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0521813492 - Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411-533

Andrew Gillett

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ENVOYS AND POLITICAL
COMMUNICATION IN THE LATE
ANTIQUE WEST, 411-533

Warfare and dislocation are obvious features of the break-up of the late Roman West, but this crucial period of change was characterised also by communication and diplomacy. The great events of the late antique West were determined by the quieter labours of countless envoys, who travelled between emperors, kings, generals, high officials, bishops, provincial councils, and cities. This book examines the role of envoys in the period from the establishment of the first 'barbarian kingdoms' in the West, to the eve of Justinian's wars of reconquest. It shows how ongoing practices of Roman imperial administration shaped new patterns of political interaction in the novel context of the earliest medieval states. Close analysis of sources with special interest in embassies offers insight into a variety of genres: chronicles, panegyrics, hagiographies, letters, and epitaphs. This study makes a significant contribution to the developing field of ancient and medieval communications.

ANDREW GILLETT is Research Fellow in the Department of Ancient History, Macquarie University, Sydney.

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PREFACE

This study sprang from several coincidences. I chanced to read Hydatius, Priscus, and Senarius' *Epitaph* (tucked away in the indexes of Mommsen's edition of Cassiodorus) at much the same time, and was struck not only by the importance of 'diplomacy' to all three texts, but also by the fact that while diplomatic communication was a prominent feature in modern literature on the Byzantine East, it was not much evident in studies of the early medieval West. At much the same time, we were all wakened each morning by radio news of the 'shuttle diplomacy' preceding the Gulf War of January–February 1991. These tense events suggested parallels with the repeated embassies in Hydatius, and with Senarius' boast of visiting eastern and western capitals twice within one year; more significantly, they focused the mind on the interconnectedness of communication and warfare. Some time later I began to research 'diplomacy in the West', but soon became convinced that the fragmentary nature of the sources precluded any meaningful 'diplomatic history' of the period, if the purpose of such a history was to gain insight into what our sources call the *arcana* and *secreta* of the imperial and royal courts. The most expansive sources tend to describe the policy intentions of the centres of power at best superficially and very rarely with any real claim to insider knowledge; what they are interested in is the importance of embassies to the careers of envoys themselves, or to their local communities. Fergus Millar's elucidating articles on the 'internal diplomacy' of Roman imperial administration, however, struck me as providing the proper context for understanding 'diplomatic' activity in the period of the empire's break-up: not as a primitive forebear of European international statecraft, but as the continued practice of communications between different levels of authority in the classical world. This study, then, focusses on the activity, not the issues, of 'diplomacy'. The nature of the sources also dictated the methodology used in the main chapters, which foregrounds the interaction of sources, their genre, and their historical setting.

I owe many thanks to instructors and friends. Not unusually, this book descends from a doctoral dissertation, presented in 1994 at the Centre

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for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto. There I was privileged to be guided by erudite and generous instructors: my supervisor Walter Goffart, Timothy Barnes, Jocelyn Hillgarth, and Alexander C. Murray. I could not imagine a more luminous constellation of scholars from whom to learn, and I am greatly indebted for their invaluable and continued counsel. At Toronto, too, I was fortunate to enjoy the instruction of M. Edouard Jeuneau; the help of staff of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Library; the guidance of the directors of the Centre for Medieval Studies, in particular Roberta Frank; and discussions and companionship with many fellow students, of whom I wish to mention in particular Ann Kuzdale, Catherine Conybeare, and Michael Kulikowski. The work of revising and extending this study took place in the Ancient History Documentary Research Centre of Macquarie University, a warm haven for the study of late antiquity. I am most grateful for the guidance there of Alanna Nobbs, Ted Nixon, Edwin Judge, Sam Lieu, and Robert Tannenbaum; the bonhomie of Rosalinde Kearsley, Lea Benness, Tom Hillard, and Geraldine Herbert-Brown; the cheerful assistance of Beth Lewis and Pat Geidans; and the unflagging service of the Macquarie University Library staff. To Paul Barnwell, Peter Brennan, Brian Croke, Carman Cardelle de Hartmann, Walter Kaegi, Fergus Millar, Andreas Schwarcz, Roger Scott, and Phil Wynn, I am indebted for valuable discussions and advance copies of publications, and I am particularly grateful for the encouragement of Peter Brown. The book has gained much from the comments of the series editor Rosamond McKitterick, from Doug Lee, and from the anonymous readers from Cambridge University Press. None of the above, of course, bears any liability for the content or approach of this book. At various stages, this study has been generously supported by the Canadian Commonwealth Fellowship and Scholarship scheme, the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies/Association canadienne pour les études avancées, the Australian Academy for the Humanities, the Australian Research Council, and Macquarie University. My warmest thanks to Don Gillett and Dora Gillett for their constant interest. Finally, I am deeply grateful for the advice and support of Antonina Harbus.

ABBREVIATIONS

SOURCES AND MODERN STUDIES

AASS	Acta sanctorum (Antwerp, 1643–)
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
Altaner, <i>Patrologie</i> ⁷	B. Altaner and A. Stuißer, <i>Patrologie: Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter</i> ⁷ (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1966)
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus, <i>Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt</i> , ed. Wolfgang Seyfarth, 2 vols. (Teubner; Leipzig, 1978)
Anderson	Sidonius, <i>Poems and Letters</i> , trans. W. B. Anderson, 2 vols. (LCL; London, 1936, 1965)
Anon. <i>Val.</i>	<i>Excerpta Valesiana</i> , ed. J. Moreau, rev. V. Velkov (Teubner; Leipzig, 1968)
Bagnall <i>et al.</i> , <i>Consuls LRE</i>	Roger S. Bagnall, Alan Cameron, Seth R. Schwartz, and Klaas A. Worp, <i>Consuls of the Later Roman Empire</i> (Atlanta, 1987)
Bede, <i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina</i> (Brussels, 1898–9); <i>Novum supplementum</i> , ed. H. Fros (Brussels, 1986)
Budé	<i>Collection des universités de France</i> (Paris, 1920–)
Burgess, <i>Chronicle</i>	R. W. Burgess (ed.), <i>The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana: Two Contemporary Accounts of the Final Years of the Roman Empire</i> (Oxford, 1993)
Burgess, ‘Hydatius’	R. W. Burgess, ‘Hydatius: A Late Roman Chronicler in Post-Roman Spain: A Historical Study and New Critical Edition of the Chronicle’ (diss., University of Oxford, 1988)

List of abbreviations

Bury	J. B. Bury, <i>History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian</i> , 2 vols. (London, 1923; repr. New York, 1958)
Cameron, <i>Claudian</i>	Alan Cameron, <i>Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius</i> (Oxford, 1970)
Cardelle de Hartmann <i>Philologische Studien</i>	Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann, <i>Philologische Studien zur Chronik des Hydatius von Chaves</i> (Palingenesia 47; Stuttgart, 1994)
Cass., <i>Variae</i>	Cassiodorus, <i>Variae epistolae</i> , ed. T. Mommsen (MGH AA 12)
CCSL	Corpus christianorum. Series latina, 176 vols. (Turnhout, 1953–)
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, ed. T. Mommsen <i>et al.</i> , 17 vols. (Berlin, 1863–1986)
Claudian	Claudian, <i>Carmina</i> , ed. J. B. Hall (Leipzig, 1985)
Clover, <i>Merobaudes</i>	Frank M. Clover, <i>Flavius Merobaudes: A Translation and Historical Commentary</i> (Philadelphia, 1971)
<i>Cod. Just.</i> <i>Collectio Avellana</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> , in <i>Corpus iuris Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum (Collectio Avellana)</i> , ed. Otto Guenther (CSEL 35; Vienna, 1895)
Constantius, <i>Vita Germani</i>	Constantius, <i>Vita Germani episcopi Autissiodorensis</i> , ed. W. Levison (MGH SRM 7); ed. and trans. R. Borius (Sources chrétiennes 112)
<i>Corpus iuris</i>	Justinian, <i>Corpus iuris civilis</i> , ed. T. Mommsen, P. Krüger, R. Schöll, and W. Kroll, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1872–1895; repr. Dublin and Zurich, 1968–70)
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, 90 vols. (Vienna, 1860–)
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Theodosiani libri XVI</i> ³ , ed. T. Mommsen and P. Krüger (Berlin, 1962)
<i>De cer.</i>	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, <i>De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo</i> , ed. J. J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae 7; Bonn, 1829–30)

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Demougeot	E. Demougeot, <i>La Formation de l'Europe et les invasions barbares</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1979)
Dessau, <i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones latinae selectae</i> , ed. Hermann Dessau, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892-1916)
<i>Digest</i>	Justinian, <i>Digesta</i> , in <i>Corpus iuris</i>
Du Cange, <i>Gloss.</i>	Charles du Fresne Du Cange, <i>Glossarium mediae et infirmae latinitatis</i> , ed. C. P. Carpenter and G. A. L. Henschel, 10 vols. (Niort, 1883-7; repr. Graz, 1954)
Ennodius, <i>Vita Epiphani</i>	Ennodius, <i>Vita beatissimi Epiphani episcopi Ticinensis ecclesiae</i> , ed. F. Vogel in Ennodius, <i>Opera</i> (MGH AA 7)
<i>Ep. Austr.</i>	<i>Epistolae Austrasicae</i> , ed. W. Gundlach (MGH Epp. 3)
Eusebius/Jerome	<i>Die Chronik des Hieronymus</i> , ed. Rudolf Helm (GCS 47 = Eusebius' Werke 7; Berlin, 1956)
<i>Fr. Class. Hist.</i>	<i>The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus</i> , ed. and trans. R. C. Blockley, 2 vols. (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 6 and 10; Liverpool, 1981, 1983). Where necessary, reference is given to the page number as well as fragment number.
Fredegar, <i>Chron.</i>	Fredegarius Scholasticus, <i>Chronicarum libri IV</i> , ed. B. Krusch (MGH SRM 2)
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der erstern Jahrhunderte
Gregory the Great, <i>Registrum</i>	Gregory the Great, <i>Registrum epistolarum</i> , ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann (MGH Epp. 1, 2)
Gregory of Tours, <i>Hist.</i>	Gregory of Tours, <i>Historiarum libri X</i> , ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison (MGH SRM 1.1 ²)
Haenel, <i>Corpus legum</i>	<i>Corpus legum ab imperatoribus Romanis ante Iustinianum latorum</i> , ed. Gustav Haenel (Leipzig, 1857)

List of abbreviations

Harries, <i>Sidonius</i>	Jill Harries, <i>Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome</i> (Oxford, 1994)
Harrison, 'Verse Panegyrics of Sidonius Apollinaris'	Geoffrey Harrison, 'The Verse Panegyrics of Sidonius Apollinaris: Poetry and Society in Late Antique Gaul' (diss., Stanford University, 1983)
Hyd.	Hydatius, <i>Continuatio chronicorum Hieronymianorum</i> , ed. T. Mommsen (MGH AA 11, 1-36); Burgess, <i>Chronicle</i> , 70-123. References give Mommsen's section numbering, followed by Burgess' in square brackets, except where these coincide.
Isidore, <i>Hist. Goth.</i>	Isidore of Seville, <i>Historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueborum</i> , ed. T. Mommsen (MGH AA 11, 267-303)
Jedin and Dolan	<i>History of the Church</i> , ed. Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, vol. II: <i>The Imperial Church from Constantine to the Early Middle Ages</i> , trans. Anselm Biggs (New York, 1980)
John Lydus, <i>De magistratibus</i>	John the Lydian, <i>On Powers, or The Magistracies of the Roman State</i> , ed. and trans. A. C. Bandy (Philadelphia, 1983)
Jones, <i>LRE</i>	A. H. M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964)
Jordanes, <i>Get.</i>	Jordanes, <i>Getica</i> , ed. T. Mommsen (MGH AA 6.1)
Justinian, <i>Nov. Kal. Autiss.</i>	Justinian, <i>Novellae</i> , in <i>Corpus iuris Kalendarium Autissiodorensis</i> , in <i>Martyrologium Hieronymianum</i> , ed. J. B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne, AASS Nov. II pars 1 (Brussels, 1894)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library (London, 1912-)
Lewis and Short	<i>A Latin Dictionary</i> , ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1879)
<i>Liber pont.</i>	<i>Liber pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886), 1

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Loyen, <i>Recherches</i>	A. Loyen, <i>Recherches historiques sur les panégyriques de Sidoine Apollinaire</i> (Paris, 1942; repr. Rome, 1967)
Loyen, <i>Sidoine</i>	Sidoine Apollinaire, <i>Poèmes et lettres</i> , ed. and trans. André Loyen, 3 vols. (Budé; Paris, 1970)
Malalas, <i>Chron.</i>	<i>The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation</i> , trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott <i>et al.</i> (Byzantina Australiensia 4; Melbourne 1986)
Matthews, <i>Western Aristocracies</i>	John Matthews, <i>Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, AD 364–425</i> (Oxford, 1975)
Menander Protector	<i>The History of Menander the Guardsman</i> , ed. and trans. R. C. Blockley (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 17; Liverpool, 1985). Where necessary, reference is given to the page number as well as the fragment number.
MGH AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores antiquissimi</i> , 15 vols. (Berlin, 1826–)
MGH Epp. 3	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae</i> , vol. 3: <i>Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi I</i> , ed. E. Dümmler, W. Gundlach <i>et al.</i> (Berlin, 1892) [the texts used here are all edited by Gundlach]
MGH SRM	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingarum</i> , 7 vols. (Hanover, 1885–)
Muhlberger, <i>Fifth-Century Chroniclers</i>	Steven Muhlberger, <i>The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452</i> (ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 27; Leeds, 1990)
Niermeyer, <i>Lexicon</i>	<i>Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus</i> , ed. J. F. Niermeyer (Leiden, 1976)
<i>Not. dig.</i>	<i>Notitia dignitatum</i> , ed. Otto Seeck (Berlin, 1867; repr. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1962)

List of abbreviations

NPNF	A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 28 vols. (Buffalo and New York, 1886-90)
PCBE I, II	<i>Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire</i> , I: <i>Prosopographie de l'Africa chrétienne (303-533)</i> , ed. Andre Mandouze (Paris, 1982); II, part I: <i>Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313-604)</i> , ed. Charles Pietri, Luce Pietri <i>et al.</i> (Paris, 1999)
PIR	<i>Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I. II. III.</i> , ed. E. Klebs <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin, 1897-8); 2nd edn, E. Groag <i>et al.</i> , 5 vols. to date (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933-87)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-64)
PLRE I, II, III	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971-92)
Portmann, <i>Geschichte in der spätantiken Panegyrik</i>	Werner Portmann, <i>Geschichte in der spätantiken Panegyrik</i> (Europäische Hochschulschriften, series 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, vol. 363; Frankfurt-am-Main, 1988)
Priscus, <i>Fr.</i> Procopius	Priscus, <i>Fragmenta</i> , in <i>Fr. Class. Hist.</i> Procopius, <i>Opera omnia</i> , ed. Jakob Haury, rev. G. Wirth, 4 vols. (Teubner; Leipzig, 1963-4)
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften</i> ² , ed. A. F. von Pauly, G. Wissner <i>et al.</i> (Stuttgart and Munich, 1893-1978)
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , ed. Harold Mattingly <i>et al.</i> , 10 vols. (London, 1923-94)
Schanz-Hosius	<i>Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaiser Justinians</i> , ed. Martin Schanz, Carl Hosius, and Gustav Krüger, 4 vols. (Munich, 1914-35)
Seeck, <i>Regesten</i>	Otto Seeck, <i>Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.: Vorarbeit zu einer Prosopographie der christlichen Kaiserzeit</i> (Stuttgart, 1919)

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Seeck, <i>Untergang</i>	Otto Seeck, <i>Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt</i> , 6 vols. (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1910–21)
Senarius, <i>Epitaph</i>	see pp. 195, 293 below
Sid. Ap., <i>Carm.</i> and <i>Ep.</i>	see Loyen, <i>Sidoine</i>
Sirmond	Sidonius, <i>Opera</i> , ed. Jacques Sirmond (Paris, 1602) = <i>PL</i> 58, 435–752
Stein	Ernst Stein, <i>Histoire du Bas-Empire</i> , trans. J.-R. Palanque, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959)
Stevens, <i>Sidonius</i>	C. E. Stevens, <i>Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age</i> (Oxford, 1933)
Teubner	Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1849–)
Thiel, <i>Epistola</i>	<i>Epistolae Romanorum pontificum genuinae</i> , ed. Andreas Thiel (Brunsberg, 1867; repr. Hildersheim, 1974)
ThLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae latinae</i> , 10 vols. to date (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1900–)
Thompson, <i>Romans and Barbarians</i>	E. A. Thompson, <i>Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire</i> (Wisconsin, 1982)
Tranoy I, II	Hydace, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. and trans. Alain Tranoy, vol. I [French trans.], vol. II [notes] (<i>Sources chrétiennes</i> 218, 219; Paris, 1974)
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool, 1985–)
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig and Berlin, 1882–)
<i>Vita Orientii</i>	<i>Vita (I) sancti Orientii episcopo Ausciorum in Novempopulania</i> , ed. G. Henskens, AASS Mai I
<i>Vita Viviani</i>	<i>Vita Bibiani vel Viviani episcopi Santonensis</i> , ed. B. Krusch (MGH SRM 3, 92–100)
Wolfram, <i>History of the Goths</i>	Herwig Wolfram, <i>History of the Goths</i> , trans. T. J. Dunlap (Berkeley, 1989)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Canones of emperors, Western kings, and Popes, 390s–550s

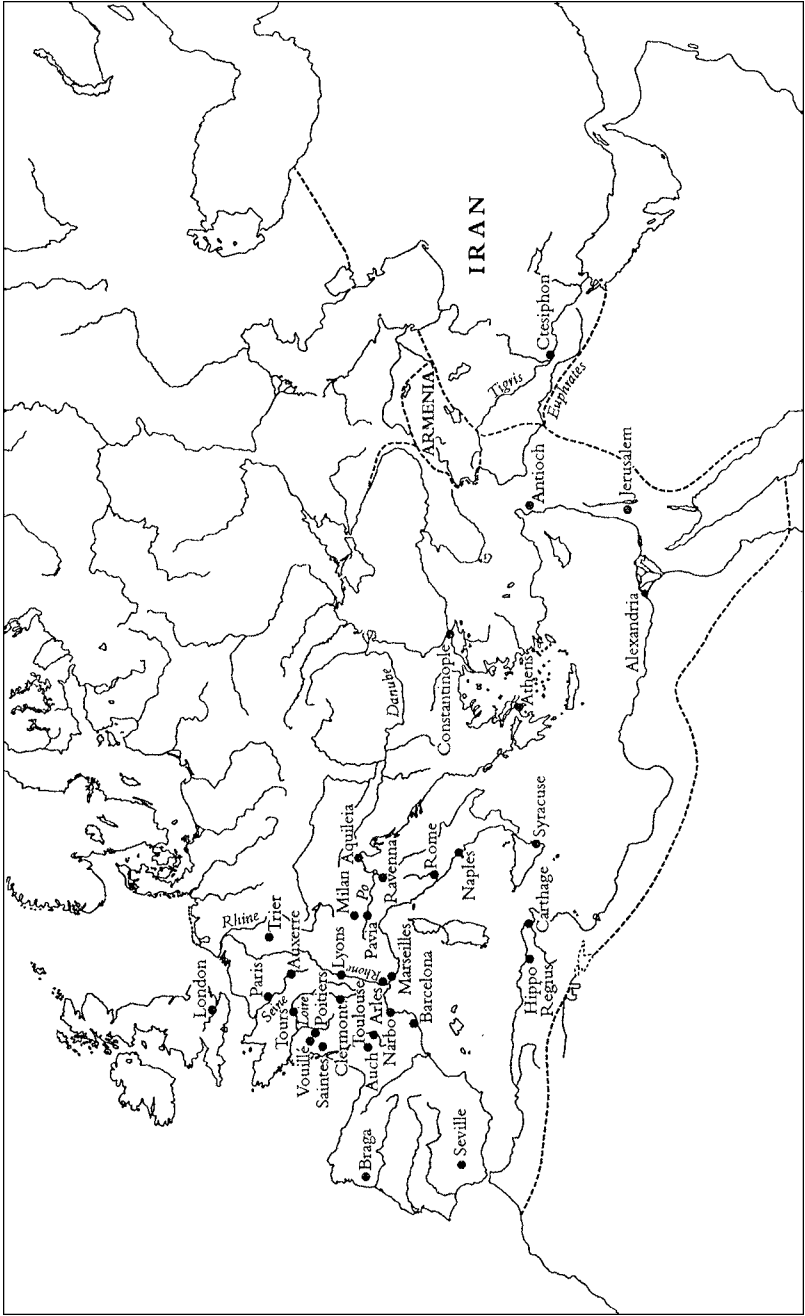
	Western emperors	Eastern emperors	Visigoths (in Italy, Gaul, Spain)	Sueves (in Spain)	Vandals (in Gaul, Spain, Africa)	Burgundians (in Gaul)	Ostrogoths (in Italy)	Franks (in Gaul)	Popes
390	Theodosius I 378–95		[Alaric I 395–410]		(to Gaul and Spain)				Siricius 384–99
	Honorius 395–423	Arcadius 395–408							Anastasius I 399–401
400	Constantine III 407–11	Theodosius II 408–50		Hermeric? 409–41	Gunderic 406–28				Innocent 401–17
410			Athaulf 410–15						Zosimus 417–18
			Segericus 415						Boniface I 418–22
			Vallia 415–18 (in Gaul)						
			Theoderic I 418–51						

420	Constantius III 421 John 423-4 Valentinian III 425-55	(to Africa) Geiseric 428-77	Celestine 422-32
430			Sixtus III 432-40 Leo I 440-61
440			
450	Petronius Maximus 455 Avitus 455-6 Majorian 457-61	Rechiarius 448-56 Maldras 456-60 Framtane 457 Rechimund? 459-61 Euric 467-84	Childeric I? 456-c.481
460	Libius Severus 461-5 Anthemius 467-72	Gundioc and Chilperic I 455-? 474 Frumarius ?460-5 Remismund 465-? 469	Hilarus 461-8 Simplicius 468-83 (<i>cont.</i>)

(cont.)									
	Western emperors	Eastern emperors	Visigoths (in Italy, Gaul, Spain)	Sueves (in Spain)	Vandals (in Gaul, Spain, Africa)	Burgundians (in Gaul)	Ostrogoths (in Italy)	Franks (in Gaul)	Popes
470	Olybrius 472	Leo II 474		unknown c.470–c.550	Huneric 477–84	Gundobad ?474–516	[Odoacer 476–93]		
	Glycerius 473–4	Zeno 474–91				Godigisel ?474–500			
	Julius Nepos 474–80	Basiliscus 475–6				Chilperic II ? 474–?			
	Romulus 475–6					Godomar I ? 474–?			
480			Alaric II 484–507		Gunthamund 484–96			Clovis I ?481–511	Felix III 483–92
490		Anastasius 491–518			Thrasamund 496–523		Theoderic c.474–526 (in Italy 489/93–526)		Gelasius 492–6
									Anastasius II 496–8
500			(in Spain) Gesalic 507–11						Symmachus 498–514

§10	Justinus I §18–27	Amalric §11–31 (under regency of Theoderic)	Sigismund §16–23	Theuderic I §11–33 Chlodomer §11–24 Childebert I §11–58 Lothar I §11–61	Hormisdas §14–23
§20	Justinian §27–65		Hilderic §23–30	Godomar II §24–32 (conquest by Frankish kings)	Athalaric §26–34 (regency of Amalasuntha)
§30		Theudis §31–48 (regent for Theoderic)	Gelimer §30–4 (conquest by Belisarius)	Amalasuntha §33–47	John I §23–6 Felix IV §26–30
				Theudebert I	Boniface II §30–2 John II §32–5 Agapitus §35–6 Silverius §36–7 Vigilius §37–55 (<i>cont.</i>)

<i>(cont.)</i>									
	Western emperors	Eastern emperors	Visigoths (in Italy, Gaul, Spain)	Sueves (in Spain)	Vandals (in Gaul, Spain, Africa)	Burgundians (in Gaul)	Ostrogoths (in Italy)	Franks (in Gaul)	Popes
540			Theodisclus 548–9 Agila I 549–54				Ildibad 540–1 Eraric 541 Totila 541–52	Theudebald 547–55	
550			Athanagild 551–68	Charric ?550s Ariamir c.558–after 561			Theia 552 (conquest by Belisarius)		Pelagius I 555–61



Map 1. Major centres named in the text



Map 2. Fifth-century Spain (based on E. A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire*, 138)