine's Donatist letters in Latin are preserved in Hans von Soden, Urkunden zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Donatismus, Kleine Texte 122 (Bonn: Marcus, 1913). St. Optatus, bishop of Milevis, wrote his De schismate Donatistarum (seven books with an appendix of ten documents) between 366-367. Optatus's work can be found in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 26, ed. C. Ziwsa (Prague, 1893). Henceforth CSEL.

7. CSEL 26, Appendix vii, 209. See W.H.C. Frend, The Donatist Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 152-153 for a discussion of this "Aeterna et religiosa" letter that Frend claimed was a forgery, written ca. 347. Many of these ecclesiastical documents inserted into the histories of this period have been questioned by modern scholars. I have only included those documents that I regard as authentic on the basis of content and style. I have not used any documents that I consider spurious, save to utilize the content of the document as reflecting a point of view extant at the time that the document was inserted in the literature.

8. Frend, The Rise of Christianity, 492 mentioned that Constantine had "in the spring of 317" published "a most severe edict against the Donatists, confiscating their property and exiling their leaders." But Frend did not specify this edict. There was a law in the Theodosian Code (16,2,1), addressed to Anullinus, proconsul of Africa, and posted on 31 October 313, which, without naming the Donatists, did speak of heretics' harassment of Catholic clerics with compulsory public duties, from which Catholics were exempt (Theodosiani Libri XVI, 2nd edition, eds. Theodor Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer (Berlin: 1954), 835.

9. Hermann Dörries, Constantine the Great, tr. Roland H. Bainton (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 140.

10. CSEL, Appendix vii, 212-213.

11. The Rise of Christianity, 492. Frend dated the end of Constantine's Donatist persecutions to May 321.

12. Theodosiani Libri 16,5.1, eds. Mommsen and Meyer, 879.

13. Optatus of Milevis, De schismate Donatistarum Libri VII in Opera omnia Sanctorum Patrum Latinorum 12 (Wurtzburg, 1789), 215.

14. Constantine's planned visit to Africa in 316 is in his letter to the vicarius Africae, Domitus Celsus, CSEL 26, Appendix vii, 210.

15. Henry Chadwick, "Ossius of Cordova and the Presidency of the Council of Antioch, 325," Journal of Theological Studies, new series 9, pt. 2 (1958), 303. Chadwick discovered a Syriac manuscript which authenticated the existence of this enigmatic council, forgotten by our customary ecclesiastical sources, which, nonetheless, served as the pre-emptive strike against the Arians before Nicaea.

16. Philostorgius, Historia ecclesiastica 1,7, PG 65, 469-472. Henceforth HE.

17. For Eusebius, see the letter he wrote to his congregation immediately after Nicaea (PG 20, 1535-1544). What remains of Eustathius's account is in Theodoret, HE 1,8 (PG 82,937). Athanasius's account, written a quarter century after Nicaea, is the fullest of the three (De decretis 19,20, PG 25,448-452).

18. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 215-16.

19. Christopher Stead, Divine Substance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 256 did not believe that homocousios was a concession to the West because of the lack of documentation: "for Rome was not normally slow to celebrate such triumphs."

20. Tertullian, Adversus Praxeam 4, PL 2,159.

21. Eusebius, Epistola ad Caesarienses, PG 20, 1541-1544.

22. Athanasius, De decretis 21, PG 25,453.
23. Ibid., 454.
24. Friedo von Ricken, S.J., "Nikaia als Krisis des altchristlichen Platonismus," Theologie und Philosophie 44 (1969), 341.
25. Manlio Simonetti, La crisi ariana nel IV secolo (Rome, 1975), 94.
26. Socrates, HE I,9, PG 67,84-85.
27. The first part of this letter involving a theological discourse about the faith of Nicaea and homousios is preserved by Gelasius of Cyzicus, Historia Concilii Nicaeni II,33, PG 82,1335-1337; the second part--the indictment of Eusebius of Nicomedia as traitor and the banishment of both bishops--is to be found in Theodoret, HE I,19, PG 82,962-966.
28. R.P.C. Hanson, The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God, 850. See also T.G. Elliot, "Constantine and the Arian Reaction after Nicaea," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 24 (1992), 170 who elaborated on the resolved emperor: "Constantine's words here are not those of a man who has listened with mild interest to a theological debate and has then set out in an easy going way to make peace between winners and the losers. He speaks as one who has been determined all along to extinguish heresy and has been upset by Eusebius' behaviour after Nicaea."
29. Timothy Barnes, "Emperors and Bishops, A.D. 324-344: Some Problems," American Journal of Ancient History 3 (Spring, 1978), 69 had attempted to reconstruct the chronology of this confused period: "As a result, no one has yet produced a detailed and convincing narrative of Constantine's dealings with the Christian Church after 324 which does full justice to the primary evidence. The lack of satisfactory narrative account of Constantine's later years renders it difficult in the extreme to produce a historical reconstruction which will win general

acceptance from modern scholars."

30. Socrates, HE I,25, PG 67,148.

31. Ibid., 148-150.

32. The full creed of Arius and his follower Euzoius is in HE I,26, PG 67,149-152.

33. Gelasius of Cyzicus, HE III,15,1-5, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig, 1918), 96 is our only source for this letter.

34. Socrates, HE I,9, PG 67,158. Constantine's styling of Arians as Porphyrians, which to date has not been analyzed, could be interpreted in two different ways. Porphyry (234-301) was a neo-Platonist, and Arians, as Porphyrians, could reflect Arius's perceived connection to the Hellenistic philosophy of the pagans. Arius, being a rationalistic theologian, in no way shared Porphyry's mysticism, But our heretic could reflect the analytical side of Porphyry, who also wrote the Categories on Aristotle. Constantine's allusion to Arians as Porphyrians, however, can be seen in another light. Porphyry was a notorious anti-Christian who knew the New Testament all too well and had criticized Jesus Christ as Saviour in his Contra Christianos (W.H.C. Frend, The Rise of Christianity, 442).

35. Theodosiani Libri 16,5.66, eds. Mommsen and Meyer, 855.

36. Ibid., 16,5.1, 879:

Privilegia, quae contemplatione religionis indulta sunt, catholicae tantum legis observatoribus prodesse oportet. Haereticos autem atque schismaticos non solum ab his privilegiis alienos esse volumus, sed etiam diversis muneribus constringi et subici.

37. David Hunt, "Christianising the Roman Empire: the evidence of the Code," in The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity, eds. Jill Harries and Ian Wood (London: 1992), 144-145 continues:

The relationship between official discrimination and actual religious commitment is inevitably complex, but Christianization, whatever it may be, was not to be achieved simply by making paganism and heresy illegal.

For Constantine's prudent tolerance, see Jean Gaudemet, "La législation religieuse de Constantin," Revue d'histoire de l'église de France 33 (1947), 61:

Constantin tenait pour assez vaines les discussions théologiques et leur reprochait surtout de ruiner l'ordre et l'unité de l'empire. Le plus souvent il respecte les diverses croyances. Ses successeurs agiront différemment et le changement entre le droit du IV^e et celui du VI^e siècle se marque par la rareté, au code de Justinien, des constitutions constantiniennes, traitant de questions religieuses.

38. Among the modern scholars, cf. T.G. Elliott, "Constantine and the Arian Reaction after Nicaea" (1992) and Leslie W. Barnard, "Church-State Relations, A.D. 313-337" (1982):

I take it that he was well informed on the theological questions, consistently and genuinely anti-Arian and wise in his choice of methods of dealing with the heresy (Elliott, 194).

Constantine had no fixed plan for dealing with the Church beyond a vague inspiration for unity and his actions at times verged on total bewilderment (Barnard, 354-355).

39. Gelasius, Historia Concilii Nicaeni II, PG 82, 1344-1354. Athanasius (De decretis, 40,1-2) is another source for this extravagant letter which shows much clerical refurbishing and is susceptible to being a forgery. The passage from Sibylline Oracles III, 323-329 in The Old

Woe to you, Libya, woe to sea and land,
 daughters of the west, how you have come to a
 bitter day. You will also come pursued by a
 hard struggle, terrible and hard. There will
 again be a terrible
 judgment, and you will all of necessity go to
 destruction because you have utterly destroyed
 the great house of the Immortal and have chewed
 it terribly with iron teeth.

Constantine's reference to the Sibyl is another instance of an Arian connection which has not been fully considered. This passage from the letter is taken from the third book of the Sibylline Oracles (lines 323-333) with origins traced to the Alexandrian Judaism of ca. 163-45 B.C. (The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments, 355). Assuming that the emperor and/or his long-winded cleric knew of the Jewish origin of the oracles, was this meant to be an implication that Arius was a Jewish sympathizer?

40. Athanasius, De morte Arii, PG 25,688. Also Theodoret, HE I,13,950-952 and Sozomen, HE 2,30, PG 67,1021-1022.

41. According to the New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 4 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 228: "since Constantine had been baptised on his deathbed, he was honored in the Orient as a saint. The Roman Calendar never acknowledged him partly because Eusebius was an Arian; but during the Middle Ages, particularly in England and France, churches were dedicated in his honor."

CHAPTER 3

CONSTANTIUS II AND
IMPERIAL ARIANISM

With the death of Constantine on 22 May 337 ended the first twenty years of the unresolved Arian controversy. During his reign over the united empire (324-337), the emperor had stalled the Arian movement, which might have been his intention all along. Yet Constantine, whose baptism would be Catholicized later in Ostrogothic Italy,¹ had died an Arian Christian. The dying emperor had given his last testament on the division of his empire to the former Arian presbyter of his deceased sister, Constantia, with the command to give it to his Arian son, Constantius, upon his return.² Constantinus Christianus thus left an ambiguous legacy which would consume the theological energies of two more generations and a half dozen church councils³ before Catholic resolution, but too late to stop the Arian infiltration of the Gothic tribes.

In 332 Constantine had signed a peace treaty with the Transdanubian Germanic tribe called the Tervingi (Visigoths).⁴ In exchange for trading concessions, the Tervingi, as foederati, agreed to serve as mercenaries. Whether Christian conversion was an imperial condition or inducement is unclear. While we do not hear of any Catholic missionary activity among the heathen Goths during this early time,

the evidence for Arians among the tribes is known from Epiphanius, who noted that the Arian bishop Audius was preaching in Scythia, where Constantine had exiled him.⁵ Furthermore, the Arian historian, Philostorgius (ca. 368-ca. 425), was reputed to have written that there was an exodus of Gothic Christians from Cappodocia under the leadership of their Gothic bishop Ulphilas, whom Eusebius had consecrated.⁶ It is believed that these persecuted Gothic Christians fled in 347/348.⁷ This Eusebius was none other than the bishop of Nicomedia who had consecrated Ulphilas between 336 but no later than 341 (the date of Eusebius's death). The garbled text from Philostorgius/Photius stated that it was the emperor Constantine, and not the more likely Constantius,⁸ who had warmly greeted and honored Ulphilas. The Arian emperor had used an Old Testament reference in calling the bishop the "Moses of our time"⁹ and gave his flock imperial territory in Nicopolis in Moesia, present day Bulgaria.

Therefore, the Arian initiative in conversions occurred during the unsettled Christian period in the empire ruled by Constantine's sons. The Catholic Constantine II (337-340) and Constans (337-350), rulers in the West, had engaged in a civil war during which Constantine II was killed. The Arian Constantius II,¹⁰ who governed the eastern empire from 337-353 and the united empire from 353-361, actively pursued ties with the neighboring Gothic tribes across

the Danube. Like his father, Constantius had succeeded brilliantly in establishing a pax Gothica. So the strategic geographic location of an Arian government facilitated early Arian contacts. The Arian Philostorgius credited Constantius for the proselytizing of Christianity into the far-off heathen realms of Ethiopia and Arabia through sponsoring the travels of Theophilus Indus. Philostorgius never let us forget that Theophilus, wherever he journeyed into distant lands, brought the Arian message with him that the Son was of a different substance from the Father.¹¹ Apt illustrations of the evangelical Constantius, holding Christogram banners, are to be found on his coinage. Two silver-washed bronze coins of the centenionalis denomination come to mind. On the reverse of the first coin (plate 1) from the mint of Thessalonica (348-350) with the legend **FEL TEMP REPARATIO** (Felicitium temporum reparatio), the emperor in military attire stands on a galley, holding in his left hand a globe above which a winged Genius offers him the laurel. In his right hand, he holds the Chi-Rho labarum--a striking image of this evangelical emperor. A winged Nike (Victory) steers the ship from the stern. Still more emphatic is a later centenionalis (plate 2) from the mint of Siscia (350-351) where the pagan iconography of the earlier coin is absent. On the reverse, with the legend **CONCORDIA MILITUM** the emperor, with a star above his head, holds a Christogram

labarum in each hand.¹²

Once he became sole ruler over the eastern and western halves of the empire in 353 through his defeat of the Gallic usurper Magnentius, Constantius, like his father, lost little time enforcing his will on episcopal leaders. In order to rally imperial Christianity under the Arian banner, the emperor bullied those recalcitrant Nicene ecclesiastics of the West, who had refused to condemn that unremitting troublemaker, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.¹³ It was Athanasius himself, who, although absent from the proceedings of the Council of Milan (355), either quoted or concocted Constantius's pronouncement which would set "a precedent in Church-State relations."¹⁴ The emperor proclaimed that his imperial will should be considered canon (*χανών*).¹⁵ When the bishops complained that the emperor had no ecclesiastical authority, Constantius brandished a sword and condemned them to death, which he, like pharaoh, would later repeal. Athanasius was, of course, poking fun at the megalomania of Constantius, who was seen to be self-conscious of his god-like bearing, according to the pagan historian of his reign, Ammianus Marcellinus.¹⁶

The years 355-356 were very fulfilling for Constantius. In 355 he had banished and had replaced two formidable bishops of Alexandria and Rome--Athanasius and Pope Liberias (352-366). The emperor had forced Liberias to become the first and only Pope to accept a Christological creed,

if not indisputably Arian, at the very least non-Nicene-the First Creed of the Council of Sirmium (351).¹⁷ In truth, the emperor never subscribed to the Arian belief of its original founder that Jesus Christ was a creature of God. Furthermore, Constantius, if he did not accept the homoousios (Christ of the same substance with the Father) doctrine, neither did he foster its rival, homoiousios (Christ of a similar substance with the Father). The Greek terms had prompted Edward Gibbon's "enlightened" judgment: "that the profane of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the Homoousians and Homoiousians."¹⁸ But for Constantius, the trouble was not with the word homoi which the emperor preferred, but with the term ousia itself, which was unscriptural and beyond human comprehension, when applied to the Godhead. As such, the term's defects were acknowledged by the Second Creed of Sirmium (357), labeled as the "exemplum blasphemiae" by Hilary of Poitiers:

Duos autem deos ne posse nec debere praedicari qui ipse Dominus dixit. Ibo ad Patrem meum et ad patrem vestrum ad Deum meum et ad Deum vestrum (Joan. XX,17)...Et hoc catholicum esse, nemo ignorat, duas personas esse Patris et Filii, majorem Patrem, Filium subjectum cum omnibus his quae ipsi Pater subjecit...

It was obvious that both this council and the emperor feared that elevating Jesus Christ to the same divine level of

his Father was tantamount to a two gods polytheism. The Council made it crystal clear that its "catholic" dogma clarified that there were two persons in the Godhead, the greater the Father to whom the Son was subject. We shall see how Germanic Arians would also style their subordinationist doctrines as catholic.

The next step for Constantius was to wrangle a semi-Arian subordinationist creed from both eastern and western bishops. To this end, in 359 he summoned two geographical councils to meet at Rimini in the west and Seleucia in the east. But Rimini opted for Catholic Nicaea, and Seleucia, for the Arian creed of the Second Council of Antioch (341). After much imperial pressure, the emperor got his way and an Arian creed was formulated, the Fourth Creed of Sirmium, the "dated" Creed. It was accepted by both eastern and western delegates in the presence of the "eternal" Constantius--provoking Athanasius to jibe that the Arians could see fit to call the emperor eternal but not the Son of God.²⁰ With minor revision, the creed was ratified by the Council of Constantinople (359-360). Allusions to ousia were eliminated. The Arian Godhead relationship between Father and Son was lamely described as "Ὅμοιον δὲ λέγομεν τὸν υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ"²¹ ("But we say that the Son is similar to the Father"). The creed added, as this is taught by the Scriptures. It was St. Jerome who gave a riveting scene of the Arian bishops at the

council, the Illyrian bishops, Ursacius and Valens, Constantius's advisors, as they clamorously damned the faith of Nicaea. The consequence was the astonishment felt by the Roman world at discovering that it had become Arian: "Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est."²²

Or so it seemed at the time. Constantius did not have long to implement his Arian solution. The following year (361), he would be killed at the hands of the Persians. His nephew heir, Julian the Apostate (361-363), would not persecute either Arian or Catholics, permitting banished bishops, including Athanasius, to return to their sees. Julian preferred a divide and conquer policy towards the Christian dissidents, whom he thought worse than wild beasts.²³

As for Constantius, no Eusebius has left us a glowing vita. His ecclesiastical nemesis, Athanasius, pilloried him with ad hominem insults. Athanasius called the emperor a notorious AntiChrist.²⁴ Moreover, Ammianus, who deliberately avoided detailed reports of Constantius's Christian politics, chiseled, instead, a sketch of the emperor and his faith: a plain and simple religion ("was it ever that?"),²⁵ which Constantius confounded with superstition and contentiously complicated by his dogmatic verbosity which aroused many controversies.²⁶ Ammianus's vignette, within this same passage, of the imperial roads, congested by the ecclesiastical traffic to and from Constantius's

endless councils, was calculated to provoke both amusement and irritation. Above all, it was meant to trivialize the impact of Christianity.

Ammianus never referred to the Arian Christianity of Constantius. Furthermore, no "Arian" laws have been preserved in the Theodosian²⁷ and Justinian Codes of an emperor, who loved to revel in legal rhetoric and who, in his own words, wanted to "carry on the excellent care of the divine and worshipful law."²⁸ Constantius had failed to entrench his particular brand of Arianism as the official Christianity of the empire. But beyond the empire's borders, the evangelical emperor's religion would take strong root. Contributing to the proceedings of the Council of Constantinople (360) had been the bishop of the Goths, Ulphilas,²⁹ who would take this council's creed of the Arian Godhead back to his waiting flock.

NOTES

1. Pope Silvester's baptism of Constantine who was then cured of leprosy as recorded during the early sixth century in the Liber Pontificalis, 55 (Gesta Pontificum Romanorum, vol. 1, Libri Pontificalis pars prior, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH (Berlin, 1898), 134. The de-Arianizing of Constantine's baptism had political motivations. In 526 the Arian Ostrogothic king Theodoric had dispatched Pope John I to Constantinople on a diplomatic mission, involving the emperor Justin I's persecution of Arians in the capital, as recorded in Anonymous Valesianus, 15.88, Excerpta Valesiana, pars posterior in Ammianus Marcellinus, tr. John C. Rolfe, vol. 3, Loeb edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 562-564. Constantine's "Catholic" baptism and John I's Arian mission will be discussed in a subsequent chapter on Ostrogothic Italy.

2. Sozomen, HE 2,34, PG 67,1032.

3. See J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 3rd edition (New York: Longman, 1972), pp. 263-295 for the creeds of the Councils of Antioch (341), Serdica (343), Sirmium (351 and 357), Constantinople (360). For the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381), see pp. 296-331.

4. Herwig Wolfram, History of the Goths, tr. Thomas J. Dunlap from the revised second German edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 63.

5. PL 42,372 as noted in Peter Heather and John Matthews, The Goths in the Fourth Century (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), 134. As early as 317, Constantine was worried about Arian propagation in the Danubian Roman province of Pannonia. See Edit B. Thomas in an interesting article on rare Arian archaeology, "Arius Darstellung, eine Römerzeitliche Ziegelritzzeichnung aus Kidorg in Pannonien," Szekszárdi Múzeum Évkönyve 5 (1973/74), 83 "Die arianischen Lehren verbreiten sich auch in Pannonien trotz dessen, dass Kaiser Konstantin d. Gr. zwischen 317-32 sich öfters in Sirmium, an der illyrischen Grenze aufhielt und streng darüber wachte, dass der Arianismus ja nicht nach Pannonien endringe."

6. Philostorgius, HE 2,5, PG 65, 468-469. This work of twelve books by Philostorgius, a contemporary of Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, is only known from the excerpts preserved and/or fabricated by the ninth century Photius, the Catholic patriarch of Constantinople in his Bibliotheca. Photius began each chapter: "Philostorgius says" but, at times very contemptuously, "The most mendacious Philostorgius says" (2,1, PG 65,465) or "The impious Philostorgius says" (2,6, PG 65,469). For a very short discussion on the problems involved with Philostorgius's history, see Alana E. Nobbs, "Philostorgius' View of the Past," Reading the Past in Late Antiquity, ed. Graeme Clarke (New York: Pergamon Press, 1990), 251-263. Nobbs, 252 pointed to the fact that Philostorgius's sources differed from those used by his three Catholic contemporary historians.

7. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 79-80 and Heather, The Goths in the Fourth Century, 134.

8. For the controversy over Philostorgius's Constantinian chronology, see Heather, The Goths in the Fourth Century, 141-142. Heather assigned this Gothic exodus to Constantius's time and believed that scribal error confused Konstaninos with Konstantios. Heather, moreover, held that Ulfilas was consecrated in 341 by Eusebius who was then bishop of Constantinople, and not in 336 during Constantine's reign, as maintained by two famous scholars, Knut Schäferdiek, "Wulfila: vom Bischof von Gotien zum Gotenbischof," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 90 (1979), 253-303 and Timothy D. Barnes, "The Consecration of Ulfila," Journal of Theological Studies, new series 41 (1990), 541-545. But it is conceivable that Philostorgius chose to place the Gothic conversions during Constantine's rule in order to stress the antiquity of Arian Christianity among the Goths.

9. HE 2,5, PG 65,469. Once again, Constantine is cited as the source in the Philostorgian text. Constantius's Old Testament allusion, together with those of his father, as we have earlier seen in Constantine's letter to Arius ca. 333, bear further scrutiny which they have not yet received.

10. There is still no biography in English on this very intriguing emperor. Constantius's church policies have been studied by Richard Klein, Constantius II und

die christliche Kirche (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), who, modified the traditional image of "der 'arianische' Kaiser" (pp. 16-67) and the "verbreitete Klischee des Arianers Constantius" (p. 157). Klaus M. Girardet in his revisionist article, "Kaiser Konstantius II. als "episcopus episcoporum" und das Herrscherbild des kirchlichen Widerstandes--Ossius von Corduba und Lucifer von Calaris," Historia 26/1 (1977),⁹⁴ questioned the representation by Ossius and Lucifer of the "tyrannischen Herrn der Kirche." On the other hand, see Chantal Vogler for Constantius's introduction of police agentes in Constance II et l'administration impériale (Strasbourg: AECR, 1979), 191: "Constance conduit à introduire dans la police politique de l'Etat, désormais solidaire de l'Empire." Further evidence of Constantius's surveillance tactics is given by Hilary of Poitiers who observed many a Constantian agens in rebus forcing banished orthodox bishops to wear special badges indicative of their humiliating status (p. 320).

11. See Constantius's letter (346) to the rulers of Axum (Ethiopia) in which the emperor expressed his desire to spread the word of the supreme God (Athanasius, Apologia ad Constantium imperatorem 31, PG 25, 656-657). Also, Philostorgius, HE 2,6, PG 65, 470 for Theophilus's missions.

12. Classical Numismatic Review XIX, no. 4 (1994),24.

13. Timothy D. Barnes, Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993) reconstructed the political career of the truculent Athanasius in his battles with a succession of emperors--Constantine, Constantius, Julian, and Valens. Barnes filled in missing chronological gaps and corrected Athanasius's own misrepresentations.

14. Mary Mudd-Michaels, "The Arian Policy of Constantius II and its Impact on Church-State Relations in the Fourth Century Roman Empire," Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines 6, pts. 1 and 2 (1979), 106-107).

15. Athanasius, Historia Arianorum 33, PG 25,732.

16. Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae 21,16.1, vol. 2, tr. John C. Rolfe, Loeb edition (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950-1956), 174.

17. Athanasius's account of the capitulation of Pope Liberias (352-366), is in Historia Arianorum ad monachos 41, PG 25, 741. Also Sozomen, HE 4,11, PG 67,1149 and Hilary of Poitiers, Contra Constantium imperatorem 2, PL 10, 691. Attributable to Hilary are four of Liberias's letters in which the pope abandoned Athanasius and the Catholic doctrine of consubstantiality, Although Liberias refused to be rebaptized, he agreed to receive communion with the Arian bishops Valens and Ursacius (Fragmenta Historica PL 10, 678,695). The consensus is that these letters of what Hilary called the "perfidia" of Liberias are not an Arian forgery. See A. Hammon, "Saint Hilaire est-il témoin à charge ou à décharge pour le pape Libère?" in Hilaire et son temps, Actes du Colloque de Poitiers 29 septembre-3 octobre 1968 (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1969), 43-50. For the spurious colloquium between a previously defiant Liberias and Constantius (the first recorded between pope and emperor) which purportedly took place after the Council of Milan (355) and shortly before the pope's exile, see Theodoret, HE 2,13, PG 82,1033-1039. Theodoret is our only Greek source for this confrontation.

18. Edward Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. 3, ed. Betty Radice (London: The Folio Society, 1985), 35. Sozomen (HE 3,18, PG 67,1095) blamed Eusebius of Nicomedia for deceiving Constantius as to the distinction between homoousios and homoiousios. In one of his farfetched speculations, Sozomen gave the heretic emperor the benefit of a doubt in saying that he was certain that Constantius shared the same Christological doctrine as his father and brothers but, in changing the pitch of his voice, adopted the wrong turn of phrase to express it.

19. Hilary of Poitiers, De Synodis 2,11, PL 10, 487-489. In Greek, Athanasius, De Synodis 28, PG 26, 740-743 and Socrates, HE 2,30, PG 67,280-285. For the extraordinary Hilary (315-368), revered as the Athanasius of the West, who fought Arianism in Gaul, see Hilaire et son temps, especially Michel Meslin's "Hilaire et la crise arienne," 19-42. Hilary is well remembered for his remark that he, though baptized and a western bishop for some time, first heard of homoousios only when he was being

sent into exile by Constantius in 355, thirty years after Nicaea: "Regeneratus pridem, et in episcopatu aliquantis permanens, fidem Nicaenam nunquam nisi exulaturus audivi" (De Synodis 91, PL 10,545).

20. Epistola de synodis Arimensi et Seleuciana 3, PG 26,685.

21. Socrates, HE 2,41, PG 67,349.

22. Dialogus adversus Luciferanos 19, PL 23,172.

23. Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae, vol. 2, 22,5.3-4, 202.

24. Athanasius, Historia Arianorum ad monachos 77, PG 25,773.

25. John Matthews, The Roman Empire of Ammianus (London: Duckworth, 1989), 450 judged: "The failure of Ammianus to discuss the political power engine that was imperial Christianity cannot be explained from the viewpoint that he did not think it an important enough historical development."

26. Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae, vol. 2, 21,16.18, 182-184.

27. David Hunt, "Christianising the Roman Empire: the Evidence of the Code" in The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity, eds. Jill Harries and Ian Wood (London: Duckworth, 1992), 157: "The Theodosian Code does not include any pronouncement of Constantius or Valens on the subject of right doctrine, which would have accorded ill with the aspirations to universal orthodoxy to which Book 16 testifies."

28. Athanasius, De Synodis 55, PG 62,792 and Socrates HE 2,37, PG 62,237.

29. Socrates, HE 2,41, PG 67,349 and Sozomen, HE 4,24, PG 67, 1189.

P L A T E 1



Constantius II centenionalis from the mint of Thessalonica (348-350). Reverse legend reads FEL TEMP REPARATIO. From the Collection of Rosalie M. Sefcik.

P L A T E 2



Constantian II centennialis from the mint of Siscia (350-351). Reverse legend reads **CONCORDIA MILITVM**. From Classical Numismatic Review XIX, no. 4 (1994), no. 343, p. 29.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONVERSION OF THE GOTHS
TO ARIAN CHRISTIANITY

"For Christianity to be accepted by the Germanic peoples, it was necessary that it be perceived as responsive to the heroic, religiopolitical and magicoreligious orientation of the Germanic world-view."¹ A better sociological explanation for that historical turning point which was the Christian conversion of Gothia cannot be expressed. Yet whether the newly converted Goths thought that an Arian Christianity offered them a suitable substitute for their "heroic, religiopolitical and magicoreligious orientation" has not been revealed to us by the heathens themselves. Instead, we must infer from the conversion stories, written a century after the event, why a mass conversion of a pagan people and their leaders occurred when it occurred at a specific historical time.

That in the late fourth century, the Tervingi Goths beyond the Danube in present day Romania, abandoned the faith of their pagan ancestors in favor of imperial Arianism was confirmed by the Catholic historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.² All three placed the conversion within the framework of Romano-Gothic diplomatic relations during the reign of the Arian emperor Valens (364-378) and cited the missionary activities of the Arian Gothic bishop, Ulphilas. Finally, all three gave us similar insights

into the psyche of the Goths on the eve of their conversion.

In his earliest account,³ Socrates cited the civil war between the transdanubian barbarians (βάρβαροι), led by their chieftains, Athanaric and Fritigernes. It was Fritigernes who petitioned Valens for help against his tribal enemy. With the assistance of Roman troops, Athanaric was routed. Socrates made it very clear that out of gratitude to Valens, Fritigernes committed himself and his people to Arian Christianity. But Socrates drove quickly to the secondary reason for the Arian infection of the Goths, in the person of Ulphilas, who had invented the Gothic alphabet, translated the Scriptures into Gothic and had instructed the barbarians in the divine oracles. In a unique story, Socrates related how Ulphilas had spread his missionary work among the heathens ruled by Athanaric. The heathen chieftain retaliated by persecuting the converts whom he thought had violated the religious observances of their forefathers. This persecution ushered in a cult of Arian martyrs, whom the Goths would elaborately commemorate with relics, as we shall soon examine. In this passage Socrates unexpectedly referred to Arius's Christology of the Son of God as a new God through an Old Testament reference (Deut. 32,7). Another link was thus made by a Catholic writer to Arius's possible Jewish inspirations. Our historian concluded by contrasting the intellectual Arian founder with the barbarians who

espoused Christianity with greater simplemindedness. In this busy chapter Socrates' forte of compact packaging of substantial information was in full view, as here he crowded a conversion canvas with a Gothic civil war, the emperor Valens, the bishop Ulphilas, Arian martyrs, the heresiarch Arius, and the simpleminded, Arian-converted βάρβαροι. This was the name Socrates preferred to their tribal Gothic name, reflecting a prejudice, which worked against Catholic attempts to convert the Goths.⁴

But missing from Socrates' script was a drama which our next historian supplied--the crossing of the Danube by the Goths. Sozomen relied heavily on Socrates but used a supplementary source to tell of the Goths being driven south by the Huns.⁵ Through their ambassador Ulphilas, they petitioned Valens to permit them to settle in Thrace in return for their military assistance to the emperor. Sozomen did not say that crossing the Danube into imperial territory was conditional upon conversion to Arian Christianity. Rather, he fell back on Socrates' narration in which Valens's siding with Fritigernes in a Gothic civil war served as the catalyst for conversion. But there was never any doubt in Socrates' mind that what cemented the Arian hold on the Goths was the brave work of Ulphilas, whom Sozomen also credited for inventing Gothic letters and for the vernacular translation of the Holy Bible. That Sozomen had warm feelings for Ulphilas was clear from his

feeble attempts to explain away the bishop's Arianism. Sozomen said that Ulphilas was a Nicene up to the Council of Constantinople (361) during which the Arian delegates swayed him to their beliefs in return for their sponsorship of his mission when next they met with Constantius. Thereupon, Ulphilas took communion with the Arians and as Sozomen masterfully described a decision which would change the course of history, Ulphilas cut both himself off as well as his entire tribe from the Catholic Church. Sozomen, nonetheless, saluted the heretic Ulphilas for his integrity and courage in the face of Athanaric's persecution of his Christian flock. And here, Sozomen retained Socrates' rationale for the savage reprisals--a pagan chieftain, resentful that his countrymen had cut themselves off from the worship of their fathers--this last Socratan phrase copied almost verbatim by Sozomen. And so the blood of Arian martyrs would truly become the seeds of the Arian Church. For refusing to sacrifice to a statue of a heathen Gothic god, Athanaric had Gothic men, women, and children burned alive in their Christian church which Sozomen quaintly called a "tent." This martyrdom is a rare mention of heroic Arianism on the part of the humbler Gothic folk, as contrasted with the ruling elite.

Verification of the Sozomen persecution can be found in two Gothic martyrologies, one of Catholic provenance, the other Arian. The first document, a menologion, a tenth

century monthly record of the Byzantine emperor Basil II, commemorated the martyrdom on March 26 of the Gothic Christians burned alive in their church by the Gothic chieftain, Wingourichos during the reigns of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian.⁶ Was Wingourichos meant to be Athanaric? Furthermore, there is no indication here that these martyrs were Arian, as Socrates and Sozomen would have us believe. The menologion proceeded to Catholicize the next event as it described the gathering up of the relics of the martyrs by the orthodox Gothic queen Gaatha. The queen crossed into the empire and gave the relics to her daughter Dulcilla to deposit in Cyzicus (home of Arian Romans)⁷ during the reigns of the western emperor Valentinian II (375-392) and of the eastern emperor Theodosius I (379-395), sole emperor between 392-395.

Our Arian source, a stealthy survivor, is a fragmentary calendar written in Gothic during the sixth century in Ostrogothic Italy under an eighth century Milanese palimpsest.⁸ The calendar, a possible product of Ulphilas's congregation, commemorated on October 23 the Gothic martyrs including Friþ areikeis (the Arian Fritigernes?)⁹ and on October 29 those martyrs who, with their priest Werekas and cleric Batwin, were burned alive in a church. While the martyrs were not identified as Arian, the distinctly Arian flavor of the calendar is obvious from the following month's entries.¹⁰ On November

3 the death of Constantius was commemorated; on October
6 that of Dorotheus, the Arian bishop of Heraclea, Antioch,
and Constantinople, who died in 406. Except for the Arian
Gothic calendar, the hagiographies like the passio of that
provocative village martyr, St. Saba, and of the pilgrim-
age of the good bishop Goddas,¹¹ who had carried on his
shoulders martyr bones into the empire, were cast in Catho-
lic molds. But the gathering of martyr remains by such
high personages as a queen and a bishop and their travels
to reliquary sites seemed to have originated within an
Arian tradition, which Catholics expropriated.

Our third glimpse into the Gothic Arian mentalité
was provided by Theodoret, who delineated a very different
picture of the conversion, or as our chronicler would have
it, how the Goths were infected with the Arian plague.¹²
Theodoret placed his original story within the framework
of a disputatio. After the Goths had crossed the Danube,
Eudoxius, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, suggested
to Valens that the Goths might take communion with the
emperor, as a sign of the good peace between Roman and
Goth. In his conversion narrative, Theodoret made the
Goths orthodox believers for a long time. It was Valens's
party which made communion with the Goths contingent on
a uniformity of Christian doctrine in order to strengthen
the peace. The Goth chieftains replied that they could
not refute the ancient teachings of their forefathers.

But, at this moment, Ulphilas intervened, in his role as bishop arbiter, acting like a chieftain iudex, a lawgiver, whose words the Goths clung to as if they were anchored laws. The cunning Eudoxius won Ulphilas over with his eloquence and bribes. And so Ulphilas, who here is not Sozomen's paragon of virtue, misled the barbarians, telling them that there was no difference in doctrine between the Catholics and Arians, simply personal antagonisms. As Theodoret ruefully summed up, this is why today the Goths maintain that the Father is greater than the Son, ("οἱ Γότθοι μείζονα μὲν τὸν Πατέρα λέγουσι τοῦ υἱοῦ"), though they do not subscribe to the Son as creature ("κτίσμα") but take communion with those who do. Our historian had obviously remembered the key word κτίσμα (creature) which Arius had scandalously used in his credo letter of ca. 320.¹³ We cannot fail to notice that in this triad of conversion chronicles, there was an abiding emphasis on the Goths' cutting themselves off from the religion of their forefathers. This was a key Germanenbegriff which would distinguish the long history of Gothic Arianism. Faith was law, as Theodoret had depicted the Goths' view of Ulphilas's teachings. Old law is good law, for "the old law is reasonable and reasonable law is old."¹⁴

But what historical sense can we make of these conversion stories? What is the chronological infrastructure?

All our extant accounts, including the later ones by Orosius¹⁵ and Jordanes¹⁶ featured Valens's involvement. Of this emperor's Arian policies, not much is known. Was he a semi-Arian like Constantius or a radical neo-Arian?¹⁷ We know that Valens was born in Pannonia¹⁸ (a hotbed of Arian Christianity) and that, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was uneducated ("inconsummatus").¹⁹ Ammianus said nothing about Valens's Christianity nor of the Gothic conversions, nor of the pagan persecutions of Gothic Christians.

But Ammianus did delve considerably into the emperor's bungling of the pax Gothica, which had been so meticulously preserved by Constantine and Constantius. Valens went to war twice against the Gothic tribes. The first war between 367-369 was waged as a retaliation for the Goths' support of the usurper Procopius. Valens had been surprised by the Gothic alliance with Procopius. After crushing the usurper, but before attacking his allies, he sent an envoy to the Goths in order to inquire why they had broken an old peace treaty in order to support an illegal takeover (27.5.4). With the Gothic reply, the pagan Ammianus, like the Christian historians, gave us an insight into how highly the Goths prized ancestry. The Goths answered by showing the envoy Victor a letter from Procopius in which the usurper claimed a relationship to the house of Constantine. Valens considered this a lame excuse

and promptly initiated hostilities against the Goths. Two years later, the war ended in a humiliating stalemate for the emperor. And again, the Goths used their cult of ancestry to explain their behavior. The Gothic chieftain Athanaric cited a supreme oath that he had taken at his father's request, that he, as his son, would never set foot on Roman territory (27.5.4). As a compromise, both Valens and Athanaric signed the Treaty of Noviodunum on a vessel in the middle of the River Pruth, near the Black Sea. It was most likely during the peace period 369-376 that the persecutions of Gothic Christians, to which our chroniclers referred, occurred during a sensitive time when pagan chieftains were trying to deter further Romanization.

In 376 the emperor was petitioned for asylum by two tribes, which were being harassed by the Huns--the Trevingi and the Greuthungi (31.4.1), traditionally called the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths.²⁰ The quid pro quo was military assistance, but with no mention of Gothic conversion to Christianity. The Trevingi Goths did not include Athanaric and his people, for as Ammianus admitted, Athanaric knew that Valens would sourly remember him and his solemn oath to his father (31.4.13). The emperor permitted Fritigernes's Goths to cross the Danube into the empire but not the Greuthungi, who, nonetheless, made an unauthorized crossing later on. The Gothic tribes

were starving, and the greed of the Roman generals only compounded their hardships. The Romans offered dogs to the Goths for food in exchange for slaves, among whom were sons of prominent Gothic chiefs (31.4.11). The Goths, consequently, took to marauding, which Sozomen called unreasonable.²¹ This, in turn, sparked the second Gothic war, ending at the Battle of Adrianople (9 August 378) with the death of the Arian Valens at the hands of the Arian Goths.

Orosius would interpret the emperor's death as God's punishment for his heresy.²² Sozomen related that, before leaving Constantinople for the great battle, an angry Valens had been boldly confronted by the monk Isaac, who had predicted that victory would be his, if he, the emperor, would restore to the Nicenes the churches which he had given to the Arians.²³ Otherwise, he would never return.²⁴ Yet in 378 Valens had ceased banishing Nicene ecclesiastics and had ended the persecutions, at least in Constantinople.²⁵ He presumably was not a fanatic Arian but had employed Nicenes as court officials.²⁶ And if a mass conversion did occur in 376, Valens was enough of a politique to seize an opportunity to Arianize the Goths, whom he hoped could be relied upon to protect the empire's Danubian borders.²⁷

But is 376 chronologically correct for the Arian conversions? And why should a single date matter?

On one level a single date for the conversion of a people does not make sense. Conversion is a process, not an event, and takes time to come to fruition... A single date can have meaning, however, where it marks an intention, often on the part of the leadership of a group, to advance the process of conversion consistently. Such a date refers not to a group adherence body and soul to a new set of beliefs, but marks rather a determination to change public practice.²⁸

Of course, it can be argued that before 376 a "group adherence body and soul to a new set of beliefs" on the part of the pagan Goths had already taken place. For if the Goths only became Arian because they were confronted by Valens with an option--the Huns²⁹ or conversion--why did they not reconvert to the Catholicism of the new imperial order under Theodosius I (379-395)?³⁰

That Arianism had taken root in Gothic soil before 376 comes as no surprise, given the long episcopate of Ulphilas (ca.340-383), almost as long as that of Athanasius. The vita of this remarkable man is best known from two Arians, the historian Philostorgius, and his devoted pupil Auxentius, bishop of Durostorum (on the Danube) and later of Milan. In chapter 2,5 of his ecclesiastical history, as epitomized by Photius, Philostorgius reported that Ulphilas was a descendant of Cappadocian Christians who had been kidnapped by Goths in the third century. Ulphilas had been consecrated bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia (ca. 340), and as the "Moses" of his age, had led his flock of persecuted Gothic Christians across the Roman frontier

(ca.347/348) during Constantius's reign. Philostorgius went beyond the usual information about the bishop's contributions to the Gothic alphabet and Gothic Bible to specify that Ulphilas had translated all of the Bible except for the Book of Kings, which the Goths, lovers of war, did not need.³¹

But a far more outstanding source on Ulphilas is the letter of Auxentius on the life and beliefs of his beloved teacher (Epistola de fide, vita, et obitu Ulfilae). This Arian letter is one of those amazing survivors. It was quoted by that sparring partner of Augustine, the Arian bishop Maximinus, featured in Augustine's Collatio cum Maximino of 427 (PL 42, 679-725). Maximinus had accompanied a Gothic delegation sent by the empress Galla Placidia to Hippo and, there, engaged its bishop. Auxentius's letter on Ulphilas had been written in the margins of a fifth century orthodox codex which contained Hilary of Poitiers's De Trinitate and the first two books of Ambrose's De Fide.³² In his letter Auxentius showed his genuine love for his master, calling him "valde decorus, vere confessor Cr(ist)i, doctor pietatis et predicator veritatis."³³ Glaringly evident, though, is an Arian subordinationism, attributed to Ulphilas, which is relentlessly presented throughout the letter. Following a passage in which Auxentius had Ulphilas repeat Arius's litany of superlative attributes of God the Almighty,³⁴ we are told that Ulphilas never

hid the fact that, according to the tradition and authority of the divine scriptures, the Son is a second god, from the Father, after the Father, on account of the Father and to the glory of the Father:

Secundum traditionem et auctoritatem divinarum scrib [[tura]]rum hunc secundum d(eu)m et auctorem omnium a patre et post patrem et [[propt]]³⁵ patrem et ad [[g]]loriam patris esse numquam celavit.

To complete the divine hierarchy, the Holy Spirit was delegated to third place:

Sed et sp(iritu)m s(an)c(tu)m non esse nec patre(m) nec filium, sed a patre per filium ante omnia factum, non esse primum nec secundum, sed a primo per secundum in tertio gradu substitu(m)...³⁶

An entrenched Arian position was to rely heavily on the Scriptures to justify the inferiority of the Son of God, and Auxentius's letter is filled with scriptural citations. Even on Ulphilas's tombstone was engraved the bishop's death bed confession, his Arian credo, ending with his belief in the subordinate and obedient Son of God:

...sed ministrum Cr(ist)i [...8....] [...9....] subd [[i]] tum et oboedient[[em]] in omnibus fili[[o]] et filium subdit[[um]]³⁷ et oboedientem e[[t]] in omnibus d(e)o pat[[ri]]...

Was this the same Ulphilas who had subscribed to the moderate homoian creed of the Council of Constantinople

(360)? Or was it the neo-Arian Auxentius stringently speaking out for a lost cause?³⁸ If the words were those of Ulphilas, Auxentius was then giving us a portrait of the bishop during the last years of his episcopate, when it was possible that, by that time, his Arian position had hardened. And whether this was the Arianism which Ulphilas bequeathed to the Goths who would rule in the West is the subject of a subsequent chapter. From the viewpoint of Gothic conversion, we can see how the Arian stress on the inferiority of the Son of God to his Almighty Father would appeal to Germanic rulers. By and large, Germanic Arian rulers did not have co-rule heirs. Moreover, the obedience of the Son to the Father theme,³⁹ while not seen in Arius's writings, could strike a deep chord with tribal members of a patriarchal society. But Auxentius's inclusion of the Ulphilan epitaph is our only source for this bishop's teaching on this subject.

Auxentius had curiously omitted the fact that Ulphilas had converted heathen Goths and had invented Gothic letters in order to translate the Bible. So we are confronted by the problem, posed by the scope of Ulphilas's mission, of the bishop's intention to build a national Church of the Goths. The eminent scholar E.A. Thompson would have none of this:

In other words, Ulfila was not appointed in the first

place in order to evangelize the Visigoths and to win a pagan people to Christianity but simply to minister to those Romans and others in Gothia who were already converted: Eusebius did not necessarily envisage a Gothic Bible when he consecrated Ulfila.⁴⁰

A similar sentiment had been expressed to the effect that "ce serait une vue trop simpliste que de représenter toute la Gotie arienne, parce qu'Ulphilas, évêque des Gots, était arien."⁴¹ To confront these narrow and bitter interpretations, we have only to cite Constantius II in whose reign Ulphilas first set out into Gothia. The Arian emperor was evangelical-minded in spreading Christianity to far-off lands. Philostorgius's geographical accounts of the exotic missions of Theophilus Indus attested to the emperor's grand design. Geography, as an Arian penchant, not shared by their Catholic counterparts, has not been hitherto studied.

Besides debunking Ulphilas's intention to set up an Eigenkirche, Thompson also diminished the bishop's awesome translation of the Bible. By doing so, Ulphilas had deprived his Gothic congregants of the riches of Greek theology: "When Patrick went to Ireland, he brought with him a Latin Bible, and he did not produce anything of it into Irish."⁴² An interesting point of comparison. Yet we can argue that in the conversion of the Goths, Wulfila, the "Little Wolf" planned to reach those Tervingians who did not understand Greek or Latin. It is very

obvious from the synaxaries, that the Tervingian Christians were not from the noble classes. In the Passio Sancti Sabae Goti it had been noted that "il Cristianesimo appare associato con gli umili."⁴³ And onomastically, the names of all the Gothic martyrs are diminutives, pet or nicknames in contrast to the full names of the political chieftains.⁴⁴

Ulphilas had to fashion an alphabet for his people which he invented from Greek, Latin letters, and runic signs. While we can not gauge if the Goths of the fourth century knew how to read runes,⁴⁵ there is no doubt that runic signs (the first appearing in Christian times during the second century A.D.) had a magicoreligious symbolism, perhaps only known to initiates and practitioners (rune-masters). The word rune is derived from Old English "run"--meaning mystery or secret.⁴⁶ Ulphilas was cognizant of this meaning since in his Biblical translation, when he could have transliterated the Greek μυστήριον (mysterium), he instead used the Gothic word runa.⁴⁷ What was fascinating about runes was their double entendre nature for "each rune had a name that was also a meaningful word" and "those of the letters of the Gothic alphabet, invented for writing the scriptures in, have some links with rune-names."⁴⁸

A fascinating piece of runic jewelry was included in the Pietroasa treasure hoard⁴⁹ from the Visigothic homeland of fourth century Romania--a massive gold torque

of which only half remains. But we have a drawing of the complete neck ring with its runic inscription (plate 3) before it was sawed up and its runes split (plate 4). Found by a peasant in 1838 in a ring mound with other treasure, the torque boasted the most enigmatic inscription gutaniowihailag. The beginning gutani for the Goths (Latin, Gutones) was clear as well as the ending hailag (holy). It was the middle runic section which proved to be the most devilish and has still not been deciphered to everyone's satisfaction. George Stephens, the nineteenth century scholar who had published the torque drawing in his monumental three volume work on runic facsimiles, had dated the torque to 200-250 A.D. Since he thought that the torque might have been a priestly ornament, he translated wi as God or temple; thus his runic version read holy or "dedicated to the temple of the Goths."⁵⁰ Stephens imagined that this "costly present was made by some Gothic Chieftain to a Gothic God-house in the mountain country of lately Roman Dacia, now the Buzeu highlands in Roumanian Wallachia."⁵¹ He further postulated:

Its inscription shows that it has nothing whatever to do with those Gothic clans which afterwards, say about 350, had embraced Arian Christianity...The piece here described was found in Dacia not Moesia, has the usual Heathen Runes, not Ulphilas' Reformed staves,⁵² and its writing gives a meaning altogether Pagan.

In a theory that has aroused the experts, it has been

conjectured that iowi may be the Latin Iovi, hence ("Holy to the Jupiter of the Goths").⁵³ But would the Goths have called their god of lightning and thunder by the Roman name instead of Teutonic Woden or Oden and in all places within a runic inscription? Would not the use of foreign words annihilate the power and magic of the other runic signs? Another bilingual Latin-Runic inscription has never been found. So a Latin reading is risky, complicated by the theory that the Pietroasa torque is of Ostrogothic, rather than of Visigothic provenance.⁵⁴ The most intriguing unraveling of the inscription, is as follows:

The first six letters are generally accepted as meaning 'of the Goths', and the last eight runes form the two words **wi(h)** and **hailag**, 'holy', 'inviolable'. The intermediary **o**-rune may then be read as its rune-name ***opala-**, 'hereditary possession', so the whole text becomes 'hereditary possession of the Goths, holy and inviolable'.⁵⁵

Whatever the correct decipherment, the leitmotif of the inscription is Gothic pride in ownership. Ownership is holy. Was not Ulphilas's Bible also a "hereditary possession of the Goths, holy and inviolable?" This would explain the Gothic worship of a venerable book, composed partly with their ancient, magicoreligious runic signs. It would also explain the Gothic attachment to the Arian Christianity of the inventor of a sacred language and the translator of a holy book of old laws and miracles.

But in evaluating the Gothic Bible of Ulphilas and his school of painstaking translators, we have limited material to examine. No complete Gothic Bible exists. There is only one deluxe codex; the other fragments are from palimpsests with questionable provenances, composed between 476-552, more than a century after Ulphilas.⁵⁶ Ostrogothic Italy is the provenance of the lavish Codex Argenteus on originally purple-dyed, now red, parchment in silver and gold ink. 187 of the former 336 leaves are bound in the codex, now in the Uppsala University Library, Sweden, with the 188th being recently discovered in Speyer Cathedral in 1970.⁵⁷ Most of the four Gospels have been preserved but very, very little of the Old Testament. The only Old Testament fragments we have consist of a few leaves from Psalms, the Books of I Esdras, and Nehemiah.⁵⁸ From Psalms 52,2-3, a mere ten words: "...saei fra ꝥjai ai ꝥꝥau sokjai gu ꝥ. allai usvandedun, samana unbrukjai vaur ꝥun."⁵⁹ ("...who is aware of and desires God. All have gone astray, similarly, they have become perverse"). The I Esdras 2,8-42 fragment listed, with their genealogies, the postexilic Hebrew survivors who had returned to Jerusalem and Judaea from the Babylonian Captivity. This genealogical chapter ties in perfectly with the Arian cult of ancestry. The last fragment, Nehemiah 5,13-18, told of the bitter infighting among the Jews who had complained of the cruelties exacted from them by other Jews at

at the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and how the wise leader Nehemiah corrected these injustices. These Old Testament fragments with their interesting themes of a Biblical people gone astray, the travail and turmoil within a postexilic community have not been studied from the perspective of the Arians. Can the fragments reflect the Gothic Arian communities of these manuscripts' provenances?

In addition, the textual dilemma is apparent. That most of the Gothic Old Testament is missing can be blamed on the accidents of manuscript transmission. But as we have noted before in three other instances, Arian Christianity venerated the Old Testament canon. We can cite Arius himself, who provoked the crisis by his interpretation of Proverbs 8:22; Constantius II, who called Ulphilas "Moses," and Ulphilas's omission of the Book of Kings. Can we still consider the disappearance of the Gothic Old Testament as accidental or deliberate on the part of Catholics, who knew only too well their opponents' exegetical strategies?

It is in the vernacular vocabulary where we can best scrutinize the translation decisions of Ulphilas and his school. What Greek words were translated, which ones transliterated? In the tally, 1,788 words were either translated or transliterated into 1,878 Gothic words, amounting to a conservative translation aim to limit synonyms.⁶⁰ The

few military words would support Philostorgius's story about the omitted Book of Kings,⁶¹ although it has been argued that if Ulphilas really wanted to curb Gothic fighting, he should also have eliminated the Books of Joshua and Judges.⁶² Yet it cannot be determined for sure whether the Biblical Gothic of the fifth and sixth centuries reflected the koine of Ulphilas's time.⁶³ As just one example, we can cite the Biblical Gothic name given to Christ as lord. Not reiks, standing for "lord of the people," but rather rauja, which in the Gothic tribal system, meant lord of his "retainers," in Christ's case, lord of his disciples.⁶⁴ The Gothic Bible used reiks for a ruler of "the peoples of this world."⁶⁵ So the choice of a restricted Gothic word for lord as a title for the Son of God underscored the less than transcendental status of the Arian Christ. Unfortunately, there has not been research on the significance of the runes and rune-names of the Biblical Gothic letters,⁶⁶ except for the tantalizing example of Ulphilas's translation of Greek μυστήριον as runa.⁶⁷ In conclusion, we can agree that the translation of the Greek Bible into a barbarian tongue which had not yet been formulated as a literary language was the achievement of a tremendous personality: "Impresa titanica, impossibile senza una grande personalità, quando la lingua, come nel caso nostro, non esiste."⁶⁸

Rarer than Gothic Arian Bibles are Gothic Arian

artifacts, with the consequence that the existence of an independent Arian art, distinguishable from orthodox Catholic art, has been questioned.⁶⁹ We are fortunate, however, in having from Pannonia, a representation of an historical Arian figure. One would expect a representation of the Father of Gothic Arianism, Ulphilas, but instead we have the Father of Arianism, himself, on a brick etching⁷⁰ (plates 5,6) from a Roman grave, which has been dated from the second half or last third of the fourth century.⁷¹ Pannonian Christians customarily engraved funerary bricks with Christological symbols, which was a unique art form.⁷² The brick, discovered in Kisdorg, Hungary is currently at the Szekszárd Museum. It shows a priest wearing an elaborately striped dalmatica with hands and arms in a prayerful position. He is holding a short crook in his right hand; under his left arm there is a ligature of the letters P and E (Palma, Emerita), under which there is a cross. There is an anchor to the right. The ligature of P and E, standing for well deserved or well honored victory seems to have been found elsewhere in Pannonia, according to Edit B. Thomas in an extensive archaeological exposé on this find.⁷³ Moreover, the cross under the ligature may be interpreted as the Greek initial X for Christ.⁷⁴ The priest is elevated, standing on a mount or a possible rainbow. Above him is a name in dative form **ARIO**, as in a funerary prayer addressed to Arius. Of

note, here, is the use of Latin, not Greek or Gothic. The representation seems as crude as it is compelling. But this is visually misleading, for much care went into the etching's design. The outlines of the Arius figure are in a form of a Coptic cross (plate 7): "das anthropomorphe Kreuz" in which is detected Egyptian and North African stylistic influences.⁷⁵ The artist has thus cleverly depicted the North African origin of the heresiarch.

We do not know under what conditions the Arius etching was made. Was Arianism at the time a religio licita or not?⁷⁶ What we are sure of is that, so far, this is the only surviving portrayal of Arius.⁷⁷ And this unique etching which the artist had done with the greatest care was to be found, ironically, in the grave ("die einzige bekannte Darstellung über ihn--in das Grab").⁷⁸

What of the Father of Gothic Arianism? A bronze signet engraved with **OURPHILA** has been found. Its date and provenance are unknown.⁷⁹ Philostorgius, and only Philostorgius, had called the Gothic bishop Ουρφίλας.

In closing, we return to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter--whether Arianism was best suited "to the heroic, religiopolitical and magicoreligious orientation of the Germanic world-view." And, furthermore, was the mass conversion of the Goths a political necessity as the Catholic historians of the fifth century had maintained? We can summarize that the turmoil wrought

by the Halani (which is what Ammianus called the Huns) desperately drove the Gothic tribes southwest and that the Arian Valens **happened** to be the emperor of the East in 376. It is thus reasonable to infer that a quid pro quo conversion to Arian Christianity was proposed for the legal Gothic crossing of the Danube. Yet, our sources for this great event are Catholic. The pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, did not mention such a conversion at this time. And the Danubian conversion story smacks of what the Catholic historians would like us to believe happened: that the Goths converted not from religious conviction but because of the Religionspolitik of the Arian Valens. While it is true that the Catholic historians of the fifth century did highlight the efforts of Ulphilas, the dramatic en masse conversions were attributed to Valens. But, here, we beg to differ in citing the thirty years of pastoral work among the Gothic heathens by bold Arian missionaries, headed by the "Little Wolf," who were dispatched by another Arian emperor. The evangelical Constantius II and Ulphilas should then get substantial credit for the Gothic conversions to Arian Christianity.

But how can we account for the tenacity with which the Gothic tribes clung to Arianism after the empire officially became Catholic under Theodosius? Ulphilas had persuaded the Goths to cut themselves off from their ancestry, from the faith of their pagan forefathers, to

which the Catholic historians had repeatedly referred. By substituting for their cult of ancestry, the antiquity of the laws of the Old and New Testaments, Ulphilas had written down for his flock the Christian holy book with an alphabet, based in part on their magical runes to be transmitted as an ancestral treasure, like the Pietroasa runic torque, "a hereditary possession of the Goths, holy and inviolate." Ulphilas and his disciples had adopted a Hellenistic religion "to the heroic, religiopolitical and magicoreligious orientation of the Germanic world-view." Who can forget the picture which the presbyter of Marseilles, Salvian, drew for us of the fifth-century Vandals, carrying the Gothic Bible aloft and engaging the Roman military with war cries--Biblical verses--while enroute to the conquest of new lands.⁸⁰ The Germanic reverence for an ancestral treasure could be found in their heathen past: "Every Gothic subtribe had its special sacred objects, which were looked after by priests and priestesses. Tervingian paganism was an exclusive tribal religion. One did not talk about it with outsiders, and outsiders had no part in it."⁸¹ We shall soon apply this religious exclusiveness to our four Germanic kingdoms to see if/or how the Arian kings attempt to convert their Catholic Roman subjects.

NOTES

1. James C. Russell, The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 4. This work, a revised doctoral dissertation, ranges from the years 376-754. Russell tackled the Gothic conversion to Arianism from a "megahistory" or "metahistory" viewpoint, incorporating a massive array of secondary sources from history, sociology, psychology, and anthropology. My premise is the exact opposite to his--the eventual Romanization, not Germanization of early medieval Christianity--due to the conversions of the Germanic kingdoms to Roman Catholicism.

2. Socrates, HE 4,33, PG 67, 551-555; Sozomen, HE 6,37, PG 67, 1403-1408; Theodoret, HE 4,33, PG 82, 1195-1198.

3. Socrates, HE 4,33, PG 67,551-555.

4. For Peter Brown, "The Later Roman Empire," Religion and Society in the Age of Augustine (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 54-55 this Catholic prejudice was discernible in the late fourth century at the time of the Arian conversions: "Ambrose, for instance, will expect his readers to assume that a barbarian must be a heretic and the heretic a barbarian...One cannot resist the impression that it was the new intolerance of the 'respectable' Catholicism of the later fourth century which kept the barbarian kingdoms barbarian..." E.A.Thompson, "Christianity and the Northern Barbarians," The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, ed. Arnaldo Momigliano (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 76 marked the unsuccessful Catholic missions but did not identify these Catholic missionaries: "True, we know the names of several Catholic bishops who worked among the invaders once they had crossed the frontier. But the Germans were not won to Catholicism in this period, and the work of the bishops was a failure."

5. Sozomen, HE 6,37, PG 67, 1403-1408.

6. PG 117, 368.

7. The Menologion version of Basil II (PG 117, 368) identified the gatherer of the bones of the twenty-six martyrs as the Christian and orthodox wife of the other Gothic chieftain, implying dual or confederate leadership. But the Gothic wife was named Gaatha, the Christian and orthodox queen (Basilissa) of the Gothic race in the tenth century menologion manuscript cited by Hippolytus Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," Analecta Bollandiana 32 (1912), 279. There has been much speculation as to the identity of Queen Gaatha. Was she truly a Visigothic queen or rather a wife of a Gothic chieftain (reiks)? Delehaye, 281 whose hagiographical texts with commentaries and manuscript traditions still are ranked pre-eminent after over three-quarters of a century, doubted her queenship but believed the pilgrimage story: "Gaatha n'était pas une reine des Goths....Mais il faut convenir que son histoire en connexion avec un transport de reliques en Asie Mineure, n'est pas de celles que les hagiographes ont l'habitude d'inventer lorsqu'ils ont à rendre compte d'un événement de cette espèce." From the menologion's dating of the deposition of the relics during the reigns of Valentinian II and Theodosius, it is generally agreed that Gaatha set out and entered the empire during the pax Gothica, beginning with a peace treaty (382) during Theodosius's reign (379-395). But was Gaatha a Tervingian Catholic or Arian? If Arian, why did she and Dulcilla dare deposit Arian relics in Cyzicus where there were many Arian congregations? Clearly, by the tenth century, the scribes did not know their Arian geography when they deliberately Catholicized the Gaatha story. Joseph Mansion, "Les origines du Christianisme chez les Gots," Analecta Bollandiana 33 (1914), 28 thought that depositing Arian relics in an imperial city during the Catholic Theodosius's time would have been too foolhardy: "Il nous semble donc probable que si Gaatha et Dulcilla vinrent s'établir à Cyzique ce n'était pas pour y chercher des coreligionnaires ariens." And in a very innovative interpretation, Herwig Wolfram, History of the Goths, 82 took a pan-Christian view: "Her martyrs became the saints of all Roman Goths." But we can doubt that the Arians and Catholics of Queen Gaatha's time were willing to share the holy remains of Christian martyrs.

8. PL 18, 878-879. There are two entries in October and five in November in this Gothic synaxary.

OCTOBER

kg ƿize ana gut ƿiudai managaize marytre jah fri-

þareikeis.

(October) 23 Commemorating the many martyrs of the Gothic folk and of Frithareikeis.

ḱē gamingē i marytre þize bi verekan papan jah batvin bilaif aikklesjons fullaizos ana gutþiudai gabrannidaize.

(October) 29 Commemorating the martyrs who with Werekas the priest and Batwin the cleric were burned in a church with other Gothic folk.

NAUBAIMBAIR (NOVEMBER) fruma jiuleis 1.

g̅ kustanteinus þiudanis.

(November) 3 Constantine, thiudans (king). (Scribal error, deliberate or not for Constantius II. Should read kustanteius, without the n).

q̅ dauriþaius aipiskaupus.

(November) 6 Dorotheus, bishop.

iē filippaus apaustaulus in jairupulai.

(November) 15 Philip the Apostle in Hierapolis (where he died).

īþ̅ þize alþjane in bairaujai m samana.

(November) 19 Commemorating the forty old women of Beroea. (Possible Thracian martyrs during the reign of Licinius).

k̅ andriins apaustaulus.

(November) 30 Andrew the Apostle.

9. Zeev Rubin, "The Conversion of the Visigoths to Christianity," Museum Helveticum 38 (1981), 52-53 had proposed that Frithareikeis was a scribal corruption for Fritigernes who had led his people across the Danube and had consequently converted to Arian Christianity. But Rubin's theory has few advocates.

10. Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," 277

11. For the Passio Sancti Sabae, see *ibid.*, 216-222; for a listing of the twenty-three manuscripts of the Saba story, 221-224. For Bishop Goddas, *ibid.*, 215-216.

12. Theodoret, HE 4,33, PG 82, 1195.

13. Fritz Kern, Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages, tr. S.B. Chrimes (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1976), 152.

14. Athanasius, De Synodis 16, PG 26, 708.

15. Orosius, Adversus paganos 7,33, PL 20, 1148. Orosius gave a different version of the conversion. Valens sent to the Goths, at their request, Arian teachers, "doctores Ariani dogmatis" with the consequence that the Goths have held fast to the rudiment of the first faith: "primae fidei rudimentum."

16. Jordanes, Getica 25,131, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi VI,92 (henceforth MGH, AA) accepted Theodoret's version. The Goths convert to Valens's Arianism in return for asylum across the Danube.

17. There are no Arian laws nor any Arian creed attributable to Valens. Like Constantius II, there is not even a definitive biography on Valens's reign. In fact, surprisingly scant work has been done on this emperor's Arian politics, as admitted by Rochelle Snee, "Valens' Recall of the Nicene Exiles and Anti-Arian Propaganda," Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 26, no. 4 (1985), 396. Snee saw the emperor as a moderate Arian who could bow to political unrest and seek rapprochement with the Catholics, as evidenced by his recall of the Nicene exiles in 378 on the eve of the Battle of Adrianople.

18. Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums Wissenschaft, 2. Reihe (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1943), 2097.

19. Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae, 31,14.8, vol. 3, Loeb edition, 486.

20. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 25.
21. Sozomen, HE 6,37, PG 67, 1408.
22. Orosius, Adversus paganos, PL 20, 1147.
23. Ibid., 1148. Also Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae 31.13.14-16. Loeb edition, vol. 3, 480; Socrates, HE 4,38, PG 67, 555; Sozomen, HE 6,40, PG 67, 1408.
24. Sozomen, HE 6,40, PG 67, 1408.
25. Snee, "Valens' Recall of the Nicene Exiles and Anti-Arian Propaganda," 418-419.
26. Ibid., 418-419: "Even when he was not overwhelmed by pressing affairs of state, Valens' persecution of religious opposition can best be described as unsystematic...Deposition and exile were matters of politics under Valens, as was the case under Constantius, and were not true religious persecution." The last statement is ludicrous. It is hard to believe that the Catholic exiles did not think themselves to be the victims of religious persecution.
27. That Valens had miscalculated the buffer services of the Goths is noted by Sozomen, HE 6,37, PG 67,1408.
28. Peter Heather, "The Crossing of the Danube and the Gothic Conversion," Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies 27 (1986), 292-293.
29. Not all Gothic Arians fled from the Huns. Those who remained were tolerated by the Hun leadership according to Otto Maenchen-Helfen, The World of the Huns (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), 260-261: "Most of the Christian Goths under the Huns were Arians. One may doubt whether Attila knew the difference between the Arian heresy and the orthodox creed. It is hard to imagine the Hun king listening to a discussion about the consubstantiality of the Father and Son. But he must have been aware that his Germanic followers and subjects were not

of the same religion as the emperors in Ravenna and Constantinople. The mere fact that the Arian clergy under the Huns was not persecuted for their faith as they were in the empire both in the Western and Eastern parts ensured their loyalty to the Hun kings."

30. In an eccentric theory proposed by the eminent E.A. Thompson, "The Date of the Conversion of the Visigoths," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 7 (1956) the Goths converted to Arianism during the reign of the Catholic Theodosius between 382-395. Thompson based his post-376 conversion to the conversion omission of Ammianus and to Ambrose's referring to the Goths as pagans in De Fide (378). Thompson's theory was blasted away by Rubin, "The Conversion of the Visigoths to Christianity" and by Peter Heather, "The Crossing of the Danube and the Gothic Conversion." An historical puzzle remained for both Rubin and Heather: Rubin, 35: "If the conversion of the Visigoths took place under a Nicene-orthodox Emperor, within the confines of the Roman Empire, complex and convincing explanations ought to be provided for their acceptance of the Arian creed." Heather, 315: "It is hard to understand how the Goths became Arian when the ultra-Nicene Theodosius was ruling, unless the mass of the people had been converted before 380." Furthermore, one cannot escape logic; there is no Gothic conversion story during Theodosius's reign, which is the paramount objection to Thompson's theory.

31. Philostorgius, HE 2,5, PG 65, 469.

32. Scripta Arriana Latina, cura et studio Roger Gryson, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 87 (1982), xxi. In a fine diplomatic edition, this letter has been scrupulously reconstructed by the palaeographer Roger Gryson, who explained the herculean task of editing a marginal document which had been scraped in the Middle Ages, trimmed by a bookbinder in the nineteenth century and bleached in hydrochloric acid. The manuscript Parisinus latinus, 8905 is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Scripta Arriana Latina is a superb collection of diplomatic editions of the Latin Arian literature including Old Testament fragments, and a Latin citation from Josephus, all peripherally preserved in the palimpsests of the Bobbio Library, now in the Ambrosian Library in Milan. Gryson, vii lamented the paucity of this literature: "Alors qu'au quatrième siècle les bibliothèques ecclésiastiques étaient remplies d'écrits ariens, un seul volume suffit aujourd'hui à contenir ce que la tradition directe a

gardé de la littérature arienne latine."

33. Ibid., 160. In quoting from Gryson's edition, I have used his "abréviations et conventions" (p. xvii):

1. (a) lettre provenant de la résolution d'une abréviation.

2. [[a]] lettre restituée (support détruit).

3. [.] [[.]] lettre illisible (les points indiquent leur nombre estimé; au-delà de six, celui-ci est indiqué par un chiffre entre deux séries de trois points).

34. Athanasius, De Synodis 16, PG 26, 709.

35. Ibid., 161.

36. Ibid., 162.

37. Ibid., 166.

38. Manlio Simonetti, "L'arianesimo di Ulfila," Studi medievali (1967), 322-323 thought that Auxentius had preserved the authentic Ulphilas, once a moderate Arian, but at the time of the Gothic evangelizing, an Eunomian Arian of the third Arian generation: "Consideremo perciò Ulfila né ariano moderato, come vogliono molti, né un ariano sui generis...bensì ariano radicale, fedelmente aderente alla dottrina di Eunomio." Before he became the bishop of Constantinople, the Carpathian Eunomius (ca.335-ca.394) was briefly the Arian bishop of Cyzicus (360? or 366?) where Queen Gaatha would deposit the bones of the twenty-six Christian martyrs twenty or thirty years later. Ordered to be burned by the emperor Arcadius in 398, Eunomius's works are known only through his Catholic enemies, Basil of Cappadocia and Gregory of Nyssa. We remain unconvinced that Simonetti had proved that Auxentius's Ulphilas was an Eunomian. If he were, the Catholic historians of the fifth century would have pounced on him. Instead, Theodoret, HE 5.33, PG 82, 1198 pictured Ulphilas in 376 at the time of the conversions as a homoian, a semi-Arian, who believed that the Son was like the Father.

39. Adolf von Harnack, History of Dogma, 3rd edition, tr. Neil Buchanan (New York: Dover, 1961), 223. Reprint of 1909 edition: "Christ's asceticism and it is this, combined with the polytheistic aspect of the system that makes Arianism attractive to the Teutonic nations."

40. Thompson, "Christianity and the Northern Barbarians," 63.

41. Joseph Mansion, "Les origines du Christianisme chez les Gots," Analecta Bollandiana 33, 1914, 6.

42. Thompson, The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila, 162.

43. Piergiuseppe Scardigli, "La conversione dei Goti al Cristianesimo," Settimane di studio 14 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull' alto Medioevo, 1967), 81.

44. Ibid., 81 from Richard Loewe, "Gotische Namen in hagiographischen Texte," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsche Sprache und Literatur 47, 407-433.

45. Francis Owen, The Germanic People (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), 220.

46. R.I. Page, Runes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 11.

47. Peter Heather and John Matthews, The Goths in the Fourth Century (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), 161 culled the Gothic word lists from G.W.S. Friedrichsen, The Gothic Version of the Gospels: A Study of its Style and Textual History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926).

48. Page, Runes, 14.

49. Madeleine von Heland, The Golden Bowl from Pietroasa (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wicksell, 1973), 3

noted that during the six winter months of 1867-1868, the Pietroasa pieces were displayed and reproduced in England.

50. George Stephens, The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England vol. 2 (London: John Russell Smith, 1867-1868), 572, a magnum opus of deciphered runic artifacts with hundreds of facsimiles, some in gold, silver, bronze, and other colors.

51. Ibid., 573.

52. Ibid., 573.

53. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 110.

54. Radu Harhoiu, The Fifth Century A.D. Treasure from Pietroasa, British Archaeological Reports 24 (1977), 13.

55. Page, Runes, 16.

56. William H. Bennett, An Introduction to the Gothic Language (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1980), 30. The provenances of these Gothic Biblical fragments remain elusive with possible Italian, southern French, or even Danubian origins being offered.

57. Ibid., 30.

58. These three Gothic Old Testament fragments can be found in PL 18, 863-872: Psalms, 863-864; Esdras 863-868; Nehemiah, 867-872.

59. PL 18, 863-864.

60. Heather and Matthews, The Goths of the Fourth Century, 159 from G.W.S. Friedrichsen, The Gothic Version of the Gospels.

61. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 75.
26. 62. Bennett, An Introduction to the Gothic Language,
63. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 80.
64. Ibid., 102.
65. Ibid., 102.
66. Page, Runes, 14.
67. Heather and Matthews, The Goths in the Fourth Century, 161.
68. Scardigli, "La conversione dei Goti al Cristianesimo," 73.
69. Edit B. Thomas, The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia, eds. A. Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1980), 201 categorically stated: "The Arians obviously did not care for building and instead occupied orthodox churches, without developing a bent for expression in any kind of symbolism." We shall test this theory in future chapters on the Gothic Arians in the West.
70. Edit B. Thomas, "Arius-Darstellung: eine Römerzeitliche Ziegelritzzeichnung aus Kisdorg in Pannonien," Szekszárdi Múzeum Évkönyve 5 (1973-1974), 84-85.
71. Thomas, The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia, 203.
72. Ibid., 200.
73. Thomas, "Arius-Darstellung," 100.
74. Ibid., 100.

75. Ibid., 98. The Orientalism of Pannonian Arianism has not been studied. The Arian artist's Arius within a Coptic cross design is another indication of the antiquity orientation of Arianism which in this case did not forget its Near Eastern roots. The same concern can be voiced regarding the martyr Saba (s) whose name "seems more Syriac or Cappadocian than Gothic" (Heather and Matthews, The Goths in the Fourth Century, 111).

76. Thomas, The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia, 203-204.

77. Ibid., 201. Thomas elaborates: "We do not know of any other artistic rendering of the figure of Arius. We do not find any references to him in churches, where it would have been logical to portray him in the form of a statue, a wall painting, or a relief." This is too disingenuous after the disowning of their founder by the Arian bishops at the Council of Antioch (341) who protested that they were not Arians, for how could bishops follow a presbyter? But the humbler folk in Pannonia did remember. Like the Gothic martyr calendar, the etching affords another priceless example of Arianism among the non-elite.

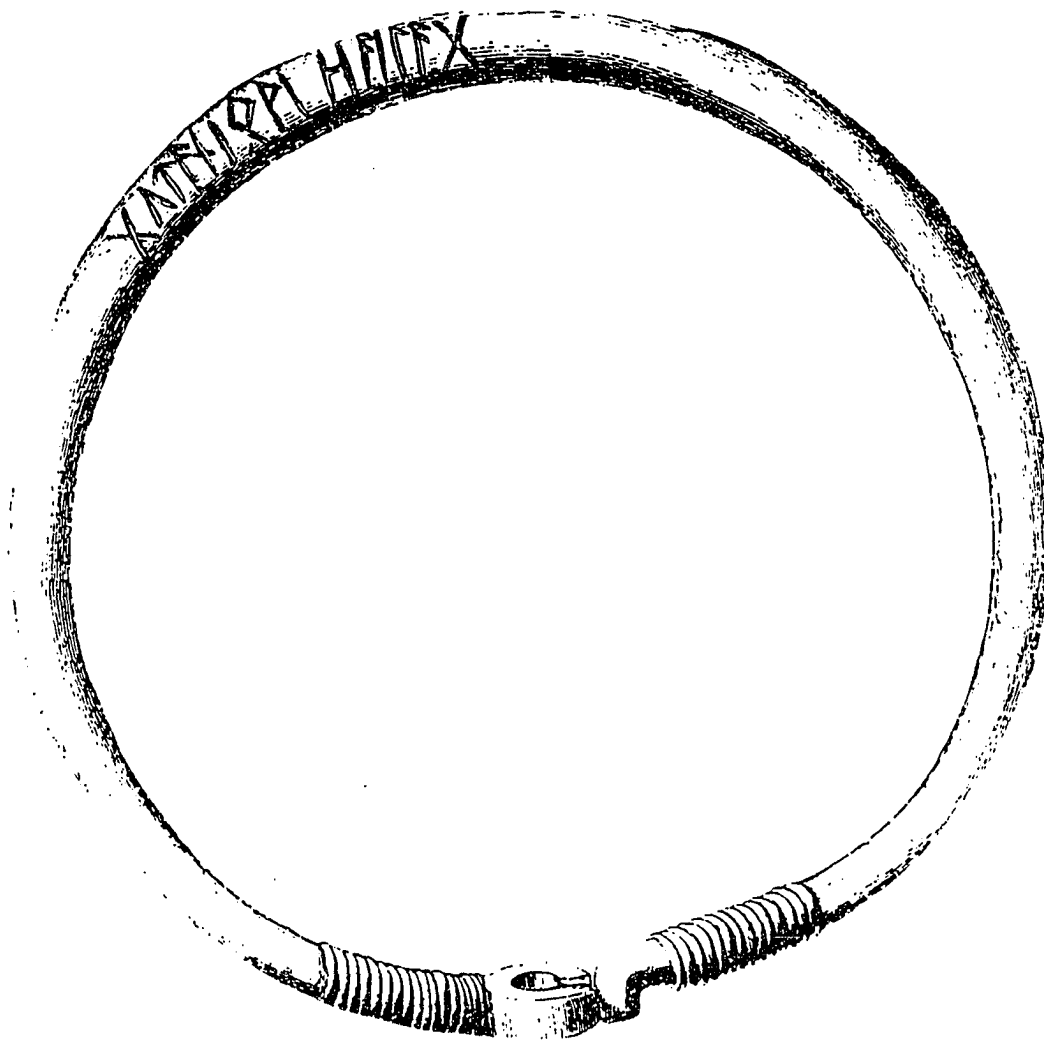
78. Thomas, "Arius-Darstellung," 105.

79. Bennett, An Introduction to the Gothic Language, 23.

80. Salvian in his De Gubernatione Dei (7,11.46), PL 53, 139, which he wrote between 439-450 held a grudging admiration for the Goths in general, as evidenced by his excuses for their heresy--their stubbornly naive clinging to their Arian faith as law. More on Salvian and the Goths, particularly the Wandali, in a subsequent chapter.

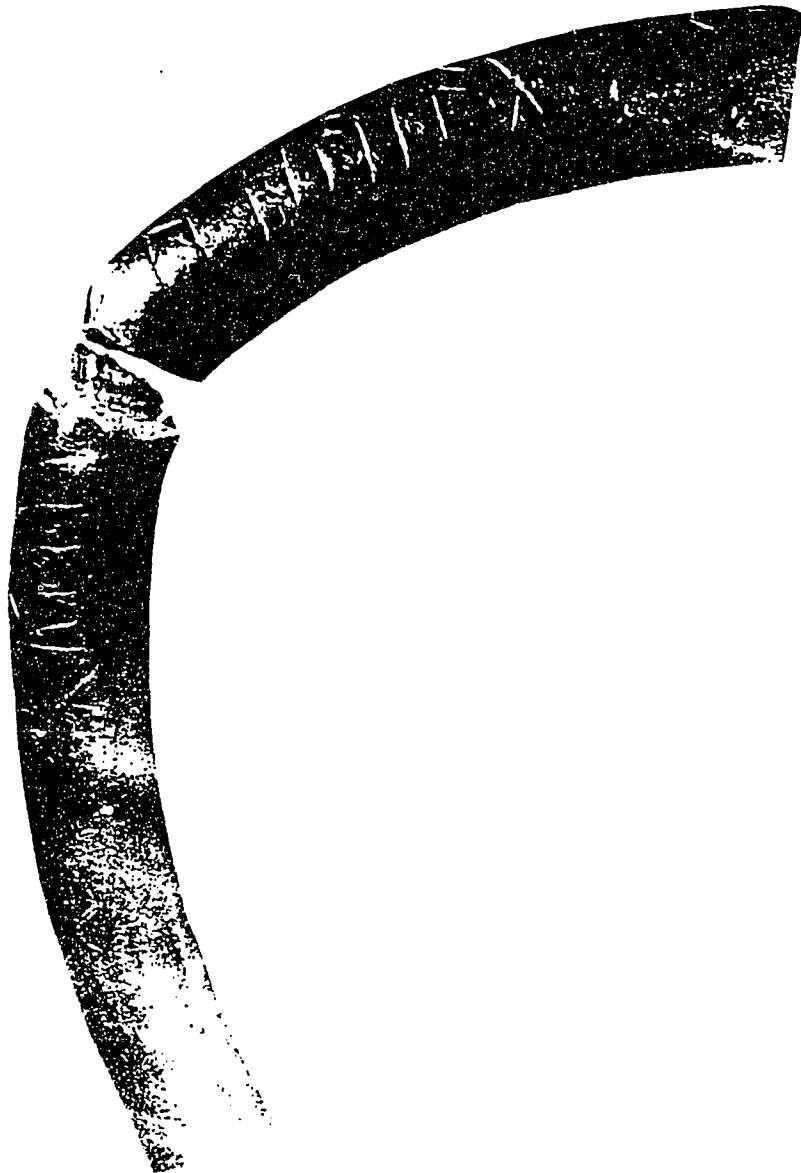
81. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 106.

P L A T E 3



Pietroasa runic torque. Gilt cast of the original. From George Stephens, The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, vol 2 (London: John Russell Smith, 1867-1868), 567.

P L A T E 4



Pietroasa runic torque. From Radu Harhoiu, The Fifth Century A.D. Treasure from Pietroasa, Romania, in the Light of Recent Research, tr. from the Romanian by Nubar Hampartumian, British Archaeological Reports Supplementary Series 24 (1977), (Plate IX).

P L A T E 5



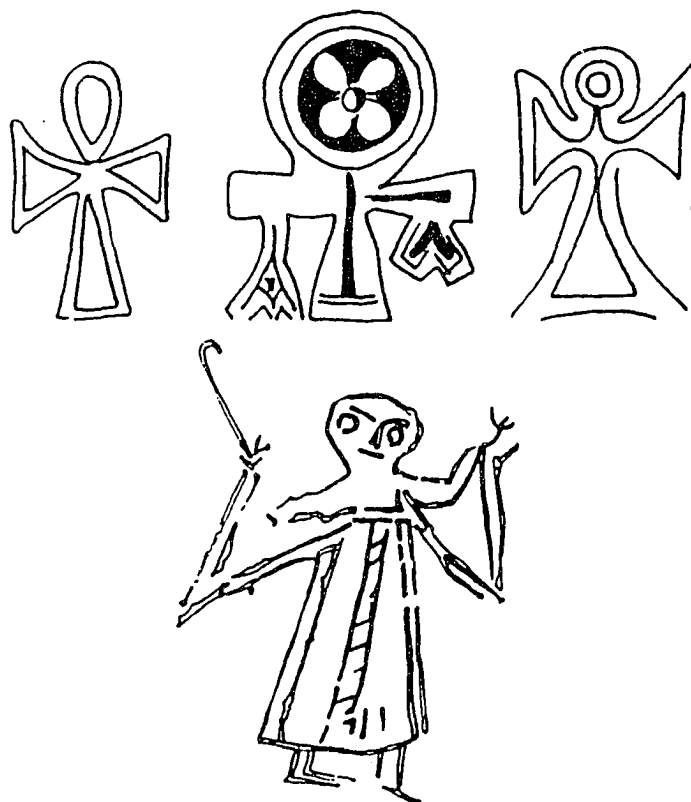
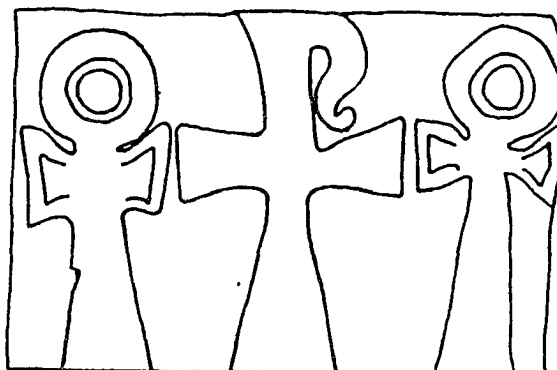
Brick etching of Arius found at Kisdorg, Hungary. Dated second half/last third of the fourth century. From Edit B. Thomas, "Arius-Darstellung--eine Römerzeitliche Ziegelritzezeichnung aus Kisdorg in Pannonien," Szekszárdi Múzeum Évkönyve 5 (1973-1974), 85.

P L A T E 6



Brick etching of Arius. From Edit B. Thomas, "Arius-Darstellung--eine Römerzeitliche Ziegelritzzeichnung aus Kisdorg in Pannonien," Szekszárdi Múzeum Évkönyve 5 (1973-1974), 84.

P L A T E 7



Coptic cross design of Arius brick etching. From Edit B.Thomas, "Arius-Darstellung--eine Römerzeitliche Ziegelritzezeichnung aus Kisdorg in Pannonien," Szekszárdi Múzeum Évkönyve 5 (1973-1974). 101.

CHAPTER 5

THEODOSIUS AND
IMPERIAL CATHOLICISM

Whether Arianism or Catholicism would be legalized as the imperial Christianity was finally determined during the reign of Theodosius I (379-395). The imperial Catholic cause could not receive a better champion than the Spaniard Theodosius who was elevated as Augustus by Gratian on 19 January 379. And while Roman Arians would suffer as the governmental losers, the same cannot be said for their Gothic counterparts. The Catholic Theodosius could not politically nor militarily interfere with their heretical beliefs which resulted in his de facto recognition of Gothic Arianism with its enormous historical consequences for the barbarian West of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The western Theodosius was given command of Valens's eastern empire and of Gratian's provinces of Dacia and Macedonia. The new emperor was preoccupied with fighting the Goths throughout 379. But it was during this same year that Theodosius was baptized either during or after a serious illness at Thessalonica.¹ It was after his baptism that Theodosius's Catholic fervor came to the fore as he unleashed a systematic course of governmental persecution against the Roman Arians which would last throughout his reign of fifteen years. Upon entering Constantinople on 24 November 380, Theodosius issued an ultimatum to

the Arian bishop Demophilus either to endorse the Nicene faith or face expulsion by armed force.² Demophilus chose the latter course and promptly left the capital city with his Arian congregants.

On 10 January 381 in Constantinople was posted the draconian Nullus haereticis law³ which curtailed the places where heretics celebrated their mysteries. Heretics were also forbidden to congregate in crowds. The legally observed Christian religion was proclaimed to be the Nicene faith which had been handed down by the ancestors some time ago (a deliberate refutation of the Arian claim to ancestral religion). The law defined the true believer as one "who thrives on the undivided substance of the incorruptible Trinity which the Greeks call οὐσία." After over a half century of oblivion, Nicaea had been vindicated and legally recognized. The decree threatened heretics with the severe punishment of branding. Heretical congregations within towns were forbidden ("inlicitas"); heretics were to be driven away from city walls. Heretical churches would, moreover, be confiscated and returned to Nicene bishops.

The timing behind the posting of this Theodosian law on 10 January 381 and the adventus of the pagan chieftain Athanaric into Constantinople on 3 January of the same year has not escaped attention.⁴ By his anti-Arian enactments, was Theodosius trying to impress the old

chieftain, who, we must remember, had told Valens in 369 that he had sworn an oath to his father never to step foot on Roman territory?⁵ Athanaric's enemy as well as the imperial enemy was the Arian chieftain Fritigernes who had defeated Valens at Adrianople. Athanaric would die in Constantinople during the next month on 8 February 381,⁶ thus frustrating any intention on the part of Theodosius to convert Athanaric and his Gothic followers to Catholicism.

After this lost opportunity, Theodosius continued outlawing imperial Arianism.⁷ The relentless pace of anti-Arian legislation from 381-394 (seven laws aimed at the Arians, five within a three year period between 381-384), all posted at Constantinople,⁸ proved how hard it was to extinguish Arianism within the capital city. While not as totalitarian as the law of 10 January 381, which had stipulated the branding of heretics, the subsequent decrees forbade Arians and other heretics from public and private congregations, from the building of churches, ordaining of priests, and the consecrating of bishops. Heretics were to be hunted down, fined, banished, and their property confiscated. Even certain citizen rights were taken away from eunuchs of the Eunomian Arian sect, in that they could not make wills.⁹

On the theological front, the biggest stride against the Arians was made when the 150 churchmen of the Council

of Constantinople (May-July 381), which had been summoned by Theodosius, formulated a consensus creed.¹⁰

The creed of the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381) copied, word for word, the Nicene definition of Jesus Christ, Son of God as "ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ" ("of the same substance of the Father"). But it was the creed's definition of the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father only, which would divide the Greek and Latin Churches to the present day. The Western Church would confess to the Filioque¹¹ doctrine, the double procession, by which the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and Son--another instance of the Son's complete equality with the Father. The Eastern Church would prefer a single procession by which the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son.

And yet despite its ecumenical importance, obscurity blanketed this creed and its council for seventy years.¹² No acta from the Council of Constantinople have come down to us which parallels the same proceedings situation as Nicaea. But the Council of Nicaea had eyewitness accounts. Not so with the Council of Constantinople. Moreover, our fifth-century ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret all agreed that the Council of Constantinople's role was to endorse the Nicene creed.¹³ It was only during the second session of the Council of Chalcedon (451) that the Constantinopolitan creed was

read aloud. For the reasons behind this obscurity, we must first look at the circumstances behind its summoning. Theodosius was then the eastern emperor and, according to Theodoret,¹⁴ summoned only those bishops within his jurisdiction, for only the East was infected with the Arian leprosy while the West was free. But the struggle of Ambrose with the Arians in Milan in the 380s disputes Theodoret's theory. What is clear is that the West would not be quick to ratify any decisions of a church council from which it had been excluded, as Ambrose had intimated at the time.¹⁵ The West, moreover, winced at the third canon of the council which promoted the primacy of the Bishop of Constantinople to second place only superseded by the Bishop of Rome because Constantinople was the New Rome.¹⁶

It was the second canon which dealt with the vital matter of the barbarian churches: "Quae autem in barbaricis gentibus sunt ecclesiae Dei ita gubernari oportet, secundum quod obtinuit a Patribus consuetudo."¹⁷ How do we interpret this canon that barbarian churches should be governed according to the customs of their fathers? Does "patribus" refer to the orthodox church fathers or the fathers of the newer Christian communities from Ulphilas's time? If the latter,¹⁸ the Catholic Council of Constantinople thereby recognized Gothic Arianism. The Catholic emperor could persecute Roman Arians, but had

to face reality when it came to the Gothic soldiers in his armies. Even more startling concessions would ensue the following year at the time of the peace treaty ending hostilities between the empire and the Goths.

The Gothic war (379-382) is only known from "miserable sources"¹⁹ since Ammianus Marcellinus had finished his history with Valens's defeat (378). We know of the famous treaty of 3 October 382 ending the war from the Chronica Minora which inflated a military stalemate into a surrender: "Ipso anno universa gens Gothorum cum rege suo in Romaniam se tradiderunt die V non Oct."²⁰ We do not have the treaty, but from the panegyric oration of Themistius, we can glean the treaty's principal provision--the unprecedented granting of autonomous status to the new foederati Visigoths, who were given land along the Danube in Thrace. Previously, barbarians had been pacified by land grants, the most recent being the settlements in Pannonia and Moesia given the Ostrogoths by Gratian in 380.²¹ But before the treaty of 382, no Roman foederati had been given political autonomy, a change in Roman foreign policy which horrified such contemporaries as the philosopher-bishop Synesius of Cyrene (de Regno 14,15) and the pagan historian Zosimus (Historia nova 5,5). This radical policy was whitewashed by Themistius. In his oration of 383, Themistius eloquently asked whether it was better to till Thrace with farmers rather than

corpses and reported eyewitnesses to the Goths converting the iron in their swords to ploughs and scythes.²² The optimism of the time was captured in sculptural reliefs from the now lost Taurus Column in Constantinople where Theodosius is shown leading a procession of Gothic soldier-farmers, their wives, and their livestock (plates 8, 9).

Were the Arian Visigoths so unbeatable? The military struggle between the Goths and the Romans "must have been terribly costly in manpower."²³ But more crucial was the change in Roman mentalité towards defending the borders of the empire: "The critical element, however, was neither Gothic strength nor deficient Roman means; it was a scale of imperial priorities in which the repose of the many had an absolute preference over the repose and safety of a few."²⁴ Still a third argument could be advanced for Theodosius's accommodating Gothic policy--the Catholic conversion of the enemy. Theodosius's army, composed of Gothic Arians, was fighting other Gothic Arians. True enough, we do not have evidence for the emperor's plans to convert the Gothic heretics. The emperor had enough trouble with Roman Arians in his attempts to Catholicize the empire. But Theodosius might have seen possibilities for a pax Christiana as well as a pax Romana through the peace treaty of 382 and thus made a calculated gamble. Whatever his motivations, Theodosius's Gothic policy, while

a "national victory"²⁵ for the Goths and confirmation of their Arian faith would prove historically disastrous for the Roman empire. As the Goths and the other Germanic tribes moved westward through the heart of the empire in the fifth century, Roman land grants would, in time, become Arian kingdoms.

NOTES

1. Socrates, HE 5,6, PG 67,572-573 and Sozomen HE 7,4, PG 67,1421-1424.
2. Socrates HE 5,7, PG 67,573-576 and Sozomen, HE 7,5, PG 67, 1124-1125.
3. Theodosiani Libri 16,5.6, eds. Mommsen and Meyer, 856-857.
4. Consularia Constantinopolitana, Chronica Minora I, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH AA 9 (Berlin, 1892), 243.
5. Ammianus Marcellinus, Res Gestae, 27.5.4, vol. 3, Loeb edition, 480.
6. Chronica Minora I, 243.
7. A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284-602--A Social, Economic, and Administrative Study, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 166 did not think that Theodosius's treatment of heretics was all that severe: "In general, he went no further than to bar their meetings and confiscate their churches or the private houses in which they held their conventicles." The anti-heretical laws were, in fact, of a more harassing variety.
8. Besides Title 16,5.6 (10 January 381) in Mommsen, 856-7, the other Theodosian laws are: 16,5.8 (19 July 381) 858; 16,5.11 (25 July 383), 859; 16,5.12 (3 December 383), 859; 16,5.13 (21 January 384), 860; 16,5.16 (9 August 388), 861; 16,5.17 (4 May 389), 861.
9. 16,5.17 (4 May 389), Theodosiani Libri, ed. Mommsen, 861. This drastic law was revoked on 20 June 394 (16,5.23). The Eunomian Arians were allowed to live under common law, appoint heirs and be heirs themselves.

10. J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 1972), 297-298.

11. See *ibid.*, 332-367 for the Filioque defended by St. Augustine, Hilary of Poitiers, and Gregory the Great. The Visigothic Catholic king Reccared confessed to the Filioque at the Council of Toledo (589).

12. According to Kelly, 298, who dissected the evidence for the creed's provenance, there is even doubt whether the creed was composed in 381 or even at Constantinople.

13. Socrates, HE 5,8, PG 67,576; Sozomen, HE 7,9, PG 67,1436; Theodoret HE 5,8, PG 82,1212.

14. Theodoret, HE 5,6, PG 82,1208.

15. Panayiotis Chrestou, "The Ecumenical Character of the First Synod of Constantinople, 381," Greek Orthodox Theological Review 27 (Winter, 1982), 360: "In the West its ecumenical authority was questioned from the first instance, with Ambrose of Milan as a spokesman."

16. According to Deno John Geanakoplos, "The Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople," Constantinople and the West--Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and Roman Churches (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 169, Constantinople's enhanced status was probably the main reason for Pope Damasus's initial refusal to accept the council's acta and canons.

17. J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, vol. 3 (Venice, 1759-1798), 248.

18. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 85, opted for the canon's referral to the Gothic Christian, hence Arian, forefathers: "But the second canon of the general synod of 381 had already decreed that the churches of God among the barbarian peoples are to be governed in the manner that already existed among their forefathers and that is where the matter rested. In this way a space was created

within which Arianism, now driven underground, could and in fact did spread."

19. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, 156.

20. Chronica Minora I, 243.

21. This probable forerunner for Theodosius's treaty has also not survived. See Wolfram, History of the Goths, 131-133.

22. Themistius, Oratio 16,211, Themistii Orationes quae supersunt, ed. H. Schenkl, Teubner edition, 1965, 301-302. See Massimiliano Pavan, La Politica Gotica di Teodosio nella Pubblicitica del suo Tempo (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1964), pp. 6-15 for a précis on Themistius's rhetoric.

23. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. I, 157. Stephen Williams and Gerard Friell in the latest biography on this emperor, Theodosius--The Empire at Bay (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 171 accented the emperor's deficient military qualifications: "Theodosius was not one of the greatest military emperors, such as Aurelian, Constantine or Valentinian, but his great diplomatic skills were badly needed in this crucial period. Perhaps no other emperor could have conciliated and managed the Goths as he did, and bought the empire a vitally needed breathing space to consolidate its resources."

24. Walter Goffart, "Rome, Constantinople, and the Barbarians," American Historical Review 86 (1981), 291. Goffart partially based his judgment on Themistius's Oration 15 where the orator pressed the point that "the benefit of all" should supersede provincial security (p. 290). Cf. Wolfram, History of the Goths, 133, who had called the treaty of 382 "the most momentous foedus in Roman history": "The imperial government could neither destroy nor drive back the barbarians and federates it had admitted....There was no meaningful alternative to the policy of appeasement toward the imperial, assimilated foreigners" (p. 137).

25. Williams, Theodosius--The Empire at Bay, 101.

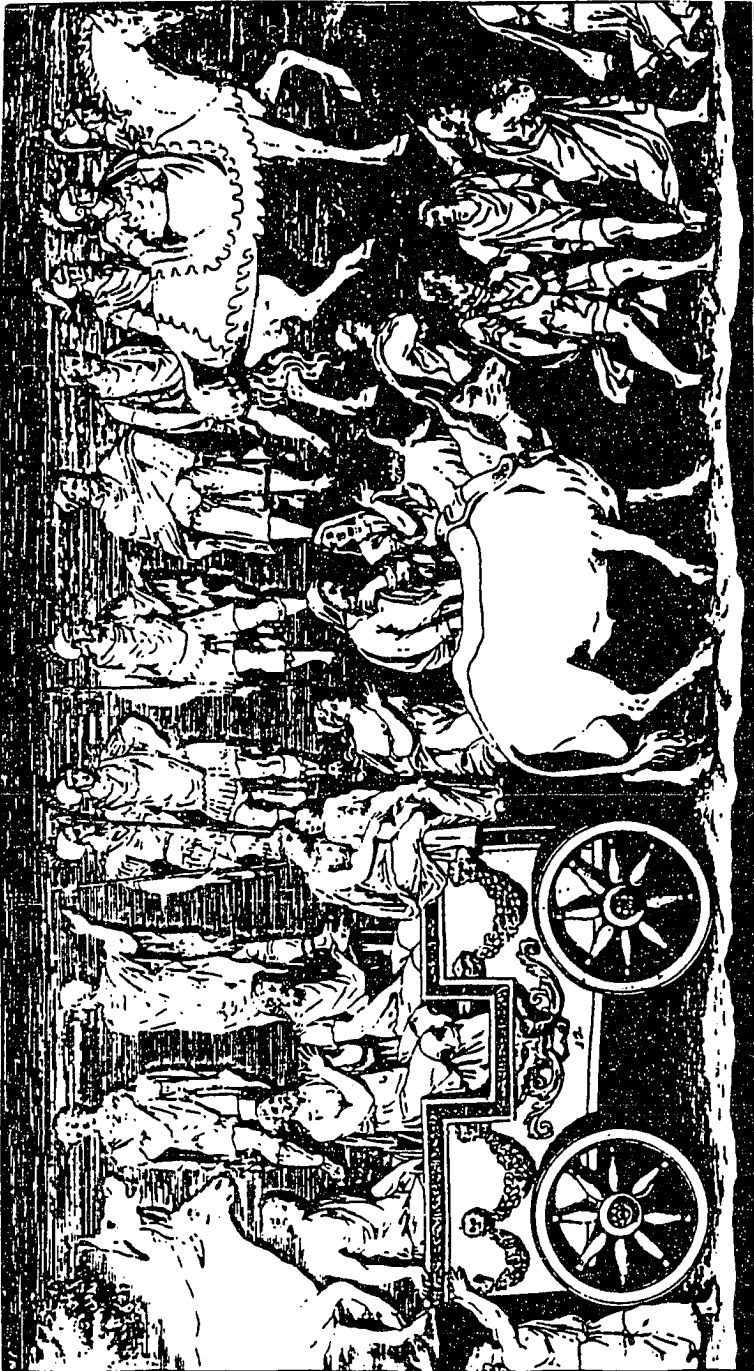
P L A T E 8



10. Nonnulli ex optimatibus Scytharum civitate donati operam militarem Romanis navarunt, et ab præclara in bellis facinora. honoribus variis sunt ab iisdem aucti, ideoque equis insidentes et armati representantur. 1. scythæ ac Gothi alii ad militiam à Theodosio Magno recepti sunt, alii ad agriculturam destinati; ut scribit Synesius laudatus loco, et Pacatus in Panegyrico eidem Augusto dicto

Procession of Gothic soldier-farmers in the Theodosian sculptural relief. Taurus Column, Constantinople. From Anselmo Banduri, Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitane (Venice, 1729).

P L A T E 9



12. *Alter currus a bobus tractus quo proceres Gothorum: tres Gothorum: tunc, uxoribus ac liberis uehuntur. Modicus quippe Theodosius Magni Ducis datus Gothis in muliere corui ac pueros impetu factis: phaustrorum quatuor milia cepit. 13. Equus Ducis Gothorum ducitur in triumpho a militibus, quem sequitur ille pedes ac inermis cum casside septuaginta nati.*

Procession of defeated Goths with wives and children in the Theodosian sculptural relief. Taurus Column, Constantinople. From Anselmo Banduri, Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitane (Venice, 1729).

CHAPTER 6

AN ARIAN ART REDISCOVERED

One of the topics which this dissertation set out to explore was the existence of an Arian art with a distinctive enough iconography which we could trace from the late Roman empire into the Gothic kingdoms. Three deductions are possible:

1) Arian art was completely altered and/or destroyed by the Catholics. Unlike our evidence for the destruction of Arian books by Constantine and the Visigothic Catholic king, Reccared¹ together with the reconsecration of Arian churches,² we do not have any documentation for the defacement or destruction of heretic art. Was this because defacement of sacred art, even though heretical, would have been considered sacrilegious?

2) Arian art was indistinguishable from Catholic art as exemplified by the baptism of Christ mosaic in the Arian baptistery at Ravenna built by Theodoric--an interpretation which we will challenge--and by the Ostrogothic Bible (Codex Argenteus).³ Even numismatic studies, for the most part, failed to discern anything decisively Arian on the coins of Constantius II or Valens as compared to the Catholic emperor coins--another judgment which we will have to alter.

3) Arian art survived under a hidden guise. It is this last tantalizing premise which we will examine.

In her article "Y eut-il une forme arienne de l'art paléochrétien?"⁴ Emilienne Demougeot attempted to match a Christian funerary art to Arian theology. Beginning with the Aquitanian sarcophagi of the fifth and sixth centuries, during the reigns of the Visigothic kings, she noted that the ornamental sarcophagi had a stylized "décor végétal."⁵ When there were human figures on the tombs, only Christ and the apostles were pictured, which seemed in accord with the Arian concentration on the terrestrial Christ rather than on his divinity.⁶ The lavish foliage on the sarcophagi could be inspired by the Old Testament Garden of Eden and/or by the Gospel of St. John:⁷ "I am the true vine and my Father is the husbandman" (15,1); "I am the vine, ye are the branches" (15,5). If inspired by John, the Arian emphasis on the earthly Jesus, subordinate to God the Father, is quite marked. Demougeot concluded that the Arian sarcophagi were "une forme d'art grec, judaïsé et orientalisé"⁸ and "un véritable anti-anthropomorphisme"⁹ which she traced to the letter of Eusebius of Caesarea to Constantine's Arian sister, Constantia,¹⁰ in which the bishop deplored all human representations of the divine.

In Demougeot's article there was one figure of an Aquitanian sarcophagus from Saint-Seurin (plate 10), festooned with vine foliage and a central Christogram wreath, which guides us to a hitherto obscure Arian motif. The

Christogram is cantoned with the (α) alpha and (ω) omega letters on either side. Demougeot did not discuss the alpha and omega significance for Arianism, which was later explained by the French archaeologist, Louis Lapeyre, in an article entitled "L'ALPHA et l'OMEGA: Marque de l'Arianisme."¹¹ Lapeyre noticed many Visigothic sarcophagi in Narbonne and Toulouse with the cantoned Chi-Rho. The first and last Greek letters served as exquisite funerary symbols, coming from three passages in the Book of Revelation: "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, which was, and which is to come the Almighty" (1,8); "And he said unto me, It is done. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end" (21,6); and "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last" (22,13). In the first two passages, it is God the Father who speaks, in the last passage, Christ is the judge at the end of time.

We must ask: Would Catholic Romans be comfortable with this theology? Lapeyre thought not--the alpha and omega "ne pouvait en aucune façon être le marque des Trinitaires."¹² Moreover, why would Catholic Romans of the western empire in their funerary invocations have used Greek letters which could remind them of a Hellenistic heresy? We must recall that it was Arius, in the first letter we have from him ca. 318, who had argued that God the Father was timeless, without a beginning ἀναρχός,

whereas the Son had a beginning ἀρχή.¹³ For the next three centuries, the Arian-Catholic controversy would continue to be fought over scriptural grounds.

Moreover, the numismatic evidence is very revealing. The alpha-omega Christogram with the legend **SALUS AVG NOSTRI** appears on the Trier bronze coins (351-353) of the Gallic usurper, Magnentius (**plate 11**). Constantius II defeated Magnentius at the Battle of Murso in 353, whereupon the usurper and his brother Decentius committed suicide. Some of the Arlesian coins of Decentius show a cantoned Chi-Rho within a wreath (**plate 12a**). This wreath motif is seen on our Visigothic sarcophagus from Saint-Seurin. We do not know the particular Christianity of the two western brothers. But we do know that Constantius II was an Arian and that he copied the alpha-omega Christogram and the same legend on his Trier coins (**plate 12b**) during his warfare with the two brothers. If Magnentius and Decentius were Catholic Christians, would the Arian Constantius have used the same iconography as his opponents? To clinch the numismatic argument, in Visigothic Spain, the Arian king Leovigild minted coins at Narbonne with the alpha-omega Christogram during the civil war with his Catholic son, Hermenegild.¹⁴

Elsewhere in the late imperial world, the cantoned Christograms were not isolated occurrences. Given the bitter rivalries between Catholics and Arians, it would only be

natural that each group would choose unique motifs to pronounce its own Christian allegiances, especially for the repose of the dead. We can secure the date of the alpha-omega Christogram from its first appearance on the coins of Magnentius and Decentius between 351-353 through the second half of the fourth century. This was the time when Arianism and Catholicism were competing for governmental support and were free to express publicly their religions. In the eastern empire the Arian Christogram appears frequently as within the Chi-Rho wreath in the necropolis at Serdica, Bulgaria,¹⁵ and at Ulcinj, Serbia where the alpha and omega are suspended like branches from the Chi-Rho circle.¹⁶ At Philippi, Greece the letters hang like pendants not from a Chi-Rho but rather from the Latin cross which would soon replace it.¹⁷ In the 380s and 390s during Theodosius's reign, the outlawing of imperial Arianism would make it increasingly hazardous for Roman Arians to express their beliefs, thereby reducing the number of Arian Christograms.

It is in the western empire, in the catacombs of Rome during the second half of the fourth century where the most magnificent Arian iconography can be found, particularly in the Catacomb Commodilla (**plate 13**) with its red, brown, and green paintings. It is of course, difficult to gauge whether only Roman Arians were buried in this catacomb. Roman families may have had both Arian and

Catholic relatives, as well as non-Christian members. In the Cubiculum Leonis of the Catacomb Commodilla there is a riveting alpha and omega design and a grandiose portrait of the formidable, bearded God (Christ?) of the Last Judgment above a painting of what seems to be the younger, beardless Christ between the unknown Adautus and Felix (plate 14). That the alpha-omega God (plate 15) cannot be God the Father is evident from a blasphemy viewpoint. Yet in the three passages from Revelation, it is God the Father who speaks at the Last Judgment in the first two passages (1,8 and 21,6) whereas it is Christ pronouncing the final words in the third passage (22,13). It was this role-sharing between God the Father and his Son which the eminent catacomb archaeologist, Father Ferrua, saw as proof that the alpha-omega Christogram was orthodox: "Nei primi due è Dio stesso che parla, nel terzo è Gesù. Ciò vuol dire che a Gesù sono dati gli attributi stessi di Dio ed in particolare l'eternità. I cristiani nelle loro epigrafi hanno scelto definitivamente quest'ultimo uso, dando sempre gli attributi di α ed ω a Gesù e mai alla persona del Padre..."¹⁸ But to attribute the alpha and omega to both Father and Son does not equate attributing eternity to both. Eternity, by definition, means existence without a beginning and end. For the Arians, only God the Father was eternal, for as Arius had said, only God the Father was without

a beginning (ἀναρχός).

In the final analysis, unless archaeology unearths monogrammed Christograms with Arian inscriptions, we can not conclusively prove that the alpha-omega, flanking or hanging from a Chi-Rho or cross was the exclusive badge of Arians. Although theologically for the Arians, it was a touching in memoriam tribute to their dearly departed, it can be postulated that the alpha-omega motif could also artistically appeal to Catholics.¹⁹ We may then be dealing with an iconography which eventually crossed religious lines. The numismatic evidence does, however, point to a convincing Arian connection on the coins of Constantius II, although not of Valens, and of Leovigild. No Catholic emperor ever used the alpha-omega Christogram on his coins. Our final verdict on this Arian iconography will rest on evidence from the Germanic kingdoms. For we know that the Arians prided themselves on the antiquity of their religion, its theology and deep-rooted traditions.

N O T E S

1. For Constantine, see Socrates HE I,9, PG 67,158. For Reccared's alleged book burning, see Fredegar's seventh-century account, Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 11, 125. Henceforth MGH Scr. Mer.

2. The reconsecrated churches which we know the best are the six Ravennate Arian churches reconciled by Bishop Agnellus in 554 after the Byzantine capture of Ostrogothic Italy. This ecclesiastical list was compiled by the priest Agnellus between 835-846, Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, saec. VI-IX (Hannover, 1878), 334-335. Henceforth MGH Scr. Lang.

3. As a deluxe copy of Ulphilas's Gothic Bible, the Codex Argenteus was made theologically inoffensive by stripping it of the Old Testament which the Arians had used to support the greater ancestry of their religion.

4. Emilienne Demougeot, "Y eut-il une forme arienne de l'art paléochrétien?" Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 23-30 settembre 1962, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 26 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1965), 491-519.

5. Ibid., 514

6. Ibid., 513.

7. Ibid., 515.

8. Ibid., 507.

9. Ibid., 507.

10. Epistola ad Constantiam Augustam, PG 20, 1545ff.

11. Louis Lapeyre, "L'ALPHA et l'OMEGA: Marque de l'Arianisme," Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne 35 (1973), 95-107, 104. Like Demougeot, Lapeyre saw artistic motifs in Visigothic Arian art (in his case, the funerary alpha-omega Christogram) which ceased after the Catholicization of the two kingdoms, first in Aquitaine after 511 under Clovis, and later in Septimania after 589 under Reccared.

12. Ibid., 99.

13. For Arius's letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia, see Theodoret, HE 1,4, PG 82,912.

14. Lapeyre, "L'ALPHA et l'OMEGA," 103.

15. Julia Valeva, "Les nécropoles paléochrétiennes de Bulgarie et les tombes peintes," Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21-28 septembre 1986), Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 41 et Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 123 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1989), 1254.

16. Ivanka Nikolajevic, "Recherches nouvelles sur les monuments chrétiens de Serbie et de Monténégro, ibid., 2461.

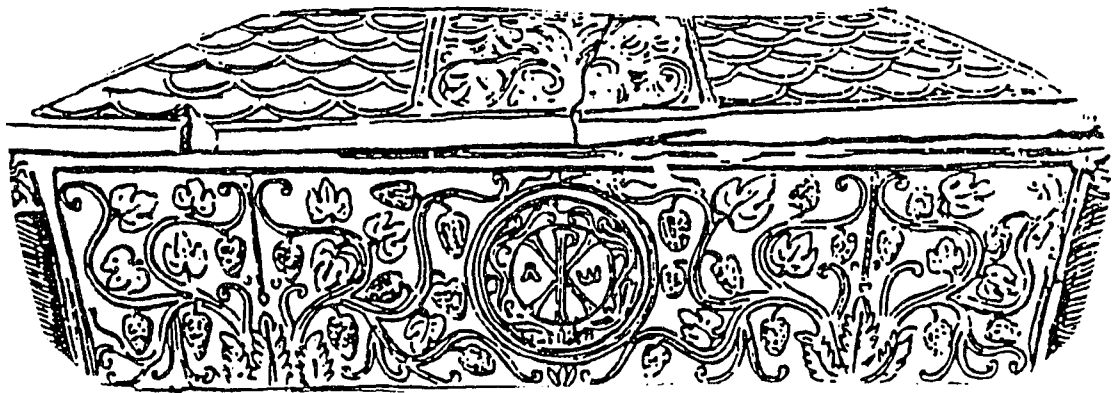
17. Georgios Gounaris, "L'archéologie chrétienne en Grèce de 1974 à 1985," ibid., 2706.

18. Antonio Ferrua, S.J., La polemica antiariana nei monumenti paleocristiani (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 191), 48. Incidentally, Father Ferrua in The Unknown Catacomb--A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art, tr. Iain Inglis (New Lanark, Scotland, 1991), 158 did not ascribe Arian or other heretical iconography to the many Old Testament scenes (painted between ca. 320-ca. 360) found in the Via Latina catacomb, which he excavated in 1955.

19. Lapeyre, "L'ALPHA et l'OMEGA," 104 explained why "le chrisme complet"--the iconography of a forgotten

religion--was not destroyed by the Catholics: "Peu à peu d'ailleurs leur véritable signification entrant dans l'oubli avec une religion disparue, le respect du chrisme complet ou simple poussa à la conservation et au réemploi de pierres sculptées d'églises vétustes." That time erased the connection of the alpha-omega Christograms to Arianism is a plausible explanation. But, of course, we do not have any evidence to support such a conclusion. The reuse of sculpted stones from defunct churches was, on the other hand, a definite reality.

P L A T E 1 0



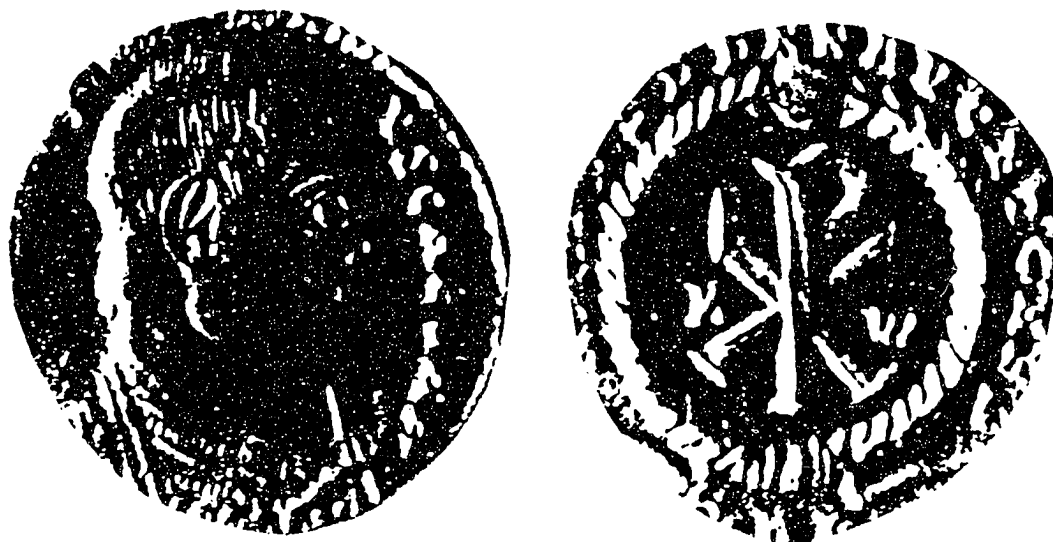
Saint-Seurin sarcophagus from Aquitaine. From Emilienne Demougeot, "Y eut-il une forme arienne de l'art paléochrétien?" Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archaeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 23-30 settembre 1962, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 26 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 1965), 496.

P L A T E 1 1



Magnentius bronze coin from Trier (351-353). Alpha-omega Chi-Rho design on the reverse. From the collection of Rosalie M. Sefcik.

P L A T E 1 2



12a)Decentius bronze coin from Arles (351-353). Alpha-omega Chi-Rho in wreath on reverse. From The Roman Imperial Coinage, ed. C.H.V. Sutherland, vol. 8 (London: Spink and Son, 1981), plate 7, no. 193.



12b)Constantius II bronze coin from Trier (353). Alpha-omega Chi-Rho design on reverse. From The Roman Imperial Coinage, vol. 8 (plate 3, 332).

P L A T E 1 3

Rom

Katakombe
Commodilla

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1993



Cubiculum Leonis in the Catacomb Commodilla, Rome. From Johannes Georg Deckers, Gabriele Mietke, Albrecht Weiland, Die Katakombe "Commodilla": Repertorium der Malereien--Roma Sotterranea Cristiana (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1994).

P L A T E 1 4



Alpha-omega art from the Cubiculum Leonis in the Catacomb
Commodilla. From Die Katakombe "Commodilla."

P L A T E 1 5



Apocalyptic God from the Cubiculum Leonis in the Catacomb Commodilla. From Die Katakombe "Commodilla."

P A R T T W O

THE GERMANIC ARIANS IN THE WEST
AND THE CATHOLIC CONVERSIONS

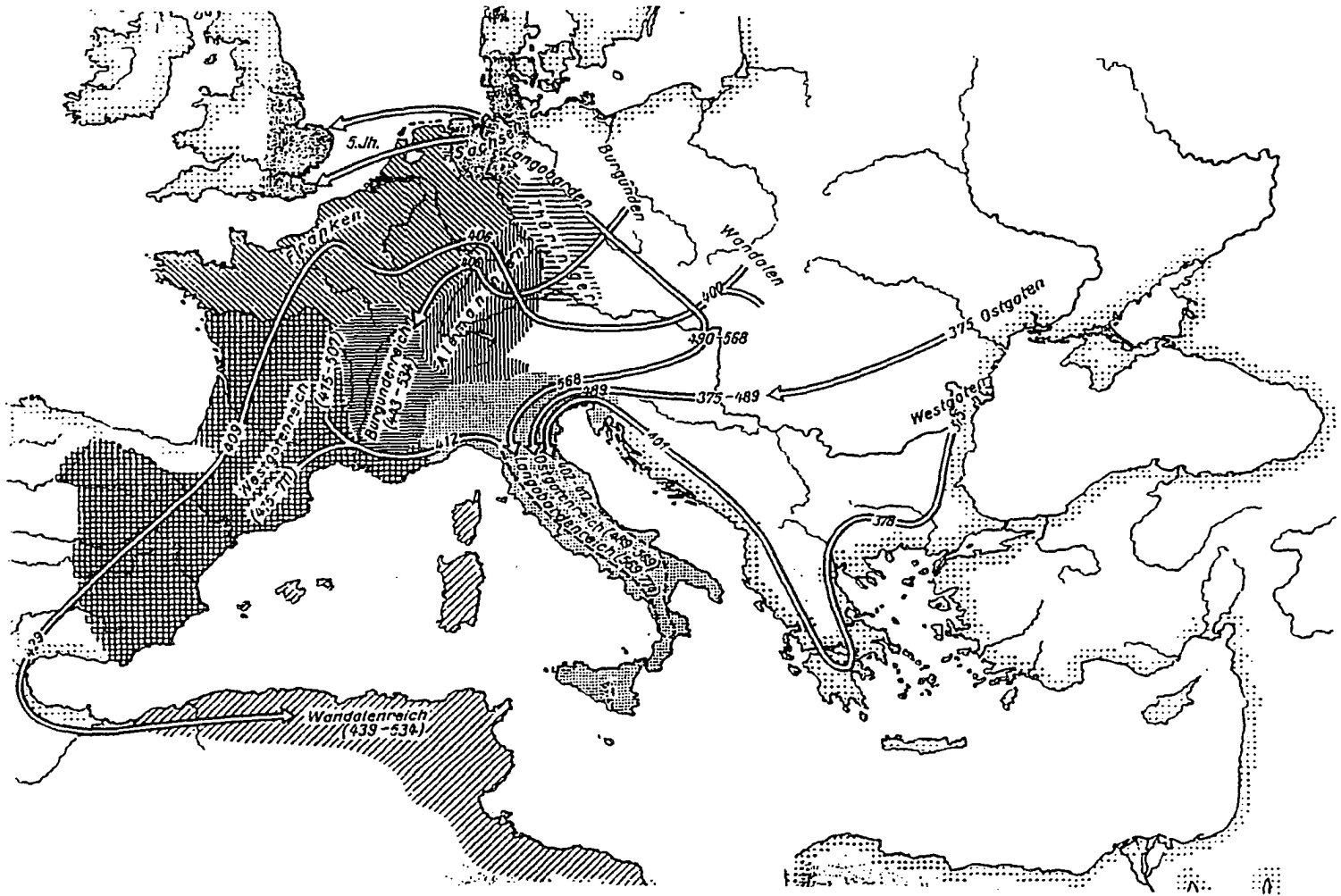


PLATE 16

Map of the Germanic tribes--Migrations to Kingdoms. From Friederich Schlette, Germanen zwischen Thorsberg und Ravenna, 3rd edition (Leipzig: Urania-Verlag, 1977).

CHAPTER 7

THE VISIGOTHIC ARIANS OF GAUL AND SPAIN

Of all the barbarian kingdoms in the Germanic West, the Visigothic regimes of Gaul (418-507) and Spain (480-711) were the most trailblazing. The Visigoths had been the first Germans to be converted to Christianity in the mid-fourth century. They were the first to consolidate their tribal units into an European kingdom, and their kings were the first and the most superb of all the Germanic legislators. As Arian Christians, Visigoth kings ruled Gaul between 418-507 and Spain from 475-589. Their Arian governments came to an end when Visigothic Gaul, excepting the Mediterranean coastal strip called Septimania, became Frankish Catholic in 507 through Clovis's defeat of Alaric II at Vouillé and after Visigothic Spain became Catholic by the personal and controversial conversion of King Reccared in 587.

Given their long Arian rule, why did not the Arian kings try to convert their Catholic Roman subjects? This question has been the most perplexing in any discussion of the nexus between Visigothic religion and regime. If we credit the pragmatism of the Visigothic kings, who realized that they were outnumbered by their Catholic subjects,¹ we are confronted with Reformation England where Henry VIII directed an overwhelmingly Catholic country

to Protestantism. Are we on more secure historical grounds if we credit the exclusionary nature of Gothic Arianism which did not proselytize?: "It was the religion of the Goths, and of the Goths only; and that it is what it was intended to be."² But we have seen how the Arian Romans of the fourth century craved the political power to support their heresy, how they were more aggressive and skilled than their Catholic counterparts in converting. And as we shall see in the next chapter, the Arian Vandals were far more brutal towards the African Catholics. So why was Visigothic Arianism for so long, so aloof? For in being so, it unwittingly permitted a religious culture which had lost its political authority, the Catholicism of the Gallic and Hispanic Romans, to survive and in the end to dominate. The governmental necessity of unifying a kingdom under one religion would be considered as urgent business by Leovigild (568-586) in the 580s who unsuccessfully attempted to Arianize Hispania. And in one of the ironies of history, Leovigild's unification dream would be fulfilled by his Catholic son, Reccared (586-601). The religion of the governed had finally replaced the religion of the governing. Catholicism would wipe out Arianism so ruthlessly that we are at pains in trying to recover any of its artifacts. Visigothic Arian theology and literature must be almost completely gleaned from the writings of the victors. It is only through archaeological

excavations that we can determine the distinctiveness of a lost Christianity.

As long as the Visigoths as well as the other Gothic tribes were led by local chieftains, the Roman government could deal with them piecemeal through a divide and conquer policy. But it is when the Goths took the next step in tribal consolidation and elected a king, who would create a dynasty,³ that we can justifiably target the Goths as one of the immediate causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The first Visigothic leader to bear the title of king was Alaric I, Alaric the Bold,⁴ (ca. 370-410) who, in 395 after Theodosius's death, led his people from the Balkans and who later sacked Rome (410). In 418 King Wallia (415-418) received from Constantius III territory from the Loire to the Garonne in Aquitania Secunda. From their Balkan homeland, the Goths had finally reached the Atlantic. As foederati, they received imperial land under the hospitalitas system, whereby they received two thirds of the land with the remaining one third left in the hands of the Roman landowners.⁵ Such was the dual culture system which the Visigoths would inherit, and true to their traditions, would, for the most part, maintain throughout their reigns in France and Spain. It was King Euric (466-484) who declared his independence from Rome, thereby ushering in the Kingdom of Toulouse.⁶ Under Euric the Visigoths crossed the Pyrenees into Spain

during the king's late reign. By the time of Euric's son Alaric II (484-507), the Visigothic kingdom stretched from the Loire to Gibraltar, excluding the Suevi kingdom of Galicia. It had taken the Visigoths less than seventy-five years to become the foremost land power in western Europe.

The Visigothic Arian rule of Catholic Romans, first in Gaul than in Spain has been customarily treated as a convivencia, as a separate but equal arrangement: "The basic principle of government was that of complete separation--or as nearly complete as could possibly be attained--of the two nationalities."⁷ In fact, there were two sets of laws, one for the Goths, which Euric had presumably issued in 476, the Codex Euricanus,⁸ later updated by Leovigild as the now lost Codex Revisus;⁹ the other for the Romans, the Breviarium Alaricianum (Lex Romana Visigothorum),¹⁰ partly based on the Codex Theodosianus with interpretationes and promulgated by Alaric II on 3 February 506. If we look at the first set of Visigothic laws in the Codex Euricanus, with an intent to learn about the Gothic Arian establishment, Arian church courts, if any, or the Arian clergy's role in Visigothic governments, we are gravely disappointed. This code is preserved in fragmentary form from a sixth-century palimpsest and, as such, is estimated as being one-sixth of its original size.¹¹ Its intent is conjectural. Was it meant for

Goths only or for Romans as well, that is personal as opposed to territorial law? In the Codex Euricanus, Arian and Catholic clerics are not specified, for example, in the De Donationibus title (fragment CCCIII), authorizing bishops and presbyters to sell or give away ecclesiastical property only with the consent of all.¹² There might have been Arian laws embodied in this code, which were expunged by Catholics when set down in writing, because Euric was known as a stern Arian who persecuted Catholic Romans. But since we do not know that the code embodied Arian laws, we must conclude that what we know of the Codex Euricanus does not reveal an Arian monarch's concern for religious issues. Yet to assume that for Visigothic Arian kings, legislation pertained almost exclusively to secular and not ecclesiastical business, does not take into account the legislation of their Catholic successors: "Theocratic elements are almost wholly absent from that majority of laws which was issued before the conversion to Catholicism and are by no means present in most of the laws issued after that time."¹³

In the absence of laws on Arian-Catholic matters, we have recourse to contemporary Catholic writers. In Gaul from the urbane correspondence of Clermont's aristocratic bishop, Sidonius Apollinaris (ca. 430-ca. 487), we have a letter ca. 475 to his friend, Basilius, the bishop of Aix. In this letter Sidonius complained how repugnant

Catholics were to the Arian king.¹⁴ Sidonius further described Gaul's spiritual ruin¹⁵ through nine important episcopates made vacant by the deaths of their bishops with an implied obvious ban on further consecrations. Under Euric, besides the exiling of clerics, Catholic churches were crumbling and occupied not by the faithful, but by animals. Euric, like other Germanic Arian kings whom we shall meet, knew how to hit hard at Catholic subjects by weakening their ecclesiastical organization. Euric's harassment can be explained within the historical context of his expansion into the Auvergne. As we shall also see with the other Arian monarchs in Spain, Africa, and Italy, persecution of Catholics within their realms could normally occur at times of perceived and/or actual threats from Catholic powers. In 475 Euric was negotiating with the emperor Nepos for Auvergne. Nepos had named a delegation of Catholic bishops, headed by Basilius. Euric's persecution of his Catholic subjects could be interpreted as a warning to the Catholic Roman opposition of his soon-to-be acquired Auvergne. Gregory of Tours dated Euric's persecutions to the Visigoths' crossing into Spain and described in more graphic detail the trial of Gallic Catholicism by swords and briers.¹⁶ To force Catholicism into oblivion by barring access to their churches ("raritas ingrediendi") was a standard tactic used by other Arian monarchs, particularly in Vandal Africa.

If we judge from our sources, Euric's persecutions were an anomaly. By and large, the Arian monarchs of Gaul during the fifth century did not persistently persecute. In fact, Alaric II, on the eve of his big defeat by Clovis, promulgated the Lex Romana Visigothorum in which the Catholic subjects of Gaul and Spain were given remarkable liberties to worship as they pleased. Church courts could try ecclesiastical cases. Catholic clergy had even the right to appeal to the secular courts. Priests who had testified as witnesses in the secular courts could be punished for perjury but not tortured. If Alaric banned conubium between Goth and Roman, this was in keeping with Catholic teaching as well. The Council of Agde (506) ironically prayed for Alaric II for a long life for him and his kingdom.

So when the Catholic Clovis invaded Alaric's kingdom in 507, he could not use as an excuse, Arian mistreatment of Gallic Catholics. In the famous words which Gregory assigned to him, Clovis did target the Arians as the reason for his invasion (2,37).¹⁷ Did Alaric, aware of the danger from the Catholic north, draft his convivencia policy to shore up the support of his Catholic subjects? Although Gregory understandably mentioned that many Gallic Catholics wanted the Franks (2,35) there is little indication that vast number of Gallic Catholics came over to the Frankish side. With the death of Alaric on the battleground, the

Ostrogoths under Theodoric, in one of those rare shows of Arian unity, intervened to stop the Franks and recaptured Narbonne for the Visigoths. Theodoric would act as regent for Alaric's infant son, Amalaric until 526.

For the next seventy years, our information on Arian-Catholic relations in Spain is minimal at best. We know that Amalaric married a daughter of Clovis, Chlothild, and tried to force her to convert to Arianism through bizarre tortures.¹⁸ Was he torturing her, not because of her stubborn Catholicism, but because her brother Childebert invaded Visigothic Septimania in 531? We know that Hispanic Catholics were not treated with largesse by the Arian kings during the first half of the sixth century in that there were no meetings of national councils and only few provincial ones. This has been interpreted as the Arian kings' fear of too many Goths converting to Catholicism, hence the ban on church councils.¹⁹

It was only with the reign of the great king Leovigild (568-586) that Arian-Catholic relations would rise to a fever pitch. As a nationalist monarch, Leovigild wrested Galicia from the Suevi and had them convert back from Catholicism to Arianism. The king fought rebellious towns such as Córdoba, stabilized the currency, and revised laws for the Goths--the Codex Revisus--some of which, the non-Arian laws--have been preserved and labeled antigua in the Visigothic law codes of the seventh century.²⁰

Leovigild's nation building achievements were so momentous that they were admired by the two Catholic chroniclers of his reign, Isidore of Seville (560-636) and John of Biclar, who lived through the events between 576-590. Like Isidore, John reported momentous events in clipboard fashion. Isidore called Leovigild "adeptus" for his expansionist wars which enlarged and consolidated Spain.²¹ The Catholic Goth, John of Biclar cited, as the consequence of the king's repression of rebellions, the restoration of former Visigothic borders.²²

But for Isidore, it was heresy which dimmed the king's glory. In his religious policies Leovigild followed a carrot and stick approach towards his Catholic subjects. Where he could not succeed with persuasion and compromises, he would punish. Both Isidore and Gregory of Tours, but curiously, not John of Biclar, were very emphatic about the king's furious persecutions which resulted in the exile of many bishops: "Denique Arianæ perfidiae furore repletus, in catholicos persecutione commota, plurimos episcoporum exsilio relegavit."²³ The king succeeded in rebaptizing Catholics from low to high through threats and bribes. The lapsed included Vicentius, bishop of Saragossa. Gregory, as one would expect, went into more graphic detail,²⁴ as he blamed the harassment on Leovigild's ugly Arian queen, Goswintha. The queen physically abused her Catholic daughter-in-law, a Frankish princess, Ingundis,


who eloquently refused to convert to Arianism (5,39). But soon, there would be dramatic changes in the king's attitudes towards Hispanic Catholics.

While Isidore placed the persecutions after and Gregory before Leovigild captured his rebellious son, Hermenegild, in February 584, it would seem logical that the king would not badger Catholics during a political and religious civil war. Gregory credited Ingundis, the daughter of the Frankish king, Sigibert I, for converting her husband, Hermenegild (5,39) which another Gregory, the Great, while confirming the conversion, gave the credit instead to his bishop-friend, Leander of Seville.²⁵ Gregory the Great, in speaking of Reccared, referred to the king's martyred brother, Hermenegild ("fratrem martyrem"). The pope blamed Leovigild for Hermenegild's murder; in fact, the Goth Sisbert had secretly killed the captive rebel. But no Hispanic source would exalt Hermenegild as the first Visigothic royal to become a Catholic. Isidore would style him instead as a usurper.²⁶ John of Biclar would blame the Arian queen Goswintha for her son's rebellion,²⁷ leaving no impression that Hermenegild was a Catholic.

Hermenegild's disputed Catholicism is put in focus by the Arian Council of Toledo summoned by Leovigild in 580, at the start of the war. At this council Leovigild commanded the Arian clergy to compromise on a crucial Arian ritual. Catholics ("de Romana religione") who

became Arians ("ad nostram catholicam fidem venientes") would not have to be rebaptized.²⁸ While an impressive concession was made to Catholics, the king, at this time, was not compromising on Arian theology but instead was upholding the Arian belief in the inferiority of the Son and Holy Spirit. Even so, John of Biclar confessed that the baptism compromise was seductive.²⁹ But two years later after he took the important capital city of Lusitania, Mérida, in 582, Leovigild broke the theological impasse, although not completely, and recognized the equality of God the Father and God the Son, but not of the Holy Spirit. In denying the full equality of the third person of the Trinity, the king relied on a time-honored Arian tradition; the equality of the Holy Spirit with the Father and Son was not mentioned in the scriptures. Gregory of Tours (5,18) learned of Leovigild's Trinitarian modification, while conversing with the Frankish ambassadors of King Chilperic, just returned from Leovigild's court. Gregory was concerned about the faith of the few Catholics left in Spain.³⁰ Ansovald, the ducal emissary, informed him that the Hispanic Catholics, who still existed, had retained their faith but that the wily Leovigild had even taken to worshipping at Catholic martyr tombs and in Catholic churches. Ansovald then quoted Leovigild's new surprising credo on the equality of the Father and Son, but not of the Holy Spirit: "Manifeste

cognovi Christum filium esse Dei aequalem Patri sed Spiritum sanctum Deum penitus esse non credo, eo quod in nullis legatur codicibus Deus esse."³¹ So if Hermenegild was not a Catholic, why Leovigild's olive branches to his Catholic subjects in the middle of a civil war? In this context, it is hard to imagine the civil war of 580-584 as "a war of Goth against Goth."³² Leovigild must have been reassured that the Arian Visigoths, no doubt angered at their king's courting of Catholics, would not subsequently support Hermenegild. Hermenegild must then have been a Catholic or, at the least, had strong Catholic leanings. This argument is buttressed by Hermenegild's appeal to the Byzantine emperor Tiberius for help which never arrived. According to Gregory of Tours, Leovigild bribed the Byzantine army commander, then in Spain as part of the Reconquest of the West force, with thirty thousand pieces of gold (5,39).

To shore up Arian support, Leovigild made manifest his Arianism on a coin which he had minted in Narbonne (plate 17). The king is pictured frontally with a cross over his head on both the obverse and reverse. The inscription reads on the obverse **DN LEOVIGILDUS REX** and on the reverse **NARBONA ω PIUS**  (a barbarized alpha).³³ The alpha and omega, which Magnentius, Decentius, and Constantius II had used on their coins and which was so prolific as a motif in late imperial funerary art, is

now seen on a medieval coin of an Arian Gothic ruler. Narbonne was a crucial Arian stronghold for Leovigild. Geographically, it served as a buffer between Hispania and Catholic Francia to the north. It would be the Arian faction in Narbonne which would later rebel against the Catholic Reccared. Only at Narbonne did Leovigild mint his alpha and omega coins. Neither Hermenegild nor Reccared ever used this motif. In the propaganda coins minted between 580-584, the religious symbols and legends on the coins of Hermenegild ("regi a Deo vita"), which were countered by Leovigild's coins ("Cum Deo") with their distinctive Byzantine cross-on-steps design, are not so clear cut as to differentiate between Catholic and Arian messages.³⁴

Incidentally, the Chi-Rho Christogram, with and without the alpha and omega, which frequently appeared in the ecclesiastical architecture of Spain during the sixth century, is not pictured on the coins of Leovigild, Hermenegild, and Reccared. Instead a two-dimensional Latin cross is used. But the Chi-Rho without the Greek letters are to be found in a frieze over the door of a building in Alcalá de Guadaira preceding the dated inscription: "Ϟ in nomine Domini anno feliciter secundo regni domni nostri Erminigildi regis, quem persequitur genitor sus dom. Liuuigildus rex in cibitate Ispa. ducti aione."³⁵ The second year of Hermenegild's reign was

580 and Alcalà de Guadaira is near Seville, where Hermenegild had himself crowned, christened, and took the Roman, non-Gothic name of Joannes.³⁶ Can the simple Chi-Rho and the Latin name Joannes be two further indications of Hermenegild's Catholicism?

The religious focus on the civil war does blur, however, if we consider the nationalist versus the provincial aspects of the confrontation. No doubt there were elements in Spain, particularly among the the rebellious cities which Leovigild brought under crown control, such as Córdoba, independent between 560-572, who resented his centralized policies. Hermenegild, perceived as a weak ruler, would then have served as a lightning rod for an insurrection: "In Hermenegild, the bishops and nobles, both Gothic and Roman, will have found a king they could control and whose powers they were willing to enhance...The iron-hard ruler in Toledo was not the king they sought."³⁷ Logical as this hypothesis seems, there are no documents to substantiate an uprising by a provincial nobility which crossed religious lines. The contemporary documents, slanted as they may be, intertwine the political and religious developments of the time.

It is to the later hagiographical literature such as the Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium, written by a deacon Paulus of the Church of St. Eulalia in Mérida in the mid-600s, where we are treated to the Arian and

Catholic conflict in the Visigothic kingdom purely from a religious viewpoint. The struggle between the Catholic Goth Masona, bishop of Mérida, and Leovigild, who exiled Masona and installed an Arian bishop Sunna in his place ended not through any political calculations on the part of the king, but instead by the intervention of the beautiful Saint Eulalia herself. One night, the saint beat Leovigild in his sleep and demanded that he return her bishop-servant back to her: "Redde mihi servum meum. Nam si moram feceris ad reddendum scito te acrioribus suppliciis excruciantum."³⁸ Even the contested tunic of this saint who was martyred under Diocletian, was saved from Leovigild through a Deus ex machina. To Masona's stubborn refusal to surrender the tunic, Leovigild gnashed his teeth and threatened bodily dismemberment. The king was then blinded by God, so he did not see that Masona had tightly wound the tunic around his own body.³⁹ Leovigild had planned to give the tunic to the Arian church in his capital city, Toledo. Through God's thunder, the trembling king was thrust to the ground.

Miracles aside, the struggle between Catholics and Arians over relics and churches must have been a commonplace occurrence. Also many a disputatio must have taken place, such as the one that our author of the Vitas told us occurred between Masona and Sunna. Leovigild promulgated a decree that both sides were to meet in the bishop's

residence and argue before judges (Arian?) from the holy scriptures "de sanctarum scripturarum voluminibus."⁴⁰ The victor would be given the contested church of St. Eulalia. As we might imagine, through the eloquence of the Holy Spirit, Masona dumbfounded Sunna and the Arian opposition and thus retained his church. But unlike the disputatio, commanded by the Vandal Arian king Hunneric, as related by Victor of Vita⁴¹ who gave us the discursive Catholic arguments, our Visigothic author was obviously not interested in a Christological controversy of a century earlier and merely abandoned us with a rhetorical "Quid multa?" What is the truth behind this dramatic scene? Was the Catholic Church of St. Eulalia ever confiscated by Leovigild? Apparently not, for the church would have been reconsecrated after Reccared's conversion. As to why not, it has been conjectured that Masona had not supported Hermenegild or else remained cautiously neutral.⁴²

After Leovigild crushed his son's insurrection in 584, he had only two more years to live. The Arian king, whom Paulus of the Vitas had said was ruining rather than ruling Spain,⁴³ died a heretical death and promptly was dispatched to hell and its everlasting, burning torments. But both Gregories had reported differently on Leovigild's death. Gregory of Tours said that Leovigild had died a Catholic. Although Gregory of Tours very succinctly described the king's passing into the Catholic law: "in

legem catholicam transiit,"⁴⁴ Gregory the Great offered more details. In one of his dialogues the pope said that Leovigild, on his deathbed, had repented for having his son murdered and that he recognized the truth of the Catholic faith, but that he did not convert for fear of his people.⁴⁵ Moreover, the dying king commended his heretical son Reccared to Leander: "Recharedum, regem filium, quem in sua haeresi relinquebat, commendare curavit."⁴⁶ But these two sources for Leovigild's conversion are non-Hispanic. Isidore, John of Biclar, and Paulus of the Vitas did not report that Leovigild had died a Catholic.

To conclude, it is conceivable that Leovigild, remained, to the end of his life, a convinced Arian. The civil war forced him to accommodate Arian teachings and rituals to Hispanic Catholics in order to gain their support. His policy paid off, for at his death, the religious unification of his subjects under the Arian banner was advancing. Catholic were converting to Arianism, to which John of Biclar and Gregory of Tours had deplorably testified. It is possible, then, that Leovigild never intended to convert to Catholicism:

It would be fascinating in fact to compare those barbarian kings, often the greatest rulers their people produced, who seemed to teeter on the edge of conversion and yet finally failed to go over, leaving it to their successors to do so. There is the Burgundian King Gundobad,

the Lombard Agilulf, our Leovigild, and possibly too, the Vandal kings Thrasamund and Hilderic...In the case of Leovigild, though, was it not the rebellion of Hermenegild, a convert to Catholicism and supported by the Catholic bishops of the south, that prevented his own conversion and the final resolution of the problem of unity in his lifetime.⁴⁷

Reccared, elected king of the Visigoths in 586, would provide that unity. It was the model of the martyred brother, Hermenegild, not of the perfidious father, Leovigild, that Gregory the Great had cited as inspiring the private conversion of Leovigild's son, Reccared.⁴⁸ While Isidore only designated the early reign of Reccared as the time of the conversion, John of Biclar fixed a more precise date, the tenth month of the new king's reign (February 587). In the same passage John alluded to the Arian clergy's conversion to Catholicism through rational discourse, rather than through regal command ("et sacerdotes sectae Arianae sapienti colloquio aggressus ratione potius quam imperio converti ad catholicam fidem facit").⁴⁹ The colloquium setting was also employed by Gregory of Tours in his account of the Arian convocation, summoned in 587, by Reccared. At this assembly, the still Arian king questioned the clergy of his church as to why the Catholics performed miracles while the Arians could not.⁵⁰ He thereupon ordered a colloquium of Arians and Catholics to meet and engage in a disputatio on articles of faith at which time he would decide the true faith. After hearing

the Arian arguments, the king was disturbed that Arians, unlike Catholics, could not claim miraculous healing of the sick. He then listened to the Catholic Trinitarian credo, the equality and omnipotence of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Convinced that this was the true faith, Reccared submitted to the Catholic law, received the benediction with chrism, and confessed the Trinitarian credo. Gregory is our only source for this rite of reconciliation⁵¹ by which Visigothic Arians were received into the Catholic Church. The Third Council of Toledo (589) would corroborate Gregory in that Catholicism would not require the rebaptism of heretics. This is why the seventh-century account of Fredegar (and only Fredegar) of Reccared's secret baptism in 587 ("Richard rex Gothorum divino amplectens amore, prius secretius baptizatur")⁵² is erroneous and contrary to the Catholic teaching of the king's time.⁵³

That Visigothic Spain was on its way to becoming Catholic in early 587, when their king's conversion was supposed to have occurred, can be substantiated by archaeology. There is a dated inscription from the Church of Sancta Maria in Toledo which was reconsecrated "in catolico" on 12 April 587 (625, as dated by the Spanish era in the inscription) during the first year of the reign "of our most glorious king Flavius Reccaredus": "In nomine Dni consecrata ecclesia scte Marie in catolico die pridie

idus Aprilis anno feliciter primo regni dni nostri gloriosissimi Fl. Reccaredi regis era DCXXV."⁵⁴ The Catholic confiscation of Arian churches had already begun, two years before the Third Council of Toledo's ninth canon on reconsecrations. Moreover, the dated inscription also corroborates our written sources; Reccared was a Catholic in 587.

So we are left with a fact with no rationale for the fact. Why did Reccared convert? We know that Reccared not only did not support his brother, but that he had been sent by Leovigild to persuade Hermenegild to beg for their father's forgiveness. Our source for this account is non-Hispanic, Gregory of Tours (5,39). The other sources, Gregory the Great, Isidore, John of Biclar, and the Vitas, obviously did not want to accent the Arianism of the future Catholic king. The treatment of Reccared as the first Catholic monarch, and not Hermenegild, was also probably intended to maximize Reccared's glory while not associating treason with Catholicism.⁵⁵ If we look to any political fruits which Reccared would have reaped by converting, these are diminished by the hostile Arian reaction to his religious desertion. John of Biclar dated the conspiracy of the Arian bishop Sunna and of Segga to the second year of Reccared's reign in 587.⁵⁶ Although the author of the Vitas would also write about the rebellion (5,10.1),⁵⁷ it was John who reported that while Sunna was banished, Segga had his hands cut off before being exiled to Galicia.

But John had underestimated the gravity of the rebellion: "The amputation of hands was a rare penalty in Visigothic law, but there is some reason for thinking that it was the punishment of usurpers, so that it looks as though the conspirators intended to place Segga on the throne."⁵⁸

Still another conspiracy, this time more dangerous for the new king, took place in Narbonne (589). The Vitas did not give us a blow-by-blow account of this rebellion against the Visigothic Catholic monarchy, but spoke of a devilish conspiracy ("contra fidem catholicam diabolus excitavit seditionem").⁵⁹ Our author cut to the core by calling the uprising a "tragoediam magis quam historiam." It was in staunchly Arian Narbonne, where, as we have noted, Leovigild had minted his Arian alpha-omega coins, that two Arian counts, Granista and Vildigernus, together with the Arian bishop, Athalocus, intrigued with the Catholic Frankish king Guntram. Here we have the paradox of a Catholic ruler supporting treasonable Visigothic Arians and whose army killed Narbonnese Catholics before being routed by the Visigothic duke Claudius of Lusitania. Reccared had sought to neutralize the Catholic Franks by the peace treaty in 587, as reported by Gregory of Tours (9,1) and by his proposed marriage to Chlodosind, the sister of Childebert II, who, according to Gregory, gave his sister to Reccared because of the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism (9,25)--a marriage which never

materialized. If Reccared converted to Catholicism to keep the Franks from invading Septimania, he then gravely miscalculated. Yet he managed to stave off the Byzantines, who no longer had a legitimate religious reason to invade Spain, as they had for their invasions of the Arian kingdoms of Vandal Africa in the 520s and of Ostrogothic Italy in the 550s. After 587, the Byzantines could not claim they had to liberate persecuted, Hispanic Catholics. But, in the final analysis, Reccared, apprehensive of the Frankish and Byzantine Catholics, as he had every right to be, might have been motivated by personal fervor, although we do not have the king's own words on this subject.⁶⁰ Whatever his motives, Reccared had taken a courageous step and had paid the price with Arian uprisings.

Once converted, how did Reccared proceed to unite his subjects under Catholicism? Here, we are aided by the copious testimony of the Third Council of Toledo (589) which laid the groundwork for the Catholic resettlement. With the king in attendance, the council met on 5 May 589.⁶¹ Reccared had his own written statement read for him in which he announced that ecclesiastical discipline would be restored and ended the ban on Catholic church councils which the Arian kings had enforced.⁶² The king subscribed to the Trinitarian doctrine of homoousious of all three members of the Trinity and to the Filioque by which the Holy Spirit proceeded from both the Father and the Son.⁶³

After three days of fasting, council business began on May 8. The credos of the councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381) were recited and ratified to which Reccared and his queen Baddo confessed.

Next followed twenty-two anathemas of Arian theology, particularly its teachings on the divine inferiority of the Son and Holy Spirit. Canon 2 anathematized whoever denied that the Son of God was not of the same substance of the Father and that the Son was begotten without a beginning: "Quicumque Filium Dei Dominum Jesum Christum negaverit a paterna substantia sine initio genitum, et aequalem Patri esse vel consubstantialem anathema sit."⁶⁴ The council's affirmation of consubstantia reflected how traditionally Arian dogma had been maintained, two and a half centuries after its founder had attacked homoousion. The "sine initio genitum" is a crucial phrase for our study and our link to the Arian alpha-omega iconography. For the Council of Toledo was telling us that the Visigothic Arians believed that the Son of God had a beginning. Canon 6 extended one substance and eternity to all three members of the Trinity: "Quicumque Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum unius substantiae, omnipotentiae et aeternitatis esse non crediderit, anathema sit." Canon 5 condemned those who maintained that the Son and Holy Spirit were creatures: "Quicumque Filium Dei Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum et Spiritum sanctum

esse Patre minores asseruerit et gradibus separaverit, creaturamque esse dixerat, anathema sit." Arius had called Christ a creature of his Father. Canon 15 attacked the sacrilege of rebaptism. Here, the council decided not to take a stand on the sacramental ritual of baptism, specifically, on the single versus the triple immersion. The problem was that both Catholics and Arians used the triple immersion in baptism. In his reply to Leander of Seville about the baptismal confusion, Gregory the Great discussed the theology of both sides. Catholics, in immersing infants three times, not only commemorated the third day on which Jesus Christ resurrected from the dead but also the one substance of the Trinity: "quia dum in tribus subsistentiis una substantia est."⁶⁵ Heretics, on the other hand, immerse three times to accent the disunity of the Trinity ("divinitatem dividant"). Therefore, the pope decided that a single baptismal immersion was preferred, so as not to give satisfaction to the heretics.⁶⁶

But in the following canon (16), the council came down hard on another Arian ritual, embodied in the "libellum destestabilem." This insidious Arian book, engendered from Leovigild's Arian council of Toledo (580), featured the Arian Gloria of the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit. In lieu of rebaptism, Catholics were to recite this subordinationist Gloria ("Patri per Filium in Spiritu sancto")⁶⁷ as a rite of reconciliation as they

entered the Arian Church. This Gloria recitation would be used in the other Arian kingdoms and ranks as one of those rare examples of Arian liturgy known to us. The council had added the "anathema sit in aeternum" to this canon to make quite clear its resentment of this little but infamous Arian book.

What makes the pronouncements of the Third Council of Toledo so remarkable is the list of Arian clerics and nobles who abjured Arianism. Eight Arian bishops and five Arian nobles were named: The bishops all used the same formula in condemning their former religion: "Ugnas, in Christi nomine episcopus anathematizans haeresis Arianae dogmata superius damnata, fidem sanctam hanc catholicam, quam in Ecclesiam catholicam veniens credidi, manu mea de toto corde subscripsi."⁶⁸ Besides Ugnas, the other bishops were: Ubiligisclus, Murila, Sunnila, bishop of Vesensi (Viseo), Gardingus, bishop of Tudensis (Tuy), Bechila, bishop of Lucensis (Lugo), Arvitus, of Portucalensis (Oporto), Froisclus of Dertosanae (Tortosa).⁶⁹ The five Arian nobles named were of the "vir illuster" status: Signum Gussi, Fonsa, Afrila, Aila, and Ella. The geography of these Arian bishoprics is interesting as José Orlandis has shown. Veseo, Tuy, Lugo, and Oporto are from the former Suevi Galicia,⁷⁰ conquered in 585 by Leovigild. The Arian king had forced Arianism back on the Catholic Suevi who had initially been Arian. From 585-589, these four Suevi

cities had two bishops, Arian and Catholic.⁷¹ Ugnas of Barcelona, Ubiligisclus of Valencia, Murilla of Palencia did not have their Arian sees designated. Ugnas, Ubiliglisclus, and Froisclus of Tortosa had Mediterranean-located bishoprics, whereas Murilla of Palencia was based in northern Spain. Palencia did not have a Catholic bishop, judging from the list of sixty-two Catholic bishops who signed the council's proclamations.

Reccared was the first signatory, followed by Masona of Mérida, whose episcopal primacy was thereby recognized. Next came Euphemius of Toledo, and Leander of Seville. Besides ratifying theology, the bishops at Toledo, citing the authority of the king, tightened norms of behavior. Twenty-three disciplinary canons were established, including canon 5 in which the former Arian clergy could not live with their wives; if they did, their status would be reduced to that of lector. By far, the most far-reaching canon was the ninth on the confiscation of Arian churches and the transfer of Arian church property to Catholic bishops.⁷²

But it was the last canon (23) which boasted a novel provision: dances and indecent songs were to be forbidden on saints' feast days in favor of the recital of the divine offices. The council's language was very sharp about driving out lewdness on saints' days: "Exterminanda omnino est irreligiosa consuetudo quam vulgus per sanctorum

solemnitates agere consuevit."⁷³ One wonders whether the banning of songs and dances on saints' days by the twenty-third canon was aimed at the Arians. Arius had popularized his theology through songs, especially his Thalia. In committing this prohibition to the care of the clergy and judiciary, the council was arming itself with the might of the state. At the head of that state stood the Visigothic monarch, Reccard, who had made himself the head of a national Catholic Church. Just because he had become a Catholic, it did not follow that Reccared would grant Rome control over the Hispanic Catholic Church. Reccared transferred his sovereignty over the Arian Church, which had been always held by the Visigothic monarchy, to that of the Catholic Church. Nowhere in their acta did the bishops of the Council of Toledo swear allegiance to Pope Gregory. In fact, Reccared first wrote to the pope only between 596-599 on the occasion of the king's sending him a present of a golden chalice with precious stones. In this letter Reccared notified Gregory of the eradication of the Arian heresy, the Catholicization of his country, and used as an excuse for the delayed notification, urgent national business.⁷⁴ From 589-711 Visigothic Spain was Catholic, but never patently under papal jurisdiction.⁷⁵

These well organized and magisterial canons matched the impressive legislation of the Visigothic rulers. And

from these canons, it was apparent that Visigothic Spain under Catholic rule would be a country of solemnitas and strict orthodoxy. Besides the mention of Leovigild's "libellum detestabilem" (anathema 16), the council bishops, in their confession of faith, had condemned Arian dogmas, rules, offices, communion, and codices: "cum omnibus dogmatibus, regulis, officiis, communione, Codicibus."⁷⁶ But there was no mention of book burning, which Fredegar, and again only Fredegar, told us had occurred. Reccared ordered all Arian books to be brought to Toledo and burned ("et omnes libros Arrianos precepit ut presententur; quos in una domo conlocatis incendio concremare iussit").⁷⁷ If such a bonfire occurred, would not Gregory of Tours, Isidore, or John of Biclar have mentioned it? Such an incident would most likely commend itself to Gregory of Tours and his flair for dramatic scenes. Moreover, Fredegar's inaccuracy has been noted before, as in the case of Reccared's rebaptism. The question also arises, about how much of Arian literature was lost, with the scholarly consensus being that the Arian theological and liturgical output was never spectacular.⁷⁸ In short, little was lost if little had been produced in the first place.

Can we say the same about Visigothic Arian art? Did it all perish with Arian books? If we accept the alpha and omega Chi-Rhos as the iconography of Arianism, considerable sarcophagal and ecclesiastical art with these

designs from Visigothic France and Spain have survived. The marble sarcophagi of southwest Gaul are both extensive as they are lavish, numbering 220.⁷⁹ Many (although as yet we do not have an inventory count) have the A and ω Chi-Rho decorations with ivy vines and other foliage decorations (plate 19). It was Emilienne Demougeot,⁸⁰ who had described the sarcophagal "décor végétal"⁸¹ and "un véritable anti-anthropomorphisme"⁸² as Arian iconographic schedules. The ivy foliage, in particular, corresponded to Arian exegesis. In the Gospel of St. John, Jesus had said "I am the true vine and my Father is the husbandman" (15,1) and "I am the vine, ye are the branches" (15,5). And it was Louis Lapeyre who was convinced that Catholic and Arians would wish to "marquer les monuments funéraires selon la croyance précise du défunt."⁸³ The alpha and omega theology was Arian, inspired by the apocalyptic Christ from the Book of Revelation who had said "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last" (22,13). Lapeyre had done an inventory, dated from 377-547, of this Arian iconography on sarcophagi and steles in Gaul which included those with Visigothic names.⁸⁴ As Lapeyre himself admitted, his dates predated and postdated Visigothic times,⁸⁵ except for Visigothic Septimania, which the Catholic Franks never conquered. It is conceivable that among Gallic Romans, there were Arian Christians, as revealed by the funerary inscription of a Roman soldier,

which was found in Bordeaux (plate 19).

Are the magnificent marble tombs with the apocalyptic iconography then of the Arian deceased? The tombs do not bear inscriptions nor are they dated. Can we judge the sarcophagi as a "critère ethnique?"⁸⁶ It has been customary to regard the sarcophagus as the burial tradition of Romans, contrasting with the barbarians who buried their dead in the earth.⁸⁷ We need more clarity on burial identification. But not enough DNA samplings have been done so far. Moreover, DNA evidence does not give precise answers. Who the rich were who were buried in these great tombs has been coupled with the question when these wealthy Christians were buried. The experts have agreed to disagree on the dating. Ward-Perkins and James (fifth century)⁸⁸; Briesenick (6th century)⁸⁹; Hubert and Fossard (seventh century).⁹⁰ The current thinking is that the seventh century is too late. While a sixth century dating for the Gaul controlled by the Franks⁹¹ would complicate an Arian iconography, a fifth century time frame is ideal. Edward James felt that the Aquitanian sarcophagi, which he judged had originated before 450, suited the times: "Its main period of success may well be connected with the prosperity of the Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse."⁹²

That the prosperity of southern Gaul was a far cry from the north is evident by the non-marble sarcophagi of the Merovingians (plate 20), with its elusive dating.⁹³

The workmanship from these Parisian tombs is not as elaborate, and the iconography is different. No Chi-Rhos but instead Latin crosses, with an occasional tree of life. Even when Christograms are used, they are not accompanied by Greek letters.⁹⁴

In Spain, as in France, funerary inscriptions with the alpha and omega Chi-Rho are to be found, before, during and after Visigothic Arian rule. The Spanish Christian inscriptions have the advantage of being dated. From Mértola (Pacense) in Lusitania, we have an inscription in remembrance of Satirio, a presbyter for 10 years, who died on 2 March 489.⁹⁵ Was he Arian or Catholic? From Zahara in Bética, Cattosa, who died on 13 October 514, is honored⁹⁶ (plate 21). The Visigothic Arian dux Zerezindo, (30 July 578) was commemorated with a Latin cross flanked by the alpha and omega (Α Ω) with the omega in rare majuscule form, as emblematic of the deceased's noble status.⁹⁷ Some Spanish inscriptions intrigue us by showing the Chi-Rho with the reversed alpha and omega design, the Ι to the left and the Α to the right, seen as well on a stele in Narbonne and on the sarcophagus of a count from Toulouse.⁹⁸ Was there any special Christian meaning to this transposed motif or simply artistic license? Louis Lapeyre thought of religious symbolism: "ces lettres inversées qui devaient avoir une signification symbolique très précise."⁹⁹ We shall notice more examples of the

transposed apocalyptic letters in the funerary art in the other Arian kingdoms.

While Spain does not offer these lavish sarcophagi with Christian imagery, the churches have impressive Christograms, particularly in Mérida, where, on a presbytery door (late sixth or early seventh century), the ornate alpha and omega Christogram is repeated three times. (plate 22). For Arians the number three, as we have seen in their baptismal ritual of triple immersions, noted by Pope Gregory, represented a fractured Trinity.

But, if the A and ω were so entwined with Arianism were there efforts in Gaul and Spain to efface this influence? Vandalized alpha and omega chrisms have been noted on sarcophagi in Toulouse and Narbonne, and on a stele in Barcelona, graffiti covered the two Greek letters.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, there is no way of telling the date of vandalism. By and large, the Arian Christogram passed quietly into the Catholic repertoire which managed to blur any heretical significance. While we have no literary or archaeological evidence that the Visigothic Arians effaced Catholic imagery, they may not have been so tolerant of paganism, as evident in fifth or sixth century Andalusia where, at the sumptuous Roman Villa of El Ruedo (Córdoba), the pagan statues of gods and goddesses were consciously decapitated and thrown about.¹⁰¹

In passing from Arianism to Catholicism, Visigothic

Gaul and Spain lost its distinctive cornerstone, that Christian tolerance,¹⁰² reluctantly admired by a Merovingian Catholic enemy like Gregory of Tours. In his disputatio on Trinitarian theology with Leovigild's emissary to King Chilperic, the Arian Agila, (5,44),¹⁰³ Gregory insultingly described Agila as unintelligent, irrational, and willfully perverse towards Catholic law. In their exchange, Agila delivered the first blow, by affirming the divine inequality of Jesus Christ, based on a core Arian passage (John 14,28): "The Father is greater than I." Gregory retorted with the Catholic belief in the mystery of the Godhead and countered Agila's scriptural passage with another quote from John (10,30): "I and the Fater are One." After a foray of arguments about the divine status of the Son, Agila questioned Gregory about the equality of the Holy Spirit. Gregory ably responded with the standard Catholic Trinity credo: "One God in the Trinity and three together in unity. Three persons but une kingdom, one majesty, one power, and omnipotence" ("unus Deus in trinitate, et trinus in unitate. Tres personae sed unum regnum, una majestas, una potentia omnipotentiaque").¹⁰⁴ Here, Agila was on surer scriptural ground, for the divine equality of the Holy Spirit was harder for Catholics to substantiate from the Bible. For as Agila retorted: "God is one who sends, God is not one who is sent" ("Deus est qui mitit, non est Deus qui mittitur)."¹⁰⁵ Far from being intellectually

inferior, Gregory presented Agila as just the opposite. In fact, both protagonists were in fine theological form. And in this scene, Gregory imparted to his Arian foe the most memorable lines, lofty words on Arian tolerance of Christian differences. Gregory had just referred to Arius's putrid death, as proof of the perversity of the founder's sect, to which Agila gently replied: "Do not blaspheme against a law which you do not observe. As for us truly, though you believe what we do not believe, we do not, notwithstanding, blaspheme, for it is not considered a crime if this belief and that belief are observed." For we have a common saying that there is no harm if anyone crossing between the altars of the gentiles and the church of God venerates each side." ("Legem quam non colis, blasphemare noli; nos vero quae creditis, etsi non credimus, non tamen blasphemamus, quia non deputatur crimini, si et illa et illa colantur. Sic enim vulgato sermone dicimus: Non esse noxium si inter gentilium aras et Dei ecclesiam quis transiens utraque veneretur").¹⁰⁶

But how accurate were Agila's pronouncements on Visigothic Arianism as a lex-religio which did not blaspheme against another's faith and which did not view as criminal the observance of other religious beliefs? Within Gregory's chronology, the disputatio (5,44) took place after Leovigild's defeat of his Catholic son, Hermenegild in 584 (5,39), at a time when Leovigild, in

trying to heal the national wounds of a civil war, probably was not persecuting Catholics. Moreover, Gregory laughed at Agila's toleration statement, but did not contradict its authenticity. Unfortunately, both opponents ended their debate by casting mutual slurs at each other's faith, and Agila stormed out in a fury. In a postscript, Gregory told us that Agila returned to Spain, where afterwards, during an illness, he converted to Catholicism ("infirmi-tate debilitatus, ad nostram religionem necessitate cogente conversus est").¹⁰⁷ Or was the "necessitate cogente" induced by the Catholic regime of Reccared after the Council of Toledo when the tolerant and urbane Arian was forced to convert?

After the council had ended, it was Leander of Seville who delivered a homily on the subject of the conversion. In his Homilia in laudem Ecclesiae, Leander characterized the Catholic rejoicing at the conversion "of those whose harshness we once used to bemoan" ("et quorum asperitatem quondam gemebamus, de eorum nunc gaudemus credulitate")¹⁰⁸. In contrast to Agila's majestic tolerance, Leander's apt word asperitas probably better epitomized, as no other Latin word could, the former reality of Arian-Catholic relations in Visigothic Spain.

N O T E S

1. Bernard Reilly, The Medieval Spains (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 18 calculated that the Visigoths were outnumbered by the Hispanic Romans by ten to one--500,000 Visigoths to five million Romans. Reilly also quipped that "the Visigoths have gone somewhat out of style, except perhaps in England" (p. 211), a statement which is easily countered by archaeological reports on Visigothic necropolises and by the tremendous bibliography compiled recently by Alberto Ferreiro, The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain--A.D. 418-711: A Bibliography (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988). We need other comprehensive compilations on the other Germanic tribes, which, like Ferreiro's, could be topically organized according to politics, religion, art, archaeology, etc.

2. E.A. Thompson, The Goths in Spain (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 40. Still a very solid study of the Visigoths, with many unchallenged insights.

3. Peter Heather, Goths and Romans 332-489 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 317.

4. J.B. Bury, The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), 63.

5. Heather, Goths and Romans, 222.

6. Bury, The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians, 213 gauged the turning point in early medieval history, brought about by the Visigoths' territorial gains: "In fact, anyone surveying western Europe at that moment could hardly have failed to conclude that its destinies depended on the Visigoths."

7. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 311.

8. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges I.i: Leges Visigothorum, ed. K. Zeumer (Hanover, 1902), 1-27. Henceforth MGH.

9. Of all the Visigothic legislator kings, Leovigild had the distinction of having his original laws preserved, only posthumously; 300 of them were labeled antiquae or lacked a heading in the law codes of the seventh century. See P.D. King, "King Chindasvind and the First Territorial Law Code of the Visigothic Kingdom," Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, ed. Edward James (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 132. Was the disappearance of the Codex Revisus manuscripts a reflection of Leovigild's Arian legislation?

10. Lex Romana Visigothorum, ed. G. Haenel (Leipzig, 1849).

11. According to P.D. King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972),⁸ among the 350 sections of the Codex Euricanus, sections 276-336 are "almost totally illegible or so fragmentary as to be unintelligible."

12. Codex Euricanus, MGH Leges I,i: Leges Visigothorum, ed. K. Zeumer (Hanover, 1902), 17.

13. P.D. King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom, 23.

14. Sidonius Apollinaris, VI,7, vol. 2, tr. W.B. Anderson. Loeb edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 318.

15. *Ibid.*, 318.

16. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, 2,26 PL 71, 221. Henceforth HF.

17. *Ibid.*, 2,37, PL 71, 237.

18. *Ibid.*, 3,10.

19. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 35.

20. King, "King Chindasvind and the First Territorial Law-code of the Visigothic Kingdom," 132.

21. Isidore of Seville, Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum 49, PL 83,1070. Henceforth HG.

22. John of Biclar, Chronicon, PL 83,863.

23. Isidore of Seville, HG 50, PL 83,1071.

24. Gregory of Tours HF 5,39, PL 71,353.

25. Gregory the Great, Dialogorum Liber 3,31, PL 77, 289.

26. Isidore of Seville, HG 49, PL 83,1071.

27. John of Biclar, Chronicon, PL 83,866.

28. Ibid., 866. John is our only source for Leovigild's Arian council of Toledo (580).

29. Ibid., 866.

30. Gregory of Tours, HF 6,18, MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum I, ed. W. Arndt and Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1885),287. Henceforth MGH Scr. Mer.

31. Ibid., 287.

32. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 87.

33. Aloïss Heiss, Description générale des monnaies des rois wisigoths (Paris, 1872), 36. George C. Miles, The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain--Leovigild to Achilla

II (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1952), 183 considered the Leovigild coin as authentic, but contradicted Heiss in doubting that alpha and omega letters were used. "The ω occurs at an asymmetric point in the legend" (p. 453) and is not the Greek letter omega but instead the Roman letter m , from the way the inscription is read. Moreover, the so-called alpha does not resemble the Greek letter at all: "it is simply an ornamental space filler" (p. 453). We may then inquire what does the m in the legend stand for? Furthermore, if the coin is authentic and dates from the civil war period, the use of an artistic "filler" on a coin minted in the crucial city of Narbonne would have been ludicrous. Coins served as propaganda pieces, especially during this convulsive time.

34. J.N. Hillgarth, "Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth Century Spain," Visigothic Spain, Byzantium and the Irish (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985) 506. Hillgarth did not discuss Leovigild's disputed alpha and omega coin.

35. Juan Vives, Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda (Barcelona, 1942), no, 364, pp. 127-8.

36. Gregory of Tours, HF 5,39, PL 71,351.

37. Roger Collins, "Mérida and Toledo: 550-585," Visigothic Spain: New Approaches (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 217.

38. Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium 5,8.3 ed. J.N. Garvin (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1946), 224.

39. Ibid., 5,6.13, p. 212.

40. Ibid., 5,5.9, p. 204.

41. Victor of Vita, HP 2, 56-101, PL 58,219-254

42. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 80.

28. 43. Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium 5,9.1, p.
44. Gregory of Tours, HF, 8,46, PL 71,484.
45. Gregory the Great, Dialogorum Liber 3,31, PL 77,292.
46. Ibid., 292.
47. Collins, "Mérida and Toledo: 550-585," 215.
48. Gregory the Great, Dialogorum Liber 3,31, PL 77,292.
49. John of Biclar, Chronicon, PL 83,868.
50. Gregory of Tours, HF 9,15, PL 71,494.
51. Ursicino Domínguez del Val, Leandro de Sevilla y la lucha contra el Arrianismo (Madrid, Editorio Nacional, 1981), 57.
52. Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica, MGH Scr. Mer. II, ed. B. Krusch (Hanover, 1888), 125.
53. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 91,94 accepted without reservations Fredegarius's account of Reccared's secret baptism.
54. Vives, Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda (Barcelona, 1942), no. 302.
55. Hillgarth, "Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth-Century Spain," 499. Hillgarth mentioned that the silence of the Vitas on Hermenegild's conversion amounted to an "official suppression of history."

56. John of Biclar, Chronicon, PL 83,868.
57. Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium, 5,10.1, p. 232.
58. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 102.
59. Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium 5,12.1, p. 244.
60. Domínguez de Val, Leandro de Sevilla y la lucha contra el Arrianismo, 59.
61. Concilium Toletanum Tertium, PL 84,341.
62. Ibid., 341.
63. Ibid., 345.
64. Ibid., 346.
65. Gregory the Great, Epistolae 43, PL 77,497.
66. Even as late as 633, the Fourth Council of Toledo reported that both single and triple immersions were being practiced. The council, citing Gregory's letter to Leander of forty years before, ruled in favor of the single baptismal immersion (Domínguez del Val, Leandro de Seville y la lucha contra el Arrianismo, 80).
67. Concilium Toletanum Tertium, PL 84,347.
68. Ibid., 349.
69. Ibid., 349.
70. José Orlandis, La Iglesia en la España visigótica

y medieval (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1976), 53.

71. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 98.

72. Concilium Toletanum Tertium, PL 84, 353.

73. Ibid., 356.

74. Juan Vives, Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos (Barcelona, 1963), 144-5. Gregory's ecstatic reply is in Epistolae 123, PL 77, 1052-56.

75. P.D. King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom, 123 had noted the brittle rapport between the Visigothic Catholic monarchy and the Papacy: "Relations with Rome, normal before 589, were distant indeed after that date." If there were ten letters written before 604, between 604-711, not even that number was exchanged between the Catholic kings of Spain and the popes. Visigothic suspicion of the papacy's links to Byzantium has been offered as an explanation. See Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 110.

76. Concilium Toletanum Tertium, PL 84, 346.

77. Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica, ed. B. Krusch, MGH Scr. Mer. II, 125.

78. For Orlandis, La Iglesia en la España visigótica y medieval,⁴⁴ "parece improbable que la literatura religiosa arriana existente entre los godos de España se extendiera a mucho más que la versión de la Biblia de Wulfila y los libros litúrgicos." See also, Michel Gros, "Les Wisigoths et les liturgies occidentales," L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne wisigothique: Colloque international du C.N.R.S., tenu à la Fondation Singer-Polignac, Paris 14-16 mai 1990, ed. Jacques Fontaine et Christine Pellistiani (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 1992), 127: "Comme le clergé arien sans doute ne comptait pas parmi ses membres de grands écrivains pour enrichir les libelli liturgiques primitifs de nouveaux textes, leurs rites étaient certainement plutôt pauvres et simples, sauf peut-être ceux qui avaient lieu au cours

des liturgies célébrées à la chapelle royale."

79. Jean Boube, "Contribution à l'étude des sarcophages paléochrétiens du sud-ouest de la Gaule," Revue Aquitania, 2, 1984, 175.

80. Emilienne Demougeot, "Y eut-il une forme arienne de l'art paléochrétien?" Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 23-30 settembre 1962, Studi di Antichità Cristiana 26 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1965), 491-519.

81. Ibid., 514.

82. Ibid., 507.

83. Louis Lapeyre, "L'ALPHA et l'OMEGA: Marque de l'Arianisme," Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne 35 (1973), 96. The only caveat in this article with its groundbreaking interpretation about Arian art is the lack of illustrations.

84. Ibid., 99.

85. Ibid., 97.

86. Naissance des arts chrétiens: Atlas des monuments paléochrétiens de la France, ed. Noël Duval (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1991), 297. A deluxe atlas with a wealth of beautiful illustrations, maps, and diagrams.

87. Ibid., 298.

88. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "The sculpture of Visigothic France," Archaeologia 87 (1933), 79-128; Edward James, The Merovingian Archaeology of South-West Gaul, British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series 25 (1&2), 1977.

89. Birgitte Briesenick, "Typologie und Chronologie

der südwestgallischen Sarkophagen," Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz (1962), 76-182.

90. J. Hubert, L'Art préromain (Paris, 1938); D. Fossard, "La chronologie des sarcophages d'Aquitaine," Actes du V^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Aix-en-Provence 1954 (Studi di Antichità Cristiana 22) (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana), 321-333.

91. That the Visigoths of Gaul after 507 could manage to retain their identity and even perhaps territory is seen in the Visigothic cemetery of Albi, leading Edward James, "Septimania and its Frontier: An Archaeological Approach," Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, 236 to question: "Did the Visigoths preserve some kind of enclave in the Albigeois into the sixth or seventh century?"

92. Ibid., 232.

93. Naissance des arts chrétiens, 297.

94. Ibid., 301.

95. Juan Vives, Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda, no. 87, p.32.

96. Ibid., no. 144, p. 46.

97. Ibid., no.153, p. 48.

98. Louis Lapeyre, "L'ALPHA et l'OMEGA: Marque de l'Arianisme," 96.

99. Ibid., 96.

100. Ibid., 97.

101. D. Vaquerizo Gil and J.R. Carrillo Diaz-Pines,

"The Roman villa of El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba), Journal of Roman Archaeology 8 (1995), 134 have dated the destruction, perpetrated most likely by Christians, since decapitation of pagan statuary was a unique anti-pagan act of vandalism: "Practically all the pieces were broken in antiquity, an action which we believe resulted from a calculated and deliberate action on the part of people arriving from outside the villa, perhaps during the Visigothic period."

102. E.A. Thompson, "Barbarian Collaborators and Christians," Romans and Barbarians: the Decline of the Western Empire (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 232 has summarized this lost Arian heritage: "The sixth century is not usually regarded as an age of tolerant government, but that is what it was, at any rate in Spain and in its earlier years in Italy and parts of France...But with the triumph of Catholicism, it was tolerance itself that became a thing of the past."

103. Gregory of Tours, HF 5,44, PL 71,358-360

104. Ibid., 359.

105. Ibid., 359-360.

106. Ibid., 360.

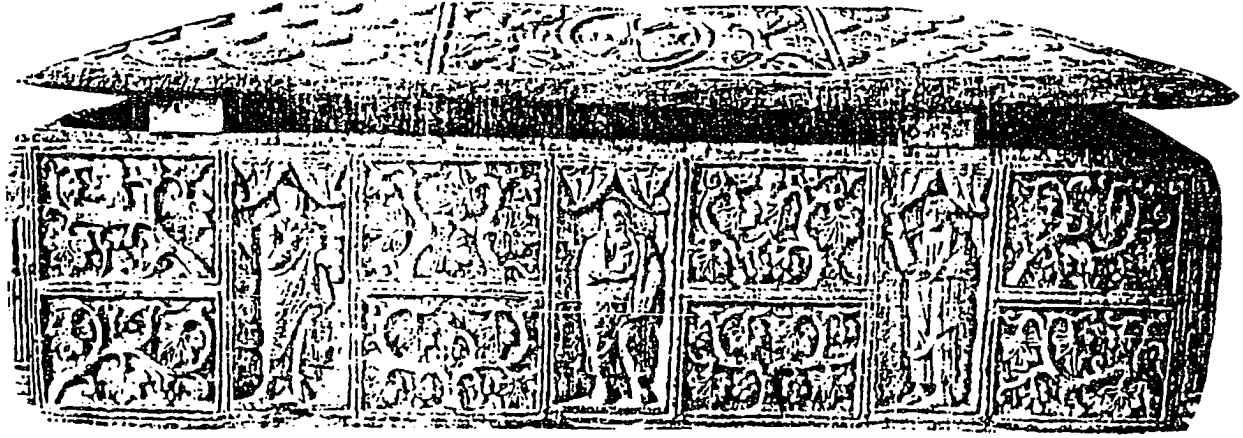
107. Ibid., 360.

108. Leander of Seville, Homilia in Laudem Ecclesiae, PL 84, 893.

P L A T E 1 7



Leovigild coin from Narbonne. From Aloïss Heiss, Description générale des monnaies des rois wisigoths (Paris, 1872), Plate 1, no. 19.



P L A T E 1 8

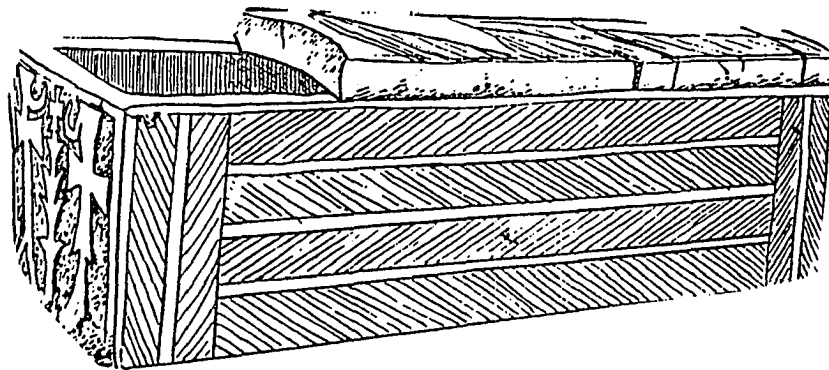
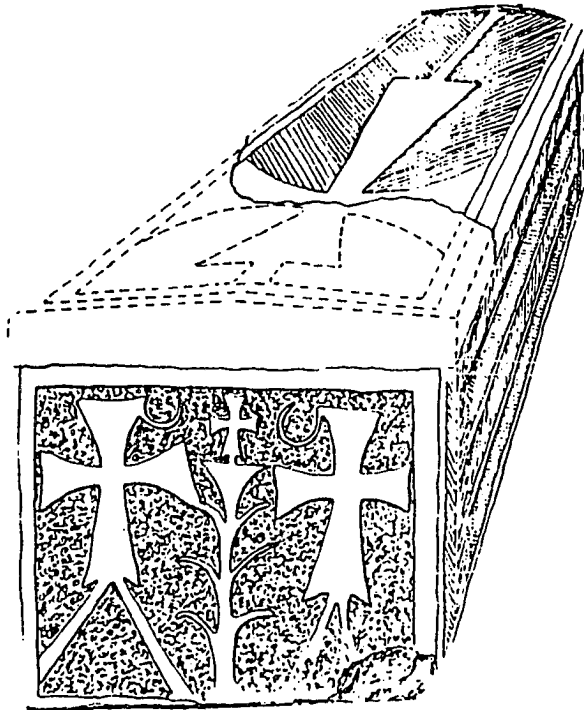
Sarcophagus of Christ and the apostles Peter and Paul from Castelnaud-de-Guers (Hérault) of Christ (middle) and the apostles Peter (right), Paul (left). On the lid, the alpha-omega Chi-Rho. Vine imagery. White marble. End of the sixth century? Paris, Louvre. From Naissance des arts chrétiens: Atlas des monuments paléochrétiens de la France, ed. Noel Duval (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1991), 283.

P L A T E 1 9



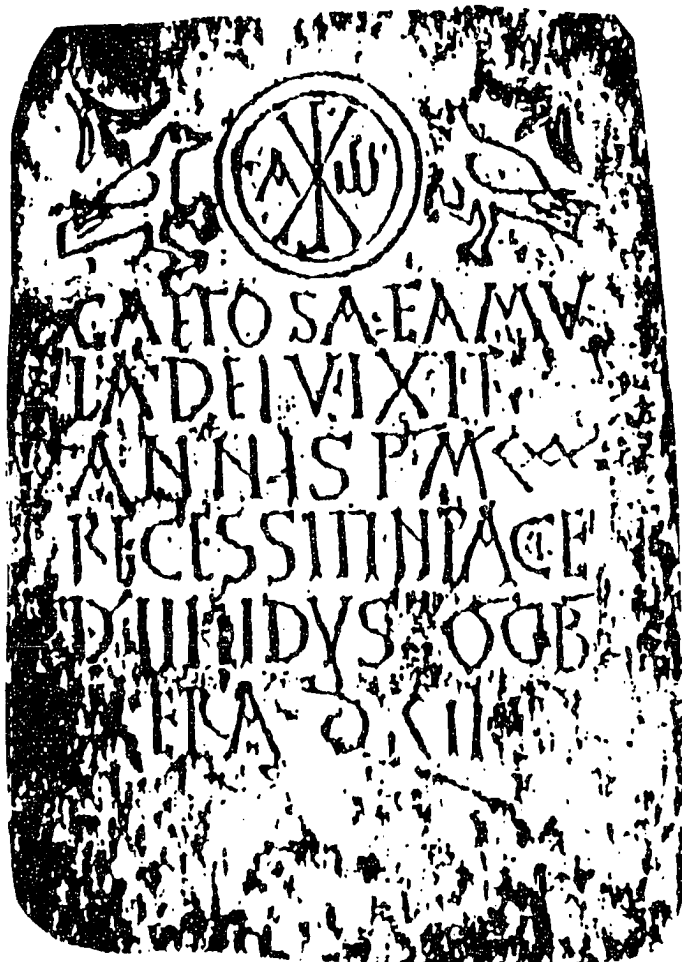
Soldier epitaph from Bordeaux. Alpha-omega ChiRho within a crown, symbolizing victory and flanked by two doves with olive branches (peace). Epitaph reads: "Here lies Flavinus of the Mattiaci seniores who lived for forty years and who left his wife and children a fate of great cruelty." The Mattiaci seniores were listed in the Notitia Dignitatum. Second half of the fourth or first half of the fifth century. Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux. From Naissance des arts chrétiens, 154.

P L A T E 2 0



Merovingian stone sarcophagus (trapezoidal) from the ancient Church of Saint-Marcel (Paris), characterized by three Latin crosses on the sides. Two crosses on a triangular base flank "un palmier crucifère" (tree of life). No date given. Paris, Musée Carnavalet. From Naissance des arts paléochrétiens, 294.

P L A T E 2 1



"Epitaph of Cattosa, "servant of God" reads "Cattosa, famula Dei, uixit annis p' m' LXX. Recessit in pace d' III idus Ocb. Era 6LII" (13 October 514.). Zahara. From Juan Vives, Inscripciones cristianas de España romana y visigoda (Barcelona, 1942), plate 8, inscription no. 144 (p.46).



PLATE 22

Presbytery door from Mérida. "Two faces of a great presbytery door from the church in Mérida, with Labarum in triumph, three times repeated, beneath arch and pediments, flanked by two great peacocks now vanished. A splendid example of Mérida art of the 7th century and the end of the preceeding one. Museo Arqueológica Nacional, Madrid." Late sixth or early seventh century. From Pedro de Palol, Hispanic Art of the Visigothic Period (New York: Tudor, 1962), 46-7.

CHAPTER 8

THE VANDAL ARIANS OF
NORTH AFRICA

On 28 August 430 during the third month of the Vandal siege of Hippo, St. Augustine died. African Catholicism had lost its most impassioned protector on the eve of its gravest crisis. During the next century of Vandal rule, Catholic Romans would be persecuted for three quarters of the time by three of the six Arian kings--Geiseric (428-77), his son Huneric (477-84) and by his grandson Thrasamund (496-523). When tolerance finally came for African Catholicism granted by another grandson of Geiseric, Hilderic (523-530), it preceded the imminent reconquest of North Africa by the Byzantines in 534 and the subsequent restoration of Catholicism during the following year.

The Vandals of North Africa were thus plunged back to the historical obscurity from whence they came. Among the Germanic tribes, the Vandals rank as the most mysterious. Except for the ever so pithy history by Isidore of Seville,¹ the Vandals did not inspire a Volksgeschichte. Their tribal name has been traced to a village north of Uppsala, Sweden, known as Vendel.² What the pioneer Vandal historian, Christian Courtois, said fifty years ago holds true today: "Nous ne savons presque rien de la langue des Vandales."³ The Vandals had occupied Sardinia for eighty years, since 455.⁴ Although the Sardinian language is the

most archaic of all the Romance languages, not one Vandalic word has been transmitted into Sardinian. Vandalic onomastics is more fruitful. Thanks to intensive North African archaeology, we possess nearly 100 Vandal names, extracted from cemeteries.⁵ But even in their proud capital city of Carthage, archaeologists must struggle to identify barbarian artifacts as apparent in the recent discovery of a Vandalic cemetery: "The Theodosian Wall cemetery is no exception to the rule at Carthage that archaeological evidence of the Vandals is hard to find and almost impossible to identify except by date or inscription."⁶

Why this obscurity? First, we must reckon with the notorious Vandal reputation: "The Visigoths were lambs compared to the Vandal wolves."⁷ The Vandals ranked as the most ferocious of all the Germanic rulers. In North Africa, Catholic hatred of their former persecutors, poignantly depicted by Victor of Vita in his Historia persecutionis provinciae Africanae, and the military collapse of their kingdom can explain the obliteration of much of Vandal heritage, including their laws. Unlike the Visigoths, the Vandal kings were not known as great legislators. Two of the few known Vandalic laws are celebrated ones and both originate from Victor of Vita: Geiseric's constitutio before his death in 477, (2,13)⁸ obliquely mentioned by Victor, through which the king

radically changed the old Germanic law of elective kingship in favor of hereditary succession; and the menacing edict of Huneric on 20 May 483 (2,39),⁹ quoted verbatim, which summoned the bishops of his Catholic subjects, referred to by the king in Nicaean Greek terms as "omocousiani," to a disputatio with their Arian counterparts. Being deprived of their laws is no doubt a fundamental handicap in understanding the government and society behind the Christian extremism.¹⁰

But still another reason for their landmark elusiveness is grounded in the Romanization of the Vandalic elite. Here, our sources are both literary and archaeological. Except for their Arian religion, and this is a considerable exception, the Vandals, in time, copied the life style of their wealthy subjects, indulging in sumptuous villas and continuing the Roman traditions of baths and circuses.¹¹ To sing their praises, the Vandal kings, especially Thrasamund (496-523), patronized court poets, such as the vir clarissimus Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, and Luxorius, Felix, and Florentinus.¹² The last two poets composed dedicatory lyrics commemorating the baths with hypocausts built by Thrasamund in the Carthaginian seaside resort of Alianae. Florentinus used the occasion to glorify his brilliant king and the glittering mother-city of Carthage. His lyric served the same propaganda purposes as did the Lady Carthage (Τύχη/Fortuna) figures and Felix Karthago

legends on the coins of the Vandal kings.¹³ It was Procopius, who would write that the Vandal race during the twilight of its power under the usurper king Gelimer (530-34), was the most luxurious of all.¹⁴ Procopius further elaborated that since their conquest of Libya, the Vandals, adorned in gold and silk, had been relishing banquets, theater, and hunts.

In the commercial sphere, that some business enterprises under the Vandals continued, is seen in the Tablettes Albertini, documents from Gunthamund's reign (484-96), found on the Algerian-Tunis frontier in 1928.¹⁵ These wooden tablets, dated September 493, recorded deeds, a marriage contract, sale of a slave boy and of other agricultural land with olive trees, all conducted through exchanges of solidi and folles. Moreover, instead of Vandalic piracy closing the Mediterranean and ushering in the Dark Ages,¹⁶ as once thought, it has been postulated that the Vandal fleets pursued a brisk trade in grains and olive oil, from the hefty volume of Vandalic amphorae which have been discovered.¹⁷ But in public services and institutions, Vandalic Africa functioned as a "reduced" state which in time did decay.¹⁸

According to Salvian, bishop of Marseille, the Vandals took over a promiscuous Carthage. Salvian had pilloried the capital as a domain of filth and vice and as the ever so pretentious African Rome.¹⁹ Although there is a good

possibility that the early Vandals did introduce moral legislation, we cannot corroborate Salvian's claim of chastity laws having been introduced by them (7,22).

In time, though, as Procopius had noted, the Vandal elite basked in the splendors of a cosmopolitan Roman culture. There was, however, one jarring dislocation in this "symbiosis of Romans and Vandals",²⁰ and that was Vandalic Arianism. It was through Salvian, writing between 439-450, that we learned of the Vandals' chanting verses from the Bible as they trekked southwards en route to a new homeland.²¹ No doubt, carrying Ulphilas's Gothic Bible acted as a talisman for the Vandals, replacing their former pagan wooden gods and rune spears.²² Salvian tended to whitewash the Vandals. Bloodthirsty though they were, the Vandals were morally superior and chaste (7,7). As for their heretical Christianity, it was not the barbarians' fault if they had naively accepted and traditionally upheld the wrong doctrines of their first Christian teachers (5,2).

Here, we encounter another mystery of Vandal history--the date of their conversion to Arian Christianity. From Salvian, we know that they were already Arians before embarking for Africa in 429. Isidore of Seville is our only source for a startling report that Geiseric, after he became king in 429, but before the African campaign, was an apostate Catholic and the first to cross into the Arian perfidy.²³ It seems probable that the Visigoths

converted the Vandals to Arianism. But since Visigothic Arianism was not as ruthless towards Catholicism, this has led to an undocumented assumption that the Vandals received their Arianism from an unknown, albeit extremist source.²⁴

But like the Visigoths, the Vandals became a formidable political problem for the Roman governments when they amalgamated their tribal units into a dynasty. The Vandal kings, by murdering their contenders, would jealously protect dynastic prerogatives throughout their history. In 406 the Vandals crossed the frozen Rhine and began their Völkerwanderung through Gaul and Spain. Defeated in Spain by the Visigoths under Wallia in 418, the Vandals absorbed what was left of another defeated tribe, the non-Germanic Alans,²⁵ and migrated southwards to Baetica. Before his death in 428, their first king, Gunderic of the Hasdingi dynasty, had assumed the title which his successors would retain, rex Wandalorum et Alanorum. Gunderic's brother, Geiseric, with whom he may have held a dual kingship,²⁶ accepted an invitation from the renegade Roman count Boniface to join him in wresting north Africa from the western Roman emperor, Valentinian III. In May 429 it was said that 80,000 Vandals crossed into Africa.²⁷ Six years later, Geiseric agreed to a treaty with Valentinian. The Vandals were given territory in Mauretania and Numidia in exchange for yearly tribute and foederati status.²⁸

Shortly afterwards, Geiseric took the offensive again and conquered Carthage on 19 October 439. The treaty of 442²⁹ divided Roman Africa between the Vandals and the imperial government with the Vandals receiving the richest territory in *proconsularis* Numidia, Byzacena, and Tripolitana. Under Geiseric, Vandalic aggression continued. Procopius pictured the Geiseric of this time as an agent of divine retribution. When asked by the captain of one of his ships what men were they to set sail against, the king gave a reply which would have met with Salvian's approval. The Vandals were sailing against those who had incurred God's wrath.³⁰

In 455 Geiseric sacked Rome. During the next year, the Vandals expanded their kingdom to include the islands of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Ibiza, Minorca, and Mallorca. Two imperial expeditions sent to crush the Vandals failed miserably: the first in 460³¹, an army under the western Roman emperor, Majorian; and then a costly fleet said to have carried 100,000 men, sent in 468 by the eastern Roman emperor, Leo.³² For the failure of the Leo expedition, Procopius blamed the intrigues of the Roman Arian general, Aspar, who had feared that Leo's defeat of the Vandals would further empower the emperor. Byzantine invasions were undoubtedly an important factor in Geiseric's persecutions of his Catholic subjects.

For the mistreatment of Catholic Romans by their Arian

rulers, we have the invaluable history by Victor of Vita, who began by mourning the sixty years of rule by the cruel and savage Vandal race over miserable Africa.³³ Unfortunately, the sixty years of Vandal reign has been shown not to be definitive (489) in dating Victor's composition.³⁴ Victor concerned himself principally with the persecutions by Geiseric (428-77) and his son Huneric (477-84). He did not recount events during the reign of Gunthamund (484-96), who mitigated the Arian persecutions of Catholics. So right from the start, we are confronted with a somewhat historical error by Victor. There is no denying that "crudelis et saevus Vandalice gentis" characterized the Vandals. But what are we to make of Victor's litany of the unspeakable atrocities inflicted on the Catholics, which included filth being poured into mouths, forced open with stakes and poles (1,6), the torture of the bishop of Vita, Pampinianus, burnt by iron plates (1,10), the sending naked into exile of the Carthaginian bishop Quodvultdeus and of his clergy (1,15). Victor, while seeking sympathy and recourse from the Byzantine government, was also celebrating the African cult of Christian martyrology, that had evolved during the pre-Constantinian persecutions, particularly during the Great Persecution of Diocletian between 303-05.³⁵ As we have noted in our discussion on Constantine's involvement in the Donatist schism, the African martyrs versus the lapsed, called

traditores, were the key players in the Donatist-Catholic conflicts after 313. In respect to this martyr tradition, Victor, early on, listed a number of churches taken over by Geiseric and given to the Arians: Basilica Majorum which preserved the remains of Vibia Perpetua and her slave Felicitas (1,9), martyred in the Carthaginian amphitheater in March 203; the basilica of Celerina and the Scillitani--twelve martyrs, who died in July 180 (1,9); the church called Restituta (1,15); the two churches ("egregias et amplas")³⁶ outside the walls, dedicated to the renowned Carthaginian bishop, Cyprian, martyred 14 September 258 (1,16). By and large, Geiseric took over the Catholic churches inside the walls and let Catholics retain the churches outside the walls (1,16).

It had been one of the missions of the UNESCO sponsored archaeological project, Pour Sauver Carthage (1975-84), to find and excavate these named fifth century basilicas and date the stratigraphic layers according to late Roman, Vandal, and Byzantine periods.³⁷ A daunting endeavor, since, over the centuries, there has been much stratigraphic disruption on these and other Carthaginian sites, owing to stone plundering.³⁸ Between 1906-1908, Père Delattre discovered the Basilica Majorum and identified it as such from an inscription found in situ of the martyrs, Perpetua and Felicitas, although the inscription since then has been dated to Byzantine times.³⁹ One of the

Cyprian basilicas has been tentatively linked with the Basilica of St. Monica, near the sea.⁴⁰ How grand were these basilicas? We must truly speak in terms of an "ecclesiastical complex."⁴¹ The Basilica Majorum is known to have had measured 61x45m with nine naves and a vast mosaic flooring (3.6x3.7m.) in the central nave.⁴² Conclusive proof of Arian takeovers are impossible to verify, because of a lack of Vandal artifacts, especially coins. The Vandals only began to mint copper nummi in 477 during Huneric's reign. Before that time, the Vandals relied on Roman currency. Blurring the Catholic-Arian picture is the Donatist involvement. In fact, the cemetery basilica, commemorating local martyrs, may have originated with the Donatists before being later venerated by both Catholics and Arians.⁴³ From Constantine's time, the Donatist schismatics had contended with Catholics as the foremost Christianity of North Africa. Donatism was proscribed on 30 January 412 (Codex Theodosianus 16,5.52). During Vandal rule, the Donatists represented another strong ecclesiastical organization for the Arian kings. With very scant documentation, there is no consensus as to whether African Donatists were equally mistreated by the Arians or were treated better than the Catholics.⁴⁴

If the archaeological record on the major basilicas delivered to the Arians is inconclusive, there is new evidence about the sorry state of non-Arian Christians

under the Vandals, by the finds in a Vandalic cemetery outside the Theodosian wall in Carthage.⁴⁵ This wall was constructed ca. 425. Pottery and coins verified that the cemetery was used between 450 to the early sixth century. Burials, numbering 226, were discovered within a "managed cemetery" setup in which the dead were carefully but simply laid out. With no footpaths, the cemetery was not meant to be visited by the deceased's loved ones. Half were shallow graves and some of the deeper ones were covered on the surface by Christian funerary mosaics. Not all the dead had been poor, since one pit grave held 4 gold solidi and 24 nummi. Except for the mosaics, it would have been hard to identify any of the graves as Christian. Possibly, the mosaics were taken from an abandoned church, for it is unusual to see Christian mosaics on top of graves with no inscriptions. But the big enigma was the choice of a final resting place: "The mosaics do beg the question why these Christians chose to be buried in a city cemetery in preference to a historically Christian cemetery, usually presumed to be preferable. The answers to this question may help refine our understanding of Christian practices during the repressions of the early Vandal period."⁴⁶ Assuming the deceased were Catholics, did the choice of an urban cemetery afford the deceased more protection from desecration by a hostile Arian government? Regarding funerary customs, Victor of Vita did plaintively

cite Geiseric's decree that Catholic funerals must be conducted silently and not be accompanied by any hymns (1,16).⁴⁷ Geiseric also removed Catholics from court offices in favor of Arian (1,43).⁴⁸ Occasionally, the Vandal king did yield to Byzantine pressure, as exerted by the emperor Zeno in 477, by reopening a Carthaginian Catholic church and recalling its clergy from exile (1,51).

But for the most part, the reigns of Geiseric and his successor son Huneric (477-84) saw closed Catholic churches decaying⁴⁹ with bishops and clergy in exile. That there were many such churches can be inferred through the 466 Catholic bishops and presbyters listed in the appendix to Victor's history, the Notitia Provinciarum et civitatum Africae.⁵⁰ These were the bishops who had been present at Huneric's disputatio of 484. Curiously, our author, listed with the other bishops of Byzacena, was designated as absent: "Victor Vitensi, non occurit."⁵¹ And yet, Victor's narrative of this famous encounter has all the signs of an eyewitness report. Isidore described Huneric (Ugnericus), "Ariano suscitatus furore,"⁵² as more atrocious than his father in his persecutions of African Catholics. Huneric closed churches, produced martyrs, and sent the clergy into exile. Although Victor stated that Huneric began his reign in a friendlier fashion by permitting Catholic assemblies (2,1), he soon turned to vile persecutions which included scalping any Vandals

or Catholics dressed as Vandals, about to enter Catholic churches (2,9).

On the feast day of the Ascension of Our Lord (2 May 483), Huneric, in the presence of Reginus, the emperor Zeno's legate, issued an ominous edict addressed to the bishops of the homoousians (2,39): "Rex Hunerix Vandalorum et Alanorum universis episcopis omousianis."⁵³ The king gave as his immediate rationale, the constant Catholic disobedience of royal decrees against the celebration of their Mass and liturgies in the territories of the Vandals ("in sortibus Wandalorum"). Since the king cited the Catholic claim that they were just holding true to Christian rule, he invited all the Catholic bishops of his realm to come, without fear, to Carthage on the first of February 484 for a disputatio with the Arian bishops. There they would defend their homoousian faith from the Scriptures: "et fidem omousianorum, quam defenditis de divinis Scripturis proprie approbetis, quo possit agnosci si integram fidem teneatis." The Catholics interpreted this edict as an "imminens calamitas (2,40)⁵⁴ and harbinger of a furious persecution to come ("futurae persecutionis furorem"). Where the king had said that he did not wish a scandal in our God-given Provinces, the Catholics read that he did not wish any Catholics in the provinces.

When the feared day had arrived, the Catholic clerics were stunned to find out that it was "Patriarcha Cyrila,"

the Arian bishop of Carthage, presiding over the proceedings, who had appointed the judges (2,54). The angry Catholic delegation challenged his arrogantly usurped title: "Ad quod superbe et illicite sibi nomen usurpatum nostri detestat dixerunt. Legatur nobis quo concedente istud sibi nomen Cyrila assumpsit."⁵⁵ The Catholic clamor provoked the Arians to beat the Catholic children in the audience, inflicting on each child, one hundred blows. Then it was Cyrila who objected to the recitation of his opponents' defence by incredibly declaring: "Nescio Latine" which the Catholics contradicted (2,55).⁵⁶

If this very discursive Catholic credo was ever recited in toto, it must have strained the patience of the faithful and unfaithful alike. Studded with scriptural citations from the Old and New Testaments, the Catholic manifesto presented the consubstantiality of the Trinitarian Godhead (2,56): "First therefore, we know that we must explain the unity of Father and Son, which the Greeks call homo-ousion. We thus confess that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are so in the unity of the Godhead." ("Primum igitur de unitate substantiae Patris et Filii, quod Graeci ὁμοούσιον dicunt, exponendum nobis esse cognoscimus. Patrem ergo, et Filium et Spiritum sanctum ita in unitate Deitatis profiteamur").⁵⁷ The Catholics had entitled their "libellus" Professio Fidei Catholicorum episcoporum Hunerico regi oblata. The Vandal Arians, like the Visigothic Arians

of Leovigild's time,⁵⁸ were outraged at the Catholics' alleged misuse of the name: "quare nos nomine nostro catholicos dixerimus" (3,1).⁵⁹

Huneric had not waited for the end of the debate, but instead had closed all the African Catholic churches and had given their ecclesiastical property to the Arians (3,2). He then issued an edict (3,3)⁶⁰ where he stated that, despite his triumphant majesty and clemency, he must punish the Catholics for disobeying his own and his father's proscription of Catholic divine services (3,4). Moreover, the Catholics had failed to prove from the Scriptures, the homoousion doctrine condemned by a thousand bishops at Ariminum and Seleucia (3,5). In obliquely referring to Constantius II's homoian credo, drafted by these twin councils in 359 and ratified by the Council of Constantinople (360), we have proof that Vandal Arianism, extremist in its persecutions, was not extremist in its theology. Homoian Arianism was a mildly subordinationist credo; Christ, the Son of God, was not equal but merely similar to the Father in divinity.

Huneric's penalties (3,7-11) turned out to be a cunning quid pro quo--a recapitulatio of the legislation compiled against the Roman Arians by Theodosius I and subsequent Catholic emperors. Huneric devastatingly used the word "retorquere." He would twist his Catholic subjects around the same imperial laws (3,7).⁶¹ This tremendous, anti-Arian

legislation, embodied in the Theodosian Code (16,5),⁶² had closed Arian churches and had forbidden the Arians to assemble, construct churches, baptize, ordain priests, consecrate bishops (3,8). Some of the Arian laity could not make wills (3,9). Arian books were burned (3,10). Estate owners, the governing elite, and judges were held liable for sheltering Arians. Capital punishment could be imposed on judges (3,11). Imperial penalties had included heavy fines, confiscation of property, and banishment. Huneric struck the final coup by ordering that all followers of the homoousian faith convert by 1 June 484 to Arianism, eloquently described by the king as their venerated and practiced true religion: "veram religionem" (3,12).⁶³

It was a blessing for Catholic Romans that Huneric died during the tenth month of the seventh year of his reign, on 22 December 484, having been fittingly so rotted away by worms, that only parts of his putrid body remained to be buried (3,71). A scribe would spitefully add to Victor's text, that a short time afterwards, another heretical "transgressor," the Donatist, Nicasius, suffered the same fate (3,71).⁶⁴ Huneric would be the last Vandal king treated by Victor, whose accuracy may never be completely corroborated: "Quand il nous est possible de vérifier son information, on est frappé de son exactitude."⁶⁵ But on the other hand, Victor" mêle avec une regrettable

constance la réalité et la fiction, suivant les meilleurs principes de la hagiographie."⁶⁶ We had spoken before how Victor was following a time-honored African tradition of the martyr memoria. He also was driving a hard plea for salvation from the Vandal oppressors in beseeching patriarchs and prophets (3,69)⁶⁷ and even the apostles Peter and Paul (3,69).⁶⁸ Victor also derided those Romans ("Nonnulli qui barbaros diligitis") who saw a gentler side to the ferocious Vandal barbarians (3,62).⁶⁹ The barbarians, except for using Romans as slaves, do not want to see live a single Roman, for whom they bear no great love: "nec ullum Romanorum omnino desiderant vivere. Et ubi adhuc noscuntur parcere subjectis, ad untendum servitiis illorum parcunt; nam nullum dilexerunt aliquando Romanorum."⁷⁰

Huneric's nephew successor, Gunthamund (484-96) is not known to have persecuted Catholics, as attested by Isidore.⁷¹ Not only did Gunthamund recall Catholics from exile, he gave them back their churches, as in the case of the Carthaginian martyr basilica of St. Agileus (487), returned to Bishop Eugenius.⁷² Victor had placed Eugenius as the Carthaginian bishop at the time of Huneric's disputatio of 484 (2,38). The church of St. Agileus, a local martyr, was not listed by Victor as one of the Catholic churches confiscated by Geiseric. In 523 during Hilderic's reign, it hosted the consecration of Boniface, the first

consecrated Catholic bishop under Vandal rule. Archaeologically, the Church of St. Agileus has been linked to the Basilica of Bir el Knissia ("Well of the Church"). This church, outside the Theodosian Wall and near the harbor, was first excavated by the White Fathers, Delattre and Châles, in 1922-1923.⁷³ No Vandal names have ever been found there among the 100 funerary inscriptions, indicating that the Arians may have never occupied the church. Contrary to our literary source, was the church always in Catholic hands from the outset of Vandal rule? This could be improbable: "Preliminary results of the 1992 season, however, suggest that the basilica was built for the first time in the late Vandal period. Therefore, if it is to be identified with St. Agileus, the basilica given to the Catholics by Gunthamund, it must have been a newly constructed and not a Catholic church returned to the Catholics after a period of Arian control."⁷⁴ Whether further excavations will prove differently, that the Bir el Knissia Basilica has instead an early Byzantine provenance, remains to be seen. Archaeologists have confessed that the late Vandal and early Byzantine layers of north African ecclesiastical buildings are almost impossible to differentiate. A smooth transition between Vandal Arians and Catholics has been speculated.⁷⁵

Complicating the identification of Bir el Knissia is the possibility of another competitor fifth-century

church nearby, which had also been named Bir el Knissia by Drappier in 1912. Drappier discovered four funerary mosaics on a building floor in which had been cut three Vandal names: Vilimut, Hostrildus, and Tanca.⁷⁶ Drappier assumed that the structure above the floor had once housed a church, although this is challenged today. Still, was this building (now classified as Bir el Knissia 2, as opposed to the larger Bir el Knissia 1), the original church of St. Agileus handed back to the Catholics by Gunthamund? If it were, the Vandal names may explain previous Arian occupation.

Gunthamund's successor, Thrasamund (496-523) would prove not as tolerant towards the Catholics. Isidore would describe the king as full of Arian insanity ("Ariana insania plenus") as he closed churches and sent 120 bishops from all over Africa to exile in Sardinia.⁷⁷ Thrasamund prided himself on being an Arian intellectual; he liked to indulge in lively, theological discourse. Fulgentius, the aristocratic bishop of Ruspe, whom Thrasamund would twice exile to malaria-ridden Sardinia, once for thirteen years, wrote his Ad Trasimundum (515), in reply to the king's command of a theological tract to be presented to him in an hour. It in the second chapter, entitled De immensitate divinitatis filii Dei, that Fulgentius addressed a prime Arian text: "In the beginning was the Word" from John 1,1. Just because the evangelist had said "in the beginning" and

not before the beginning, does it have to be denied that the Son, having been born, is without a beginning?: "An forte, quia in principio erat audiimus dictum, aliquod Filio existendi audebimus assignare principium et ideo sine initio natus esse non creditur, quia Iohannes non eum ante principium, sed in principio fuisse testatur?"⁷⁸ (2,5). This exegesis is crucial for the link between Arianism and our alpha/omega iconography. According to Fulgentius, the Vandal Arians, true to their founder, were saying that Christ had a beginning by denying that he was without a beginning ("sine initio"). We had come across this ontologic phrase in the second canon of the Third Council of Toledo (589) which had condemned those who denied that the Son was "sine initio." Fulgentius, even within the same passage of his chapter, discussed the alpha and omega verses from Revelation, "Ipse quoque de se Dominus: Ego sum alpha et omega, initium et finis." He noted that both Father and Son utter the same apocalyptic sayings. But Fulgentius's argument is on thin ice as we feel the bishop's grappling with Arian logic. In the end, Fulgentius must assign the Son's nativity and his "sine initio" status to a mystery of faith.

From the time period of Fulgentius's king, we have a dated funerary inscription with the alpha and omega Christogram, in which the king's reign is cited. This epitaph from Haïdra, Tunisia, was found in Basilica IV, called

the "Chapelle Vandale" because it was handed back to the Catholics by Hilderic in 523. On the inscription, the a and l are inversed, which has led to speculation that these reversed apocalyptic letters are a more distinctive sign of Arianism.⁷⁹ Another puzzle for Vandal epigraphers was the rare abbreviation of Thrasamund's name, TSM in Festa's epitaph.⁸⁰

Fulgentius had addressed Thrasamund as "piisme rex." But besides his ardent Arian Christianity, Thrasamund was renowned for his heavy sponsorship of pagan heritage, such as the Alianae baths and court panegyrics. Luxorius had even written epylia with such mythological themes as the rape of Helen and the Oresteia.⁸¹ Still another survival of pagan culture under the Vandals, at least in titular form, was that of the curiales provinciae, provincial government officials with aristocratic lineage.⁸² Under the empire, the curiales had elected a sacerdos, chief priest, who after his tenure, received the honorary title of sacerdotalis. These curiales also had elected a flamen perpetuus, who officiated over the divine worship of the emperor. In the Tablettes Albertini, the land owner, Flavius Geminus Catullinus, was a flamen perpetuus.⁸³ Epigraphic evidence for these pagan titles under the Vandalic Christian kings came during the nineteenth century when two inscriptions were found in the Vandal Chapel, those of Astius Vindicianus, vir clarissimus et flamen

perpetuus (plate 23) and of his relative, Astius Mustelus, who, surprisingly, was designated as flamen perpetuus cristinanus (plate 24).⁸⁴ Astius Vindicianus served under Thrasamund, since the undated inscription has been ascribed to Thrasamund's reign whereas Astius Mustelus was flamen under Hilderic. His epitaph was dated 6 February 526 and cited Hilderic (written **ILDIRIX**). In 1969 the epitaph of a third Astii family member was discovered also in the Vandal Chapel, that of Astius Dinamius, designated as sacerdotalis provinciae Africe, and ascribed to the year 510.⁸⁵ All three Astii were buried in the center nave of the Vandal Chapel in the Basilica of Ammaedara. Although the three epitaphs bear the alpha and omega Christogram, the Vindicianus and Dinamius epitaphs from Thrasamund's time have transposed Greek letters and a stylistic alpha, whereas the Mustelus one shows the letters in their usual position with either a Latin R or a "Rho latinisé."⁸⁶ Pagan worship of the emperors had been proscribed in the Theodosian Code (16,1.2; 16,5.6; 16,10.10; 16,10.12).⁸⁷ After the reconquest in 535, Justinian would abolish the African curia. Since the curiales were also tax collectors, Justinian would therefore be seen as a liberator. A plausible explanation for the Vandal curia has recently been put forth that in late antiquity "the provincial councils preserved only a secularized version of homage to the emperors, and that the Vandal kings

deflected toward themselves the devotion which the emperors had found so useful."⁸⁸ Still, a caveat is in order. Roman titles continued well into the Christian era. Preservation of titles does not necessarily mean that the titular institutions of a pagan era were later viable.

We do not know for sure why Hilderic (523-30), son of Huneric and Eudocia, reversed the persecution policies of his predecessors. Isidore stated that, having sworn an oath to Thrasamund that he would not reopen Catholic churches after that king's death, Hilderic reopened them before Thrasamund died, so as not to break his vow.⁸⁹ Hilderic's mother was the Catholic daughter of Valentinian III, and the future king himself had spent time at Justinian's court. But, even before Hilderic's reign, at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, there occurred a sudden burst of Catholic building and rebuilding. We do not have an African source for this critical period of new freedoms granted by the once repressive Vandal government. Archaeology is only now uncovering how extravagantly Catholics built. Consider the ecclesiastical complex, a "groupe épiscopal" at Sbeitla, Tunisia, formerly Sufetula.⁹⁰ Under Vandal rule, in the late fifth or early sixth century, a basilica and baptistery were built side by side to the older basilica and baptistery which was dated from the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century (plate 25). What was the reason for

two basilicas "à deux sanctuaires opposés?" When it was "discovered" that under the baptistery of Basilica I was buried the martyred bishop, Jucundus, it was decided to make that baptistery a memorial chapel and build another more functional baptistery.⁹¹ The rationale for the second larger basilica with five naves was baffling until the discovery in 1963 of an obviously decapitated body under the church. Was this the skeleton of the martyred bishop of Sufetula, Praesidius, who was on the Notitia's list of bishops exiled by Huneric in 484?⁹² This building spree not only points to a passionate martyr cult venerated by Catholics, but also to their unexpectedly marked prosperity during late Vandal rule.⁹³

Nevertheless, the grandiose nature of the church buildings by Catholics under Arian rule is an uneasy conclusion. Did Vandalic Arian tolerance stretch that far? Given that the ecclesiastical history of Sufetula is "mal connue,"⁹⁴ one has to ask, where were the Arian churches? Was either Basilica I or II at any time an Arian church or even a Donatist church? If not, were these Catholic churches open to Vandalic Arians in recognition that "outside Carthage, the scattered Vandal population was blending with the Afro-Latins to the latter's advantage?"⁹⁵

That the history of Vandalic Africa would have been very different had Hilderic converted to Catholicism may not be so. Hilderic's conversion would not have prevented

his downfall. It was perhaps to prevent this conversion that Hilderic was deposed by Gelimer (530-34) who renewed the Arian harassment of Catholics and Vandal hostility to the Byzantines. Justinian had his pretext for reconquering the former provinces of imperial Africa. Citing the nullification of Geiseric's will, and the consequent breaking of Geiseric's treaty (476) by Gelimer, who was Hilderic's cousin, Justinian delivered two ultimatums to the usurper.⁹⁶ In both letters, Justinian, in demanding the restoration of the rightful king, was cognizant of the iura imperii, the legal fiction by which the Germanic kings of the West held their governmental authority through imperial fiat.⁹⁷ When Gelimer refused even to send the deposed king to Constantinople, (3,9,20-24), Justinian resolved on an invasion to punish Gelimer and forthwith summoned his general, Belisarius (3,9,24-26). The decision was fraught with perils, as Justinian's councilors warned (3,10,1-6). The emperor had just concluded a Persian war, and then there was the grim specter of the Vandal defeat in 468 of Leo's enormous armada which had supposedly carried 100,000 men.

Any wavering by the emperor ended, however, when Justinian was reminded of his promise to protect Catholics from tyranny (3,10,18-22). The fleet sent against the Vandals in June 533 was a modest one, consisting of 16,000 men on 500 ships. The Byzantines were fortunate in that

Gelimer was already preoccupied with a revolt in Tripolitana and in Sardinia where he had sent an army of 5,000 men and 120 ships. The Byzantine conquest of the Vandal kingdom was short. Belisarius had sent Justinian's lofty letter, addressed to the Vandal magistrates, explaining the rationale for the invasion--the legal support of Geiseric's will and the freedom from despotic tyranny (3.16,12-15). Carthage fell on 15 September 533. The victory of Tricameron, twenty miles from Carthage, in December 533 marked the military end of the Vandals. In early 534 Gelimer surrendered, was taken to Constantinople where he, enrobed in purple, was led in a triumphal procession for Belisarius. Seeing Justinian in splendor in the hippodrome inspired the cultured Gelimer to quote from Ecclesiastes (1,2): "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity" (4,9,11). The gold treasure which Titus had taken from the Second Temple at Jerusalem, and which had been, in turn, stolen by Geiseric who had sacked Rome in 455, was now surrendered to Justinian (4,9,5-6). In an aftermath, Procopius told us that Gelimer, who been given estates in Galatia, would have been made a patrician, had he not refused to convert to Catholicism (4,9,14). The last Vandal king would remain a staunch Arian. The surviving Vandals were either enlisted in the Byzantine army or enslaved.

Like the Roman Republic which, centuries ago, had destroyed the Punic culture of the Carthaginians, the

Byzantine empire resolved to do the same with the Vandals. Justinian could now style himself "Imperator Caesar Flavius Iustinianus Alamannicus Gotticus Francicus Germanicus Anticus Alanicus Uandalicus Africanus."⁹⁸ Under the resettlement, published in April 534,⁹⁹ Vandals, even those who converted to Catholicism, were disbarred from public offices. Vandal property was to be returned to the original owners or their descendants. Arian churches were to be handed over to the Catholics. In Africa the Byzantines engaged in heavy rebuilding of churches and other public institutions.

That the Byzantines succeeded in wiping out Vandal culture is indisputable. Among the paltry funerary reminders of Vandals is an epigraph of the still interred Hildiger from Basilica I at Haïdra ("Ic in pace Hildiger positus.") But this inscription piece is missing the accompanying slab which might have held a Christian monogram, possibly Arian.¹⁰⁰ As to how the restored Catholics treated the remains of their heretical brethren, we can consider the epitaph, "Victorinus, episcopus in pace Vandalorum" (plate 26). Victorinus was the Arian bishop of Ammaedara. During the Catholic restoration between 533-34, the Catholic bishop, Melleus, preserved the epitaph but added the ethnic title on the third line. Victorinus would not have used this pejorative title for himself: "Episcopus Vandalorum n'est pas une formule officielle: l'évêque

arien d'Ammaedara devait s'intituler episcopus plebis Ammaedarensis comme son adversaire. C'est un qualificatif objectif et quelque peu péjoratif."¹⁰¹ In 1971 the tomb was opened. Victorinus's skeleton was found very damaged, and no grave possessions were discovered.¹⁰² Was Victorinus's grave deliberately desecrated by the Catholics? An accompanying slab which again might have had Christian symbols inscribed on it has not been found.

As a conquered and obliterated culture, the Vandal Arians have an irresistible hold on those of us trying to revive their presence on African soil. Had Hilderic, like the Visigoth Recarred sixty-five years later, converted to Catholicism, would the Vandal kingdom have survived up to the onslaught of Islam in 698? And what are we to make of the extraordinary fanaticism of the Vandalic Arians? Was this a quid pro quo reaction to the fanaticism of their Catholic subjects?: "The Vandals were among the fiercest of the Arians just as the Africans were among the fiercest of the Catholics."¹⁰³ Yet an extremist and heretical Christianity was not the impetus for their military decline. Here, we must target the Vandalic government's enormous frontier difficulties, particularly with the unfriendly Moors. And can we really blame the Romanization of their Germanic culture as another cause for their decline? In this respect, it is hard to fathom Ferdinand Lot's post-mortem that "slowly but surely the attraction of

Latin civilization had worked on the Vandals and enervated them?"¹⁰⁴ It is fitting that Christian Courtois should have the last word on the elusive Vandals: "Le véritable visage du royaume vandale nous échappera peut-être toujours."¹⁰⁵

But occasionally a rare glimpse of that face is afforded, as in the 'Vandal hunt'--a few hunting scenes from the Carthaginian Bordj-Djedid Mosaic fragments, dated from the early sixth century and now in the British Museum. In the horseman fragment, (plate 27) we confront a peculiar milieu with no distinguishing air of Africanitas. We are rivetted by a trousered, aristocratic rider. The rider's trousers indicate that the Vandals preserved Germanic dress. With his cloak fluttering and his right hand in a salutary gesture, the Vandal horseman rides forth from his castle-villa. On his horse's thigh is a potent Latin cross, a probable apotropaic emblem,¹⁰⁶ meant to ward off evil spirits, a fetish Christianized from the Vandals' pagan past. No sign here of an enervated elite of the late Vandal period. Instead the horseman's presence in this mosaic is as redoubtable as must have been the century old rule of his Vandal cohorts over African Romans.

N O T E S

1. Isidore of Seville, HG, PL 83, 1076-1082.
2. Christian Courtois, Les Vandales d'Afrique (Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1955), 221. Courtois could not archaeologically update his encyclopedic treatment of the Vandals because of his premature death in 1969.
3. Ibid., 15-16. The Indo-European root for the Vandal name is uendh, possibly translated as, to turn towards the wind.
4. Victor of Vita, HP 1,13, PL 58,186.
5. Courtois, 221, who, in 1955, noted that sixty Vandal proper names were known.
6. Susan T. Stevens, "A late-Roman urban population in a cemetery of Vandalic date at Carthage," Journal of Roman Archaeology 8 (1995),270.
7. J.B. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian, vol. 1 (New York: Dover, 1958), 247.
8. Victor of Vita HP 2,13, PL 58,205.
9. Ibid., HP 2,39, PL 58,213.
10. A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, 264: "The attitude of the Vandal kings was warped by their religious fanaticism, but we might form a less unfavorable view of them if we possessed their edicts on secular matters and were not entirely dependent on the historians of their persecutions."
11. The archaeological record points to the reasonably

good maintenance during Vandal times, of at least large private residences in Carthage, as compared to the city's public institutions and Catholic churches. See John H. Humphrey, "Vandal and Byzantine Carthage: Some new archaeological evidence," New Light on Ancient Carthage, ed. J.G. Pedley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980), 106 who described the most luxurious residence in Carthage of late imperial and Vandal times--the House with the Mosaic of the Greek Charioteers, built in the early fifth century. According to the excavations conducted by the University of Michigan between 1975-77, the house was well used during the Vandal era. In the latter part of the fifth century and early sixth century, the mosaic floors were repaved twice. Curiously enough, it was during most of the sixth-century Byzantine occupation, that certain sections of this house were left to decay. This residence might have been abandoned by its Roman or Vandal owners shortly after the reconquest in 533. But in contrasting late imperial, Vandal, and Byzantine conditions, Humphrey,⁸⁸ warned against glib generalizations: "All parts of a city like Carthage are unlikely to have reacted in the same kind of way at the same time...While the economy of the city as a whole may have suffered during the Vandal period, pockets of the city presumably remained insulated and were not visibly affected. For the Vandal continuation of the Roman circus see, The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage, ed. John H. Humphrey (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

12. The most recent collection of these lyrics, compiled on the eve of the Byzantine reconquest, can be found in Anthologia latina I--Carmina in codicibus scripta, fasc. 1, Libri salmasiani aliorumque carmina (Stuttgart, 1983).

13. For this legend and the figure of Lady Carthage with a garland in her hair, pictured on imperial and Vandal coins, see "The Personification of Carthage," section in Frank Clover, "Felix Karthago," The Late Roman West and the Vandals (Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1993), 2-3. The western Roman emperor, Maximian (286-305), had minted a Carthaginian aureus with this personification. Hilderic (523-30) copied the design on his silver coins.

14. Procopius, De bello vandalico in Procopius 2, De bellis libri III-IV, Loeb edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 256. Henceforth BV.

15. Christian Courtois et al., Les Tablettes Albertini-Actes privés de l'époque vandale (Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1952). See also Philip Grierson, "The Tablettes Albertini and the value of the solidus in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.," Journal of Roman Studies 49 (1959), 73-80.

16. Norman H. Baynes, "M. Pirenne and the unity of the Mediterranean world," Journal of Roman Studies 19 (1929) championed this idea: "My own belief is that the unity of the Mediterranean world was broken by the pirate fleet of Vandal Carthage and that this shattered unity was never restored." Quoted from The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Criticism, and Revision, ed. Alfred F. Havighurst (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1958), 56.

17. Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, Mohammad, Charlemagne, and the Origins of Europe (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 26-28. But this picture of booming Vandal commerce is at odds with the archaeological evidence for the decayed Carthaginian harbors. For Vandal neglect of the circular and rectangular harbors at Carthage, see Humphrey, "Vandal and Byzantine Carthage: Some New Archaeological Evidence," 97-100. The deterioration of the Vandal harbors at Carthage does indicate that there was less shipping and commerce at Carthage.

18. For the excavations in the pits and garbage dumpings around the buildings inside and outside the Theodosian city wall (built in 425), see *ibid.*, 100-106. The latest excavations near the Theodosian Wall, since Humphrey's article (1980), have confirmed this vicinity's minimal upkeep. See Stevens, "A late-Roman urban population in a cemetery of Vandalic date," 270: "This is in keeping with what is known about other parts of the city in the Vandal period. The urban infrastructure continued to operate, albeit on a reduced scale." The wall as a decayed defense perimeter was first observed by Procopius.

19. Salvian, De gubernatione Dei 7,13-16, PL 53,140-44.

20. Frank Clover, "The Symbiosis of Romans and Vandals in Africa," The Late Roman West and the Vandals, 57-73. Clover, 58 interpreted this Zeitgeist symbiosis as reluctantly pragmatic: "Unity among the Vandals themselves

and the good will of the elite were the key to a successful hegemony. The Vandals achieved neither; their government was at best an uneasy amalgamation of conflicting elements."

21. Salvian, De gubernatione Dei 7,11.46, PL 53,139.

22. Hans Joachim Diesner, Die Völkerwanderung (Berlin: Bertelsmann, Lexikon-Verlag, 1976), 127. Diesner conjectured that, because in their polytheistic past, the Vandals held to two gods ("zwei Götter") and a dual kingship ("Doppel Königtum"), their conversion to Arian Christianity occurred without any particular complication. Moreover, the Bible took the place of tribal, magical objects such as their rune spears and wooden idols as a source of cosmic powers ("Kosmischer Mächte").

23. Isidore of Seville, HG 74, PL 83,1077,

24. Diesner, Die Völkerwanderung, 126.

25. For the Alans, see Bernard S. Bachrach, A History of the Alans in the West, from their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Early Medieval Ages (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973).

26. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, 244.

27. Victor of Vita, HP 1,2, PL 58,182. There is good reason for accepting Victor's figure since our historian informed us that Geiseric ordered a census of his people (men, women, and children) before leaving for Africa. Geiseric's intent was to spread dread at the size of his military force which the 80,000 total did not reflect. Coincidentally, Jerome Chronicle 373 and Orosius Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII, (7,32.11) used the same figure for the Burgundians. See A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, 195, and vol. 2, 1107 (footnote 52). Jones, 195 estimated that in the Vandal census total of 80,000 the fighting force estimated between 20-25,000

28. Procopius, BV 3,4.13, pp. 36-38.

29. Victor of Vita, HP 1,13, PL 58,186.
30. Procopius, BV 3,5.2, pp. 52-54.
31. Ibid., BV 3,7.4-14, pp. 64-68.
32. Ibid., BV 3,5.1-24, pp. 54-62.
33. Victor of Vita, HP 1,1, PL 58,181.
34. Victor of Vita, History of the Vandal Persecution, tr. John Moorhead (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), xvi-xvii. Since Moorhead assigned 484 as the date of Victor's history, and we know that the Vandals entered Africa in 429, the five year difference can be explained by Victor's misinformation, scribal mistake, or a pre-429 landing of the Vandals of which we know nothing. This early landing has been inferred because Victor calls Geiseric dux instead of his post-428 title of rex.
35. Ibid., xiii-xv.
36. Victor of Vita, HP 1,16, PL 58,187.
37. The Excavations at Carthage conducted by the Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan, in conjunction with the UNESCO International Campaign to Save Carthage, and the Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art, Tunis, are available in seven volumes (1976-82).
38. Humphrey, "Vandal and Byzantine Carthage: Some new archaeological evidence," 87.
39. W.H.C. Frend, "The early Christian church in Carthage," Excavations at Carthage (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1976), 25 The baptistery, next to the Basilica Majorum, assuming there was one, has not been discovered. (p. 26).
40. Ibid., 27. The renowned archaeologist, Liliane

Ennabli, staked her reputation on the identification of the Basilica of Saint Monica (seven naves, 71.3 x 35.55m. interior) as the cemetery basilica of St. Cyprian.

41. "Ecclesiastical complex" is the archaeological term used by the Excavations at Carthage teams. Volume 3 (1979), in particular, gave an ecclesiastical complex stratigraphic report from 1976 (p. 41-67) and locus lists (69-94).

42. Frend, "The early Christian church in Carthage," 25. In 1906-08, Delattre discovered that the church had been plundered.

43. Ibid., 26.

44. Frend, The Rise of Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 796. Frend, the best expert on Donatism, believed that the African Donatists were equally persecuted and pointed to the Donatist Liber Genealogus where Geiseric is portrayed as a persecutor and Anti-Christ. John Randers-Pehrson, Barbarians and Romans (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1983), 253 thought otherwise but offered no proof outside of the questionable Donatist support given to the Vandal Arians, seen by the Donatists as liberators from Catholic persecutions.

45. Stevens, "A late-Roman urban population in a cemetery of Vandalic date at Carthage," 263-270.

46. Ibid., 269.

47. Victor of Vita, HP 1,16, PL 58,187.

48. Ibid., HP 1,43, PL 58,198.

49. The archaeological record intimates the disuse of churches during the Vandal period. See Humphrey, "Vandal and Byzantine Carthage: Some new archaeological evidence," 88: "With respect to the churches, the picture is still more complicated, depending upon whether the church in question was Catholic and upon contemporary politics:

we might, for example, use as our model the hypothesis that churches passed in and out of use several times during a relatively short period."

50. For the contention that a third of the 466 bishops on the Notitia's list are dubious, especially those from Mauretania which was not under Vandal jurisdiction, see Frend, The Rise of Christianity, 797.

51. Victor of Vita, HP appendix, PL 58,272.

52. Isidore of Seville, HG 78, PL 83,1078.

53. Victor of Vita, HP 2,39, PL 58,213.

54. Ibid., HP 2,40, PL 58,214.

55. Ibid., HP 2,54, PL 58,218.

56. Ibid., HP 2,55, PL 58,218.

57. Ibid., HP 2,56, PL 58,219.

58. For Leovigild's pronouncement at the Arian Council of Toledo (580), see John of Biclar, Chronicon, PL 83,868. The Visigothic king had distinguished Arianism as "nostram catholicam fidem" as opposed to the Christianity of the Hispanic Romans--"de Romana religione."

59. Victor of Vita, HP 3,1, PL 58,233.

60. Ibid., HP 3,3, PL 58, 235.

61. Ibid., HP 3,7, PL 58,236.

62. The imperial laws to which Huneric referred are Titles 16,5.5 (10 January 381), Theodosiani Libri, ed. Theodor Mommsen, pp. 856-857, 16,5.8 (19 July 381), 858;

16,5.11 (25 July 383), 859; 16,5.12 (3 December 383), 859; 16,5.13 (21 January 384), 860; 16,5.16 (9 August 388), 861; 16,5.17 (4 May 389), 861. The last law (16,5.17) against the Eunomian eunuchs was revoked on 20 June 384 (15,5.33).

63. Victor of Vita, HP 3,12, PL 58,238.

64. Ibid., HP 3,71, PL 58,258-60.

65. Christian Courtois, Victor de Vita et son oeuvre- Etude critique (Algiers: Imprimerie officielle, 1954), 87.

66. Ibid., 87.

67. Victor of Vita, HP 3,69, PL 58,258.

68. Ibid., HP 3,69, PL 58,258.

69. Ibid., HP 3,62, PL 58,255.

70. Ibid., HP 3,62, PL 58,255.

71. Isidore of Seville, HG 81, PL 83,1079.

72. Prosper Tiro, Appendicula ad Chronicum S. Prosperi Aquitani, PL 51,606, quoted in Susan T. Stevens, Bir el Knissia at Carthage--A Rediscovered Cemetery Church, Report no. 1, Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, no. 7 (1993),14.

73. Ibid., 6-9.

74. Ibid., 14.

75. Ibid., 13.

76. *Ibid.*, 3.

77. Isidore of Seville, HG 81, PL 83,1079.

78. Fulgentius Ruspensis, Opera, CC 91,125.

79. Noël Duval, Recherches Archéologiques à Haïdra, vol. 1, Les inscriptions chrétiennes (Collection de l'École française de Rome 18 (1975), 344: "On a parfois voulu donner une signification à cette inversion." Duval footnoted the theory of M.V. Popovič who, through his work on the imperial inscriptions of Sirmium, interpreted the transposed alpha and omega letters as Arian insignia. Duval, 338 gave charts of the chrisms, monogram crosses, and the artistic forms of the alpha and omega as they appeared in the Haïdra inscriptions.

80. *Ibid.*, no. 419, p. 282.

81. For Luxorious and belles lettres under the Vandals, see David F. Bright, The Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

82. Frank Clover, "Emperor worship in Vandal Africa," The Late Roman West and the Vandals, 661.

83. *Ibid.*, 663.

84. *Ibid.*, 665. Astius Vindicianus, no. 401 in Duval, Recherches Archéologiques à Haïdra, vol. 1, Les inscriptions chrétiennes, 254-55. Astius Mustelus, no. 413 in *ibid.*, 273-77. Duval, 242 commented on the scholarly astonishment that the flamen perpetuus office should have survived the collapse of the western empire: "Ces titres avaient d'ailleurs surpris l'épigraphiste, qui ne pouvait se résoudre à leur donner une signification classique à si basse époque."

85. Duval, no. 424, 287-88.

86. *Ibid.*, 336.

87. Clover, "Emperor Worship in Vandal Africa," The Late Roman West and the Vandals, 662.

88. Ibid., 664.

89. Isidore of Seville, HG 82, PL 83,1080.

90. Noël Duval, Recherches Archéologiques à Sbeitla, I, Les Basiliques de Sbeitla à deux Sanctuaires Opposés (Basiliques I,II, et IV), Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 218 (1971).

91. Ibid., 293.

92. Ibid., 295.

93. Ibid., 294.

94. Ibid., 294-95.

95. Frend, The Rise of Christianity, 800.

96. Procopius, BV 3,9,10-13,Loeb,86; 3,9,15-19,Loeb, 88.

97. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, 126.

98. From the "De Confirmatione Digestorum," The Digest of Justinian, vol. 1., ed. Theodor Mommsen, tr. Alan Watson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

99. Codex Justinianus 1.27.1,2 and De Africana ecclesia 37.5, 37.8.

100. Noël Duval, Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra, vol. 2, La basilique I dite Melléus ou de Saint-Cyprien, Collection de l'École française de Rome 18 (1975), no.

25, 51-52.

101. Ibid., no. 58, p. 88.

102. Ibid., 87.

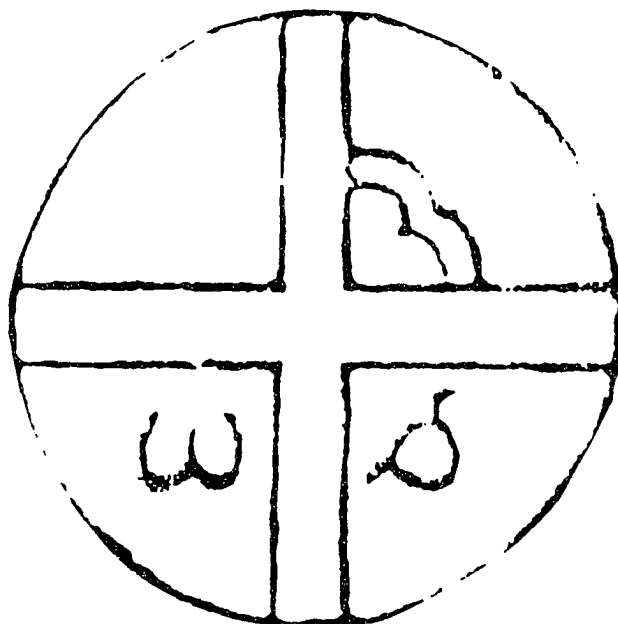
103. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West: The Early Middle Ages A.D. 400-1000, 2nd edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 38.

104. Ferdinand Lot, The End of the Ancient World and the Beginnings of the Middle Ages, tr. Philip and Mariette Leon (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), 258.

105. Courtois, Victor de Vita et son oeuvre, 87.

106. Diesner, Die Völkerwanderung, 128. Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 62 examined the 'Vandal hunt' mosaics, which had been excavated in the nineteenth century, but she did not discuss the cross emblem on the horse. Frank Clover, "Felix Karthago," The Late Roman West and the Vandals, 15 thought that the Germanic trousered riders might be Roman: "But since Romans sometimes adopted northern fashions at this time, the hunters depicted on the mosaic might be Roman aristocrats."

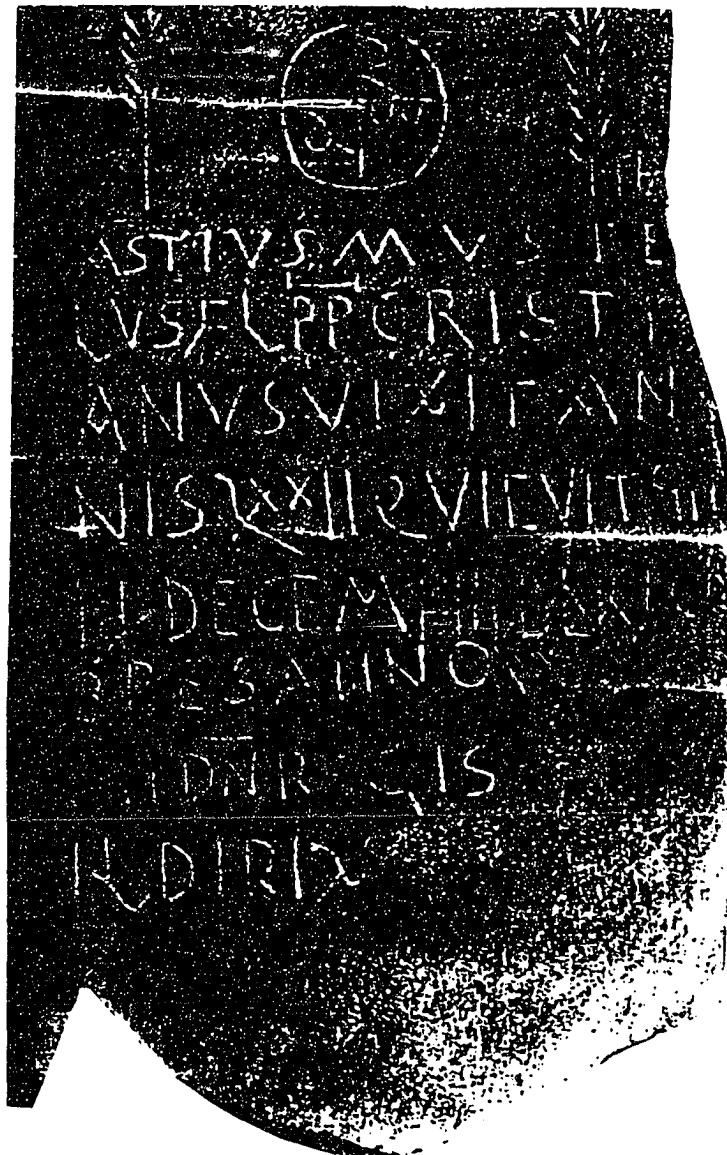
P L A T E 2 3



A S T I V S V I N D I C I A N V S
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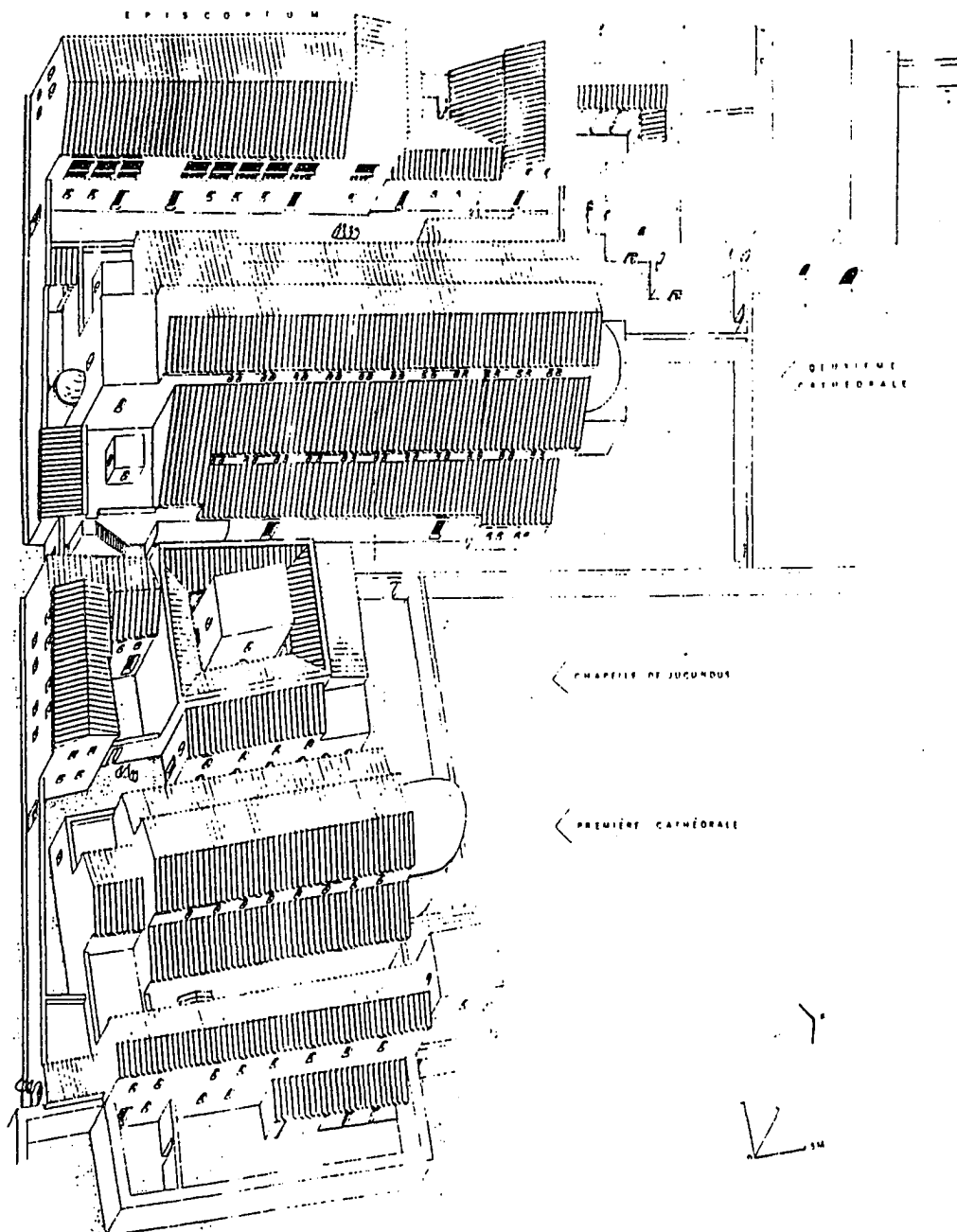
Astius Vindicianus epitaph from the Vandal Chapel, Basilica IV, Haïdra, (Ammaedara) Tunisia reads: "Astius Vindicianus v(ir) c(larissimus) et fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)." The missing fragment in place, was discovered in 1973. Dated the year 510. From Duval, Recherches Archéologiques à Haïdra, vol. 1, Les inscriptions chrétiennes, no. 401, p. 254.

P L A T E 2 4



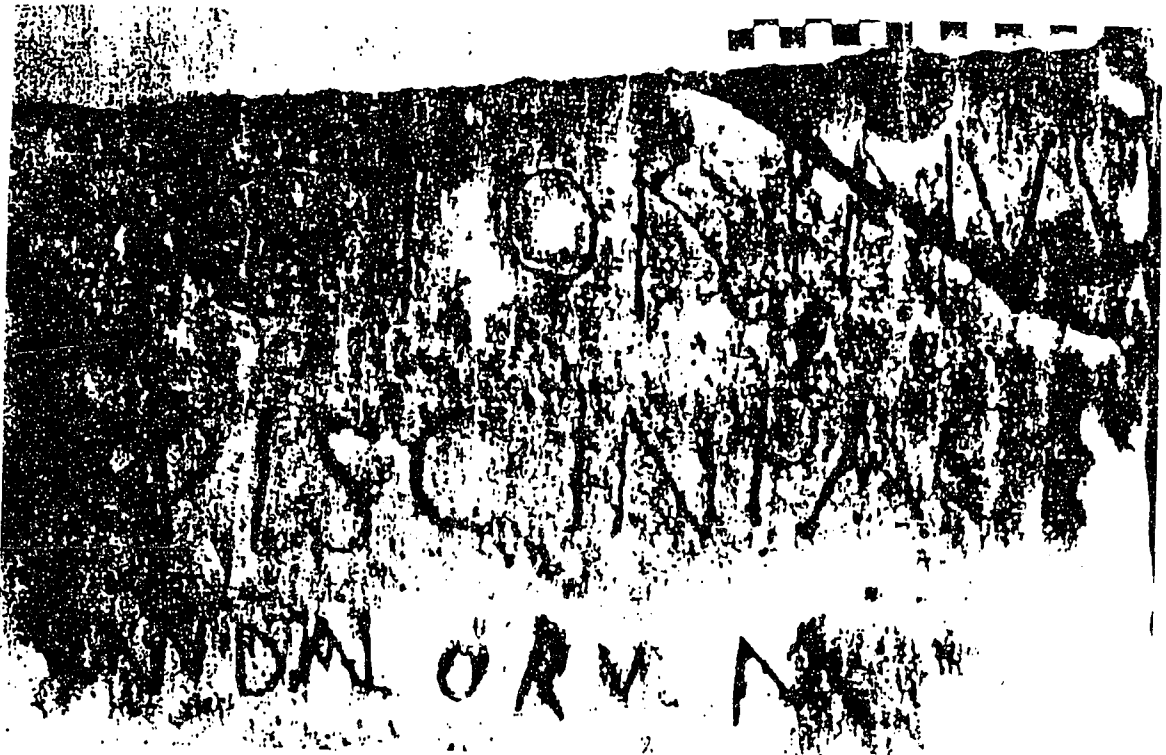
Astius Mustelus epitaph from the Vandal Chapel, Basilica IV, Haïdra (Ammaedara) Tunisia, reads: "Astius Mustelus fl(amen p(er)p(etuus) cristianus, vixit annis LXXXII. Quievit VIII id(us) decem- (Hilderich?) bres anno III d(omini) n(ostri) regis Ildirix." Dated 6 December 526. Another scribe, possibly a sanctuary altar boy, had added Hilderich to the epitaph. From Duval, Recherches Archéologiques à Haïdra, vol. 1, Les inscriptions chrétiennes, no. 413, pp. 274-75.

P L A T E 2 5



Episcopal complex of Basilique II at Sbeitla (Sufetula), Tunisia. Dated late fifth, early sixth century. From Noël Duval, Recherches Archéologiques à Sbeitla I, Les Basiliques de Sbeitla à deux Sanctuaires Opposés (Basiliques I, III, et IV, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 218 (1971), figure 335, p. 297.

P L A T E 2 6



Epitaph of the Vandal bishop, Victorinus epitaph reads:
 "Victorinus episc(opus) in pace Vandalorum." From Duval,
Recherches Archéologiques à Haïdra, vol. 2 La Basilique
I dite Melléus ou de Saint-Cyprien, no. 58, p. 87.

P L A T E 2 7



'Vandal Hunt' horseman. Bordj-Djedid Mosaic fragment, Carthage. Dated early sixth century. British Museum. From Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), plate 18, no. 40.

CHAPTER 9
THE OSTROGOTHIC ARIANS
OF ITALY

The history of the Ostrogoths is, in large part, the history of their greatest king, Theodoric (490-526), who created a golden twilight of Romanitas in Italy. Theodoric was the architect of a benign policy of co-existence between Arian Goths and Catholic Romans. Our sources for his reign, Cassiodorus, his busy state secretary, the Ravenna chronicler of the Anonymous Valesianus, Bishop Ennodius of Pavia, and Procopius are unanimous in their praise of an enlightened monarch, who, "illiteratus" could not write his own name.¹

In 489 Theodoric, appointed magister militum and patricius by Zeno, was sent by the emperor to eliminate Odovacer, the ruler of Italy who, in 476, had deposed the last emperor in the West, Romulus Augustulus. Theodoric subsequently defeated and murdered Odovacer in 493. Although Procopius called Theodoric a usurper who acted like a distinguished emperor (βασιλεὺς),² constitutionally, Theodoric was a subject of the Byzantine Roman empire. Of all the Germanic rulers of the West, Theodoric most assiduously maintained the trappings of this fictional subservience. Like Odovacar, Theodoric used the title rex. But Theodoric was also patricius Romanorum. The Roman Senate continued to function under the Ostrogothic

monarch. The king had sent the senator Festus to Zeno's successor, Anastasius, to receive back the imperial regalia which the Scirian Odovacer had sent to Zeno in Constantinople.³ Because Theodoric preserved imperial laws,⁴ he did not issue leges per se, but edicta. All governmental documents were dated, not from the king's first regnal year, but instead from the current Byzantine emperor's. Furthermore, Theodoric did not coin money in his name.⁵ While governmental positions were only open to Romans, the military, however, was exclusively Gothic. There was no doubt where lay the raw power of the Ostrogothic state.

In 454, the Huns were defeated by a tribal coalition of Germans which included the Ostrogoths, Rugi, and Heruli.⁶ The Ostrogoths, who had been reluctant tributaries of the Huns, were granted land in northern Pannonia as foederati by Marcian. The emperor paid them annually 100 pounds of gold--an agreement which was reneged by his imperial successor, Leo.⁷ Thereupon, in standard barbarian retaliation, the Ostrogoths rampaged through Illyricum. In 482, Theodoric, the son of Theodemir, one of the three brothers belonging to the Amal dynasty which would henceforth govern the Ostrogoths as kings, plundered Macedonia. Theoderic, whose name in Gothic, Thiuda-reiks, meant 'ruler of the people,'⁸ would have even captured Constantinople had it not been for the intervention of

his sister, Amalafriada, residing then at the court of the emperor Zeno. As a hostage exchange in 461, Theodoric had also spent his youth in the imperial capital. In 489 the emperor Zeno made a critical decision to support a Ostrogothic campaign to defeat Odovacar.⁹ Zeno rightly calculated that giving Theodoric's Ostrogoths land in Italy would eliminate them as a strategic menace to the Balkans and Constantinople.¹⁰ In 488 Theodoric left Moesia with his tribe following in wagons and crossed the Alps into Italy in August 489. The war against Odovacar lasted almost four years, ending 5 March 493, when Theodoric entered Ravenna, having agreed to a co-reign with Odovacar. Theodoric had no intention of honoring this settlement; he hacked Odovacar in two.

Similar to his predecessor, the new Italian ruler was an Arian Christian. According to the prevalent interpretation, the Ostrogoths had been converted to Arianism by the Visigoths in Pannonia during the 450s.¹¹ Yet Catholic influences were very strong in Theodoric's life. His mother, by her Gothic name, Ereriliva, a possible concubine, was a converted Catholic, renamed Eusebia.¹² Theodoric's religious policy was one of religious tolerance, "attempting nothing against the Catholic religion": "Sic gubernavit duas gentes in uno Romanorum et Gothorum, dum ipse quidem Arrianae sectae esset, tamen nihil contra religionem catholicam temptans."¹³ Ostrogothic tolerance

extended to non-Christians as well, which is evident in Theodoric's cornerstone pronouncement (2,27) to the Jews of Genoa, ca. 507-512: "We cannot impose religion because no one can be compelled to believe unwillingly": "Religionem imperare non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat inuitus."¹⁴ But this oft-quoted gem of a statement, if taken in context, shows a ruler resigned to tolerance, at least of the Jews. Theodoric delivered harsh words to the representatives of a people, who, in the king's words, were God-forsaken: "divinitatis gratia destituti." The Genoese Jews had petitioned the king to allow them to repair an old synagogue. Theodoric held them to the letter of the laws, specifically those of Theodosius II, which had prohibited imperial Jews from enlarging or decorating their synagogues. Theodoric permitted the Genoese Jews to repair the roof and walls, provided that no one during the past thirty years had challenged the location site of the synagogue. But the king took the occasion to warn the Jews of their erring prayers. Whether this tolerance was heartfelt or pragmatic, Theodoric was true to his word for most of his reign.

Aside from this edict, there is only one other Cassiodorian document about the settlement of a religious matter, specifically, the letter of Theodoric to the Venerable Ianuarius, bishop of Salona. In this letter, the king exhorted the good bishop to honor his debts, namely

the payment of sixty vessels of church lamp oil (3,7).¹⁵ It is hard to believe that there were not many Arian-Catholic issues for the Ostrogothic sovereigns to address; Cassiodorus (490-584) may just have chosen to edit them out in his collection of 468 letters.

As the principal legal expert in the Ostrogothic bureaucracy under five kings (506-38), Cassiodorus in his roles as quaestor, Praetorian Prefect, and magister officiorum portrayed the Ostrogothic monarchs in command of their secular governments. The Cassiodorian Theodoric, in particular, stands out as an exemplar of the ruler, impassioned by justice and civilitas. The powerful and greedy must not squash the weak and needy, as in his edict (2,25), over the unjust burdens of taxation, promulgated between 507-12.¹⁶ The king ended by exhorting his oppressed subjects to seek recourse from a a just prince. Theodoric was determined that any conflict between Goths and Romans be resolved legally and expeditiously as in his letter (3,13) to the distinguished Sunthiudus (507-12).¹⁷

When it came to diplomacy, the Variae presented Theodoric as peace maker and power broker of western Europe. In early 507 Theodoric tried to mediate the growing enmity between the Arian Alaric II of Visigothic Spain and the Catholic Clovis of Francia. Both Alaric and Clovis were Theodoric's in-laws. Alaric had married Theodoric's daughter, Areaagni; Theodoric had married Augoflada,

Clovis's sister.¹⁸ We do not know whether Augoflada was a Catholic or Arian. Cassiodorus gave us four of Theodoric's letters on the eve of the war. In his letter (3,1) to Alaric, Theodoric warned him against becoming embroiled in a war "since the hearts of ferocious peoples are made gentle by a long peace": "quia populorum ferocium corda longa pace mollescunt."¹⁹ Theodoric expressed hope that his diplomatic missions would mediate the crisis. The king acknowledged that the Franks were the common enemy, and that the provocative Franks would find the Ostrogothic king a worthy adversary. The king sent the same envoys to Gundobad, king of the Burgundians (3,2), to the kings of the Thoringi, Heruli and Warni (3,3), and to Clovis.

To his brother-in-law, (3,4), Theodoric recalled "affinitatis iura divina"²⁰ ("the divine laws of kinship"). To minimize the hostility, Theodoric downplayed the dispute as trivial ("causis mediocribus excitatos"), although the king did not elaborate. Here, we must remember that Gregory of Tours had quoted a Clovis, provoked by the Arianism of the Visigoths.²¹ Theodoric then predicted the outcome---the grievous defeat of one of the belligerents. His regal in-laws, Alaric and Clovis, did not listen. The diplomacy of the Ostrogothic king could not stop a Frankish-Visigothic war. But Theodoric militarily wrested Provence from the Franks, who became the new masters in

Gaul after Alaric's defeat at the Battle of Vouillé. Since Alaric's son, Amalaric, was a child, Theodoric became the regent king of Visigothic Spain from 507-526 and appointed as viceroy, the Ostrogothic noble, Theudis, who was the real power behind the Visigothic throne until his murder in 548.²²

Theodoric had thus succeeded in forging a Germanic entente through marital, diplomatic, and military means. The Ravenna Chronicler was most ecstatic in praising Theodoric's statecraft through his treaties, and cited the desires of peoples to have him as their king: "Sic enim oblectavit vicinas gentes, ut se illi sub foedus darent aliae gentes, sibi eum regem sperantes."²³ Besides marrying his daughter to Alaric II, Theodoric gave another daughter, Theodegotha, to Sigismund (494), who would follow his father Gundobad as king of the Burgundians.²⁴ Theodoric's niece, Herminifrid, was the wife of the king of the Thuringi.²⁵ In 500 Theodoric had married his sister, Amalafrida, to the Vandal king, Thrasamund.²⁶ After Thrasamund's death, Hilderic had the widow killed in 526. It was this ill will between Vandals and Ostrogoths which explains why the Arian Ostrogoths did not help the Arian Vandals in 534 at the time of the reconquest. In fact, judging from the diplomatic dispatches from Theodoric to the other Arian kings in 507, there is not a hint of a pan-Arian bond in the alliances, unless Cassiodorus can be suspected

of selectively editing these passages out. Theodoric had reminded Clovis of the "affinitatis iura divina" but had said nothing of his own and Alaric's Arianism versus Clovis's Catholicism. Also missing in these letters is any mention of Byzantine interference. Theodoric, in constructing his entente, must have been driven by an apprehension that what Zeno had done to Odovacar in 489, conspiring to overturn him, could possibly happen again.²⁷

It is in the field of Theodoric's relations with the Papacy where the Arian king could sway between support and harassment, contingent on the Byzantine atmosphere. The Catholic hierarchy had asked Theodoric in 500 to end a papal schism by arbitrating the contested election of the Sardinian Symmachus as pope on 22 November 498. On the same date another pope, Laurentius, had been elected.²⁸ Theodoric's intercession would be unprecedented: "It is a remarkable episode in the history of the Church that such a question should be referred to an Arian."²⁹ The king in Ravenna ruled in favor of Symmachus, the candidate who was elected first and who had the greater following. The Ravenna Chronicler tells us about Theodoric's triumphal adventus in Rome to meet St. Peter, "with so much devotion as if he were a Catholic": "Post facta pace in urbe ecclesiae ambulavit rex Theodericus Romam, et occurrit Beato Petro devotissimus ac si catholicus."³⁰ The visit in 500 would be the first and only time the

Ostrogothic king would visit Rome.³¹ Theodoric's intervention failed to end the Symmachian schism. Still, the Laurentian factions attempted to dethrone the indiscreet, "bon vivant"³² Symmachus and brought against him charges of sexual misconduct and liturgical irregularities, which were presented before Theodoric. A synod, derogatively called by the Laurentians, Synodus absolutiois incongruae cleared Symmachus. But the angered Theodoric never officially endorsed the synod's decision, and Laurentius persisted in his papal claim.

By and large, Theodoric's rapport with the Papacy was cordial. The only known crisis occurred towards the end of the king's reign at the time of the Arian mission to Constantinople in 526. According to the sixth century Catholic sources, the Liber Pontificalis and the Ravenna Chronicler, the elderly and staunchly Catholic Justin I (518-527) was driving Byzantine Arians out of the capital and confiscating Arian churches. Over a century of anti-Arian legislation by the emperors still had not obliterated imperial Arianism. Theodoric sent an ambassadorial party, led by Pope John I: "Ambula Constantinopolim ad Iustinum imperatorem, et dic ei inter alia, ut reconciliatos in catholica restituat religione."³³ Because of the tortuous syntax here in the Anonymous Valesianus, is "reconciliatos in catholica restituat religione" translatable as "to restore (to the Arians)

those who have become reconciled and joined the Catholic Church?"³⁴ Or is Theodoric, like the two other Arian kings, the Visigothic Leovigild and the Vandal Huneric, interpreting "catholica religione" as Arianism? The passage then reads, that the emperor should restore "reconciliatos"--converted Arians--to the catholic religion, that is Arianism.³⁵ Theodoric's communiqué, delivered by the pope, also included an ultimatum that unless imperial Arian churches were returned, "he would put all Italy to the sword" ("omnem Italiam ad gladio perderet.").³⁶ The Liber reported that in Constantinople Pope John was received with much pomp and ceremony--processions of torches and crosses. All Catholics rejoiced at the coming of the Vicar of Christ, the first since Pope Silvester's visit to Constantine in the imperial capital. Justin threw himself prostrate at the feet of the pope. According to the Liber's papal propaganda, the pope later recrowned Justin. This humiliation, his subject's formal and treasonable acknowledgement of another ruler as dominus was too much for Theodoric. The enraged king flung the hapless pope, upon his return, in jail where he died, a martyr, from mistreatment on 18 May 526. Previously, the monarch had executed prominent Roman officials for treason, such as his celebrated Magister officiorum, Boetius in (524?). Theodoric's cultivated policies of peaceful co-existence of Goths and Romans thus came to

an abrupt end.³⁷

But was Theodoric all that surprised at the imperial reception of the pope? The papal mission of 526 must be put in the perspective of an anti-Arian backlash by governments in the early 520s. Even though we do not have corroborative imperial documentation of Justin's anti-Arian laws,³⁸ Theodoric would not be wrong in detecting a new Catholic Zeitgeist under Justin and his nephew Justinian and would consequently want to use his international prestige to set himself up as a pan-Arian champion.³⁹ Theodoric, no doubt, also looked in dismay across the Mediterranean at Vandal Africa where Thrasamund, his Arian brother-in-law, had died in 523. Hilderic (523-30), the new Vandal king was the son of Huneric and Eudocia, the Catholic daughter of Valentinian III. Hilderic had grown up in Constantinople and was pro-Byzantine. Moreover, he had been restoring religious liberties to African Catholics. Theodoric rightfully feared for the fate of his widowed sister, Amalafrida at the hands of Hilderic. In the king's mind was the time ripe for his own overthrow? And who could foment it better than the spiritual leader of the Italian Catholics in collusion with the Byzantine emperor.

Already, an imperial-papal iconography was in place, as revealed by excavations during the 1960s of the Church of St. Polyeuctus in Constantinople, rebuilt in the 520s by Anicia Juliana, the great-grandmother of the empress

Eudocia. It has been conjectured that, in 526, while on his mission, Pope John visited this magnificent church and was shown by Juliana the mosaic over the west door picturing the emperor Constantine possibly being baptized by Pope Silvester.⁴⁰ Although only fragments of this mosaic and the inscriptions have been found, there were enough epigraphic remnants to form a match with a text in the Anthologia Palatina (1.10). The inscription narrated the baptism of Constantine, how having repudiated idols and having been illuminated by the Trinity, the emperor was then purified by holy water. We know that Constantine was baptized in Nicomedia, not in Constantinople, and on his deathbed by the Arian bishop, Eusebius in 336. Moreover, Pope Silvester never visited Constantinople and did not even attend the Council of Nicaea in 325. But the author of the Liber Pontificalis, written between 530-546, by a likely contemporary of Pope John I, knew of the legends of the Acta Silvestri and implied that John's visit to Constantinople was the first since Silvester visited Constantine and baptized him there.⁴¹ This was a Catholic propaganda attempt to de-Arianize history. John's recoronation of Justin was thus a perfect complement to his predecessor's baptism of the first Christian emperor. Moreover, "Justin afforded, after all, an edifying contrast to the Arian Theodoric at Ravenna who was responsible for Pope John's death."⁴² And so it is said that Anicia Juliana's

grand church, completed before her death in 527-528 "was designed to make a clear religious and political statement at a specific historical conjuncture."⁴³ The Catholic iconography and propaganda of this time could not be ignored by the astute Arian king in Italy.

The Byzantine-phobic Theodoric ultimately turned "inimicus" towards his Catholic subjects as he confiscated their churches and spitefully surrendered them to Arians on the Sabaath.⁴⁴ Yet the good will which he fostered during most of his twenty-three year reign in Italy endured in that Catholic polemics against Ostrogothic Arianism are non-existent. So we find that it is Ostrogothic Italy which has best preserved remnants of the Arian heritage in literature and art. Earlier, we had discussed the Codex Argenteus--the deluxe Gothic Bible, now in the University of Uppsala, Sweden--and how this Bible preserves much of the Gothic New Testament, but only fragments of the Old Testament.⁴⁵ And it is Ostrogothic Italy which also offers a priceless source for the Germanic Arianism of the sixth century. The plain Veronensis LI (49) from Verona's Chapter Library is, nonetheless, a distinguished document: "c'est le seul livre arien que nous ayons conservé intact."⁴⁶ Written in Latin with Gothic glosses ca. 500, this manuscript has 157 leaves of inferior parchment. The contents are fascinating in their diversity:⁴⁷ a sermon fragment for Christmas, "genuit Christum illa

in senectute aetatis..."; an explanatory list of apostles' names, De lectionibus sanctorum evangeliorum; 24 Gospel homilies; 15 feast day sermons with an Arian flavor; two polemical tracts, Contra Judaeos and Contra paganos, three fragments from the Toponymy of St. Jerome; another copy of the Contra paganos with additions and deletions; a titleless anti-Trinitarian text, "Dominus noster Iesus Christus"; a St. Augustine homily, "Divinarum scribaturarum multiplicem abundantiam" with an Arian doxological rewriting of the final line; excerpts from the Arian Apostolic Constitutions, translated from the Greek (end of Book 8 with the 84 canons of the apostles) plus an apostolic gazeteer guide.⁴⁸ Except for Augustine and Jerome, the other literature is not to be found elsewhere.

Why did this heretical manuscript survive? Its home in a prestigious library since the high Middle Ages is one reason. Moreover, in the eighteenth century, Pope Pius VI ordered many of the manuscript tracts edited with the works of the orthodox Bishop Maximus of Turin (d. 408-23).⁴⁹ As such, the "Recueil arien de Vérone" found its way into Migne's Patrologia latina.⁵⁰ It was not until 1922 when Capelle noted Arianism in the manuscript and identified the heretical author as Maximinus, the bishop of Milan immortalized by St. Augustine as his sparring partner in 427-428 (Collatio cum Maximino arianorum episcopo). Since we do not know of Maximinus's works from

any other source, it is thought that while Maximinus may have composed some pieces in the Veronese manuscript, he is not the collective Arian author.⁵¹ The Veronensis LI lacks a title page, and the author's name is not mentioned anywhere. The main reason for disbarring Maximinus as the sole Arian author is the tone of the Arianism. Maximinus was of the Eunomian school (Christ as creature). But most of the Arian pieces in our manuscript reflect Ulphilan Arianism, a mild Trinitarian subordinationism, which judging from Visigothic and Vandal sources, was the de rigueur Arian theology of the sixth century.

For this subdued Arianism, we look at the 15 feast day sermons. Nine of the fifteen have as explicits: ("always to God the Father through Christ" or "through the Son": "semper deo patri per Christum" or "per filium."⁵² The explicit for the fourth sermon (Ascension Day) reads: "ergo istius sancti diei sollempnia celebrantes semper deo patri per Christum eius gratias referamus, cui est gloria in saecula. Amen."⁵³ For the feast day of the martyr St. Cyprian (sermon 12): "semper patri per filium gratias agentes, cui est gloria in saecula. Amen."⁵⁴ To Gryson, who wrote the codicological and palaeographic study of this manuscript, these explicits were not abrasive to Nicaeans. But a future scribe did object to the Pentecost homily and its wording on the third begotten person having a third substance: "ut vere sese tertium

et tertiam gerentem personam et tertiam habentem substantiam demonstraret" (fol. 57 15-18); the "tertiam habentem substantiam demonstraret" was scratched out.⁵⁵ The Arian author had here stressed the hierarchial divine substance of the Holy Spirit.

Gryson also viewed these 24 homilies as theologically acceptable to Catholics.⁵⁶ Yet by thoroughly examining the evangelist sources for the readings, we see that, while the core Arian texts on the subordinate divinity of Jesus Christ have not been selected, neither have been cited the texts on the full divinity of the Son of God. In these homilies, the theme of Christ's earthly ministry as teacher and miracle worker is pronounced. The miracle of the loaves and fishes from Matthew 14, 13-21, which we will see touchingly pictured in Arian art, (homilies 1 and 9) and Mark 6, 31-44 (homilies 5 and 12) are both cited twice. Mark 4, 3-20--the parable of the sower and true faith--is repeated twice (homilies 4 and 22) as is Matthew 9, 18-26 on Jesus' cure of the hemorrhaging woman (homilies 6 and 7). There are two homilies on Jesus' defense of tax collectors: the humble publican versus the self-exalted Pharisee in Luke 18, 10-14 (homily 10); Jesus eating and drinking with tax collectors and sinners in Luke 5, 29-32 (homily 19). Here, we can infer a coalition of religion and regime; the Arian clergy's attempt to inculcate a respect in the populace for the Ostrogothic king's tax

men.

There is one homily (17) on the transfigured Christ on the mountain in the company of Moses and Elijah from Matthew 17, 1-5. The passage suits the subordinate Christ of the Arians. A voice from the cloud proclaims to the apostles Peter, James, and John: "This is my beloved Son with whom I am well pleased; listen to him." Matthew, Mark and Luke readings predominate in the homilies. In this Arian homiletic collection, we might have expected more readings from John, of which there are only a mere two. In homily 2 from John 7, 37-38, Jesus says "If any one thirst, let him come to me and drink. He who believes in me, as the scripture has said, "Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water." Homily 14 treats Jesus' miracle of Lazarus, risen from the dead (John 11, 1-45) in which Jesus says "I am the resurrection and the life." This is the closest apocalyptic passage we have from John in these homilies. It is homily 18 (Luke 12, 49-53) which prefigures the formidable Jesus of the Last Judgment: "I came to cast fire upon the earth; and would that it were already kindled! I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how I am constrained until it is accomplished."

Now these readings from the Gospels fall very comfortably within the Arian canon, contrary to Gryson's judgment: "Quant aux homélies sur les évangiles il est douteux qu'elles proviennent d'un milieu arien."⁵⁷ Yet the homilies

were not so stridently Arian that Catholics would be revolted. So when Grysön conjectured that the survival of this Arian manuscript was based on the non-controversial bulk of its theology, he was not too far off the mark: "tout ceci explique que les clercs véronais du moyen âge n'aient pas cru devoir purger leur bibliothèque de ce manuscrit, et qu'ils aient continué de lire tranquillement au cours des siècles ces textes qui pouvaient leur paraître innocents, certains l'étant d'ailleurs effectivement."⁵⁸

Nevertheless, the one exception to the tepid Arian theology of the Veronensis LI is the sermon "Dominus noster" (fol.133-136), noted for its "arianisme agressif."⁵⁹ Capelle had assigned this pithy sermon to the fifth-century Maximinus,⁶⁰ the Arian bishop of Milan. Indeed, its radical Christology would qualify it as belonging to the Eunomian Arian school. It is bold, confrontational, caustic. But stylistically, the work is unpolished. The sermon, which has many abbreviations, does not appear to be a product of imperial Arianism. A sixth-century Arian writer is then possible. As with Arius, the theologian of this sermon pushed ontological principles to the extreme. If the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are equal, how can they be one?: "dicunt enim male credentes heretici pater et filius et sps scs unus est, et iterum et iterum quando volunt dicunt pater et filius aequales sunt, quod utique si aequales sunt, unus esse non possunt."⁶¹ The sarcasm evident

in the "again and again" ("iterum et iterum") refrain persists in the author's taunt: "and let the heretic dare say that he who is on the right is greater!": "et audet dicere hereticus qui est in dexteram, ipse est maior!" The sermonist had just quoted from St. Paul (Ephesians 1,19) in which Almighty God had raised Christ from the dead and made him sit on the Father's right hand side in heaven.

The Last Judgment Christ of Matthew 25,34 is next cited: "Then the king (Son of Man) will say to those on his right hand: "Come, blessed of my Father, take possession of the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world": "TUNC DICIT in quid REX EIS QUI AD DEXTERAM EIUS SUNT VENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI ACCIPITE REGNUM UOBIS PARATUM AB ORIGINE MUNDI."⁶² The sermonist's use of this passage, with its reference to the beginning of the world, ties in well with the ontologic theology of the Arians. All in all, the motif of Christ who sits at the right hand of the Father is cited nine times. Our author closes with a scrupulous Arian hierarchization of the Trinity whose members are assigned interesting designations: the unity of the invisible Father, through his only begotten, visible So. and in the paraclete Holy Spirit, neither engendered nor engendering, but a teacher and light of our souls: "et falsitate adorent dum in vera unitate, cognoscentes unum dm invisibilem patrem per

unigenitum eius visibilem filium et spm scm paracletum non genitore neque genitum sed doctorem et ducatorem et lumen animorum nostrarum, et dent gloria et honorem do patri omnipotenti per unigenitum eius filium in spu sco nunc et per omnia saecula saeculorum, amen."⁶³ Through the Arian gloria ("let them give glory and honor to the Almighty Father through his Son in the Holy Spirit, now and forever and ever, amen") the author locked in Trinitarian subordination.

Judging from this sermon, with its Greek letters (XP) for Christ and its subordinationist logic buttressed by the Scriptures, Ostrogothic Arianism remained true to its Alexandrian roots, The sermon thus contradicts the recent depiction of Ostrogothic Arianism "as a tribal religion and not as some lingering form of an Alexandrian heresy."⁶⁴ Furthermore, if "theology, specifically the Arian denial of the Trinity mattered little to most Goths,"⁶⁵ then our "Dominus noster" Arian was a rare Goth. The sermon's unspiritual tone also reflected Arius's non-mysticism. Why this sermon survived Catholic expurgation is a mystery, given the scratching out of the Gothic glosses in the manuscript once it came in the possession of Catholic scribes.⁶⁶

Less of a mystery is the preservation of the glowing Arian art composed during Theodoric's reign in Ravenna, the Ostrogothic capital city, which was, indeed, the king's "creation."⁶⁶ The inadequacy of our sixth-century literary

sources about "Felix Ravenna" is noted in "the surviving splendour of Theodoric's S. Apollinare Nuovo, which is not mentioned in any contemporary source."⁶⁷ Much of the mosaic art in three ecclesiastical buildings of Theodoric's time, the Arian baptistery, the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, and the Archbishop's Chapel was not "reconciled" after Justinian's defeat of the Ostrogothic kingdom in 555. Like the Veronese manuscript, the mosaics' Arian iconography was neither blatantly nor glaringly offensive to Catholics. Consider the depiction of Jesus, baptized by St. John, (plates 28, 29) in the innovative gold sky cupola of the Arian baptistery, built ca. 500. The very young Christ, beardless and nude, has an aura of non-transcendental dignity. Christ, John, the river god Jordan, and the circular procession of apostles carrying martyr crowns all have a riveting presence. But comparing the iconographic program in this mosaic medallion with its older counterpart in Ravenna's Orthodox Baptistery, ca. 458 (plates 30, 31) limits us because of the Catholic scene's later reconstructions. The original Christ must have been beardless, and St. John most likely held a shepherd's crook and not a jeweled cross.⁶⁸ The Holy Ghost-Paraclete, though, is similar in both baptismal scenes. The awed river god Jordan (symbolizing the transition from paganism to Christianity) was also retained in both mosaics. The inspiration for the pagan deity

has been traced to a sermon delivered by the fifth-century Catholic archbishop of Ravenna, Peter Chrysologos: "Why is it that Jordan who fled in the presence of the Ark of the Covenant (Joshua 3, 16-17) did not flee away from the presence of the Holy Trinity? Why? Because he who yields to piety begins not to be afraid": "...quid est quod Jordanis qui fugit ad praesentiam legalis arcae, ad totius Trinitatis praesentiam non refugit? Quid est? Quia qui pietati obsequitur, incipit non esse timori."⁶⁹

It is in Theodoric's palace chapel of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo where we can see mosaic scenes from Christ's ministry on earth (plate 32) and his Passion (plate 33) which remained untouched after the church fell under Catholic jurisdiction. Three of the scenes, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, (plate 34), the raising of Lazarus from the dead, and the parable of the Pharisee and the publican were subjects of Arian homilies in the Veronese manuscript. In the 13 scenes of Christ as teacher and miracle worker, he is an elegant youth with a divine nimbus. That the artist did not give the Son of God a transcendental divinity has been tentatively attributed to Arian influences: "Could there be something "Arian" in the selection of themes wherein a suppression of divinity seems intentional?"⁷⁰ In the 13 Passion scenes, picturing a more grave and bearded Christ, there are no crucifixion nor Ascension scenes "surprisingly...no events that constitute a major

epiphany in which the divinity of Christ is announced."⁷¹

And what of the alpha and omega iconography which we have stressed in Visigothic and Vandalic art? Are there Ostrogothic examples? The most conclusive examples of the Arian Christogram are to be found on two Ostrogothic helmets, one from Stössen, Germany (plate 35) the other from Montepagano, Italy, near Rome (plate 36). It is evident that the Ostrogothic soldiers, wearing these helmets and never knowing if they would live or die, wanted to have their religious affiliation strikingly engraved. In the Spangenhelm from Stössen, the cross has a transposed alpha and omega, whereas the Montepagano Spangenhelm depicts a variety of hunting scenes and a man carrying a processional cross ("Prozessionskreuz") with alpha and omega pendants (plate 37).⁷² We can deduce that the soldiers, being Ostrogoths, were Arian Christians. Ostrogothic Arians did then significantly use the alpha and omega iconography to designate their particular Christianity. On account of the Ostrogothic Spangenhelm soldiers, as well as the Arian sermonist of the "Dominus noster" and the mosaic artists of Ravenna, we cannot thereby warrant that "it is difficult to establish what Arianism meant to the Ostrogoths."⁷³

Whether or not the Spangenhelm from Montepagano was worn by our soldier at some point during the long war, fiercely fought by the Ostrogoths against Justinian between

535-555 is unknown. The Byzantines had conquered Vandalic Africa within a year. But there, the African Catholic population welcomed the Byzantines. This was not the same in Italy where there had existed good will between Ostrogothic Arians and their Catholic subjects. As with Vandal Africa, Justinian used as his pretext for the Reconquista, the deposition of the legal monarch and the Arian persecution of Catholics. In Africa it was Hilderic who was deposed and murdered by Gelimer in 530; in Italy Queen Amalasantha (526-534), murdered by her cousin, whom she had made king, Theodahad, in 535. Justinian was claiming iura imperii, the imperial de facto recognition of the governmental authority of the Germanic rulers. If the legal representative of that government should be dethroned, the empire had a legal obligation to intervene and rectify a miscarriage of justice. As to what possessed Theodahad to pursue a clearly disastrous course is baffling, given the Ostrogothic ruler's obsequious attempts to conciliate Justinian.⁷⁴ Upon Theodoric's death, his Roman-cultured daughter, Amalasantha, had become the regent for the king's grandson heir, the child Athalaric. When Athalaric died in 534, Amalasantha fatally chose Theodahad as co-ruler.

But besides the deposition and murder of Amalasantha, Justinian was building up a case for the alleged Ostrogothic abuse of Catholic Italians as justification for the

reconquest. On the eve of the war in 535, Cassiodorus gave us a tour de force letter from Theodahad to the emperor, who had voiced concern over the mistreatment of the converted Gothic noblewoman, Ranilda. This letter is a momentous document on Ostrogothic religious tolerance, post-Theoderic. Theodahad explained that although the Ranilda matter occurred during his family's reign, he, through his own largesse, would see to it that Ranilda's change of religion would not pain her.⁷⁵ Moreover, the king took this occasion to uphold the Ostrogothic policy of not imposing any one faith since God permitted different religions. To this effect, Theodahad cited two apt Old Testament passages he had read against religious compulsion (Psalms 53.8; 54.6), and not too subtly rebuked Justinian for his religious bigotry in violation of celestial decree.⁷⁶ One can envision a Justinian becoming enraged at Theodahad's insolence.

During the ensuing war (535-554) with its military twists and turns, as brilliantly documented by the eyewitness Procopius, the early victories were Byzantine. Ravenna fell to Belisarius (540), but Naples surrendered to the Ostrogothic king-general Totila (541-552). Rome was besieged three times before being taken by the king in 549. Totila, who eventually chose not to destroy Rome, had written a letter to the Roman Senate, addressing the senators as dear Romans ("φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι")⁷⁷ and contrasting

the Greeks versus the Goths. The king recalled the memory of Theodoric and Amalasantha in whose reigns, Romans were well treated in comparison with the current Byzantine army looting and atrocities in Italy. But Totila's death in the battle of Busta Gallorum (552) sealed the end of the Ostrogothic kingdom, although it took until 562 when final holdouts, such as Verona, were at last taken by the Byzantines.

Justinian proclaimed his Pragmatic Sanction, the Italian resettlement, on 3 August 554. Ravenna remained the seat of government. But twenty years of a grinding war would limit the scope of the emperor's renovatio. We learn of the Ravennate Arian churches restored to Catholics from the Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis. In this ecclesiastical compilation, written by the priest Agnellus between 835-846, six Arian churches in Ravenna, built during Theodoric's reign, had been reconciled by Agnellus, Patriarch of Ravenna, in 554.⁷⁸ The churches were those of S. Eusebius, which the Arian bishop Unimundus had built in the twenty-fourth year of Theodoric's reign, S. Giogio, S. Sergio, S. Zenon, S. Theodorus, and S. Apollinare Nuovo (renamed as such in the ninth century after the first bishop of Ravenna, St. Apollinaris, martyred ca. 200). The Catholics rededicated Theodoric's palace basilica in the name of St. Martin of Tours, who had fought Arians in Gaul during the fourth century. What the Ostrogoths had

called their church is puzzling, if we listen to Agnellus who said that Theodoric had founded a church called the Golden Heaven: "Igitur reconciliavit beatissimus Agnellus pontifex infra hanc urbem ecclesiam Sancti Martini confessoris, quam Theodericus rex fundavit, quae vocatur Caelum aureum."⁷⁹ The cornerstone read that Theodoric had founded this church in the name of the lord Jesus Christ: "Theodericus rex hanc ecclesiam a fundamentis in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi fecit."⁸⁰ The Arian church of S. Theodorus still stands but stripped of its mosaics.⁸¹ Were they too conspicuously Arian? Not listed by Agnellus was the Ravennate church, now destroyed, the Church of S. Andrea dei Goti. We know that Theodoric had built this church since the king's monograms are seen on the remaining columns.⁸²

It is the geographical location of these Italian Arian churches, distant from the Catholic ones, which indicated the Christian segregation of the "Ecclesia Gothorum" from the "Ecclesia catholica": "Les différences extérieures pouvaient bien se réduire à peu de chose, la différence dogmatique pouvait bien passer peut-être par dessus la plupart des têtes barbares ou romaines...Yet "la séparation topographique des deux groupes de populations et de leurs sanctuaires faisait ressortir la distinction des deux communautés religieuses en lesquelles ils se partageaient."⁸³ So, were both Italian Christian sects that entrenched?

If it were not for Justinian, would the Ostrogothic leadership have converted to Catholicism?⁸⁴

But the Byzantines did force the issue and pre-empted any possibility of a voluntary Ostrogothic conversion. And so, the most sophisticated and tolerant of the Germanic kingdoms of the early Middle Ages ended after only sixty years. The mosaic pageantry of Justinian's and Theodora's imperial processions in Ravenna's Church of San Vitale belied a sad fact. There would be precious little time and resources given to the Justinian rebuilding of Italy, as archaeology has determined.⁸⁵ In the wake of the exhausting Ostrogothic war, famine and epidemic gripped Italy. After thirty-eight years on the throne, Justinian died in 565. Another wave of Germanic invaders, would soon take over half of Italy. Catholic Italy would once again confront the Arian Germans.

NOTES

1. Anonymous Valesianus, Excerpta Valesiana, pars posterior 14,79 in Ammianus Marcellinus, tr. John C. Rolfe, vol. 3, Loeb edition. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 559 explained that since Theoderic, "obtusosensu," was unable to write "legi" in the edicts that he would sign, a special golden plate stencil was invented: "De qua re laminam auream iussit interrasilem fieri quattuor litteras "legi" habentem, unde si subscribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per eam pennam ducebat ut subscriptio eius tantum videretur." Henceforth AV.

2. Procopius, De bello gothico, tr. H.B. Dewing, vol. 3, Loeb edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 5,1.29, p. 12. Henceforth BG.

3. For the return of the imperial regalia, AV 12,64, p. 548. For Theoderic as patricius, AV 11,49, p. 536. As Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, 245 noted, there is no evidence that Zeno ever made Odovacar patricius. Jones, 244 called Odovacar "a Scirian officer, elected king." Bury, The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians, 166 was equivocal, as he judged Odovacer to be probably a Scirian, possibly a Rugian (there is a discrepancy in the authorities)." The Scirians were an East Germanic tribe. AV 8,37, p. 532 associated Odovacer with the Scirians ("Odochar cum gente Scirorum"). For a fascinating array of opinions on Odovacer's ethnicity, see E.A. Thompson, Romans and Barbarians--The Decline of the Western Empire, 273-274, footnote 2. Thompson briefly discussed the Hunnic origin of Odovacer as proposed by R.L. Reynolds and R.S. Lopez, "Odoacer: German or Hun?" American Historical Review 52 (1947). 36-53.

4. Procopius, BG 5,1.27, p. 10. See also Theoderic's pledge before the Roman Senate in 500: "quod retro principes Romani ordinaverunt inviolabiliter servaturum promittit" in AV 12,66, p. 550.

5. Theoderic issued a commemorative triple solidus medal with his image on the obverse. The king is shown holding a globe on which stands a Nike with the legend "Rex Theodericus Pius Princeps" in Thomas Burns, A History of the Ostrogoths (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1984), 90-91. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, 247

observed that Theodoric was "often addressed as princeps---as were the other German kings."

6. Bury, The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians, 154.
7. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, 442.
8. Bury, The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians, 178.
9. AV 11,49, p. 538.
10. Procopius, BG 5,1.9-11, pp. 4-6.
11. Ibid., 145.
12. AV 12,58, p. 544.
13. AV 12,60, p. 544.
14. Cassiodorus, Variae 2,27, CC 96 (1973), 76.
15. Variae 3,7, CC,103.
16. Variae 2,25, CC,74-75.
17. Variae 3,13, CC,111.
18. AV 12,63, p. 548.
19. Variae 3,1, CC,96-97.
20. Variae 3,4, CC,99.

21. Gregory of Tours, HF 2,37, PL 71,221.
22. Procopius, BG, 5,12.50-4, pp. 130-132; 5,13.13, p. 136.
23. AV 12,72, p. 552.
24. AV 12,63, p. 548.
25. AV 12,70, p. 552.
26. AV 12,67, p. 550.
27. AV 11,49, p. 538.
28. AV 12,65, p. 548.
29. Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, 465.
30. AV 12,65, p. 548.
31. John Moorhead, Theoderic In Italy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 116.
32. Ibid., 115.
33. AV 15,88, pp. 562-564.
34. Ibid., p. 565.
35. Moorhead, Theoderic in Italy, 237-238 who concluded: "it is not therefore clear whether John was sent to Constantinople to intercede for the return of Arian converts or Arian churches." The phrase in Anonymous Valesianus ("et dic ei inter alia") further suggests the papal mission's "hidden political agenda about which our

sources are silent" (p. 238).

36. Gestorum Pontificum Romanorum, 55, vol. 1, Libri Pontificalis pars prior, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH (Berlin, 1898, 134.

37. Giovan Battista Picotti, "Osservazioni su alcuni punti della politica religiosa di Teoderico," Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 3 (1956), 225 weighed Theodoric's ultimate failure: "Teoderico volle tenere anche nel campo religioso, nettamente divise le due stirpi romana e gotica, e finì con lo scavere tra esse un abismo." Cf. Jeffery Richards, The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476-752 (London, 1979), 112: "There is no evidence of Arian-Catholic tension in Italy. The real problem was political."

38. *Ibid.*, 239: "non ci sono elementi di prova sull'esistenza di specifici decreti imperiali anti-ariani di Giustino I anteriori all'ambasceria." Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire vol. 2, 156 cited the anti-Arian edict of Justin and Justinian (527) which excluded Arian Goths (a fruit of Pope John's diplomacy) and conjectured: "It seems more probable that there was special legislation against the Arians in 524, provoked by the wealth of the Arian churches...and that the persecution began without any reference to Italian politics."

39. Picotti, 239-240 on Theodoric's pre-emptive strike: "Ed è logico che Teoderico sentisse il bisogno di mettere le mani avanti, anche a tutela del suo prestigio di fronte non solo ai suoi Ostrogoti ma anche alle altre popolazioni germaniche di confessione ariani, che in lui trovavano il loro naturale campione."

40. Garth Fowden, "Constantine, Silvester and the Church of St. Polyeuctus in Constantinople," Journal of Roman Archaeology 7 (1994), 281.

41. Gestorum Pontificum Romanorum 55, 134: "qui veteres Grecorum hoc testificabantur dicentes a tempore Constantini Augusti a beato Silvestro episcopo sedis apostolicae, Iustini Augusti temporibus meruisse parte Graeciarum beati Petri apostuli vicarium suscepisse cum

gloria." See Fowden, "Constantine, Silvester and the Church of St. Polyeuctus in Constantinople," 282-284 for a discussion of this textually corrupt passage. The author, 283 also gave a Muslim source for the "Constantin imaginaire" in the Silvestran legend of the emperor's baptism in Constantinople.

42. Ibid., 284.

43. Ibid., 274.

44. AV 16,94, pp. 566-568.

45. Codex Argenteus, Upsaliensis Iussu Senatus Universitatis phototypice editus (Uppsala, 1927).

46. Roger Gryson, Le Recueil arien de Vérone (MS. L1 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire et feuillets inédits de la Collection Giustiniani Recanati--Etude codicologique et paléographique, Instrumenta Patristica 13 (1982), 8.

47. Ibid., 15-21.

48. Geography, as attested in the history of the fourth-century Arian, Philostorgius, seemed to have been an Arian forte. See Franz Staab, "Ostrogothic geographers at the court of Theoderic the Great--a study of some sources of the Anonymous Cosmographer of Ravenna," Viator 7 (1976), 27-64.

49. Gryson, Ibid., 21.

50. Attributed to the Catholic Maximus, bishop of Turin, are the list of apostles' names (PL 57, 829-832); homilies (PL 57, 807-29); Contra Iudaeos (PL 57, 793-806; Contra paganos (PL 57, 781-94) in ibid., 15,16,19.

51. Ibid., 28.

52. The sermons are attributed to the Arian Maximinus,

bishop of Milan, Patrologia Latina Supplement 1, 731-63. Henceforth PLS. Gryson, 18-19 has a synopsis of the sermons' incipits and explicits.

53. PLS 1, 739-741.

54. Ibid., 755-756.

55. Ibid., 70.

56. Ibid., 28.

57. Ibid., 71.

58. Ibid., 71.

59. Ibid., 28.

60. Ibid., 28.

61. PLS 1, 729. The entire sermon is to be found in columns 727-731.

62. Ibid., 730.

63. Ibid., 731.

64. Burns, History of the Ostrogoths, 161.

65. Ibid., 158.

66. Gryson, Le Recueil arien de Vérone, 80. The 1928 edition of these Gothic glosses is flawed, and a more scrupulous edition is needed (p. 19).

66. Moorhead, Theoderic in Italy, 143.

67. Bryan Ward-Perkins, From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages--Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy A.D. 300-850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 69.

68. Spiro K. Kostof, The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 87.

69. Peter Chrysologos, Sermo 160, PL 52, 621-622. Quoted and translated by Kostof, *ibid.*, 87.

70. James Snyder, Medieval Art--Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, 4th to the 14th Centuries (New York: Abrams, 1989), 118. Still, the graceful Son of God in the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo is endowed with charisma: "Jeune, imberbe, plus grand que les autres, le Christ fait le geste de l'appel et de la bénédiction. Dans chacune des scènes le nombre des personnages est limité par l'exiguité du cadre, mais il se dégage de chacune d'elles une impression de vie et de fraîcheur tout à fait exceptionnelle" in André Frossard, L'Evangile selon Ravenne (Paris: Le Centurion, 1984), 45.

71. *Ibid.*, 118. Apropos of Christ's non-transcendental divinity in the Sant' Apollinare Nuovo's mosaics, Snyder admitted: "Alas, we know too little about the Arian art of the period to pursue this issue fully."

72. For the Stößen Spangenhelm, see Friedrich Schlette, Germanen zwischen Thorsberg und Ravenna, 3rd edition (Leipzig: Urania-Verlag, 1977). For the Montepagano Spangenhelm, Volker Bierbrauer, Die Ostgotischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1975), 194-8, 288-92. Burns, A History of the Ostrogoths, 158 discussed the Christian imagery on the gilded Montepagano helmet: ""Theology, specifically the Arian denial of the Trinity, mattered little to most Goths. Perhaps the owner of the Montepagano helmet was an exception. His helmet may have portrayed his Arianism by not using the more common Christogram replete with the P for Christ as well as the cross. The helmet used a simple cross."

73. Moorhead, Theoderic in Italy, 94.

74. In his malicious Anecdota, Procopius blamed the empress Theodora for collusion in the murder of Amalasantha, of whom she was jealous. See Bury, History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 2, 165-167 for the sifting of this evidence.

75. Cassiodorus, Variae 10,26, CC,408.

76. Ibid., 408.

77. Procopius, BG 7,9.11. Loeb edition, vol. 4, 224.

78. Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis. ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH Scr. Lang. (Hannover, 1878), 334.

79. Ibid., 335.

80. Ibid., 335.

81. Herwig Wolfram, History of the Goths, 326.

82. Ward-Perkins, From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages, 241.

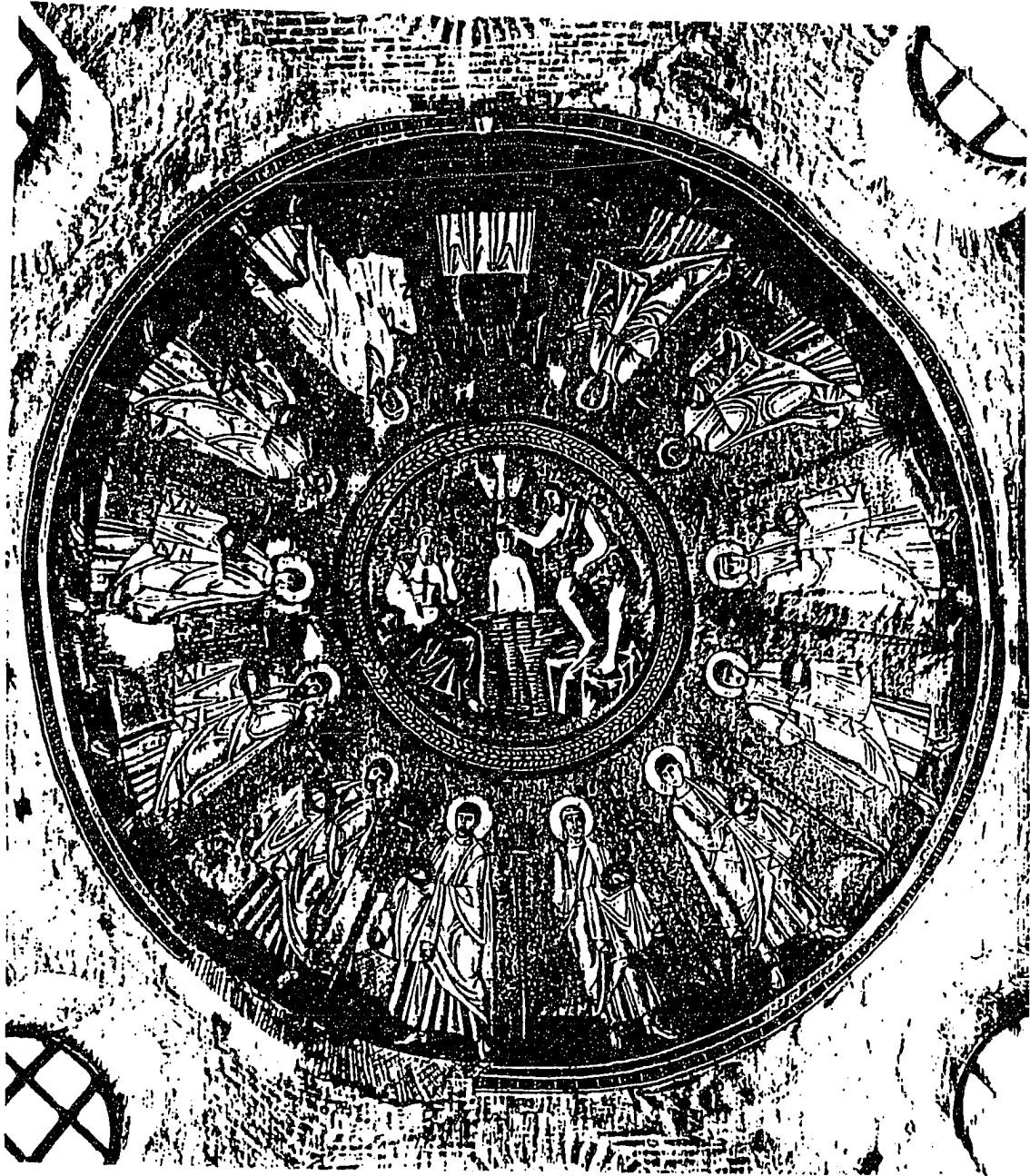
83. Jacques Zeiller, "Etude sur l'arianisme en Italie à l'époque ostrogothique et à l'époque lombarde," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'École française de Rome 25 (1905), 133-134. Cf. Ward-Perkins, *ibid.*, 72 who saw rivalry between Arians and Catholics in the building of so many of their churches: "The orthodox added to and embellished their episcopium at the very time that rival episcopal palaces existed within and without the walls of Ravenna, and they began, with S. Vitale, to erect a church, which, when completed, was the finest of all Ravenna and put even the great Arian church of S. Apollinare Nuovo in the shade."

84. Burns, History of the Goths, 160 answered in the affirmative: "Yet had it not been for the protracted war with Justinian, the Ostrogoths probably would have

joined their Visigothic cousins and accepted Orthodoxy."

85. N. Christie and A. Rushworth, "Urban fortification and defensive strategy in fifth and sixth century Italy: the case of Terracina," Journal of Roman Archaeology 1 (1988), 80: "Perhaps significantly Italy is omitted from Procopius's De Aedificiis. Although structural remains do reveal that Justinian sought to embellish at least the capitals of Rome and Ravenna with numerous magnificent churches, it is unlikely that funds stretched to more extensive works. More indicative is the dearth of Byzantine building inscriptions from Italy, contrasting strongly with the relative abundance of inscriptions (28 are known) complementing the standing remains in North Africa."

P L A T E 2 8



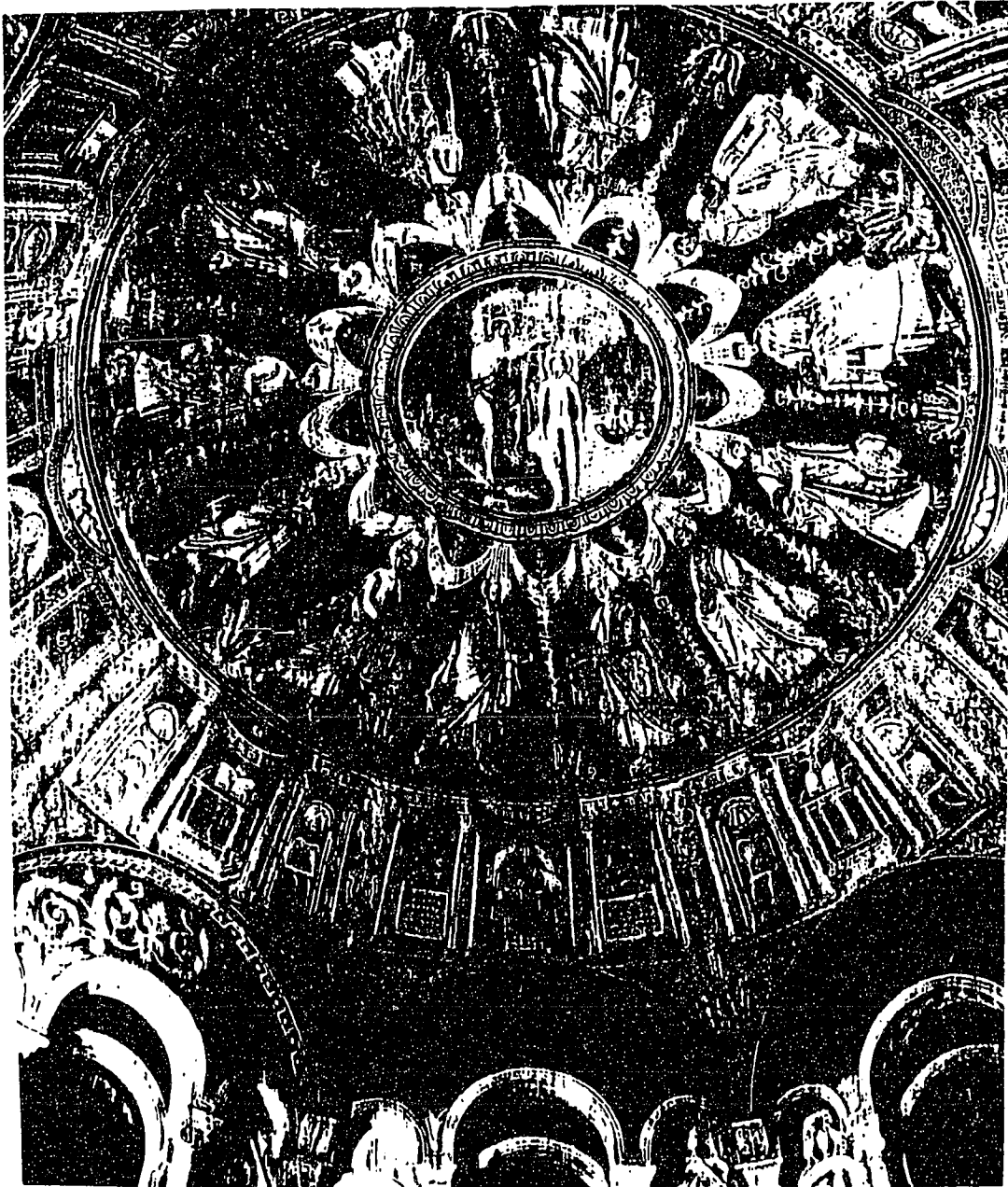
Baptism of Christ in the vault of the Arian Baptistery, Ravenna, ca. 500. From Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making--Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art 3rd-7th Century (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 104.

P L A T E 2 9



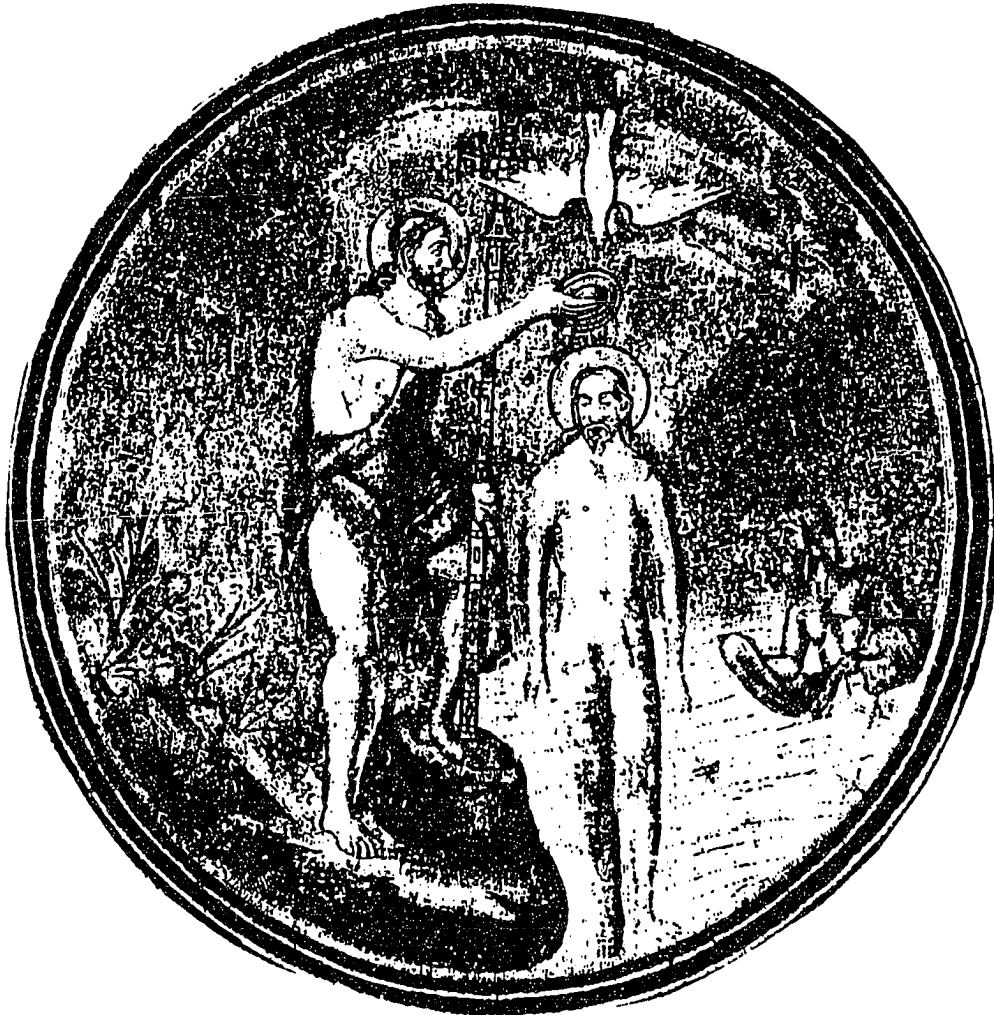
Baptism of Christ. Vault medallion in the Arian Baptistery, Ravenna. From André Frossard, L'Évangile selon Ravenne (Paris: Le Centurion, 1984).

P L A T E 3 0



Baptism of Christ in the Orthodox Baptistery, Ravenna ca. 458. From Ernst Kitzinger, Byzantine Art in the Making. Plate 103.

P L A T E 3 1



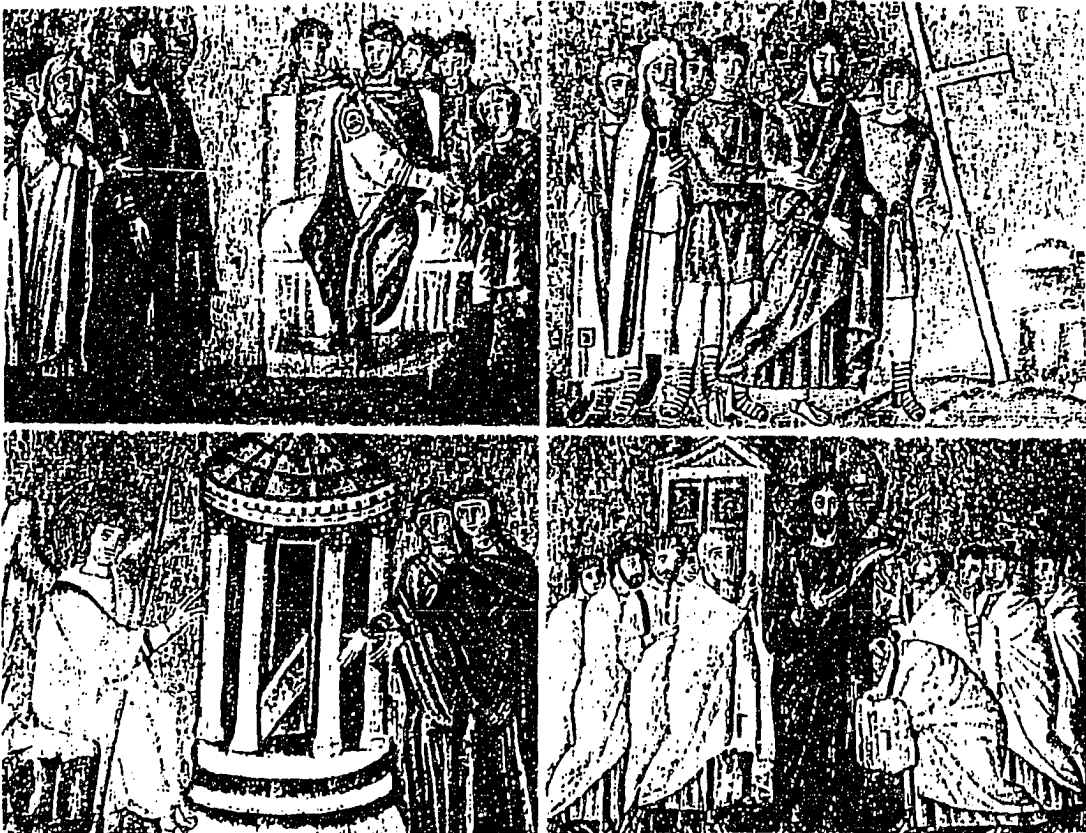
Vault medallion in the Orthodox Baptistery, Ravenna. From Spiro K. Kostof, The Orthodox Baptistery of Ravenna (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965). Figure 43.

P L A T E 3 2



Gospel scenes from the ministry of Christ in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, ca. 500. From André Frossard, L'Évangile selon Ravenne.

P L A T E 3 3



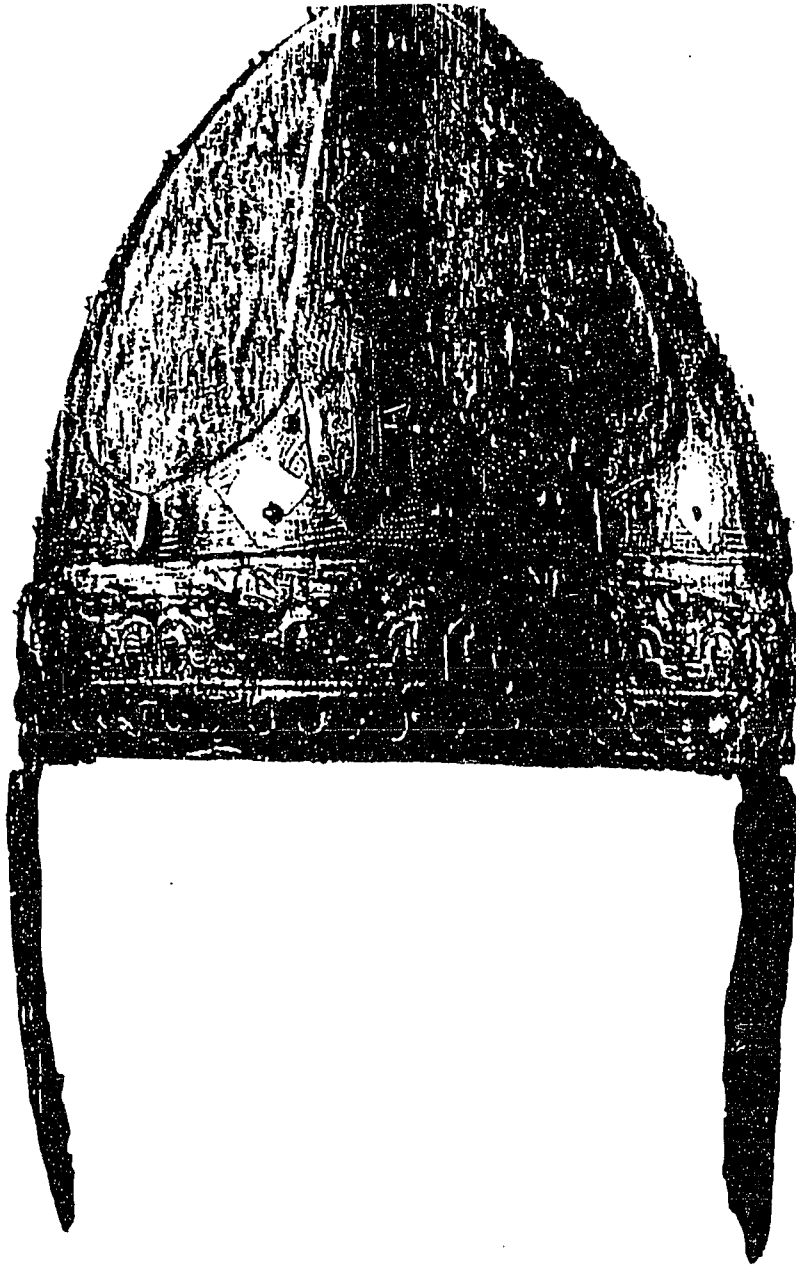
Gospel scenes from the Passion of Christ in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, ca. 500. From André Frossard, L'Évangile selon Ravenne.

P L A T E 3 4



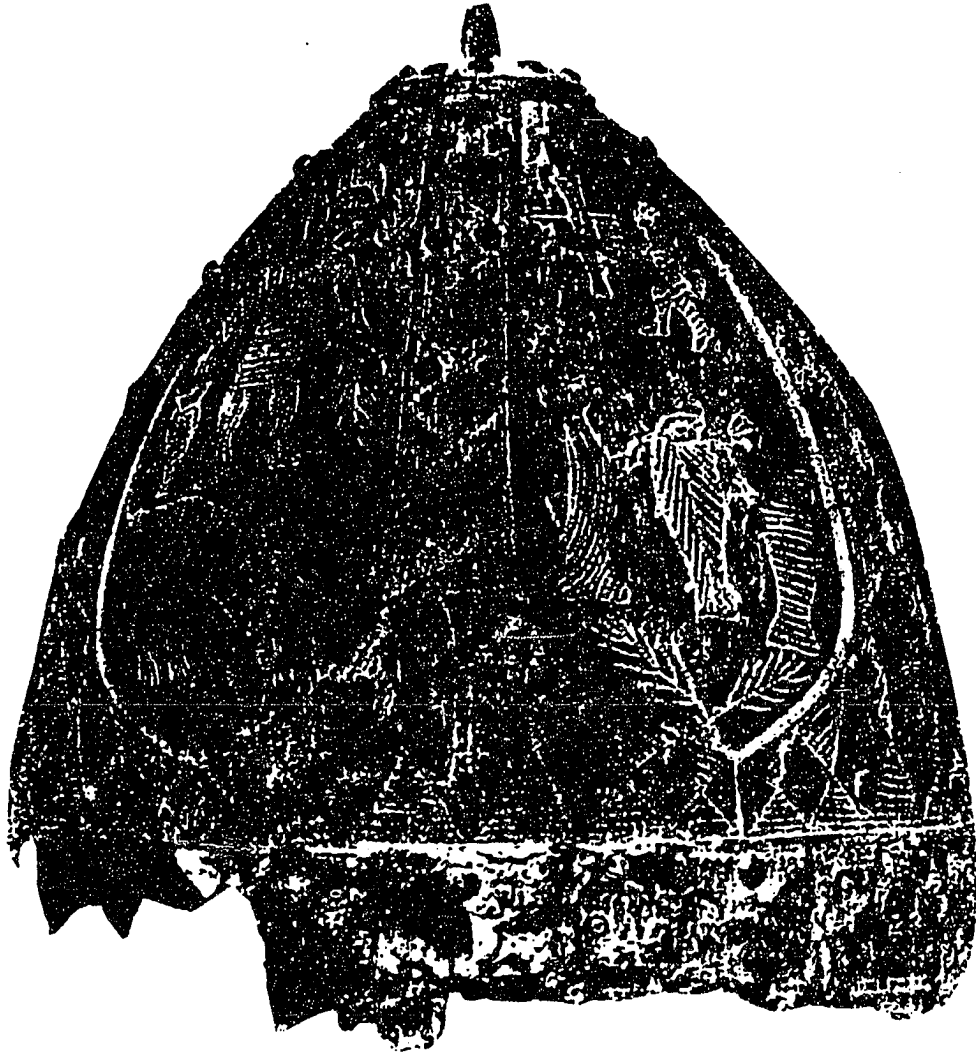
The Miracle of the loaves and fishes from Sant' Apollinare Nuovo. From Michael Gough, The Origins of Christian Art (New York: Praeger, 1973), p. 98.

P L A T E 3 5



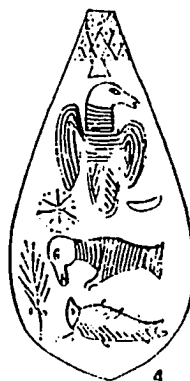
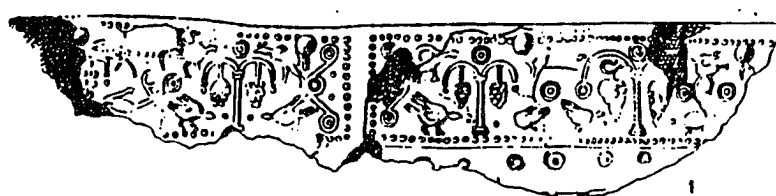
Spangenhelme (Stössen, Germany). From Friedrich Schlette, Germanen zwischen Thorsberg und Ravenna, 3rd edition (Leipzig: Urania-Verlag, 1977). Plate 5.

P L A T E 3 6



Spangenhelme (Montepagano, Italy). From Volker Bierbrauer, Die Ostgotischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1975). Plate 57.

P L A T E 3 7



Designs of the Montepagano Spangenhelm. From Volker Bierbrauer, Die Ostgotischen Grab- und Schatzfunde in Italien, p. 291.

CHAPTER 10

THE LOMBARD ARIANS
OF ITALY

The last Arians of the West were the Langobardi ("long bearded"), who brutalized their way down the Italian peninsula in 568. Unlike the other Germanic tribes of the Völkerwanderung, the conquering Lombards made no pretense of being foederati through a de facto treaty with Constantinople. The contrast with their Ostrogothic predecessors, "frottés de civilisation,"¹ could not be more compelling. But the Lombards were not newcomers; they had first arrived in Ostrogothic Italy (ca. 548) as imperial auxiliaries under the Byzantine general, Narses, during the Gothic War.

Throughout their remarkably long history, militarily ended by Charlemagne in 774, the Lombards never succeeded in capturing all of Italy; they were thus forced to rule over non-contiguous territory. The Byzantine Exarchate of Ravenna had cut Lombardy in two. Lombardia maior, the regnum Langobardorum, in the north, included Tuscany and had as its capital Pavia (Ticinum). Lombardia minor consisted of the independent duchies of Spoleto and Benevento to the south. Until the Catholic king Liutprand (712-44) effectively broke the power of the dukes and captured much of the Exarchate of Ravennas, Lombard Italy was a fractured state.² The Duchy of Rome, under

the popes, Naples, and Ravenna (up to 751) never fell entirely to the Lombards.

Gregory of Tours reported that the Lombards rampaged through Italy for seven years and did not spare bishops and churches.³ The devastation wrought by the Lombards qualified these barbarians as the least Romanized and most dubiously Christianized of all the Germanic tribes who carved out kingdoms in the West. Despite the lack of contemporary evidence, it has been conceded that the first Lombard bands included many pagans.⁴ No doubt, this explains the documentary disappearance of Catholic Italian dioceses in the wake of the Lombard infiltrations. Louis Duchesne, a century ago, tracked down and tabulated extant and subsequently extinct Italian sees before and after the Lombards.⁵ Between 569-605, sixty to seventy dioceses were heard of no more.⁶ Even the prominent archbishopric of Milan seemed to have been eliminated.⁷ The recorded existence of the episcopates before 569 proved that their cessation could not be blamed on disruptions during the Gothic War (538-553).⁸ Duchesne cemented his evidence by citing the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), of which we have 850 letters. Thirty years after the first attacks, except for the papal correspondence (one letter) with the diocese of Spoleto during the years 598-99, there was still no communication between Rome and the former Catholic sees.⁹

But did the Lombards wreck Catholic dioceses as Arians? It has been generally presumed that the first Lombards were Arian Christians.¹⁰ Here, our mute sources are a vexatious problem. If the Lombards were Arians, would not the papal biographers have linked destruction with heresy? But they never did.¹¹ And as far as the Lombard leadership is concerned, we have a few inklings of the Arianism of their first king, who had led them into Italy, Alboin (568-572). Alboin had summoned his people on Easter Sunday, "che era la data del generale battesimo ariano"¹² to announce the expedition to Italy. Alboin had married Chlodsinda, the Catholic sister of the Frankish king, Chlothar. In a letter (before 567?) to the Lombard queen from Nicetius of Trier, the good bishop had been dismayed by certain disciples which her husband had permitted at court: "sed illos recipit, illis quiescit, qui potius animam in gehenna perdunt, quam ad viam salutis adducant."¹³ Nicetius then discussed the subordinationist doctrines of those who would lead the king into perdition: "Duos deos esse praedicant, alium in deitate patrem, alterum in deitate, sed pro creatura filium cum scriptura dicat: Ego sum saluator, et non est alius praeter me."¹⁴ The tenets of the two gods with the Son of God as creature identify the Christians at Alboin's court as Arians, although Nicetius never called them by name. We do not know who, precisely, were these

Arian disciples. Christ as creature was the original doctrine of Arius and was maintained by the neo-Arian Eunomians, although not evidenced in Visigothic, Vandal, and Ostrogothic Arianism. The Frankish bishop gave the Lombard queen apt Catholic responses to these Arian teachings in the form of scriptural quotes, particularly: "Ego et pater unum sumus, hoc est pater in filio et cum filio et filius in patre et cum patre."¹⁵ For he who did not believe in the unity of the Trinity, would not be able to appear nor have his say on Judgment Day: "Nam in die resurrectionis nec narrare nec parere poterit, qui trinitatem in unitate non crediderit, et pro eo omnis militia angelorum per singulos dies clamat: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus Deus Sabaoth--non tres sancti, sed ter sanctum dixit dominum Deum Sabaoth: sanctus pater, sanctus filius, sanctus spiritus; unus sanctus, sicut unus dominus."¹⁶ We had earlier noted how Catholic apologists were at pains to defend the unity of the Trinity, as opposed to the Arian fracturing of the Godhead into three (i.e. Gregory the Great's stand against triple baptismal immersion).¹⁷ In his sanctus litany Nicetius stressed "not three holiies but holy thrice, Holy Father, Holy Son, Holy Spirit; one holines just as one Lord." He further told the queen that he had learned of Alboin's dispatching his followers ("suos fideles") with the Goths ("ipsi Gothi") to Italy in order to visit the holy

places of the apostles, Peter, Paul and John.¹⁸ In conclusion, Nicetius urged Chlodsinda to imitate her grandmother, Chlotilda, who had converted Clovis to Catholicism. The example of St. Martin of Tours was cited to the Lombard queen; Saint Martin had baptized many in the heretical kingdoms of the Visigoth Alaric II and of the Burgundian Gundobad.¹⁹ But since nowhere did Nicetius designate Alboin himself as Arian or heretic, was the omission, diplomatic protocol or was the king indeed a heathen?²⁰ The parallel between Alboin and Clovis does indeed rest on whether Nicetius thought the pre-Catholic Clovis pagan or Arian.²¹

Complicating the religious identification of the Lombards is Procopius, who had marked the Germanic tribe as Christians in the 540s. Procopius served with the Lombard auxiliaries of Justinian during the Gothic war and recorded a puzzling audience between the emperor and Lombard ambassadors ca. 548. The Lombards and their rivals, the Arian Gepids, were competing for hegemony in what is today Hungary, and each tribe thus sought an imperial alliance. In Constantinople, Justinian granted each party a separate hearing. The Lombard emissaries from King Audoin ended their appeal to Justinian for support on the basis of their sharing from the beginning ("το ἐξ ἀρχῆς") the same religion as the Romans in contrast to the Arian ("Ἀρειανοῖς") Gepids.²² What has not been

noted before is the Lombards' use of "ἀρχῆς." The Greek word ἀρχῆ was a favorite Arian word from Arius' use of it to proclaim that the Son of God had a beginning, while God the Father was "ἀναρχός." The Gepid delegation did not refute the Lombards' Catholicism nor contest their own Arian Christianity. Subsequently, Justinian sided with the Lombards and later gave in marriage the sister of Theodoric's grandson, Amalfrida, to Audoin.²³

Needless to say, Procopius's reference to the pre-Italian Catholic Lombards of King Audoin in has been attacked. Was our historian naively wrong? Did he know differently, but decided instead to flatter Justinian's choice of new Catholic allies against the Arian Ostrogoths? Did he know differently but, for dramatic reasons, invented the Catholic Lombards as a counterpoint to the Arian Gepids? Or did Procopius record the exact words of the mendacious, Lombard ambassadors?²⁴ We must ask if the Lombards were Catholics in the 540s, how and where were they converted? Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Catholic sources would not have classified them as orthodox. It is more probable that any Lombard conversion to Christianity occurred during the late fifth century in Danubian Dacia.²⁵ There during the 480s, the Lombards had as neighbors, the Arian Rugi and Arian masters, the Heruli. From 505-508, the Lombards were tributaries of the Arian Heruli before defeating them in 508. As a buffer

to the Gepids, Justinian offered the Lombards lands in Noricum and Pannonia in return for their help against the Ostrogoths during the 550s. With imperial help, the Lombards under their first king Alboin, defeated and destroyed for all time the Arian Germanic Gepids, of whose culture nearly nothing has ever been found.

Thus, through tribal associations with other Germanic Arians, the Lombards could also belong to the same Christianity. After Alboin's death in 572, there followed one of the many Lombard interregnal disorders, provoked by feudal dukes before the election in 582 of the second Lombard king, Cleph. This king's religion is unknown. But with the third generation of kings, Cleph's son, Authari (584-590) we encounter the first known Arian king of the Lombards. Authari was notorious through his anti-Catholic legislation, forbidding Catholic baptism of Lombard sons, as we know from Gregory the Great: "Langobardorum filios in fide catholica baptizari prohibuit."²⁶ In fact, the most abominable ("nefandissimus") Authari had issued this decree on Easter Sunday in 590 but did not have time to see his edict fully implemented since he died in January 591. This prompted Gregory to declare that God had so punished the heretic king that he would not live to see another solemn Easter. The pope in this letter to all bishops in Italy urged that those sons baptized as Arians be reconciled to the true faith

"eosdem filios suos in Ariana haeresi baptizatos ad catholicam fidem concilient"... "ad fidem rectam suadendo rapite."²⁷ Authari's edict would mark the first and only period in Lombard history which qualified as Arian harassment of Catholics. Judging from our Catholic sources, the Arian rulers, by and large, did not molest Catholics. After Authari, we hear no more of forced rebaptisms. Nor can we single out an instance of the surrender of Catholic churches to the Lombard Arians, as was the case in Visigothic Spain, Vandal Africa, and Ostrogothic Italy. The Arian Lombards, unlike their co-religionists in the other Arian kingdoms, had no cause to fear the collusion of their Catholic subjects with the Byzantines. The Byzantine Empire of the seventh century, in the throes of its own Dark Ages, lacked the resources to send an armada to reconquer all of Italy.

Yet was Authari's anti-Catholic law clearly synonymous with pro-Arian? One would unreservedly think so, and that this edict would clearly mark Authari as an Arian.²⁸ Authari's law must be placed in context of the times, which has not been attempted before. According to Gregory of Tours, during Authari's reign, the Catholic Merovingian king, Childebert II, sent a Frankish army into Italy which was decisively defeated (9.25, 10,3). Furthermore, just as in 526, the Arian Theodoric had reacted to Catholic expansionism, fostered by the governments in

Constantinople under Justin I and in Carthage under Hilderic during the early 520s by persecuting Catholic Italians, Authari in 590 must have been equally startled by events abroad. Consider Reccared's Spain. In 587, the Arian king had converted to Catholicism. In 589, the Third Council of Toledo had engineered the de-arianization and Catholic resettlement of the Visigothic monarchy. Another Arian kingdom had gone. We have previously remarked on this pattern, how Arian monarchs reacted with mistreatments of their Catholic subjects when they felt threatened by a resurgence of foreign Catholicism. But if Authari also feared that Catholicization was "sapping the warrior virility of the race"²⁹ he certainly did not take this in consideration when marrying a Catholic Bavarian princess, the formidable Theodelinda in 589. The Lombard queen (589-624) would, in turn, marry Authari's successor, whom she was influential in electing, the Duke of Turin, Agilulf (590-616). This would not be the first time that a Catholic Lombard queen would have as husbands, two successive Arian kings. Whatever the nature of the Arianism of Lombard rulers, their Catholic dynastic marriages were a carefully cultivated policy. It is tempting to view the Catholic marriages of Arian kings as a concession to the Catholic population. But the Lombardic marriages to the Bavarian royal house (Theodelinda's sister wed the duke of Euin)³⁰ was more out of respect

for their tribal kinfolk, the Lithingi.³¹ According to the Lombard historian, Paul the Deacon (730-799?), Agilulf eventually converted to Catholicism.³² If this indeed happened, Agilulf's conversion was a kept secret and reminds one of Gregory of Tour's account of Leovigild's conversion.³³

Theodelinda's Catholic influence in the Lombard kingdom would prove tremendous. But what of the role of Gregory the Great (590-604)? Much has been speculated about the pope's passivity towards the conversion of the Lombards, all the more conspicuous, given the momentous mission Gregory sent to England in 597 to convert the Anglo-Saxons.³⁴ Of course, Gregory already had his full share of negotiating alone with the uncanny Lombards without the help of the Byzantine exarchs at Ravenna. Twice, he saved Rome from the Lombards with bribes, Duke Ariulf of Spoleto (592) and Agilulf (593), to whom he paid five hundred pounds of gold from the papal treasury. In one of his first pronouncements as pope, Gregory had mourned that he was more like the Bishop of the Lombards than of the Romans: "non Romanorum sed Langobardorum episcopus factus sum."³⁵ When he learned of Reccared's conversion in Spain, he confessed to his friend Leander of Seville that he wished his own conversion efforts had been as fruitful.³⁶ The pope had recorded with great delight that an Arian bishop could not install himself

in Spoleto.³⁷ If Gregory placed his hopes on Theodelinda, he dared not mention this in any letter to the queen, lest he jeopardize her sensitive position.

Moreover, Theodelinda herself was a schismatic Catholic. She was a supporter of the Three Chapters controversy and was thus not in communion with Rome. Gregory wrote a few letters to her about healing the schism.³⁸ The Catholic religious scene in Italy during Gregory's time and for most of the seventh century was bewildered by the Three Chapters dispute. In 544 Justinian had condemned passages in the writings of three fifth century theologians, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theoderet of Cyr, and Ibas of Edessa on the basis of their presumed Nestorian teachings on Christ (two persons, human and divine and two natures).³⁹ Most of the bishops of Byzantine Africa denounced Justinian's edict, partly based on the de facto premise of condemning those who had died at peace with the Church. The Council of Chalcedon (451) which had decreed that Jesus Christ had two natures, human and divine, in one divine person, had condemned the one nature (divine) heresy of Monophysitism while exonerating Theoderet and Ibas. More than a century later, in Lombard Italy, Milan and Aquileia supported the Three Chapters. It took a century and a half for the rift to be healed in 698 during the reign of the Lombard Catholic king Cunincpert. Given the longevity of the Three Chapters schism,

it was no surprise that a Lombard Arian or pagan, would have found it confusing to convert to Catholicism. Would Lombard Arians, like their queen, have considered Three Chapters Catholicism more attractive than Roman orthodoxy?

So when Agilulf permitted his son and heir, Adalwald (616-624), to be baptized a Catholic in 603, the Catholic conversion of the Lombards seemed inevitable. But a coalition of Arian and anti-Byzantine nobles deposed the Catholic king and elected instead the Arian Ariwald (624-636). This was a unique event--unprecedented in the history of the Germanic Arian kingdoms. A legally elected Catholic sovereign had been ousted in favor of an Arian one. The Vandal monarch Hilderic (523-530) had been deposed by Gelimer. But Hilderic, while pro-Byzantine and tolerant of African Catholics, was still an Arian. Unfortunately, for Catholic Italians, this time, there was no Justinian to rescue them. In Visigothic Spain, two attempts by the Arian aristocracy to dethrone the Catholic Reccared after his conversion in 587 proved abortive. It had been noted that since Adalwald lost his reason, his deposition was not necessarily an Arian reaction.⁴⁰ In fact, Pope Honorius I had written a letter to the Exarch John, behoving him to restore the Catholic king to the throne and to punish the Catholic bishops who had supported the Arian Ariwald.⁴¹ As with Theodelinda's marriage to the Arian kings Authari and

Agilulf, her daughter, in turn, would wed Ariwald and his Arian successor, Rothari.

In 636 the Lombards elected Rothari, (636-652), the former Duke of Brescia. Paul the Deacon was impressed with this king who, despite being a heretic, was portrayed as strong and just: "viribus fortis et iustitiae tramitem sequens."⁴² It is from Paul that we learn what little we know about Lombard Arian theology (the Son is less than the Father and the Holy Spirit less than the Father and the Son). This Arian Trinitarianism had not changed since Ulphilas's time, two and half centuries earlier: "Si quidem Arriani minorem Patri Filium Spiritum quoque Sanctum minorem Patri et Filio ad suam perniciem dicunt."⁴³ Through Paul we receive a rare glimpse of Christian bishops in Lombard Italy: "through every city of his kingdom, there were two bishops, one Catholic, and the other Arian": "per omnes civitates regni eius duo episcopi erant, unus catholicus et alter Arrianus."⁴⁴ In Pavia, the Arian church was St. Eusebius the Catholic church's bishop was the converted Anastasius. So respectful was Paul of Rothari, that he made the king the centerpiece of a miracle story. One night when a robber tried to plunder the grave of the king, buried at the Arian church of St. John the Baptist in Pavia or Monza, St. John (the Arian patron saint) appeared. He rebuked the shameless thief: "Why do you dare touch the body of this man?"

Granted that he was not of the right faith, still, he commended himself to me": "Cur ausus es corpus istius hominis contingere. Fuerit licet non recte credens, tamen mihi se commendavit."⁴⁵ The saint warned the perpetrator that he would not be permitted to enter his church. When the thief did, he was quickly struck down. Our credulous historian swore to this truth in the name of Christ: "Veritatem in Christo loquor." Here, we recall St. Eulalia's appearance to the Visigothic Leovigild, chiding him for banishing Masona, the Catholic bishop of Mérida.⁴⁶

Rothari's reign featured the first codification of Lombard laws in 643. In this code the king indicated that he cannot reform customary law. He would like to change the law, but his people would not allow him to do so. The code's 388 titles included a gradation of penalties for such crimes as entering a village with an armed force (title 19, 900 solidi half to the king and the other half to the wronged party); cutting off the big toe (title 69, 16 solidi), the second toe (title 70, 6 solidi), the finding in a river and skinning of dead animals by a non-owner (title 336, 12 solidi).⁴⁵ The code was a compilation of the tribal laws of the Lombards: "Issued in 643 A.D.--seventy years after the conquest of Italy--its general spirit and character seem to take us back into the forests of Germany."⁴⁷ Whether this was territorial

or only strictly for the Lombards and not for the Italian Romans is unknown.

But what is discernible is the largely areligious character of the first written Lombard law code. The king had begun his edict in the name of God, had cited God's help and had been inspired by the grace of Almighty God "Ob hoc considerantes Dei omnipotentis gratiam."⁴⁸ This prologue thus embraced "una prima presenza di idee cristiane."⁴⁹ But subsequently, Lombard Christianity is not conspicuous in the substantial legislation. Oaths could be taken on the sacred gospels or on consecrated arms (title 359, De sacramentis), but he who broke the peace (scandalum) in a church must pay 40 solidi to the church and lay it on the altar (title 35, De scandalum).⁵⁰ All other ecclesiastical matters, either Arian or Catholic were not treated. In the Edictus Rothari, as in the Visigothic codes of Euric and Alaric II, we can detect how Arian Christianity did not influence the legislation of Arian kings whose consideration of the laws was secular: "La legislazione di Rothari ignora l'esistenza della Chiesa et si mantiene in un atteggiamento agnostico."⁵¹ Germanic Arianism was clearly not a politically interfering force, hence its attractions for the Arian kings.

Now with the law codes of Rothari's Catholic successors, Liutprand (issued 713-735), Raths (745-746) and Aistulf (750,755) the "agnostic" stance disappeared

as the Catholicization became progressively pronounced. In Liutprand's prologue (713): the king had called his laws those of a "christianus ac catholicus princeps."⁵² This king had styled himself: "in Dei nomine Liutprand excellentissimus christianus Langobardorum rex."⁵³ The last title (153) in Liutprand's legislation about the children of a man who later became a priest decreed that the children would live according to the law of the father before his priesthood. This constituted an important concession to Catholicism: "That a Lombard freeman should be released from the application of Lombard law while still resident within the Lombard kingdom, even though now subject to the jurisdiction of the Church, is a major inroad on the Lombard conception of the superiority of the territorial Lombard law."⁵⁴

Rathchis' incipit (746) cited as the inspiration of the laws, Jesus Christ, under whose providence the king had culminated his rule: "Christi Iesu et salvatoris nostri adsidue nos convenit precepta complere cuius providentia ad regiminis culmen pervenimus."⁵⁵ Rathchis referred to his people, the Catholic Lombards as chosen by God: "catholice Deo dilecte Langobardorum"⁵⁶ Finally, the code of the last Lombard lawgiver, Aistulf (750) contained four titles on such ecclesiastical matters as agreements between bishops and abbots (16), on non-crown churches (17), church property possession over thirty years (title

18), on the oaths of abbots and presbyters (19). The bond had thus been forged between the lords temporal and the lords spiritual which could never have been envisioned under Arian kings but could under Catholic ones.⁵⁷

When did this conversion of the Lombards to Catholicism happen? The personal conversion of Lombard rulers, both kings and dukes, was the key factor. But there was never any such grand proclamation from any king or duke. Instead we have only one line from the Carmen de synodo Ticinense which signaled a definitive, historical moment: "Haribertus pius et catholicus Arianorum abolevit heresem et christianam fidem fecit crescere."⁵⁸ The Catholic king, credited with the extinction of the Arian heresy, was the son of the Duke of Asti, Aripert I (653-661), and befittingly, Theodelinda's nephew. Fear of Arian rebellions, no doubt, discouraged any public display on the part of Catholic and pro-Catholic Arian kings. The Arian Agilulf had decided not to imitate Reccared. Still, when Agilulf and Theodelinda had their son Adalwald baptized a Catholic in 603 they took an enormous risk. Eight years into his reign (624), the Catholic king was overthrown by Arian factions. Nevertheless, apropos of Aripert's abolition of Arianism, the Pavia synod poet was premature. During Grimwald's reign (662-671), the king's son, Romuald, Duke of Benevento, converted to orthodoxy in 663. The

next Catholic Lombard king, Perctarit (672-688) did not seem to confront any Arian opposition. But in 688, the Catholic Cunincpert (688-700) was faced with an Arian uprising led by the Duke of Trent, Alahis, who briefly captured the throne (688-690). It was Cunincpert who formally presided over the end of the Three Chapters schism at the Synod of Pavia (698) which the king had summoned. Italian Catholicism had ultimately been unified.

Like the winning over of the schismatic Catholics, the conversion of the Lombard Arians was a slow transformation. But as to why a contemporary source like the Liber Pontificalis did not track this "graduale conversione dal paganesimo o dall' arianesimo al cattolicesimo" is a conundrum: "Evento di un'importanza capitale nella vita religiosa in Italia; ma nessuno dei biografi romani dei papi del sec. VII aveva ritenuto di doverlo ricordare."⁵⁹ But then, the papal biographers were equally stinting about the achievements of the greatest pope of the early Middle Ages. On the Catholic conversion of the Lombards, we are perplexed by the gap in the historical record. And yet this missing link correlates to the unusual political character of Lombard Christianity: the rotation of Arian and Catholic monarchs on the Lombard throne, the governmental challenges to Catholic monarchs by independent Arian dukes--factors unparalleled in the other Germanic kingdoms. That Lombard kingship had lapsed during

the seventh century, only to be revived aggressively in the eighth century, so as to disquiet both the Papacy and the Carolingian mayors of the palace, is crucial for our study of Lombard Arianism. In non-regnal Lombard periods or during the rules of weak kings, there was no central authority to enforce or to be identified with Arianism--hence the silence of contemporary writers on the Arianism of Lombard rulers.

We must also reckon with a missing tribal/national Christian consciousness on the part of the Lombards. The martyrs, saints, miracles in the traditions of the Visigoths, Vandals and Ostrogoths are absent in Lombard Christianity: "presso nessun' altra stirpe germanica, come presso i Longobardi, il Cristianesimo pare così poco fuso con le tradizioni o con le imprese della nazione, non ricordi di miracoli, di santi, di vescovi, che si intreccino alla loro storia politica nazionale."

Could archaeology clarify Lombard Arianism? Unlike Ostrogothic Arianism, Lombard Arianism is chronologically fractured ("frazionato")⁶¹ in the archaeological record. Arian graves are separated from continuous Catholic ones.⁶² From Lombard graves beautiful Latin crosses in distinctive beaten gold have been recovered. Two of these crosses found in Monza, near Milan, and assigned a seventh-century date, show the alpha/omega pendants (plate 38) and monograms **ASRX** and **ERA**.⁶³ But the **ASRX** monogram may

stand for Ansprand rex, the Lombard king (712).⁶⁴ Regarding Arian churches, we read in a ninth-century document of the Basilica Autareni, Authari's church. In a diploma of Charles the Fat (883) the king recognized the Church of Bergamo's control over this church.⁶⁵ During the late sixth and seventh centuries, the church had swung back and forth between Arians and Catholics, first under Authari, then under Bishop John of Bergamo during the reign of Grimowald (662-672), back to the Arians under the usurper Alahis (688-690), then to the Catholics (Bishop Antoninus) under Cunincpert (690-700).⁶⁶

In ecclesiastical architecture, Lombard Italy was not Ostrogothic Italy. The baptismal fountains of Lombard Italy are only exiguously preserved: "la povertà delle fonti longobarde--che si sono salvate non soltanto in numero affatto esiguo, ma quasi a chiazze."⁶⁷ Very peculiar for an Arian culture with its emphasis on baptism and rebaptism. Lombard churches, both Catholic and Arian, were small and resembled chapels. This is true of the beautiful Lombard church of Santa Maria Foris Portas de Castelseprio, outside of Milan. This "chiesetta"⁶⁸ was decorated with striking frescos, discovered in 1944, of the Annunciations to Mary and Joseph (**plate 39**) and scenes from the early childhood of Jesus--Adoration of the Magi, the Purification (**plate 40**). Since there are no documents, the murals' provenance is mysterious, dated

anywhere from the seventh to the tenth century.⁶⁹ The similarity has been highlighted between the Castelseprio frescos with those in the seventh-century church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome. Both church frescos share a spiritual tremulousness. Gian Piero Bognetti had tied Santa Maria di Castelseprio to the "storia religiosa dei Longobardi"⁷⁰--the Byzantine missionary efforts sponsored by Papal Rome to convert the Lombards in the north and beyond the Alps after 671. There were several Syriac popes⁷¹ during this era of the Islamic conquests. Our Lombard church might have been a manifestation of the proselytizing efforts by these popes into the heart of the Lombard kingdom: "così eloquente conferme di quelle missioni...nel cuore del regno longobardo."⁷² The vibrant Annunciation angel of the frescos, announcing news to Mary, could then reflect the Catholic missionaries to the Lombard Arians and/or pagans.

On the other hand, could Santa Maria di Castelseprio have once been an Arian church? Its mural iconography does not focus on the fully divine Christ. And the choice of scenes, as the Annunciation, Adoration of the Magi, and the Purification, reflects the Arian message that the Son of God had a beginning. There is even an atrium funerary inscription with three Chi-Rhos, the middle with a transposed alpha-omega (ω A) (plate 41). If the church belongs to the late 600s, we can connect it to the return

of Arian power--the capture of the Lombard throne by the Duke of Trent, Alahis (688-90). Santa Maria di Castelseprio as an exquisite memento of Lombard Arianism in its final flourish. For by 700 A.D. the last Arians of the West would be heard of no more.

NOTES

1. Jacques Zeiller, "Etude sur l'Arianisme en Italie à l'époque ostrogothique et à l'époque lombarde," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome 25 (1905), 127.

2. Despite the research on the Lombard dukes, i.e. Marcello Rotili, Necropoli longobarda di Benevento, (Napoli: Università di Napoli, Istituto di storia medioevale e moderna, 1977) and Stefano Gasparri, I duchi longobardi (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1978), experts have barely studied these duchies, which numbered twenty-seven.

3. Gregory of Tours, HF 4,41.

4. Zeiller, "Etude sur l'Arianisme en Italie à l'époque ostrogothique et à l'époque lombarde," 127: among the Arian Lombards "il restait dans leurs bandes beaucoup de païens." Cf. Steven C. Fanning, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," Speculum 56 (April 1981), 242-243, who saw the Lombards, in particular, the first invaders, as overwhelmingly pagan. Fanning quoted popes Pelagius II (579-590) and Gregory the Great (590-604), complaining of Lombard heathenism, though neither pope called the invaders fully pagan.

5. Louis Duchesne, "Les évêchés d'Italie et l'invasion lombarde," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome 23 (1903), 385-399.

6. Ibid., 366.

7. Ibid., 366.

8. Ibid., 366.

9. Ibid., 374.

10. Fanning, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," 241

listed the plentiful scholarship (14 authors) on the heretical Christianity of the Lombards, beginning with Thomas Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders, vol. 5 (1895). Notwithstanding Fanning's compelling dissection of the documentary evidence, the traditional interpretation of the Lombards as Arians from 568 to the end of the seventh century has not been dismantled.

11. Although the Liber Pontificalis never stigmatized the Lombards as heretics, neither did the papal biographers brand them as pagans.

12. Gian Piero Bognetti, l'Età longobarda, vol. 1 (Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 1966-1968), 46.

13. Epistolae Austrasicae 8, CC 97, 419.

14. Ibid., 419.

15. Ibid., 420.

16. Ibid., 420.

17. Gregory the Great, Epistolae 43, PL 77, 497.

18. Epistolae Austrasicae 8, CC 97, 421.

19. Ibid., 422.

20. See Fanning, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," 245 on this letter which "suggests that Nicetius knew that the Lombards generally and Alboin himself were not Arians. It would make little sense for the bishop to write the wife of an Arian king ruling over an Arian people to express surprise that Arian preachers were active at the royal court."

21. Gregory of Tours' Clovis converted from paganism to Catholicism (HF 2, 30,31) although the king's sister, Lanthechild, was an Arian (2,31).

22. Procopius, BG 7,34.24, vol. 4, 450.
23. BG 8,25.12, vol. 5, 320.
24. Bognetti, L'Età longobarda, vol. 1, 43.
25. The ninth-century Chronicon Gothanum recorded that the Lombard lived many years in the land of the Rugi who led them to their dogma ("habitaverunt in Rudilanda annos plurimos et ad suam doctrinam perduxerunt," 3. The Rugi, according to St. Severinus, were Arians.
26. Gregory the Great, Epistolae 1,17, PL 77, 462.
27. Ibid., 463.
28. Fanning, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," 254: "However, from this act it cannot be asserted positively that Authari was an Arian, for it is not known whether his object was indirectly to promote Arianism or to prevent the assimilation of Lombards by restricting their adherence to the Catholic faith that was predominant among the Romans of Italy." In light of Gregory's urgent appeal to the Italian bishops, within the context of Authari's edict, to reconcile Catholic sons baptized as Arians, Fanning's argument seems farfetched.
29. Jeffrey Richards, The Popes, and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476-752 (London: Routledge, & Kegan Paul, 1979), 39.
30. Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum 3, 10. Henceforth HL.
31. Bognetti, L'Età longobarda, vol. 1, 34.
32. Paul the Deacon, HL 4,6.
33. Gregory of Tours, HF 8,46, PL 71,484.

34. Jeffrey Richards, Consul of God--the Life and Times of Gregory the Great (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 191-192: "He sent no missionary team and took little initiative, for the obvious reason that in Lombard eyes Romans would be associated with the Empire and might be suspected of being fifth-columnists." Cf. Fanning, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," 252-253: "He must not have considered Lombard Arianism to be a significant problem in Italy, for even in his frequent correspondence with the Lombards' Catholic queen, Theudelinda, he never counseled her to use her influence to lead Arians to orthodoxy."

35. Gregory the Great, Epistolae 1,30, PL 77,483-484.

36. Gregory the Great, Epistolae 1,44, PL 77,497.

37. Gregory the Great, Dialogi 3,29, PL 77, 285-288.

38. Gregory the Great, Epistolae 4,4; 4,33; 5,52; 9,67; 14,12.

39. See W.H.C. Frend, The Rise of Christianity, 850-853.

40. Fanning, "Lombard Arianism Reconsidered," 255 cited Paul the Deacon's report of Adalwald's insanity (HL 4,41) as proof that "Adaloald was removed from the kingship because of his own incapacity to rule rather than as a consequence of an offense against the presumed Arian nationalism of the Lombards."

41. Epistolae Langobardicae Collectae, ed. W. Gundlach, MGH Epistolae 3,2, 694.

42. Paul the Deacon, HL 4,42, MGH Scr. Lang., 34.

43. Ibid., 134.

44. Ibid., 134.

45. Ibid., 136.
46. Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium 5,8.3, ed. J.N. Garvin (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1946), 224.
47. J.B. Bury, The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), 276.
48. MGH Leges 4, Leges Langobardorum, ed. F. Bluhme (Hannover, 1869), 1. Henceforth LL.
49. Giulio Vismara, "Cristianesimo e legislazione germaniche--leggi longobarde, alamane e bavare," Settimane di studio 14 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1967), 449.
50. MGH LL, title 359, p. 82; title 35, pp. 18-19.
51. Vismara, "Cristianesimo e legislazione germaniche," 433.
52. MGH LL, p. 107.
53. Ibid., pp. 107-108.
54. The Lombard Laws, tr. Katherine Fisher Drew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), 254.
55. MGH LL, p. 185.
56. Ibid., p. 185.
57. Arian Church-State relations are terra incognita. See Drew, The Lombard Laws, 36 who commented that the dual ecclesiastical organization in Italy was "partly responsible for the failure of the Lombard clergy to exert much control over Lombard policies since neither could

allow his competitor to play a more influential role than he himself."

58. MGH Scr. Lang., 190.

59. Ottorino Bertolini, Roma e i Longobardi (Roma: Istituto di studi romani, 1972), 29.

60. Boggetti, L'Età longobarda, vol 1, 45. And yet consider the tribal/national achievement of the Lombards, as delineated by J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West A.D. 400-1000, 2nd edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 46: "The Lombards succeeded in keeping intact their racial independence and their language longer than did any other Germanic people settled upon Roman territory."

61. Margherita Cecchelli e Gioia Bertelli, "Edifici di culto ariano in Italia," Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, et Aoste (21 septembre 1986), Studi di Antichità Cristiana 41 et Collection de l'École française de Rome 123 (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1989), 243.

62. Ibid., 243.

63. Die Langobarden: von der Unterelbe nach Italien, herausgegeben von Ralf Busch (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1988), 302.

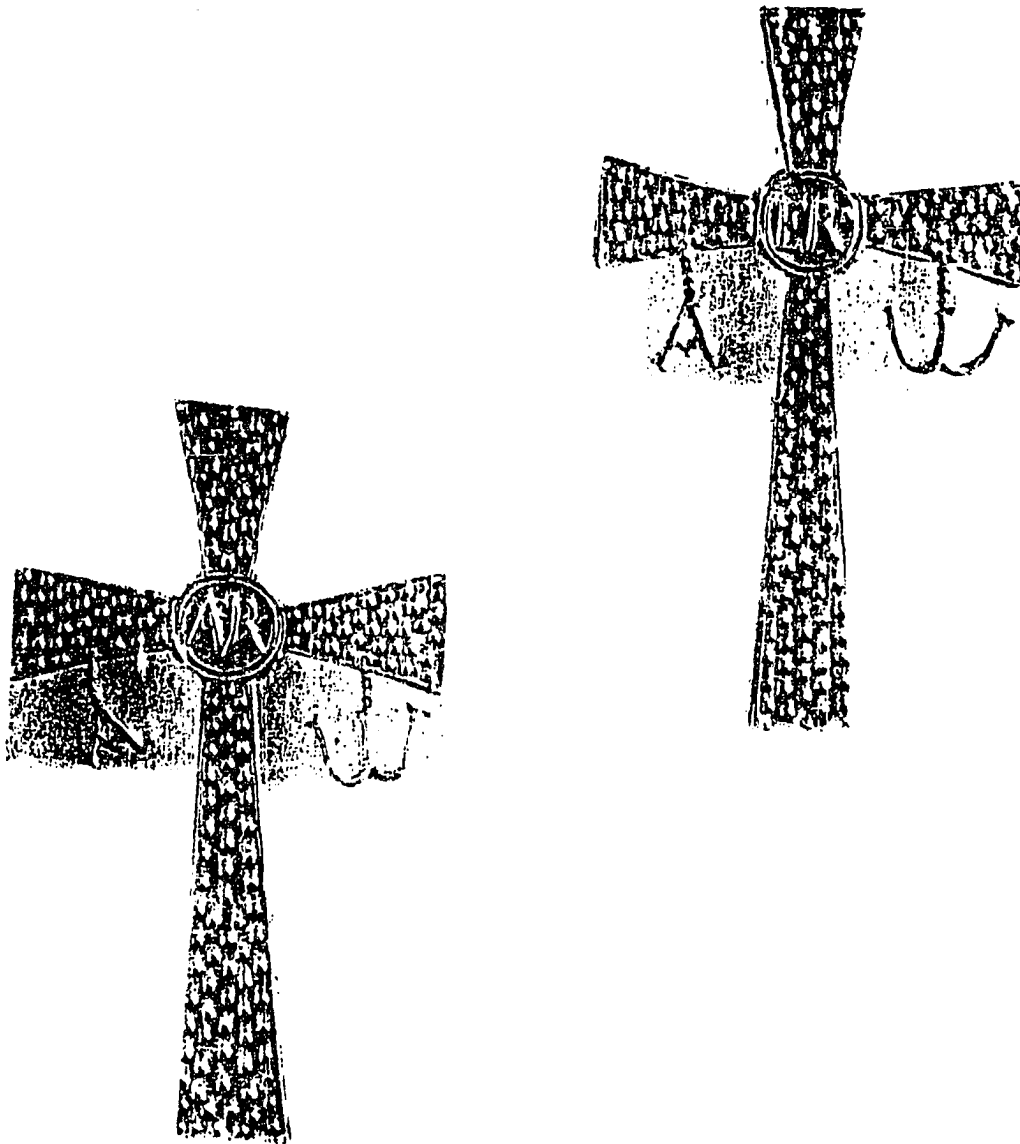
64. Wilfried Menghin, Gotische und langobardische Funde aus Italien im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg (Nürnberg: Das Nationalmuseum, 1983), 91. See pp. 44,54 for a catalogue description of these two Monza crosses.

65. Richards, The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476-752, 44.

66. Ibid., 44.

67. Bognetti, L'Età longobarda, vol. 1, 33.
68. Ibid., vol. 1, 3.
69. André Grabar, Byzantine Painting (New York: Rizzoli, 1979), 83.
70. Bognetti had first written his S. Maria Foris Portas di Castelseprio e la storia religiosa dei Longobardi in 1948 before it reappeared as the first volume in his four volume L'Età longobarda (1966-1968).
71. The Liber Pontificalis listed the Syriac popes at the time of the Arab victories in Syria, Palestine, North Africa, and Spain as John V (685-86); Sergius I (686-701); Sisinnius (708); Constantine (708-15).
72. Bognetti, L'Età longobarda, vol. 1, 30.

P L A T E 3 8



Gold monogrammed crosses (ASRX and ERA) with alpha and omega pendants from Monza, Italy. Seventh century? From Die Langobarden von der Unterelbe nach Italien, herausgegeben von Ralf Busch (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1988), plate 99.

P L A T E 3 9



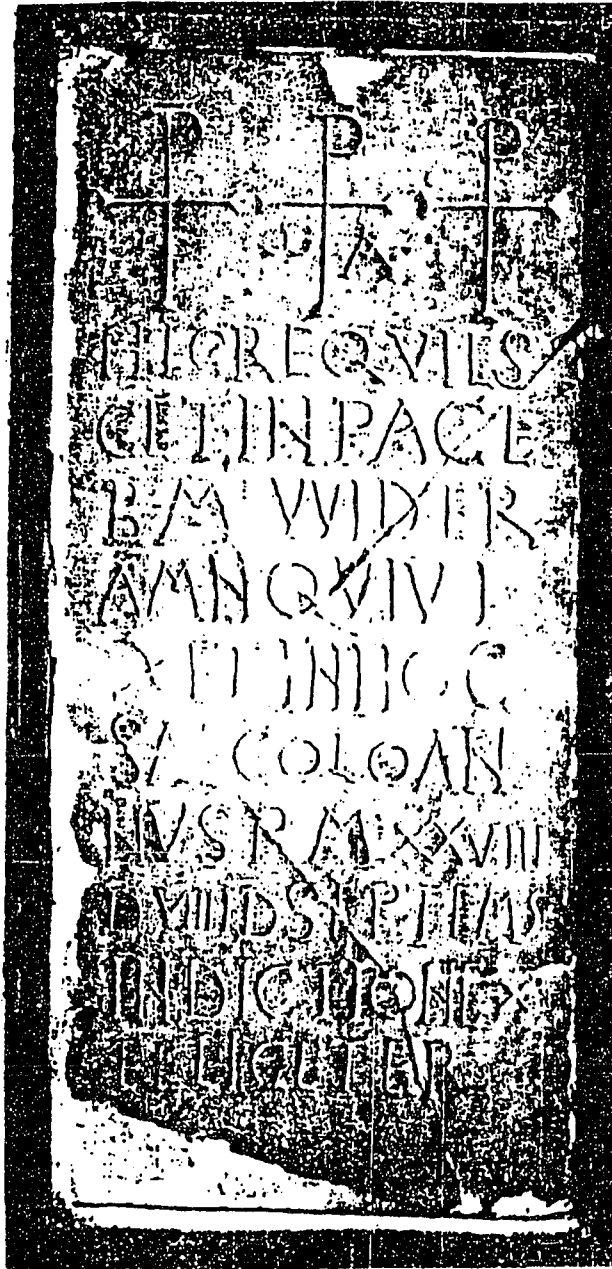
Annunciation to Joseph fresco in the Lombard Church of Santa Maria di Castelseprio. Late seventh century? From André Grabar, Byzantine Painting (New York: Rizzoli, 1979), p. 85.

P L A T E 4 0



Purification fresco in the Lombard Church of Santa Maria di Castelseprio. Late seventh century? From André Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, p. 84.

P L A T E 4 1



Funerary inscription from the atrium of Santa Maria di Castelseprio. Seventh century. Museo Archeologico di Milano. From Gian Piero Bognetti, *L'Età longobarda*, vol. 2 (Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 1966-68) plate X.

CONCLUSION**THE GERMANIC WEST
FROM ARIAN TO CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY
WHY ISN'T EUROPE ARIAN?**

From 350-700 A.D. Catholic Christianity struggled with its Arian counterpart for souls and thrones. During this protracted conflict, Arian Christianity, would claim emperors, kings, martyrs, bishops, and its own unique, Gothic Bible. Some of the greatest nation-builders and law-givers of the early Middle Ages--Euric, Geiseric, Theodoric, Leovigild, Rothari--were Arian Christians. So, why isn't the Europe of today Arian? How could a religion with such political clout loose out as the dominant Christianity of Europe? Arianism first lost an empire, then one by one, the Germanic kingdoms of the West converted to its Catholic rival. Documenting the Arian conversions, first in the late Roman empire, and then the Catholic conversions in the four Germanic kingdoms of the Visigoths, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards has been the mission of our multi-tribal and multi-disciplinary work. To supplement the conversion evidence, much of which we know only from the Catholic victors, we had used the non-written sources of art, archaeology, and numismatics in order to revive the obliterated faith of the Arians. Together with our comparative study of pan-Arian themes in the Roman empire and Germanic kingdoms,

we hoped to have made an original contribution to the study of the transition from Arian to Catholic Christianity. Let us now sum up our findings.

First the Arian heresy. Arianism, both in its imperial and Germanic phases, was, foremost, a scriptural Christianity. It demanded substantiation from the Bible about the divinity of Jesus Christ, and later of the Holy Spirit. Its founder in 318 had provoked a crisis with his interpretation of Proverbs 8, 22: "The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways." To Arius, the Son of God was a creation, non-eternal, unequal, and subordinate to the Almighty God who had created heaven and earth. Arius had said that Christ was not equally divine with his Father because, as the Son of God, he had a beginning. From the start of the controversy through the empire and the Germanic kingdoms, Arians and Catholics engaged in a scriptural war by quoting Old and New Testament texts to reflect their respective theologies. Arians would claim the greater antiquity of their religion and used the Old Testament to great advantage. Judging from the Catholic polemics of the time, the Arians were pounding away at the Catholic positions and putting Catholics on the defensive. Catholics were put to the test to explain the Nicene homousios. To define the Son of God as homousios (of the same substance) with the Father was, for Arians, an affront to the Bible, for the concept

was so unscriptural. Even Athanasius apologized for defending a non-Biblical term. To add the Holy Spirit to the homoousios formula was to wave an additional red flag. And to explain the co-eternality of the Trinity as a mystery of faith, as Constantine, Victor of Vita, and Gregory of Tours did, was unacceptable to the Arians.

Arianism was an ontologic Christianity. How could the Son be eternal if he had a beginning? Arius had said that only God the Father was without a beginning. This ontologic theme prevailed through the centuries as Catholics in Spain (Visigothic Third Council of Toledo) and North Africa (Fulgentius of Ruspe) would condemn the Arians for denying that Christ was "sine initio."

So the choice for both Romans and barbarians converting to Christianity was this. Aside from family and political considerations, if you wanted a mystery religion of a transcendental Trinity, and a superbly organized Ecclesia, you chose Catholicism. If you wanted a rigorously scriptural, logical Christianity, you selected Arianism. Arianism was easy to understand. Socrates was right about the simple-minded barbarians and their espousal of Arian Christianity. The Arian Godhead was hierarchial, as attested by the liturgical Arian gloria "to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit": "gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu sancto" (Leovigild and the Ostrogothic Arian sermons). Moreover, the patriarchal

Germanic tribes would have preferred a Christian teaching that the Son was not equal to the Father. The polytheism latent in Arianism with three unequal gods might also have been alluring to the barbarians. As such, Arian theology, commended itself better to the Germanic tribes than did Catholicism, with its monotheistic solution of the Trinity--three persons in one God. It must have been challenging for Catholic missionaries to explain homoousios to the barbarians.

Arianism--scrupulously Biblical, rationalistic--was also, in its imperial stage, very proselytizing. With Romans and barbarians, alike, it had the common touch. Here, the Arian medium was also the message. Arius popularized his beliefs by bringing his theology to the masses in a form they could understand with his songs (Thalia). Ulphilas/Wulfila, the "Little Wolf," would bring theology to the barbarians by using their Gothic vernacular.

So much for the struggle for souls. Now for the thrones. Arianism flourished because of the imperial policies of Christian emperors: Constantine equivocated and, in the end, was baptized an Arian; Constantius II evangelized; Theodosius I, outlawing Arianism within the empire, condoned Gothic Arianism. Constantius was highly instrumental. This evangelical emperor had dispatched Arian missionaries, like the "Moses of his people," Ulphilas. Constantius and Ulphilas deserve the credit

for the masterly conversion of the Goths to Arianism, beginning in the 350s. We had cast doubts about a mass conversion of the Visigoths in 376 connected with their crossing of the Danube during the reign of the Arian emperor, Valens. The Goths were already Arian, thanks to the pastoral work of nameless, Arian missionaries. It was the genius of Ulphilas, the "Little Wolf" to translate the Bible into Gothic, actually inventing a written Gothic language and using magical-runic and Greek letters. The Gothic Bible was a binding experience, an ethnic treasure, an heirloom like the Pietroasa runic torque, which insured the barbarian allegiance to Arian Christianity for centuries. The Germans had cut themselves off from the religion of their pagan forefathers and had accepted Arian Christianity. They did not want to be told that they had chosen the wrong road to salvation, although, here, we do not know what was the redemption theology of Arianism, compared to the Catholic insistence on salvation through a fully divine Jesus Christ.

The conversion of the Germanic tribes was a tremendous, Arian success story. Arian missionaries had gotten to the Germanic tribes, first. The Arian conversions were practically all-encompassing, for not only were converted the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Lombards. The other Germanic tribes, the Heruli, Rugi, Gepids, the Sciri, also became Arian. The Burgundians and Suevi were

originally Arian Christians. Only the kingdom of the Franks stood out as uniquely Christian. Clovis had chosen to convert from paganism to Catholicism, and his successors would follow his historical lead.

Was the Arian theology in the Roman empire during the fourth century the same as in the Arian kingdoms during the sixth century? No one had examined this question before. Arianism was very traditional and prided itself on the greater antiquity of its teachings, which was always a good case for the legitimacy of a religion in the ancient world. The Arian themes of a hierarchial Godhead, the divine inequality of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit to God the Father, carried over from imperial to the medieval worlds where they were cited by Leovigild, Victor of Vita, the Ostrogothic sermonists, and Paul the Deacon. We had thus dispelled an interpretation of Germanic Arianism, that the Germanic tribes adhered to Arianism only for ethnicity. The Arians in the West confessed to beliefs about Trinitarian inequality. Yet we do not know about their worship of Jesus Christ as Savior.

In the course of our research, we found that there was a striking contrast between imperial and Germanic Arianism. Imperial Arianism, was proselytizing and expansionist; Germanic Arianism was exclusionary. Except for the fanatical Vandals, the Germanic Arian rulers,

once ensconced in their kingdoms, did not attempt to convert their Catholic subjects. Did the Arian rulers realize that they were too outnumbered by the Catholics or was tolerance, an offshoot of the exclusiveness of their former tribal paganism?

Still another pan-Arian pattern was seen in the treatment of Catholics by the Arian monarchs. In their kingdoms, we watched the Arian kings harassing their Catholic subjects whenever they got too nervous about the Catholic Byzantines. Despite the urbane Agila of Gregory of Tours and Cassiodorus's Theodoric with their majestic pronouncements on religious tolerance, life for Catholics in the Arian kingdoms must have been uncertain, at best. We know that the Visigothic and Vandal Arians fought with Catholics over Christian martyr relics and churches. Martyr traditions were very important to the Arians who could claim their own Gothic martyrs, burned alive in a church by the pagan chieftain, Athanaric, during the late fourth century. So, except for Theodoric's Italy which prized Roman culture, there was not too much of a comfortable convivencia in the other Arian monarchies. What would Constantinople do to make life more miserable for Catholics under Arian rule? In Vandal Africa, for over a century, Catholic life under the Arians, must have been pure hell. We had noted how Victor of Vita's litany of oppression could find some corroboration from Vandal

archaeology. In a city cemetery, not a Christian one, and meant to be unvisited, outside the Theodosian Wall in Carthage, some of the unmarked graves were topped by Christian mosaics, probably taken from an abandoned church.

We noted how fitting it was that Ostrogothic Italy, which did not produce Catholic polemics against the Arians, preserved the best Arian heritage, the Gothic Bible, some Arian literature, and the Ravenna mosaics. On the other hand, we have no laws and little literature and artifacts, from Vandalic North Africa, where Catholics were brutalized by the Arians. We concluded that Visigothic Spain was the best documented for Germanic Arianism and for the Catholic resettlement. It is through the canon anathemas of the Third Council of Toledo (589) that we learn how traditional Visigothic Arianism was in its theology. But as far as the spectacular, personal conversion of their king Reccared was concerned, our sources were not too enlightening. Was Reccared really more impressed by the Catholic miracle workers, as Gregory of Tours had reported? Or did the Byzantine encroachment into Spain force his hand? Reccared wasn't Leovigild. His warrior-father could storm Córdoba and other independent strongholds while warding off the Byzantines in Spain. The conversion of the Lombard kings and dukes was equally puzzling. How Arianized were these Arian latecomers? When did the eventful Lombard conversion to Catholicism

take place? Documentation, here, was meager. In Lombard Italy, conversion occurred very quietly with no fanfare. There was no grandiose proclamation of a conversion on the part of Lombard rulers, either kings or dukes, as there was in Spain. This would have been disastrous. Witness the Arian deposition of the Catholic Adalwald and the fierce Arian reaction that Reccared faced with his public conversion. Even pro-Catholic Arian monarchs faced danger. The Vandal king Hilderic was deposed.

We had observed how Arian and Catholic Christianities divided families both in the empire and in the kingdoms. Constantine's sister, Constantia, was an Arian and undoubtedly influenced his recalls of Arius. Germanic kings habitually married Catholic princesses. Theodelinda, as Queen of the Lombards, created a Catholic dynasty.

Probably the most controversial aspect of this study was its espousal of the α and ω Christogram as Arian insignia. The idea was not original, but was investigated, as never before. The stumbling block was the lack of documentation. Unlike Constantine's Chi-Rho vision in the sky, which was documented by Lactantius and Eusebius, we do not have any written sources for the alpha/omega Christogram. First, we matched the iconography with Arian theology. "I am the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end" said the Last Judgment Christ of the Book of Revelation. Fulgentius of Ruspe in Africa

and the Third Council of Toledo had attacked the Arians for denying that Christ was "sine initio," without a beginning. So here, there was a link between the iconography and the Catholic attacks on an important Arian tenet. We had provided illustrations of the alpha/omega in the Roman Catacomb Commodilla of the mid-fourth century. Did a period of persecution of Arians force the Arians underground? The apocalyptic design was seen on Visigothic sarcophagi but not on Merovingian ones, on coins, and on Ostrogothic Spangenhelms. The alpha/omega Chi-Rho was a pervasive motif in our four Arian kingdoms. But did both Catholic and Arians use the alpha/omega iconography as a fitting tribute to their dearly departed? The coins, however, pointed to an Arian connection. The alpha and omega Chi-Rho first appeared between 351-353 on the coins of the Gallic usurpers, Magnentius and Decentius, in their civil war with Constantius II. The cantoned Chi-Rho must have had a special significance. We must ask why the use of Greek letters on coins minted in the Latin West. Constantius copied the pattern on his Trier coins. Since Constantius was an Arian, would he have used the same iconography, if the brothers were Catholic? We had observed that the Leovigild coin from Narbonne, had a barbarized alpha and omega, which was disputed. This coin was minted in the Arian stronghold of Narbonne during the civil war

between the king and his Catholic son, Hermenegild. But the most conclusive evidence in a barbarian context, was the stimped alpha and omega on the Ostrogothic Spangenhelmets from Stössen and Montepagano. Ostrogothic Arian soldiers wore these helmets in life and death situations where the religious identification of the wearers was deemed crucial. We could not, however, resolve the transposed alpha and omega motifs that we had seen in the art in the Arian kingdoms. Was this motif an artistic innovation, or a sign of an Arian sub-sect?

Still, there were other issues for which we had no direct evidence but about which we had to infer. For one, the Arian Ecclesia. The Arian Church could not boast a spiritual head, like the Bishop of Rome, the heir of St. Peter. Unlike Catholicism, there were no Arian ecumenical councils nor any hierarchy of the Arian episcopates. Arian ecclesiastical organization was based on local churches. What does this tell us about the relations between the Arian lords temporal and the lords spiritual? We cannot imagine an Arian bishop addressing Constantius as did Athanasius or an Arian king-bishop relationship as existed between the Catholic Reccared and Leander of Seville. And what of the Gothic lex-religio? Theodoret had said that Ulphilas gave the Goths Arian beliefs which they observed like laws. But, from the evidence in the law codes of Euric and Rothari, the Arian kings did not

legislate on religious matters. There is no presence of an Arian Church in either of these law codes.

How about Arianism in the countryside? Were the county folk in the Germanic kingdoms Christian at all? Outside of Martin of Braga, who had pointed out the paganism of the Suevi, we have Arian folk art from fourth-century Pannonia, the humble and unique brick etching of Arius, the only known representation of the heresiarch.

In our conversion conclusion, we can cite the distinct examples of the two King Henries from the sixteenth century. In 1534 Henry VIII, by the Act of Supremacy, broke with the Roman Catholic Church and set up his own Church of England. In 1589 Henry IV of Navarre, a Huguenot Protestant, decided that Paris was worth the Mass and converted to Catholicism, the majority religion of the French. The Arians lost Europe because their kings decided not to do away with Catholicism. And as Henry VIII proved, in the dismantling of the Catholic establishment in England, a strong ecclesiastical organization is no guarantee of religious survival. The Vandals came close to wiping out the African Catholic Ecclesia. What saved African Catholics, before the arrival of Justinian's armies, was the pro-Catholic, Arian king, Hilderic, who restored their religious liberties.

In the throes of a civil war with his Catholic son, the Visigothic Leovigild saw the possibility of a national

unity to be achieved, not by converting to Catholicism, but by Catholicizing Arianism. The king dropped the Arian requirement of rebaptism and confessed that the Son was equal to the Father, but not the Holy Spirit. Leovigild, like a good Arian, explained that the equality of the Holy Spirit was not to be found in the scriptures. The Arian monarch was even seen worshipping at Catholic shrines and churches. John of Biclar mourned the fact that the uncanny ruler had seduced Catholics into converting to Arianism. Gregory of Tours lamented that there were few Visigothic Catholics left in Spain. So there were subtle ways to convert Catholics, but except for the ferocious Vandals, the Arian monarchs did not employ them. This policy made possible the endurance of a Catholic Roman culture which had lost its political authority.

Medieval Christianity would be Romanized, not Germanized. The Christian winner had a theology, from which it had never budged, the transcendental unity of the Trinity, displacing the rational, hierarchical Godhead of the Arians, a vibrant Ecclesia, and a vision of the bond, not without friction, between the lords temporal and the lords spiritual. The Catholic triumph in the Germanic kingdoms would be soon downsized. By 700 A.D. one Christianity had perished, another had prevailed. But a third religion, a non-Christian, monotheistic one--Islam--was turning the Christian world upside down.

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