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ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON TIME, ETERNITY, EVENTS, AND HISTORY: THE UNFOLDING OF SALVATION HISTORY

VOLUME I

by

Jace T. Crouch

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON TIME, ETERNITY, EVENTS, AND HISTORY: THE UNFOLDING OF SALVATION HISTORY

by

Jace T. Crouch

This dissertation demonstrates that Church Fathers from Justin Martyr (100-165) through Isidore of Seville (560-636) developed a Christian philosophy of time, eternity, events, and history that was sufficiently universal in scope that it was used by Christian historians to appropriate much of the history and many of the cultural traditions of Hebrew, Greek and Roman civilizations. Isidore and the Church Fathers integrated these appropriated elements into unified accounts of salvation history, wherein they demonstrated that God was the lord of time, the overseer of events, and the director of history. Isidore and the Church Fathers subordinated specific events and actors in history to their own apologetic, heresiological or theological purposes, and focused on those events and actors that advanced or retarded the course of salvation. Isidore also considered historical topics and religious issues that were important in seventh-century Spain: the Catholic faith, the Goths, the Empire, heresies, and the Jews. He described the Goths as a people poisoned by heresy and driven from their homeland; yet a remnant of the Goths settled in Spain, where they finally converted to the true Catholic faith, and where they could become guardians of God's holy and Catholic Church.

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To Toni.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I think of the many people to whom I am indebted, I realize anew how fortunate I am to have such friends and colleagues. Professor Alan Fisher and Professor Fred Graham have joyfully offered to me their insights, their support, and especially their patience. From the outset of this project Professor Eleanor Huzar has given me her friendship and her hospitality. She was kind enough to read all of these chapters in their various stages, and her suggestions have been extremely valuable. For over four decades Professor Richard Sullivan's graduate students have remarked upon his great compassion and humanity, as well as his dedication to excellence in scholarship. As the last and perhaps the least of Dr. Sullivan's students, I am delighted to reaffirm the judgments of those who have passed this way before me. Richard is one of those rare men who truly has earned the honorable name of Teacher.

On a personal note, I must mention Craig Bell, whose Bell Fellowships allowed my wife and I to keep body and soul together for two years. Finally I must thank my wife, Toni, who persevered through all of this with good cheer and even greater patience, and without whose love, friendship, and companionship this dissertation would be meaningless to me.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. 10 Vols. Edited by A. Cleveland Coxe (Vols. 1-9) and A. Menzies (1896 supplement). Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1885-1896.
Arévalo	Faustino Arévalo, ed. Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia. 7 Vols. Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1797-1803.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1935-.
Mansi	J. Mansi, ed., Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio. 53 Volumes. Florence, 1759-1798; reprint, Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, 1960.
MGH	Monumenta Germania Historica. Edidit Societas Aperiendis Fontibus Rerum Germanicarum Medii Aevii. Berlin and Hannover, 1826-.
NPNF1	A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series. 14 Vols. Edited by Philip Schaff. Buffalo and New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886-1890.
NPNF2	A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series. 14 Vols. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890-1899.
PG	J. P. Migne, Patrologia cursus completus, series Graeca. 116 Vols. Paris, 1844-1866, with reprints.
PL	J. P. Migne, Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina. 221 Vols. Paris, 1844-1855, with reprints.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the origins and early development of the Judaeo-Christian epistemology of time, eternity, events, and history, and the triumph of Judaeo-Christian historiography over traditional Greco-Roman historiography. The Christian epistemology of time, eternity, events, and history is extremely important, because it underlies the world view that has dominated western civilization since the late fourth century, not only with respect to historiography, but also with respect to the basic premises, spoken and unspoken, underlying the value system of western civilization. This dissertation particularly seeks to demonstrate that the Judaeo-Christian epistemology of time, eternity, events, and history was sufficiently universal in scope that it could be used by the Church Fathers to appropriate much of the history and many of the cultural traditions of Hebrew, Greek and Roman civilizations, and with only a few modifications this epistemology could be applied by Isidore of Seville (d. 636) to conditions existing in seventh century Visigothic Spain.

Church Fathers such as Tatian, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Augustine wrote about time, eternity, events, and history for specific apologetical and heresiological

purposes. They wanted to preach the Gospel in a way that was comprehensible to an educated pagan audience. They wanted to demonstrate that, although God had revealed himself most clearly to the Hebrews, and most perfectly in the person of Jesus Christ, he had also revealed himself in the history of all peoples, and that whatever good there was in any culture derived ultimately from the grace of God, and may even have been directly borrowed from the Hebrews. In their struggle against heresy, especially against the Gnostics and Arians, the Church Fathers wanted to demonstrate that God was the lord of time, the overseer of events, and the director of history.

In writing history in this peculiar fashion, the Church Fathers developed a particular approach to history: appropriation. The Church Fathers appropriated biblical history to demonstrate that Christianity was the only legitimate heir of the Hebrew religious experience, and was therefore more ancient than other religious and philosophical traditions. They appropriated the history of the Gentiles to demonstrate that all good things among all the peoples of the earth were originally instilled in them by God, and were therefore the rightful property of Christians, God's new chosen people. From the outset of this propagandistic appropriation, Christian apologists compiled elaborate historical chronicles wherein they synchronized and integrated the persons and events of biblical and non-biblical history. They used the historical and intellectual

treasures that they "plundered" from the pagans (such as logic, rhetoric, allegory and typology) not only to refute paganism, but also to defeat heresy. They made Christianity historically and intellectually respectable in Greco-Roman terms, paving the way for the time when Christianity would become the dominant religion of the Roman Empire. When the Empire disappeared in the fifth and sixth centuries, Christian apologists then appropriated the history of the invading Germanic tribes, integrating Frankish, Gothic or Vandal history into a unified narrative of salvation history. Christian historians were omnivores.

Isidore used many of the same apologetical techniques in his historical and chronographical works. His writings on the nature of time, eternity, and the historicity of events were not only composed in the intellectual traditions of the Church Fathers, but also were written to fulfill a heresiological goal: refutation and extinction of the heresies that beset Hispania. His remarks on time in the Etymologiae and Sententiae, for example, described God and defined time in ways that completely undermined Arian christology. His typological recounting of salvation history in the Allegoriae and Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum not only offered clerics brief compendia of types and antitypes, but also demonstrated that God had repeatedly intervened in time and history to reveal himself to mankind and to prepare individual men and women for the mystery of the cross. His theory of historical causation, which linked the course of

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events to the moral state of the actors, could be used to demonstrate that the earlier misfortunes of the Goths had been due to their heresy, whereas the Gothic successes under Recared, Sisebut, and Suinthila were due to the Catholic orthodoxy of these rulers. His Historia Regibus Gothorum was designed not only to appropriate Gothic history to a Hispano-Roman and orthodox Christian context, but also for the apologetic purpose of demonstrating that the Goths themselves were part of God's plan for building a Christian commonwealth in Spain and maintaining therein the ancient purity of the Catholic faith.

In particular Isidore singled out the Gothic people, whose ancestors (he suggested) had been mentioned in the Bible, as a freedom loving and valiant "race" that had struggled against the tyranny of would-be world Emperors (such as Alexander, Caesar, and Justinian) since the beginnings of Gothic history. God had called the Goths to Christianity, but a Roman emperor had poisoned them with heresy. God had then sent the Goths to Hispania, one of the last bastions of Catholic Christianity, and there the Goths had finally been cured of their heretical illness. Since the Hispano-Romans believed themselves to possess a comparable heritage of heroic resistance to tyranny and struggle against the poison of heresy, Isidore believed that he could use the similar histories of Goths and Hispano-Romans to help forge a common bond between the Christian peoples of the Visigothic realm for the common good of Hispania, and of Christendom.

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Given the wide-reaching consequences of this approach to history and culture, an approach that hoped to fuse elements of Hispania's Christian, Classical, and Germanic heritage into a new Christian civilization that was appropriate for the Sixth (and final) Age of the world, Isidore was one of the intellectual founders of the Medieval synthesis.

CHAPTER 1

EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: TECHNIQUES OF APPROPRIATION

Christianity not only changed history, it changed the way that historians in the western world thought and wrote about history. Expanding upon or departing from the established historiographical traditions of the Classical world, Christian historians writing in Late Antiquity[1] (A.D. 150 to 750)[2] worked out radically new understandings of the nature of time and the purpose of history and developed new systems for reckoning chronology and periodization. Of

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[1]That is, the centuries during which the Roman Empire evolved from a Principate to a Dominate, became a Christian empire, and ultimately was fragmented into the successor states of Byzantium, Western Europe, and the Islamicate. Peter Brown has argued that these centuries may properly be assessed as a distinct and discrete period of ancient history, a period during which many of the most ancient institutions of Classical civilization irrevocably disappeared, but a period that was not yet recognizably "Medieval," "Byzantine," or "Islamic." Peter Brown, The World of Late Antiquity, AD 150-750 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971; reprint, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978). Brown's elaboration of this thesis continues in The Making of Late Antiquity, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978); and Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[2]Unless otherwise indicated, all dates in this work are reckoned according to the Annus Dominus, or A.D. system, a Christian system of periodization first developed by Dionysius Exiguus (fl. 545) and popularized by the Venerable Bede (673-735).

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course, Christians did not do these things as part of a conscious and determined attempt merely to reinvigorate historiography. The primary purpose of Christian writings in late antiquity was to facilitate the cure of souls: to preserve and proclaim the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth; to justify and protect Christians and their church from a hostile Roman government; and to combat the errors that arose from heresies that tried to misappropriate or subvert Christianity either from within the Christian community (as in the cases of Sabellianism, Arianism, etc.) or from outside the community (as with Gnosticism, the polemics of Celsus, etc.).[3] The revolution in historiography that resulted from the performance of these spiritual tasks, such as the emergence of a particularly Christian historiography during the struggle against heresy, Gnosticism, and paganism, was but one aspect of the religious and philosophical revolution that occurred in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages as Christianity gradually became the most important moral and intellectual force in Western civilization.

Like Judaism before and Islam after, Christianity was (or strove to be) a complete and unified system of belief and

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[3]For classic argument that early Christian apologists formulated and articulated Christian Dogmatics during the long struggle against heresy and Gnosticism, see Adolf von Harnack, History of Dogma, 7 Vols, translated from the 3rd German edition (1894) by Neil Buchanan [and others] (New York: Russell and Russell, 1958), Vol 1, pp. 222-366; Vol 2, pp. 231-319. My argument is that the struggle against heresy, Gnosticism, and paganism affected not only the development of Christian dogma, but also affected, and even determined, the development of Christian historiography.

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activity: it demanded of its believers that they accept Christianity as the guiding principle in all areas of their lives, including their writing of history. Accordingly, in the early centuries of Christianity a clear and overt link between Christian theology and the philosophy of history gradually emerged, i.e., a conviction that history was subsidiary to the Christian faith and Christian theology and that when Christians wrote history, they should write it with a Christian purpose in mind.[4] Greco-Roman paganism, on the other hand, was ever a disorganized assortment of speculative systems, mythologies, and philosophies, and it was usually not integrated into a coherent belief system except in literature.[5] In pagan historiography, for example, modern historians search endlessly for evidence of the cyclic theory of time and history that was central to Platonism, neo-Platonism, and Stoicism. However, despite abundant evidence that the main philosophical systems of pagan antiquity believed in the cyclic theory of history,[6] there was no

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[4]Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.42-44; 2.39.58, edited by Joseph Martin in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 32 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1962), pp. 62-63, 72. Hereafter all references to patristic texts from Corpus Christianorum Series Latina will offer a full bibliographical citation on the first occurrence, and on all subsequent references by the abbreviated citation CCSL, with appropriate volume and page numbers. For example, Augustine, De Doctrine Christiana, 2.28.42-44 (CCSL 32:62-63) would refer to Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 32, pp. 62-63.

[5]As in Ovid's Metamorphoses, for example.

[6]For ancient testimonies to the cyclic theory, see: Plato, The Statesman 269c-273e, translated by J. B. Skemp, in The Collected Dialogues of Plato, ed. Edith Hamilton and

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Huntington Cairns (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 1018-1085; Aristotle, On The Heavens 1.10.279b.5-1.10.280a.20, translated by J. L. Stocks, in The Basic Works of Aristotle, edited by Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1941), pp. 419-421. The extant fragments of Heraclitus do not evince the belief in cyclic conflagrations and renewals that Aristotle attributed to him, and sometimes seem to contradict Aristotle; but then, Aristotle presumably had more of Heraclitus' writings to work with than we do. On this point, see G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, The Presocratic Philosophers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), pp. 182-215, especially note 1, page 202. Philo Judaeus describes and refutes the Stoic cyclic theory of periodic conflagrations and renewals in On the Eternity of the World, 3.8-9, 8.39-10.53, translated by C. D. Yonge and David M. Scholer, in The Works of Philo: New Updated Edition, Complete and Unabridged (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1993), pp. 708-713. On the Stoic concept of cyclic time and the "Great Year," see S. Sambursky, "The Flux of Time," in The Physics of the Stoics (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), pp. 98-108. References to the "Great Year," however, do not automatically indicate adherence to the cyclic theory. For Cicero, see the fragments quoted in Greek and Roman Philosophy after Aristotle, ed., Jason Saunders. (New York: MacMillan, 1966), p. 102. Saunders translates from J. von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, 4 volumes (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905-1924), 2:944. See also: Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, 11.1, translated by Maxwell Staniforth (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), p. 165. Origen accuses the Epicureans, Stoics, Pythagoreans and Egyptians of believing in the theory of cosmic cycles in his Against Celsus, 4.67-69 and 5.20-21. Origen, Against Celsus, translated by F. Crombie, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 4 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Book Company, 1885). Celsus, in the fragments of his On the True Doctrine preserved by Origen, openly expressed his belief in the cyclic view of time and history, and argued that the cyclic theory was an old idea that was held by the Greeks and "others." Celsus, On the True Doctrine, in Celsus on the True Doctrine: A Discourse Against the Christians, edited and translated by R. Joseph Hoffman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 77, 82. Even the Assyrians and Babylonians evidently believed in some sort of "periodic recurrence of historical events," probably based on astronomical cycles. See Hildegard Lewy, "Assyria, c. 2600-1816 B. C." in The Cambridge Ancient History, 3rd ed., Vol. 1, part 2, Early History of the Middle East (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 740. See also Peter James, "The Assyrian View of the Past," in his Centuries of Darkness (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1993), pp. 293-295.

direct and open link in the pagan world between a personal philosophy and a philosophy of history,[7] even among Platonic, Stoic, or neo-Pythagorean writers.[8] The closest thing to an

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[7]As R. G. Collingwood has noted, Greco-Roman historical thought "admits, no doubt, a divine agency; but the function of this agency is strictly limited. The will of the gods as manifested in history only appears rarely.... the gods have no plan of their own for the development of human affairs." R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 41. The closest approach to the overlap between a personal philosophy (if it was that and not Augustan moral exhortation cum Augustan political advocacy) and a philosophy of history occurred in Livy. Livy seems honestly to have believed that the spirit that animated Rome in the age of Augustus was the same spirit that had animated Rome from the very foundation of the city. He set out to write not a history of Rome, but an account of how its eternal animating spirit had manifested itself over the centuries in the city and its people. Collingwood, a Whig historian with a firm belief in progress, scornfully disdains Livy for taking this approach, pronouncing that "Livy and Tacitus stand side by side as the two great monuments to the barrenness of Roman historical thought." Collingwood, The Idea of History, p. 40.

[8]Raoul Mortley has recently argued for the existence of an integrated philosophical approach to world history that combined the psychological approach of Thucydides and the ethnological approach of Herodotus. Raoul Mortley, "The Hellenistic Foundations of Ecclesiastical Historiography," in Reading the Past in Late Antiquity, edited by Graeme Clark (Rushcutters Bay, New South Wales: Australian National University Press, 1990), pp. 225-250. This approach, Mortley continues, was exemplified in its earlier form by Hellenistic historians whose works are no longer extant, such as Callisthenes, Agatharcides, Ephorus, and Nicholaus of Damascus, and exemplified in its later form by the surviving historical writings of Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch. Serial biographies of individuals and cultures were used as part of an integrated philosophical attempt to determine the moral and psychological makeup of historical subjects, an approach Mortley calls "characterology" (p. 242). Mortley believes that these characterological historians sought a common origin for Mediterranean and Levantine civilizations in Egyptian civilization. The Church Fathers, following in the tradition of Judaic apologists such as Josephus, simply substituted a Hebrew origin (p. 245). Thus Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Eusebius, were not wholesale revolutionary innovators, but instead were

articulation of the theory of cycles in written history is Polybius' famous digression on the cycles of political evolution within which states seem to exist.[9] To put it bluntly, pagan history was usually religiously indifferent,[10]

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working in and expanding upon a long established Hellenistic tradition. Mortley's arguments are fascinating, and perhaps correct, but ultimately he fails to convince because the extensive literary evidence required to prove his thesis simply does not exist. The few Hellenistic histories that do survive, along with the fragments of those that do not, are only marginally supportive. Nonetheless, Mortley correctly reminds us that, "behind writers such as Clement, Hippolytus and Eusebius lies a vast historical culture, which is not traditionally regarded as being of great value, or as in any way exemplary, and which is nearly all lost, but which is nevertheless their historical culture, whether we like it or not" (p. 225).

[9]Polybius, The Rise of the Roman Empire, 6.4-10, translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), pp. 304-311. Paradoxically enough, Polybius himself may have believed that history was moving towards a particular consummation, at least in his own day. He wrote that before the 140th Olympiad in 220-216 B.C. world history consisted "of a series of unrelated episodes, the origins and results of each being as widely separated as their localities, but from this point onwards history becomes an organic whole: the affairs of Italy and Africa are connected with those of Asia and of Greece, and all events bear a relationship and contribute to a single end." Polybius, 1.3 (p. 43). In fact, G. W. Trompf has recently argued that "there is in fact no evidence that [Polybius] ever committed himself to ... the traditional Stoic doctrine which saw the whole universe, with all its inhabitants, as undergoing periodic dissolutions and reconstructions.... He was a theorist of historical rather than of cosmological recurrence." G. W. Trompf, The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 7.

[10]Herodotus, for example, was notoriously unwilling to write explicitly about the nature of the gods, and he was usually willing only to offer a bit of comparative mythology. He expressed openly his unwillingness to discuss divine matters (2.3, 2.65), and said that such things would only enter his account "under the stress of necessity" (2.65). He said he believed that "all men know equally about the gods" (2.3), but also said that "the Greeks tell many stories

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whereas Christian history was usually an active intellectual expression of an historian's personal religiosity, as will be demonstrated below. The general absence of a religious component in pagan historical thought may have been because Hellenistic historians had gradually relegated historical writing to a subdivision of rhetoric or moral exhortation. Hebrews and Christians, on the other hand, thought that their God revealed himself in time and throughout history, and that he directed the affairs of men towards his own historical purpose. Although pagans might occasionally suggest that their gods might intervene in or direct the course of history, pagan historians generally did not believe that any higher purpose was being worked out in time or through history. The classic exception to this was Livy, who seems to have believed that the Roman people did have a destiny and that the goddess Roma did direct Roman history towards some higher purpose.

[about Herakles] that show no manner of thought" (2.50). He was usually skeptical about miracles, qualifying his description of the signs and miracles that preceded the Persian defeat at Delphi (8.36-38) with cautious phrases such as "they say" and "some men said." When he mentioned a Greek myth that the channel of the Peneus river, in Thessaly, had been made by Poseidon (7.129), he wrote that it looked to him like an earthquake had made the channel. Herodotus The History, translated by David Grene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). If Herodotus believed that all men knew equally about the gods, and if he believed that the Greeks told many thoughtless stories about the gods, that would seem to imply that all men told thoughtless stories about the gods, like the Thessalians about Poseidon. When compared to Biblical and patristic accounts asserting that the God of the Hebrews was the Lord of history, the ambiguous remarks in Herodotus appear to be religiously indifferent, at best.

Christianity, almost alone of the world's great religions, teaches that history is both meaningful and intelligible.[11] To Christians, history is not just a series

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[11]Rabbinic Judaism and Islam, the two other great world religious systems that derive from the Hebrew religious experience, are religions possessed of a particular historical viewpoint, but they are much less historically minded than Christianity. Rabbinic Judaism teaches that history, particularly the Biblical past, is meaningful, but also that history is usually difficult or impossible for humans to understand. God teaches man through history, to be sure, but man is often unable or unwilling to understand the lessons taught. Further, although God acts through history, his unrevealed purposes are inscrutable, not only because of our human limitations but also because God keeps his privacy. Thus history is meaningful, but unintelligible. To the extent that history can be understood at all, it is the troublesome record of the struggles of the Judaic peoples to practice their faith and preserve their culture while dispersed in a world that is often supremely and unintelligibly hostile towards them. For a powerful recent example of a scholar within rabbinic Judaism attempting to understand (or at least to confront) the unintelligible, see David Blumenthal, Facing the Abusing God: A Theology of Protest (Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993). Islam is even more ambiguous about the religious utility of history. History is useful if it can be used to verify the integrity of the *isnad* behind a particular Hadith report, or to understand the traditions of a non-Muslim people prior to evangelizing them, but it has little other religious purpose. There is, however, a fully developed tradition of Islamic historiography, excellently represented in its infancy by al--Tabari's Tar'îkh al-rasul wa'l-mulûk and in its maturity by Ibn Khaldûn's Muqaddimah, but these historians tend to take the position that although history is interesting, intelligible, and even useful, studying history does not necessarily reveal the divine purpose. God revealed himself finally and most fully in the Quran, which has superseded all previous revelations; look to the Quran for knowledge of God, and not to the affairs of men. For al-Tabari, see The History of al-Tabari, Vol. 1, translated and annotated by Franz Rosenthal, Bibliotheca Persica, edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989). This is the first volume in a 38 volume annotated translation of al-Tabari underwritten by UNESCO's Iranian Institute of Translation and Publication. For Ibn Khaldûn, see The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History, translated by Franz Rosenthal, edited and abridged by N. J. Daewood (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967).

of long-dead events, but constitutes instead a meaningful sequence of unique revelatory events[12] that are guideposts towards the truth for all those who ask, seek, and knock.[13] History has a purpose; it is a movement towards something particular, not just an endless spinning of wheels throughout all time and space.[14] When considered as part of the

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[12]In speaking of a "meaningful sequence of unique revelatory events," I am using the language and theology of Heilsgeschichte, a school of historiography derived at least intermediately (and particularly in its recent incarnations) from the New Testament exegesis of Oscar Cullmann. Responding to Rudolph Bultmann's "demythologizing" approach, with its lack of interest in the historical reality of Jesus (or even the historical reality of Old Testament events), Cullmann argued that history itself was a form of revelation, and that the "Christ-event" occurred at the center of time (which was also the center of eternity), in fulfillment of all that had preceded it in time, and in anticipation of the end of time. This "Christ-event" fulfilled the earlier promises that God had made to his people, and at the same time introduced new promises that were to be fulfilled in an eschatological future. To Cullmann, Heilsgeschichte was the history of the "tension" between promise and fulfillment, of progressive revelation and eschatological anticipation. See Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History, rev. ed., translated from the third German edition by Floyd Filson (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 81-93. See also Oscar Cullmann, "The Connection of Primal Events and End Events with the New Testament Redemptive Theory," translated by Louis Martyn in The Old Testament and Christian Faith: A Theological Discussion, edited by R. W. Anderson (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), pp. 115-123.

[13]Matthew 7.7. Unless otherwise noted, such as where a patristic exegesis is best explained in terms of readings unique to the Septuagint, the Vetus Latina, or where the context calls for a conscientiously rabbinic translation from the Tanakh, all English language biblical quotations are from the New American Bible with revised New Testament and Psalms, The Catholic Study Bible (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[14]This can be said of Judaic attitudes towards history as well as of Christian attitudes. As John L. McKenzie noted, Judaism "was formed around the historic memory of the deeds

continuum that includes past, present, and future, history reveals the workings of the Divine plan: "the whole economy of salvation [coming] to pass according to the good pleasure of the Father."[15] Just as God has revealed himself repeatedly in the past,[16] and as he revealed himself through Jesus, so will he reveal himself again, in the fullness of time, to cleanse the world of unrighteousness and sin.

It is important to note at this point that the Church Fathers spoke of God's revealing himself to man, rather than man's seeking, and finding, God. The Church Fathers consistently taught that man gained knowledge of God only

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of Yahweh. When Israel wished to profess its belief in Yahweh, its 'knowledge' of him, it recited his deeds in history. From these deeds Israel developed a consciousness of itself as a historical reality with an origin and a destiny. So deep was Israel's awareness of its place in history that, alone of the contemporary peoples in the ancient world, it exhibited a sense of its history as a career with a determined end." John L. McKenzie, "Aspects of Old Testament Thought," in The New Jerome Bible Commentary, edited by Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), p. 1303.

[15]Irenaeus of Lyon, Against Heresies, 3.23, translated by Alexander Roberts and W. H. Rambaut, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1885), p. 455. Hereafter, all references to translations from The Ante-Nicene Fathers series will offer a full bibliographical citation on the first occurrence, and an abbreviated citation on all subsequent references. For example, Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.23 (ANF 1:455) would refer to The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1, p. 455.

[16]On this important point, Martin Buber wrote that the path of Judaism "in the history of faith is not a path from one kind of deity to another, but in fact a path from the 'God who hides himself' (Isaiah 45.15) to the One that reveals himself." Martin Buber, The Prophetic Faith, translated by Carlyle Witton-Davies (New York: MacMillan, 1949; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 44.

through revelation, and not merely through any intellectual capacity or moral virtue on humanity's part. Man may have sought God, but any such search was futile unless God chose to reach out to humanity and reveal himself. This ancient understanding of the source of all true theology has been revived in the "neo-orthodoxy" of Karl Barth (1886-1968), who consistently argued that the Christian faith is God's reaching out to mankind through revelation. "Revelation," Barth wrote, "is God's self-offering and self-manifestation," whereas "religion is unbelief." Religion is "a human attempt to anticipate what God in his revelation wills to do and does do. It is the attempted replacement of the divine work by a human manufacture. The divine reality offered and manifested to us in revelation, is replaced [in religion] by a concept of God arbitrarily and wilfully evolved by man.... We cannot, therefore, interpret the attempt as a harmonious co-operating of man with the revelation of God, as though religion were a kind of outstretched hand which is filled by God in His revelation.... Revelation does not link up with a human religion which is already present and practiced. It contradicts it, just as religion previously contradicted revelation. It displaces it, just as religion previously displaced revelation."[17]

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[17]Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol. 1, The Doctrine of the Word of God, pt. 2, translated by G. T. Thompson (New York: Scribners, 1956), pp. 299-303.

When early Christians studied salvation history,[18] they saw the gradual unfolding of God's revelations,[19] a continuous and orderly sequence of salvific acts that God used to ennoble a fallen humanity that was morally and intellectually unfit "to receive the all-wise and all-virtuous teaching of Christ,"[20] a humanity which "was not yet

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[18]The phrase salvation history, along with its German progenitor Heilsgeschichte, is commonly used to refer to that series of major events wherein God intervened in history to heal, save, chastise, or otherwise improve his people. The concept of salvation history, indeed, the entire Christian usage of the Old Testament, has recently been attacked by H. F. Saggs, "The Divine in History," in Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East, ed. Frederick E. Greenspan (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 17-48. Saggs derides the concept of salvation history as "theological sophistry" (p. 19), accuses modern exegetes of salvation history of "attempting to force the evidence into a Christian straightjacket" (p. 21), and acerbically suggests that Heilsgeschichte implies a God who undertook "spectacular interventions in history for no better ultimate end than publicity. This would be not Salvation History," Saggs continues, "but Advertisement History" (p. 43, note 10). One would suppose that Martin Buber, who proclaims a God who gradually reveals himself, might charitably disagree with this. See above, note 16.

[19]The following chain of quotations from Irenaeus and Eusebius may seem fatuous, but since Irenaeus and Eusebius are often cited as important contributors to the concept of Heilsgeschichte, the quotations are given here as examples of these men's thoughts.

[20]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 1.2.17, translated by A. C. McGiffert as The Church History of Eusebius in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, Vol. 2 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890; reprint, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1952), p. 84. Hereafter all references to this series will offer a full bibliographical citation on the first occurrence, and an abbreviated citation on all subsequent references. For example Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 1.2.17 (NPNF2 1:84) would refer to A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, Vol. 1, p. 84. A more widely available translation of Eusebius, but also a less literal

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able to see the things of God through means of immediate vision."[21] To Irenaeus, all creatures "extend their existence into a long series of ages in accordance with the will of God their creator."[22] Since humans grew slowly in their righteousness, and were "still corrupted by their ancient practices,"[23] God "did not grant them complete knowledge of the mysteries."[24] Instead, slowly and determinedly, speaking through the prophecy of words and the prophecy of events, "at one time conferring with his creature, and at another time propounding his law,"[25] God "adjusted the human race to an agreement with salvation."[26] Irenaeus argued that "Man receives advancement and increase towards God.... For neither does God at any time cease to confer benefits upon or to enrich man; nor does man ever cease from receiving the benefits, and being enriched by God."[27]

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one, is Eusebius, The History of the Church, translated by G. A. Williamson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965).

[21]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.32.2 (ANF 1:506).

[22]Irenaeus Against Heresies, 2.34.2 (ANF 1:411).

[23]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 1.2.22 (NPNF2 1:84).

[24]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 1.2.22 (NPNF2 1:84).

[25]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.1 (ANF 1:474).

[26]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.14.2 (ANF 1:479).

[27]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.2 (ANF 1:474).

Then, "at the proper time,"[28] and "when the fullness of time had come,"[29] when there were men in all the nations of the world who were "fitted to receive the knowledge of the Father,"[30] God himself became man, in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, who "summed up in himself all nations dispersed from Adam downwards, and all languages and generations of men, together with Adam himself."[31] Through his words and deeds, Jesus called mankind to return to God, and through his perfect obedience to the will of God, Jesus effected a final reconciliation between a disobedient and fallen humanity and a stern but forgiving God. Further, many Church Fathers taught that when Jesus descended into the underworld for the Harrowing of Hell he not only rescued the prophets and saints, but also preached the Gospel to those who had died before him. God was just, the fathers taught, and he offered his gift of salvation to both the living and the dead. As Clement of Alexandria wrote, "did not the same dispensation obtain in Hades, so that even there, all the souls, on

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[28]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.1 (ANF 1:474), "apto tempore." All references to the Latin text of Irenaeus, or to the Greek text in those few instances where it has survived (mainly book one), are to the edition of J. P. Migne, Contra Haereses, in Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, ed. J. P. Migne, Vol. 7, parts one and two (Paris, 1857). Hereafter citations to the series Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, will be abbreviated as PG, with the appropriate volume and column numbers.

[29]Galatians 4.4.

[30]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 1.2.23 (NPNF2 1:84).

[31]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.22.3 (ANF 1:455).

hearing the proclamation, might either exhibit repentance, or confess that their punishment was just, because they believed not?"[32] To the Church Fathers, Jesus was indeed the culmination of all previous human history, a God-become-man whose existence transcended all time, and who offered salvation to both the living and the dead.

To the Christian, that is what history is all about, that, and nothing else. Other events occurred throughout history, to be sure, but ultimately all human history was properly to be understood as the story of God's reaching out to mankind,[33] the story of mankind's turning slowly and hesitantly towards God (and often turning away again), and the story of the Incarnation of Jesus "in the last days, when the fullness of the time of liberty has arrived."[34] History is intelligible only through Christ.

The Church Fathers[35] certainly argued that history was

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[32]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 6.7, translated by W. Wilson, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), p. 491.

[33]Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol. 1, The Doctrine of the Word of God, pt. 2, pp. 299-303. Similarly, a popular chiliastic writer not otherwise known for his subtlety has suggested that "Christianity is not a religion. Religion is the process of man trying to achieve goodness, perfection, and acceptance with God by his own efforts. Christianity, on the other hand, is God taking the initiative and reaching for man." Hal Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1970), p. 115.

[34]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.22.1 (ANF 1:493).

[35]The best introduction to any study of the Church Fathers remains Berthold Altaner, Patrology, translated from the fifth German edition by Hilda Graef (New York: Herder and

intelligible only through Christ, but they also argued that Christ had been revealed to all peoples throughout history. That is, they taught that the revelations, prophecies, and expectations concerning Christ that God had vouchsafed to humanity had been given not to the Hebrews alone, but to all of mankind. The Church Fathers may have understood that Classical culture was fatally flawed, and that "ancient philosophy and literature did not have answers to the human predicament," but they also realized that the best elements in Classical drama, literature and philosophy "left men with a sense of longing and expectancy that made them receptive to the Gospel when it was proclaimed."[36] If only the peoples of the earth were to look into their own past, they would find there revelations and prophecies of Christ, and then they would begin to know the true significance of history. Justin Martyr argued that, if they were to look, the Romans would find that the sign of the cross had been openly revealed in their military standards and trophies of victory.[37] Similarly Tertullian told the Romans that they themselves

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Herder, 1960). Spellings for the names of individual Church Fathers, as well as their dates, are taken from Altaner. Spellings and dates for classical authors are from The Oxford Classical Dictionary, edited by N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

[36]Harold O. J. Brown, "The Age of Unbelief: Ancient Gods and Cardboard Heroes," National Review, April 19, 1985, p. 28.

[37]Justin Martyr, First Apology, 55, translated by Marcus Dodds, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), pp. 181-182.

have adored crosses for a long time. Indeed, he wrote, the Roman religion was "all crosses," since many Roman statues had been elaborately built up over the shape of a simple wooden cross, and since the trophies that Romans venerated in victory celebrations were nothing but decorated crosses.[38] Tertullian reiterated this last point in his Apology 16.7-8, where he drolly remarked "I praise your zeal: you would not consecrate crosses unclothed and unadorned."[39] Church Fathers like Justin Martyr and Tertullian repeatedly and passionately assured the pagans that the revelation that their greatest poets and philosophers had caused them to hope for was come upon them in the fullness of time in the person of Jesus and the sign of the cross. When what was hidden or unknown in history was revealed, the Church Fathers insisted, then history would display the truth that exists beyond the mere human past, and point to the celestial reality that is Christ.[40]

In fact, when the Church Fathers argued that Hebrew and Gentile history were intelligible only through Christ, they were not imposing Christian doctrine onto the Hebrew and

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[38]Tertullian, Ad Nationes, 1.12, translated by Peter Holmes, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), p. 122.

[39]Tertullian, The Apology, translated by S. Thelwall, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3 (Buffalo: New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), p. 31.

[40]Jesus himself said something very much like this in Luke 12.2, "There is nothing concealed that will not be revealed, nor secret that will not be known."

Gentile past as much as they were appropriating the histories of these peoples. The process of appropriation involved several steps: the appropriation of Hebrew history, since Christians believed themselves to be the true heirs of the Hebrew past;[41] the interpretation of Hebrew history, to demonstrate that Hebrew history foreshadowed and was fulfilled by Christ;[42] the appropriation of Gentile

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[41]Justin Martyr argued that the Hebrew Scriptures were properly Christian scriptures, not Jewish ones, because rabbinic exegetes of his day read the scriptures but did not understand them, whereas Christian exegetes read, believed in, and understood the scriptures. Justin Martyr Dialogue with Trypho 29, translated by Marcus Dods, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), p. 209. In this widely quoted but little understood passage Justin may have been referring to the radically different ways that Tannaim such as Rabban Johannan ben Zakkai and Rabban Gamaliel the Younger understood the Old Testament, that is, as a sacred text concerned primarily with the Law, and the way that Christians understood the Old Testament, that is, as a sacred text concerned primarily with prophecy. Justin's remark, which was certainly intended as apologetic but was not necessarily intended as polemic (although it seems to have been written in response to polemic) has recently been singled out as an example of patristic arrogance and of the continued "Christian interest in co-opting the Jewish Bible." Frederick Greenspahn, Introduction to Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East (New York: New York University Press, 1991), p. 13, note 18. Elsewhere Greenspahn remarked that "the Bible differs from other ancient works only because it has been preserved in synagogues and churches rather than beneath the sands of the Middle East," ibid., p. 1. In the same volume Morton Smith wryly suggested that the Israelites eventually described their God in terms of monotheism after they had tried and failed to understand him in almost all other senses: "What was left for him but monotheism?" Morton Smith, "The Common Theology of the Ancient Near East," p. 55.

[42]The appropriation of Hebrew history began with the teachings of Jesus. One Sabbath day in Nazareth, as recounted in Luke 4.16-21, he went into the synagogue to read before the assembled congregation. When a scroll containing the writings of the prophet Isaiah was handed to him he

philosophy, since Judaic and Christian writers such as Philo, Clement, Origen and Tertullian had demonstrated that Greco-Roman philosophy was derived ultimately from the Hebrew writings;[43] and the interpretation of Gentile history,[44]

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sought out and read a well known messianic passage from Isaiah 61. He then told the people "today this scripture passage is fulfilled in your hearing," thereby announcing to all present that the messianic prophecies of the Hebrew scriptures were references to himself. Similarly, in John 3.14 he used a famous event of Hebrew history to prophecy concerning himself, saying: "And just as Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up, so that everyone who believes in him may have eternal life." Once again, Jesus was pointing to a famous event of Hebrew history and appropriating it unto himself.

Whether or not this appropriation was valid depended on one's view about how the Scriptures were to be understood. Clearly Jesus, the apostles, and the Christians understood the Scriptures as being concerned primarily with prophecy, that is, with the gradual and progressive revelation of the final truth that is Jesus Christ. This Christian understanding of the Scriptures was recorded in the Gospels, epistles, and prophetic works of the New Testament, and interpreted in the writings of the Church Fathers. The Tannaim, Amoraim, and rabbinic Jews, on the other hand, understood the Scriptures as being concerned primarily with the Law, that is, with the divinely ordained precepts of Torah that all men and women ultimately were called to obey. This rabbinic understanding of the Scriptures was recorded in the Mishnah, and interpreted in the writings of the Tannaim and Amoraim that are preserved in the Tosefta and the two Talmuds. Theology aside, the basic split between Christianity and rabbinic Judaism is that Christians see themselves as the heirs of the prophetic tradition, and that rabbinic Jews see themselves as the heirs of the Law. Of all the apostles and rabbis that contributed to the development of these two parted faiths, St. Paul seems to have been the last teacher who realized the fundamental nature of this division (Galatians 3.7-29).

[43]For example, Tertullian Apology 47 (ANF 3:51), "What poet or sophist has not drunk at the fountain of the prophets?" See also Origen, Against Celsus, 1.15 (ANF 4:402-403).

[44]The early Christians also attempted to appropriate Zoroastrian history, although neither very successfully nor for very long. The visit of the Magi (μάγοι), recorded in

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Matthew 2.1-12, demonstrated that the birth of Jesus was revealed to the Gentiles as well as to the Judeans. The best introductory discussion on the presence of the Magi in the Matthean birth narrative is Raymond E. Brown, The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Birth Narratives in Matthew and Luke, new ed. with supplement, The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1993), pp. 167-177, 188-201, 608-613. The author of Matthew may or may not have known that the Zoroastrian Magi awaited in watchful anticipation for the birth of a Zoroastrian "messiah," the *Saoshyant*, but the Syriac author of the widely known Arabic Infancy Gospel certainly did. This pseudepigraphical gospel says openly that the "magi came from the east to Jerusalem, as Zeradusht had predicted" (1.7). After honoring Mary and Jesus, the author has the Magi return to their country, carrying with them Mary's gift of Jesus' swaddling clothes. Once home they perform a fire worship ceremony, and enshrine Jesus' swaddling clothes among their most precious treasures (1.8). Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour, translated by Alexander Walker, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8 (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), p. 406.

There are other New Testament indications that the authors of the Gospels thought that Jesus was a fulfillment of Zoroastrian as well as Hebrew messianic expectations, such as the Virgin Birth of Jesus; the appearance of the star over Jesus' birthplace; John the Baptist's crying out "Prepare the way of the Lord and make straight his paths" (Mark 1.3, recalling Isaiah 40.3); Jesus' mission of teaching, healing and sacrifice; and his promise of eternal life to those who believe in him. All of these things are fulfillments of Zoroastrian messianic expectations, for the *Saoshyant* would be born of a virgin; his coming would be heralded by a star; his mission of teaching, healing, and sacrifice would be preceded by heralds whose task would be "making straight the paths for the religion of the Saoshyant, which the Lord has ordained" (Gatha Avesta 53.2); and when his teaching and healing mission is accomplished "the Saoshyant will gaze with eyes of sacrifice on the whole material world, and heedfully will he make the whole material world undying" (Yasht 19.94). Translations from Mary Boyce, Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 45, 90.

That the early Christians would attempt to appropriate and interpret Zoroastrian history, however hesitatingly they attempted it, is not surprising. Zoroastrianism, like Judaism, was an ethical monotheism (the dualist Zurvanism variety was a heretical development of the Sâsânian period). Zoroastrians taught that there would be a last judgment of human souls, a resurrection of the righteous to eternal paradise and of the evil to eternal punishment. They also believed in the conflict between good and evil, and had a

since it had occurred only according to the divine plan, and whatever truth it held was either a mirror of the truths revealed to the Hebrews[45] or was a foreshadowing of Christian truth.[46] The Fathers may have appropriated these ancient teachings and traditions because Christianity was a "new" religion in the eyes of many people, and an extension of the Judaeo-Christian revelation into the remote Hebrew past could be used to demonstrate the supreme antiquity of the Christian

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highly developed angelology. Why this early attempt to integrate Jesus into the Zoroastrian tradition was not continued is difficult to assess. Perhaps Gnosticism was the direct product of an early Christian attempt to assimilate Zoroastrianism, and represents not the "Hellenization" of Christianity but instead its Iranization. Certainly Gnosticism had many Iranian or Zoroastrian elements, as did Manichaeanism, and perhaps the Church Fathers ultimately rejected Zoroastrian messianism because of the errors they saw in Gnosticism. That exilic and post-exilic Judaism absorbed many Iranian or Zoroastrian traditions (such as a linear view of history and messianic expectations) has long been debated, particularly since the discovery of some very Zoroastrian sounding texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. On Iranian-Hebrew interactions, with particular reference to first century Judaism and the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Richard N. Frye, "Qumran and Iran: The State of Studies," in Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults, Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty, Part Three: Judaism before 70, edited by Jacob Neusner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 167-173.

[45]For example, Clement of Alexandria argued that all of the elements of Greek philosophy that were good and true ultimately derived from the Hebrew prophets. Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.7 (ANF 2:308); 5.14 (ANF 2:465-476 [major discussion]); 6.2-3 (ANF 2:481-488).

[46]Justin Martyr, First Apology, 21-22 (ANF 1:170), argued that both the history of Christ, and his Sonship, were foreshadowed in Greek and Roman philosophy. For Justin, all of these signs and prophesies of Jesus were evidence of the activity of the λόγος σπερματικός, a divine seed that flowed through the universe and called all creatures to God. See, for example, First Apology, 32 (ANF 1:173).

kerygma.[47] The Fathers may also have been moved to appropriate the Hebrew past in particular because heretics such as Marcion argued that the Hebrew past, even the Hebrew scriptures, should be utterly rejected as having been (at best) superseded, or perhaps (at worst) never having had any validity in the first place.[48] Ultimately, however,

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[47]Hence, Justin Martyr demonstrated that the Hebrew prophets, especially Moses, were much more ancient than even the earliest Greek philosophers, and that the philosophers continually borrowed from the prophets. Justin Martyr, First Apology, 23 (ANF 1:170-171), 44 (ANF 1:177-178), 59 (ANF 1:182).

[48]The most comprehensive and insightful recent treatment of heresies, early Christian and otherwise, is to be found in Harold O. J. Brown, Heresies: The Image of Christ in the Mirror of Heresy and Orthodoxy from the Apostles to the Present (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1984). Brown's treatment of Marcionism (pp. 60-66) is especially valuable. Replete with Brown's personal eccentricities, the book is neither for the timid nor for those easily offended. Although passionately devoted to Chalcedonian orthodoxy, the author is aggressively Calvinist, and returns again and again to a sectarian theme he blithely introduces on pp. 65-66. He asserts, for example, that the Roman Catholic Church is "vainly puffed up" with the Gnostic love of ceremony and complexity, and that Lutheranism adheres to a Marcionist overemphasis on Grace. He gleefully notes that, like Marcionism, the Church of England was founded as a consequence of a moral lapse: that of Henry VIII. To Brown, although the Catholic and Lutheran churches are orthodox, the Reform Church (by which phrase he means a variety of Calvinism) comes closest to preserving the actual teachings of Jesus and the apostles. Nevertheless, Brown is open and honest in his biases, and he writes with passion and humor. Also valuable is David Christie-Murray, A History of Heresy (London: New English Library, 1976; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Christie-Murray offers a well balanced presentation of the various heresies that developed during the early centuries of the church, but he does not take the Christological heresies of the fourth through seventh centuries very seriously. He also suggests that most present day Christians, regardless of their sectarian persuasion, are not orthodox in their Christology, but commonly and unknowingly hold Monarchical Modalist, Arian, Monophysite, Nestorian or Adoptionist beliefs. Christie-

Christians appropriated Hebrew and Gentile history to themselves because they believed that Christianity was a universal religion, with a validity for all mankind. God was just, he was merciful, and he had a plan.[49] Although he had revealed himself most clearly to Abraham and his descendants, a revelation recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures, his revelation extended to all mankind. Nothing existed except through the will of the father, and even the Roman Empire itself was established in the time of Augustus according to the purpose of God.[50] The various patristic appropriations

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Murray himself holds to the Pietist tradition, and implicitly suggests that creeds and dogmas, heretical or otherwise, are not particularly important. All told, the best guide to early Christian heresies continues to be the writings of the Church Fathers. For Gnosticism and the Valentinians, see Irenaeus; for Marcionism, see Tertullian; for Donatism and Pelagianism, see Augustine; for Arianism, see Athanasius; for Nestorianism, see John Cassian; for Acephalism, see Isidore of Seville.

[49]These ideas, of course, come to Christianity directly from the Hebrew religious experience. I will not argue, however, that the early Christians appropriated these particular teachings from the Judeans, because all of the earliest Christians were Judeans. The fundamental concept that God's plan involves interventions in human history is one of the basic elements of the Judaeo-Christian *kerygma*, and it was present in Christianity from the beginning as part of its Hebrew heritage. This concept of time and history was essential to Christianity, as Harold O. J. Brown notes, "because Judaism believed that God intervenes in history, for example, in liberating the Hebrews from slavery in Egypt and in giving them the Levant Sinai, it was possible for Jesus to present himself and his ministry as the action of God, not merely the activity of a man illuminated by the divine." Brown, Heresies, p. 15.

[50]Melito, Apologie de Méliton à Antonin 3.7-8, in Méliton de Sardes, Sur la Pâque et Fragments, edited and translated by Othmar Perler, Sources Chrétiennes, 128 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1966), pp. 218-221. An English translation of this fragment by B. P. Pratten is in The Ante-Nicene

of the Hebrew and Gentile past were attempts to understand all human history in terms of Christ, and to proclaim to all the peoples of the earth that they too were a part of God's salvific design.[51] This omnivorous historiographical approach, marked by a willingness on the part of the Church Fathers to incorporate the histories of all peoples into God's plan, was one of the constituent elements of Christian historiography from its very beginnings.

These appropriations of Hebrew and Gentile history and philosophy were also an attempt to claim those things the Church Fathers perceived as rightly belonging to the Christians.[52] Despite Tertullian's famous query, "what has

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Fathers, Vol. 8 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), pp. 758-759.

[51]Cullman has argued that the Church Fathers interpreted every redemptive event as a Christ event. Cullmann, "The Connection of Primal Events and End Events with the New Testament Redemptive Theory," p. 119.

[52]Irenaeus argued that Christians were rightfully appropriating many things from the Greeks and Romans just as the Hebrews had rightfully plundered the Egyptians. He argued that, just as the departing Hebrews had taken payment from the Egyptians in compensation for the work they had performed and as recompense for the evils they had suffered, so should Christians, who were departing from the ways of paganism, take similar payment from the intellectual and cultural heritage of Greece and Rome, particularly if, like the ancient Hebrews, the Christians used their plunder to glorify the Lord and to do his will. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.30.1 (ANF 1:502-503). Taking Exodus 3.21-22 as his text, Augustine argued that if the pagans "have said aught that is true and in harmony with our faith, we are not only not to shrink from it, but to claim it for our own use from those who have unlawful possession of it. For, as the Egyptians had not only the idols and heavy burdens which the people of Israel hated and fled from, but also vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, and garments, which the same people when going out of Egypt appropriated to themselves,

Athens to do with Jerusalem,"[53] the Church Fathers, including

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designing them for a better use, not doing this on their own authority, but by the command of God.... And what else have many good and faithful men among our brethren done? Do you not see what a quantity of gold and silver and garments that Cyprian, that most persuasive teacher and most blessed martyr, was loaded [with] when he came out of Egypt? How much Lactantius brought with him?... For what was done at the time of the exodus was no doubt a type prefiguring what happens now." Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2.40.60-61, translated by J. F. Shaw as On Christian Doctrine in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series, Vol. 2 (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1887; reprint, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1983), pp. 554-555. Origen had earlier used a similar argument in exhorting the young Gregory Thaumaturgis "to extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve as a course of study or a preparation for Christianity ... something of this kind is shadowed forth in what is written in Exodus from the mouth of God, that the children of Israel were commanded to ask from their neighbors, and those who dwelt with them, vessels of silver and gold, and raiment, in order that, by spoiling the Egyptians, they might have material for the preparation of the things which pertained to the service of God." Origen, Letter to Gregory Thaumaturgis, 1-2, translated by F. Crombie, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 4 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), p. 393. According to a rabbinic *Haggadah* cited by Louis Ginzberg, the Hebrews "loaded themselves down with goods and jewels and money" because "in the first place they could look upon their plunder as wages due to them from those they had long served, and, secondly, they were entitled to retaliate on those at whose hands they had suffered wrong." Louis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Vol. 2, Bible Times and Characters from Joseph to the Exodus (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1913), p. 372.

[53]The broader context of this frequently paraphrased remark is: "What indeed has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the Academy and the Church? Our instruction comes from the 'porch of Solomon,' [Acts 3.5] who had himself taught that 'the Lord shall be sought in simplicity of heart.' [Wisdom of Solomon 1.1] Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition." Tertullian, On Prescription against Heretics, 7, translated by Peter Holmes, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3. (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), p. 246. This remark is best understood not as a wholesale patristic condemnation of classical culture, which was not the

Tertullian, determined that there were in fact many things to be found in Athens that were useful to Christianity. Just as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen took possession of philosophy in the name of Jesus, so did Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, and Isidore take possession of history. They took possession of the Hebrew scriptures not only because the scriptures were the word of God, but also because the scriptures foretold the advent of Christ, and because the scriptures were now the rightful possessions of the Christians, who had superseded the Hebrews as God's chosen people.[54] The Church Fathers took possession

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intention, but instead should be viewed in light of the Christian struggle against Gnosticism, which was a mottled pastiche of Stoic, Platonic, Iranian, Judaic, and Christian elements.

[54]This early Christian concept of supercessionism is perhaps the most important element in Christianity that has contributed to the growth and nurturing of anti-Judaic sentiments in Christendom, as Christians believe that they are the true chosen people and the true heirs of the Hebrew Scriptures. To the extent that their writings contributed to or fostered these sentiments, or at best failed to repudiate them, the Church Fathers are to be censured. Since adherents to rabbinic Judaism believe themselves to be the true Chosen People and the true heirs of the Hebrew Scriptures, rabbinic Judaic supercessionism has contributed to the growth and nurturing of anti-Christian sentiments in rabbinic Judaism. To the extent that the rabbinic compilers of the Mishna and the Talmud have contributed to or fostered these sentiments, or at best failed to repudiate them, they are to be censured. Similarly, the Islamic concept of supercessionism is the most important element in Islam that has contributed to the growth and nurturing of anti-Christian and anti-Judaic beliefs in the Islamicate. To the extent that the Muslim compilers of the Hadith Reports and Tafsir have contributed to or fostered these sentiments, and unfortunately that contribution is very extensive, they are to be censured. This long-winded note is my recognition that patristic attitudes contributed to anti-Judaism, and later to anti-Muhammadanism, but it is also my refusal to single out the Church Fathers as the primary

of philosophy because it allowed some aspects of Christianity to be explained in a manner that educated Greeks and Romans could understand and/or believe. The Church Fathers took possession of history because, through it, they could demonstrate that God was working out his plan of salvation in time and through history, revealing himself in the histories of all peoples, but especially in the history of the Hebrews and the Christians. It must be pointed out, however, that the early Christians were not appropriating the history of a culture foreign to themselves; since the Church Fathers and their Christian audience consisted predominantly of subjects of the Roman Empire, persons who were already the heirs of Mediterranean and Near Eastern cultures, they were in fact claiming their own culture, and "redeeming" as much as possible of it to a Christian purpose. Greek and Roman Christians incorporated much of Greek and Roman history into the narrative of salvation history, and Christians of various ethnicities within the Roman Empire attempted to demonstrate that persons and events of their history had revealed one or another aspect of God's salvific plan.

The various Christian techniques of appropriation outlined above, particularly when applied by Christian apologists to the persons, events, and ideas of the past,

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contributors to interconfessional intolerance. Given the extent that Christians, Jews, and Muslims have believed intolerance and persecution to be the will of God, our only hope is that God indeed is merciful and understanding. We have not shown ourselves to be.

resulted in the emergence and development of a Christian historiography. That may or may not have been the intention of the Church Fathers, but it is important to note at this point that some of the most important historiographical transformations were initiated by men who were not historians. In fact, to say that many of these dramatic changes in historical consciousness were achieved without the active contribution of persons who would consider themselves to be "historians" might be hyperbolic, but it would not be misleading. Certainly Eusebius[55] (c. 260-340), Socrates Scholasticus[56] (d. 450), Sozomen[57] (d. 450), and Theodoret of Cyrus[58] (c. 393-466), all of whom wrote ecclesiastical histories, were historians, as were the Syrian Julius

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[55]Whose Ecclesiastical History is cited above.

[56]Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, translated by A. C. Zenos as The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, Vol. 2 (New York, 1890; reprint, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1952), pp. 1-178.

[57]Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History, translated by Chester Hartranft as The Ecclesiastical History of Salaminus Hermias Sozomenus, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, Vol. 2 (New York, 1890; reprint, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1952), pp. 239-427.

[58]Theodoret of Cyrus, Ecclesiastical History, translated by Blomfield Jackson as The Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, Vol. 3 (New York, 1892; reprint, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1952), pp. 33-159.

Africanus[59] (fl. 200) and the Spaniard Paulus Orosius[60] (fl. 414), who compiled universal chronicles or wrote highly interpretive world histories. One would not be likely to say the same thing, however, about Justin Martyr (c. 100-165), Theophilus of Antioch (115-181), Melito of Sardis (d. 177), Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130-202), Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-216), Origen (c. 165-255), Tertullian (c. 160-240), Hippolytus (c. 170-230), Lactantius (c. 240-320), Victorinus (4th century), or Augustine of Hippo (354-430), each of whom also contributed to the Christian revolution in historiography.

Who were these people, these "non-historians" whose apologetic and dogmatic writings ultimately did so much to change historiography? These men, among whom are numbered the great Church Fathers of the patristic age, were clerics. If you gathered them together in a room and asked, "any historians here?" few of them would have raised their hands. Their vocation was preaching the gospel, tending their flocks, and building a Christian society.[61] Irenaeus of Lyon

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[59]Julius Africanus, The Extant Fragments of the Five Books of the Chronography of Julius Africanus, translated by S. Salmond, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 6 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), pp. 130-138.

[60]Paulus Orosius, Seven Books Against the Pagans, translated by Roy J. Deferrari, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 50 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964).

[61]Further, until the official toleration of Christianity was proclaimed by Constantine, these clerics were living in an empire where they could be tortured to death in public for even being Christians, let alone for writing Christian books.

might not even have recognized that his methodology for seeking out and distinguishing the true teachings of Christ and the apostles from the false teachings of heretics would have an effect on historiography. Augustine of Hippo, whose De Civitate Dei made perhaps the greatest contributions to Christian historiography of all the Church Fathers, probably understood the impact his work would have on historiography, but he considered written history preeminently to be concerned with cure of souls.[62] To all of these men, written history had a purpose quite apart from preserving a record of "great and wonderful deeds"[63] or providing the leisure class

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Of the men whose writings I shall be examining in this dissertation, Peter, Paul, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyon, and Origen were all either publicly tortured to death by the coercive apparatus of the Roman state, or tortured so brutally that they perished shortly after their interrogation. Even after the Roman state adopted Christianity as its official religion, its coercive apparatus continued to arrest, torture, and kill Christians: not merely for being Christians, but for being Christians whose beliefs did not coincide with those of the Emperor, or his wife, or the local religious hierarchy. The Christianized Roman state also persecuted pagans, and increased its persecution of Jews. See W. H. C. Frend, Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965). See also Ramsay MacMullen, Christianizing the Roman Empire: A. D. 100-400 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

[62]As Augustine wrote: "Anything, then, that we learn from history about the chronology of past times assists us very much in understanding scriptures, even if it be learnt without the pale of the Church as a matter of childish education." Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.42 (NPNF1 2:549); see also De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.43-44 (CCSL 32:63); 2.39.58 (CCSL 32:72).

[63]Herodotus The History, 1.1, translated by Grene, p. 33.

with intellectual divertissement.[64] Written history had a job to do: to facilitate the cure of souls,[65] and whenever these men wrote history, it was ever with that guiding purpose in mind.[66]

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[64]Although there may have been a moral component to their writings, this seems to have been a major purpose of Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others. Christian history, on the other hand, particularly those portions of history that Lactantius calls "Salvation History" (Divine Institutes, 1.14) was not maintained as the treasured possession of a lettered social elite who had the means to purchase it, but instead was regularly used in the homilies and catechisms that were freely available to all Christians, lettered or otherwise. In ancient Greece and Rome, who read or declaimed upon Livy or Thucydides except in the schools or in the haunts of the wealthy? Pagan history, as taught in ancient times, might exhort one to patriotism, or instill a sense of polite and proper deportment that was acceptable before one's social (or citizenly) peers, but Christian history, and Christian uses of pagan history, attempted to teach the mysteries of the universe, and to instill in its audience a sense of moral and ethical living that was acceptable before God. Lactantius, The Divine Institutes, 1.14, trans. William Fletcher, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. 7 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), p. 26.

[65]In a very real way the Church Fathers were "Radical Historians" in precisely the sense intended by Howard Zinn. Theophilus, Irenaeus, Eusebius, Augustine, and Isidore were men with a mission. They believed that written history could have a positive revolutionary impact on their world, and they wrote with that purpose in mind. The establishment historians of the Roman Empire, by which phrase I mean such mainstream political and cultural historians as Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zosimus, were interested in praising and preserving the status quo. Even in antiquity, to paraphrase Zinn, most mainstream historians were willing to "publish while others perish." Christian historians, on the other hand, whether or not we approve today of their mission and tactics, were pushing religious and social revolution. Howard Zinn, "Knowledge as a Form of Power," in Zinn, The Politics of History, second edition (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p. 5.

[66]History, as a variety of literature, had a specific task to accomplish: to facilitate the cure of souls. History itself, the events of mankind's past, had another purpose: it was the interaction of God and man, through time, moving

The Church Fathers might relegate written history to the task of spiritual improvement rather than intellectual divertissement, but they had no doubt about the final meaning of history itself. History--that is, the complete sequence of temporal events that had occurred in the past, events which were occurring in the present, and events which would occur in the future--had meaning. The Christian God was the Lord of time and master of history, and he directed all things to his own purpose.[67] The Church Fathers understood that the divine plan of salvation for mankind was being worked out in time and through history.[68] Although destined for eternity, mankind had been created in time,[69] and despite

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towards God's eventual salvation of mankind. On the utility of history for Christians, see Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.42-44 (CCSL 32.62-63); 2.39.59 (CCSL 32.72-73).

[67]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.16.7 (ANF 1:443); 4.20.7 (ANF 1:489); 5.1.1 (ANF 1:526-527). Tertullian, Against Marcion, 3.2; 5.4, translated by Peter Holmes in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), pp. 322; 435-436. Latin text of Adversus Marcionem, edited by A. Kroyman, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 1 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1954), pp. 441-726. Augustine of Hippo, De Civitate Dei, 4.33, edited by Bernard Dombart and Alphonsus Kalb, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vols. 47, 48 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1955). English translation in Henry Bettenson, The City of God (Baltimore: Penguin, 1972), p. 176.

[68]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.23.1 (ANF 1:455). See also Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 6.7 (ANF 2:493), "from the first foundation of the world ... [God] trains and perfects."

[69]This is an important point to emphasize. The Church Fathers consistently argued that humanity had been created in time, and not above or before time. The Gnostics, on the other hand, argued that human souls were spiritual beings whose natural state was eternity and who had either descended

the human fall from grace and the subsequent expulsion from the garden of Eden, God had allowed mankind to exist, and to develop, in time. Thus it was in time and through history that God chose to carry out his plan for mankind's ultimate salvation. The task of the Christian historian was to discover, record, and explain the significance of the major events in history that revealed the fulfillment of that plan.

In fact, in a very important sense, Christianity was (and is) the most historically minded of all religions. The central statements of Christian belief that are proclaimed in the Nicene and Chalcedonian creeds include brief recitations of the history of Jesus.[70] If the life and teachings, death

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into time as one of the consequences of the fall, or who had been captured by the forces of darkness and imprisoned in time. To the Gnostics, and to the Priscillianists of Spain, time was a prison. This point will be developed later.

[70]"The Nicene Creed," as recited by English speaking Roman Catholics, includes the historical recital: "he was born of the Virgin Mary, and became man. For our sake he was crucified under Pontius Pilate; he suffered, died, and was buried. On the third day he rose again in fulfillment of the scriptures; he ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of the Father." "The Nicene Creed," in The Roman Missal: The Sacramentary (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Company, 1974), p. 370. The seemingly obvious fact that the Creed includes a recitation of history was brought home to me by Karl Barth's lecture, "The Mystery and Miracle of Christmas," chapter 14 of Karl Barth, Dogmatics in Outline, translated by G. T. Thomson (London: SCM Press, 1949; reprint, New York: Harper, 1959), p. 95-96. (This volume is not a *precis* of Barth's Church Dogmatics, but originates instead from a series of lectures that Barth gave in Bonn in 1946.) Just as the Nicene and Chalcedonian creeds of Christianity explicitly include a recitation of salvation history, so does the Judaic "Deuteronymic Creed" of Deuteronomy 6.21-25: "You shall say to your children, 'We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt and the Lord freed us from Egypt with a mighty hand. The Lord wrought before our eyes marvelous and destructive signs and portents in Egypt,

and resurrection of Jesus had not actually occurred in history, then Christianity would have no validity as a religion: it would be just another late antique philosophy of consolation. Early Christians understood this, and, as early as the Gospel of Luke, Christian writers firmly placed the events of Jesus' life not only in a Judean context, but also in a datable Roman context, viz., Jesus was born in the time of Herod when Caesar Augustus ordered a great census of the empire "when Cyrenius was governor of Syria," and he later suffered under Pontius Pilate, in the Roman province of Judea.[71] In fact, the sacred books which lay at the very core of the Christian tradition, the four gospels and the book of Acts, are themselves written histories.[72] The needs

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against Pharaoh and all his household, and us he freed from there, that he might take us and give us the land that he had promised on oath to our fathers.'" Translation from Tanakh, the Holy Scriptures; The New JPS Translation According to the Traditional Hebrew Text (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1988), p. 285.

[71]Luke, 2.1-2; 23.1-24.

[72]Robert M. Grant has called the book of Acts "Church History," by which he means that, in addition to its being a history of early Christianity written for Christians by Christians, Acts is also a history of the "church" as a regularized institution that derived its existence from the organizational activities of the Twelve, Paul, and their presbyters. Grant argues that the historiography of the church as an institution, as written by Christian historians from Luke through Eusebius, developed as a part of a larger response to internal and external crises over apostolic authority and heresy. When Luke, or Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus, or Eusebius wrote church history, they were doing so not because they had any particular interest in the past, but instead because they wanted to derive examples from the past in order to demonstrate the apostolic validity of the orthodox teaching, as opposed to the non-apostolic (or pretended apostolic) falsehood of Gnostic and Montanist

of Christian history, however, were quite different from the needs of pagan history. As Christianity prevailed within the empire, so too did the Christian attitude towards history prevail. History was transformed.

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teachings. Robert M. Grant, "Church History in the Early Church," Essays in Divinity, Vol. 6, edited by J. Brauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 287-306; reprint, Robert M. Grant, Christian Beginnings: Apocalypse to History (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983), chapter III, with original pagination.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY CHRISTIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY: FROM JUSTIN MARTYR TO ST. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO

Beginning as early as the second century Christian historians began to weave together the names and events of pagan, Hebrew, and Christian history. In this, they were continuing not only in the tradition of Josephus' Antiquities,[1] but also in the New Testament tradition of Luke and Acts, as cited above. The author of Exhortation to the Greeks, a work often attributed to Justin Martyr (c. 100-165),[2] used the testimony of Greek historians to establish a

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[1]Flavius Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, translated by H. Thackeray, R. Marcus, A. Wikgren, and L. Feldman in Josephus, vols. 4-9 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929-65).

[2]Exhortation to the Greeks, translated by Marcus Dods as Hortatory Address to the Greeks, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1, pp. 273-289. Many scholars are not convinced that Justin Martyr was the author of the Exhortation to the Greeks. Recent patristic scholarship generally assigns the Exhortation to the period 160-250. It is certainly pre-Plotinus. Eusebius and Jerome each attributed an Exhortation to the Greeks to Justin Martyr, and all four surviving Greek manuscripts of the treatise assign it to Justin, but many scholars remain unconvinced that the existing Exhortation is the text referred to by Eusebius and Jerome. Its literary style is unlike Justin's other writings, and it is more critical of Greek philosophers than Justin usually was. Nonetheless, the treatise continues to be printed in anthologies of Justin's writings, usually with the caveat that the author's identity has not been satisfactorily established. See, for example, The Writings of Justin

chronology that demonstrated the antiquity of Moses and the prophets.[3] Justin Martyr himself cited examples from Greek philosophers to demonstrate that Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato had borrowed most of their wisdom from the Hebrews,[4]

Martyr, translated by Thomas Falls, Fathers of the Church, Vol. 6 (New York: Christian Heritage, 1948), pp. 369-423. For convenience, scholars continue to refer to the treatise as Justin's.

[3]Exhortation to the Greeks, 9-14 (ANF 1:277-279). Demonstrating the antiquity of one's own civilization over that of another was, of course, a time honored tradition by the first century A. D. Berosus' history of Babylon and Manetho's history of Egypt seem to have been written to justify (or reinforce) the pretensions of Hellenistic monarchs, the Seleucid in the case of Berosus, the Ptolemaic in the case of Manetho. Centuries earlier the Assyrian scribes had composed a parallel chronicle of Assyrian and Babylonian rulers that demonstrated the superior antiquity of the Assyrians. Even the Sumerian King List seems to have been composed for propagandistic purposes, attempting to demonstrate that the rulers of Isin and Larsa were the legitimate rulers of Sumer whereas the rule of the Elamite and Martu (Amorite?) conquerors of Sumer were merely violent disrupters having neither claim nor legitimacy.

[4]Justin Martyr, First Apology, 23 (ANF 1:170-171), 44 (ANF 1:177-178), 59-60 (ANF 1:182-183). For similar arguments, see Exhortation to the Greeks 33 (ANF 1:287). This line of apologetic was already a centuries-old tradition by Justin's lifetime. Josephus had made similar arguments about Greek philosophers almost a century earlier in his Against Apion, 2.279-286, translated by H. Thackeray, Josephus, 10 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1926), 1:404-407. Writing as early as 150 B. C., Aristobulus of Alexandria had argued that Plato and Pythagoras carefully studied very ancient Greek translations of the Hebrew scriptures, and that they subsequently incorporated many Hebrew doctrines into their own speculative systems. Aristobulus, Fragments, edited and translated by A. Yarbro Collins, in The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, edited by James Charlesworth, Vol. 2, Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985), pp. 831-842. Only five fragments of Aristobulus' writings have survived, all preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesarea.

who were thereby proved to be both chronologically and morally superior to the Greeks.[5] Justin then argued that pagan philosophers, even the Sibylline Oracles themselves,[6] had all foretold the advent of Christ.[7]

Justin's disciple Tatian (fl. 170), who eventually departed from the fellowship of the Christian community and developed his own variety of Gnosticism,[8] ultimately heading

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[5]The best introduction to Justin Martyr continues to be Erwin R. Goodenough, The Theology of Justin Martyr, An Investigation into the Conceptions of Early Christian Literature and its Hellenistic and Judaistic Influences (Jena, 1923; reprint, Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1968).

[6]"Sibylline Oracles," translated by J. Collins, in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, edited by James Charlesworth, Vol. 1, Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp. 317-472. See also A. Kurfess, "Christian Sibyllines," in New Testament Apocrypha, edited by W. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, Vol. 2., Writings Relating to the Apostles; Apocalypses and Related Subjects (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), pp. 703-745.

[7]Justin Martyr, First Apology, 21-22 (ANF 1:170). See also Exhortation to the Greeks, 15-33 (ANF 1:279-287). Other Church Fathers to follow up on this apologetic exegesis of the Sibylline Oracles included Theophilus of Antioch, Lactantius, Eusebius, and Augustine.

[8]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.28 (ANF 1:353). Tatian's Gnosticism was derived from Valentinus, and his Encratite heresy from the teachings of Saturninus and Marcion. Tatian taught that repentance and salvation were not for all men, and that Adam, for example, would not be saved. The classic treatment of Gnosticism remains Hans Jonas, The Gnostic Religion: The Message of the Alien God and the Beginnings of Christianity, 2nd rev. ed., 3rd printing, with supplemental bibliography (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970). Jonas offers an analysis of Gnosticism that, although it was written while the Nag Hammadi codices were just becoming available, has not been superseded. Similarly insightful, although more descriptive than analytical, is Kurt Rudolph, Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977). For a brief assessment, with a critical bibliography of Gnostic and other apocryphal texts, see Raymond E. Brown, Pheme Perkins, and Anthony J. Saldarini,

up an Encratite community in Syria,[9] composed an Oration to the Greeks that further developed Justin's arguments for the chronological and moral superiority of the Hebrew tradition.[10] Tatian's Oration included an early effort to develop an integrated world chronology of sacred and secular history, which was part of the author's attempt to demonstrate the antiquity of the Hebrew religious experience.

"Apocrypha; Dead Sea Scrolls; Other Jewish Literature," in The New Jerome Bible Commentary, pp. 1055-1082. For a popular account of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices, see John Dart, The Jesus of Heresy and History: The Discovery and Meaning of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic Library (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988). Although Gnosticism is utterly anti-life, even anti-creation, the recent publication of the Nag Hammadi codices, and the ongoing publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, seems to have given Gnosticism a new life, or at least a new respectability, in certain circles. Scholars such as Morton Smith and Elaine Pagels have begun to argue that Gnosticism is as legitimate a variety of Christianity as any other variety, and that orthodox Christianity survived not because it was more valid than Gnosticism, but because the Church Fathers were so vociferous in imposing their own personal (and sexual) prejudices. See Elaine Pagels, Adam, Eve, and the Serpent (New York: Random House, 1988); Morton Smith, "Two Ascended to Heaven: Jesus and the Author of 4Q491," in Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls, edited by James Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 290-301; Morton Smith, Jesus the Magician (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978); Morton Smith, The Secret Gospel (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1973).

[9]Altaner, Patrology, p. 127.

[10]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, translated by J. E. Ryland in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), pp. 65-83. There is a more recent translation of Tatian in Tatian: Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments, edited and translated by Molly Whitaker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982). Although I have used Whitaker's introduction and notes, and have referred to her edition of the Greek text, I find her translation to be less literal than Ryland's. Whitaker is convinced of Tatian's orthodoxy, unlike many Tatian scholars, and her translation occasionally reflects this attitude.

Building upon the arguments of Justin Martyr, the chronographical chapters of the Oration to the Greeks demonstrate that Moses and the prophets were much older than even the most ancient Greek philosophers;[11] indeed, he argued that Christian doctrines were older "than the invention of letters."[12] Like the author of the Exhortation to the Greeks, Tatian argued that all things of value in Greek civilization were borrowed from earlier civilizations, such as those of the Egyptians and the Assyrians.[13] Unlike Justin, however, but like the author of the Exhortation, Tatian savagely denounced Greek philosophy.[14] He was undoubtedly the first Christian openly to attack the Stoic doctrine of eternal cyclic returns, and he openly ridiculed Zeno in particular for teaching the theory of cyclic time.[15]

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[11]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 31-41 (ANF 2:77-82).

[12]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 31 (ANF 2:77).

[13]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 1 (ANF 2:65).

[14]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 3-6 (ANF 2:66-67). Although many of Tatian's arguments, much of his Greek vocabulary, and even the organization of his Oration to the Greeks, recall the anonymous Exhortation to the Greeks, no one appears to have followed up on the possibility that Tatian himself may have been the author of the Exhortation. If Tatian was the author, presumably he wrote the Exhortation before his defection from Christianity to Gnosticism, for the Exhortation contains none of the heretical or Gnostic opinions that are contained in the Oration to the Greeks. Perhaps the Oration is a later redaction, rewritten to conform more closely with Tatian's Gnostic and Encratite beliefs.

[15]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 3, 6 (ANF 2:66-67). The Gnostics, among whom Tatian must be numbered, were at least as hostile towards the cyclic theory of time as the Christians were. Like Origen and Augustine, the Gnostics

He taught that it was people who passed through time, and not time itself that passed.[16] Time was a creature, he argued, and it would continue to exist "as long as the Creator wills it to exist."[17] Just as Tatian's famous Diatessaron offers

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believed that cyclic time would not allow for a true salvation of souls, since in cyclic time they would be born and suffer again. At least one Gnostic tractate explicitly taught that, once saved, a soul was "not again cast into another flesh," Apocryphon of John, II.27.20-22, translated by Francis E. Williams in The Nag Hammadi Library in English, 3rd ed., edited by James M. Robinson (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988), p. 120. Hereafter, except for the initial citation of an individual Nag Hammadi tractate, references to this collection of the Nag Hammadi codices will be abbreviated as NHL, followed by the appropriate page numbers. Additionally, to make it easier to cross reference my citation of the Nag Hammadi tractates with other published editions, I will follow the standard practice of citing each text by its assigned name from the NHL, followed by the codex numeral, the manuscript page number(s), the line number(s), and the appropriate page number(s) from the NHL translation. Thus, Apocryphon of John, II.27.20-22 (NHL 120), cites the text commonly referred to as the Apocryphon of John, from codex II of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic Codices, manuscript page 27, lines 20-22, as printed in the NHL on page 120.

[16]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 26 (ANF 2:76). "For how can the future be passing when the present exists? As those who are sailing imagine in their ignorance, as the ship is borne along, that the hills are in motion, so you do not know that it is you who are passing along."

[17]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 26 (ANF 2:76). Tatian's Oration was written after he had begun to embrace Gnosticism, however, and in addition to these orthodox teachings the treatise also included heretical teachings on the fall of demons and men, Oration, 7 (ANF 2:67-68), heretical teachings on the nature of the human soul, Oration, 13 (ANF 2:70-71), and offered Gnostic exegeses concerning the dominion of the forces of darkness over matter, and concerning the descent (or capture) of the soul into the prison of matter, Oration, 11, 15-19 (ANF 2:70-73). One can see clearly in Tatian the Gnostic argument that human souls, which are not naturally possessed of material bodies, look down upon and lust after the material world. The demons that have dominion over the material world, which themselves are not possessed of souls, lust after and seek dominion over human souls. Thus souls are tempted to descend into the material world, and when they

important evidence about the importance of the four Gospels to the Christian community,[18] so does his Oration to the

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approach too close to the demonic forces, they are brutally captured, raped, and enslaved. Tatian refers to the demons as "robbers of deity," Oration 12 (ANF 2:70). "Should anyone wish to conquer [the demons]," Tatian continued, "let him repudiate matter." Oration 16 (ANF 2:72).

[18]The Diatessaron was Tatian's attempt to compile a harmony of the four gospels (perhaps historically organized), and integrate them into a single text. Although condemned as heretical by Theodoret of Cyrus (who himself was anathematized in 553 by Justinian's "ecumenical" Second Council of Constantinople), and formally excluded from liturgical use, the work was extremely popular throughout Syria. The Diatessaron is valuable in that it attests to the existence and importance of the *four* Gospels (and not three or five Gospels) to second century Christians. Although one can peruse modern critical editions and translation of the Diatessaron (bibliography in Altaner, Patrology, pp. 128-129), in a very real sense the Diatessaron *no longer exists*. It was originally written in Syriac, but no Syriac version has survived. Old Dutch, Old Latin, and two Arabic "translations" of the work have survived, as well as a few fragments of a Greek translation, and an Armenian translation of a Syriac commentary on the text, but none of these is a translation in any sense. The Arabic versions, for example, do not actually translate the Diatessaron, but instead preserve an edited version of the structural *organization* of the Diatessaron. What the Arabic texts preserve are translations from the Peshitta, not from Tatian. Similarly, the Old Latin "translation" also preserved a highly edited version of Tatian's arrangement of the Gospel harmony, but the "translation" substitutes the text of the Vetus Latina for Tatian's original Syriac. The Old Dutch appears to have been translated from Latin, not from Syriac, and offers an Old Dutch translation of the Vetus Latina passages preserved in a variant of the Old Latin version! The Greek fragments may be translated from Tatian's original Syriac, but we have no Syriac original to compare them with. None of the "translations" or fragments corresponds to ancient descriptions of the Diatessaron, and all appear to have been edited to make them more orthodox. That is why I do not use this important text, even though its very existence implies an early attempt to make chronological sense of the divergent historical traditions preserved in the four Gospels. An English translation of a conflated edition of the two Arabic manuscripts of the Diatessaron, translated by Hope Hogg, can be found in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 9 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896), pp. 43-129. Hogg's

Greeks offer important evidence that second century Christians were already beginning to think very seriously about the nature of time and history, and to work out integrated historical chronologies.

Theophilus of Antioch (c. 115-181) offered a greatly expanded integration of sacred and secular history in his Ad Autolychum.[19] One of his major contributions to Christian historiography was that he was not content merely to demonstrate the greater antiquity of Hebrew history, but went on to develop a brief chronology that synchronized an entire series of persons and events in Hebrew, Egyptian, Greek, Persian, and Roman history. Like Justin Martyr, Theophilus used Greek historical writings[20] and the Sibylline Oracles,[21] as well as the Hebrew scriptures to develop his chronology,

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notes, on pp. 35-41, continue to be valuable.

The Diatessaron is such an important writing, and its manuscript tradition so troublesome, that scholarship on Tatian's Oration to the Greeks has almost ceased. Altaner, Patrology, pp. 128-129, lists only eight studies of the Oration, but dozens of studies on the Diatessaron. For a discussion of these and other problems with the Diatessaron, see T. Baarda, "op zoek naar de tekst van het Diatessaron," Vox Theologia 31 (1962), 107-119; reprinted as, "In Search of the Diatessaron Text," translated by Jem Newton, in Early Transmission of Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament, edited by J. Helderman and S. J. Noorda (Amsterdam: VU Boekhandel/Uitgevrij, 1983), pp. 65-78.

[19]Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolycum, 3.16-29, edited and translated by Robert M. Grant in Theophilus of Antioch: Ad Autolycum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 120-147.

[20]He mentioned Manetho, Menander of Ephesus, Berosus, Josephus, the "Tables" of Chryserus, among others. Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 3.23-29 (ed. Grant, pp. 132-147).

[21]Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 2.31, 36-38 (ed. Grant, pp. 76-79, 86-99).

and even referred to royal correspondence from the Phoenician archives at Tyre.[22] He used the chronology[23] he established to demonstrate the greater antiquity of Hebrew and Christian history over that of Greece and Rome,[24] and openly scoffed at the "nonsensical falsehood" of Greek historians for their pretensions of antiquity, pointedly calling them "wretched, exceedingly ungodly, and stupid."[25] Working with this event-

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[22]Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 3.20-22 (ed. Grant, pp. 128-133). Theophilus probably cited the archives of Tyre at third hand. He quoted Menander of Ephesus (3.22, ed. Grant, p. 131), who claimed to have read them, but he undoubtedly borrowed this quotation from Josephus, who in turn had quoted from and expanded upon Menander. Josephus, Against Apion, 1.106-127 (ed. Thackeray, Vol. 1, pp. 205-213)

[23]In Ad Autolychum, 3.28 (ed. Grant, pp. 142-145), Theophilus also offered an early Christian attempt at periodization, reckoning the "main epochs" as 1) Creation to the deluge, 2242 years; 2) Deluge to Abraham's begetting of Isaac, 1036 years; 3) Isaac to Moses, 660 years; 4) the death of Moses to the death of David, 498 years; 5) Solomon to the Babylonian Captivity, 518 years, 6 months, 10 days; 6) Cyrus of Persia to the death of Lucius Verus, 744 years.

[24]He noted on this point that "the books which belong to us, the worshippers of God, are proved to be writings not only more ancient but also more true than all historians and poets." Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 2.30 (ed. Grant, p. 75). He added "Now I wish with God's help to demonstrate the chronology for you more exactly, so that you may recognize that our doctrine is neither modern nor mythical but more ancient and true than all the poets and historians who wrote on what they knew nothing about."

[25]Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 3.17-18 (ed. Grant, pp. 123-125). He noted, for example, that Noah was the true Deucalion, whereas the later Greek Deucalion was an imperfect remembrance of Noah, inappropriately attached to a later flood. Ad Autolycum, 3.19 (ed. Grant, p. 125). As to why there were no direct accounts of salvation history in Greek and Roman literature, he offered two reasons: First, the Greeks and Romans had only recently become literate, and had no written history that extended to the Biblical past. Secondly, the Greeks and Romans were sinners who blasphemed God, peoples who have "necessarily lost the wisdom of God and

synchronized chronology, Theophilus was able to demonstrate not only that Hebrew culture was much more ancient than Greek culture, since Moses had led the Hebrews out of Egypt over 393 years before Danaus settled in Argos, and at least 900 to 1000 years before the Trojan War,[26] but also that the Temple of Solomon had been built by the Hebrews at least 143 years before the foundation of Carthage, which in turn had been established before the foundation of Rome.[27]

Clement of Alexandria (150-215) developed this technique of comparative chronology even further, embedding a highly complex chronological digression in his Stromata,[28] saying "let us then draw up the chronology of the Greeks from Moses."[29] Clement demonstrated the greater antiquity of

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did not discover the truth." Ad Autolycum, 3.30 (ed. Grant, p. 147). See also Josephus, Against Apion, 1.7, ed., Thackeray, Vol. 1, p. 156, "For in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern, and, dating, so to speak, from yesterday or the day before: I refer to the foundation of their cities, the invention of the arts, and the compilation of a code of laws; but the most recent, or nearly the most recent, of all their attainments is care in historical composition."

[26]Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 3.20-21 (ed. Grant, pp. 126-129). Extending this particular line of argument, Theophilus pointed out that the Law of Moses was much more ancient than the Laws of Draco, Solon, or Minos, "since the scriptures of the divine law given us through Moses actually antedate not only the reign of Zeus in Crete but also the Trojan war." Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 3.23 (ed. Grant, p. 133).

[27]Theophilus, Ad Autolycum, 3.22 (ed. Grant, p. 131).

[28]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21-29, (ANF 2:324-341).

[29]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21 (ANF 2:331).

Hebrew history[30] and asserted that the beliefs and teachings of the best Greek philosophers had been plagiarized from the Hebrews.[31] He even argued that the Greeks used military tactics borrowed from Moses' generalship when the Athenians defeated the Persians at Marathon.[32] Like the earlier Church Fathers, Clement based his historical arguments on passages from the Hebrew Scriptures, from Josephus, from Greek historians, chronographers and philosophers,[33] and from the Sibyls.[34] He noted that although the Greeks venerated the prophecies of women, the famous Sibyls,[35] there had been prophetesses among the Hebrews long before the Sibyls known to the Greeks had spoken, and the Hebrew women, moreover, had

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[30]He noted that Deucalion's flood, for example. had occurred 40 generations after Moses. Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21, (ANF 2:331).

[31]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21.1 (ANF 2:465-476); 1.25-29 (ANF 2:338-341). For Clement's extended discussion of Greek "plagiarisms" from the Hebrews, see also Stromata, 5.14 (ANF 2:465-476); 6.2 (ANF 2:481-486); 6.3 (ANF 2:486-488). Clement also noted that God "gave philosophy to the Greeks by means of the inferior angels. Stromata, 7.2 (ANF 2:524-526).

[32]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.24, (ANF 2:337). An early Christian apologist claiming the Athenian victory at Marathon in the name of Moses: now that is appropriating history!

[33]He cited Ctesias, Hesiod, Herodotus, Thucydides, etc. Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21, (ANF 2:324-325).

[34]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21, (ANF 2:325).

[35]For a recent popular account of the Sibyls, especially for ancient traditions and modern archaeological discoveries concerning the Sibyl of Cumae, see Nora Lorre Goodrich, Priestesses (New York: Harper, 1990), pp. 288-323.

spoken true prophecies, not fables.[36] He demonstrated that Solomon had ruled as king of the Hebrews during the Trojan War, and that Solomon and all his Hebrew predecessors were therefore more ancient than Homer, more ancient than the return of the Heracleidae and the Ionian migration, and more ancient than even the Olympic games themselves.[37]

The greatest of the third century Christian historians and chronographers, however, was Sextus Julius Africanus[38] (fl. 220), bishop of Emmaus, who composed an extended series of at least partially integrated regnal, consular, and Olympiad lists in the early third century.[39] He was the

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[36]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21, (ANF 2:331).

[37]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21, (ANF 2:327).

[38]The classic study remains Heinrich Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantische Chronographie, 2 Vols. with supplement (Leipzig, 1885-98; reprint [3 vols. in 1 with original pagination], New York: Burt Franklin Research and Source Works Series #169, 1967).

[39]Julius Africanus, Chronographiae, translated by S. Salmond as The Extant Fragments of the Five Books of the Chronography of Julius Africanus, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 6 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), pp. 130-138. Despite the epithet "Africanus," Julius was probably born in or near Jerusalem. For a recent assessment of the approach to chronology taken by Julius Africanus, see Brian Croke, "The Originality of Eusebius' Chronicle," American Journal of Philology, Vol. 103 (1982), pp. 195-200. Croke builds upon some of the more recent scholarship on Julius Africanus, taking note of the extant fragments of Africanus, as well as the comments that Eusebius, Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Isidore made about the nature of Africanus' Chronographiae. He correctly notes that Africanus' chronologies were series of regnal, consular, and Olympiad lists that were only partially integrated with the biblical narrative, and were not synchronized on a year by year basis but on a reign by reign basis. It was Eusebius who first organized an integrated world chronicle that reckoned persons and events on the annual level.

first Christian chronographer to attempt a detailed regnal-synchronization, as well as a synchronization of persons and events. His intention, he wrote, was "to narrate the history of the Greeks side by side with that of the Hebrews."[40] Drawing his material from the Old Testament and from Josephus as well as from the historical writings of Manetho, Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and other classical historians,[41] Africanus synchronized wherever possible the biblical account of human history with the Olympiad reckoning. He wrote, "my plan will be as follows: Taking up some single event in Hebrew history synchronous with another event in Greek history, and keeping by it as the main subject, subtracting or adding as many [years] as may seem needful in the narrative, I shall note what Greek or Persian of note, or remarkable personage of any other nationality, flourished at the date of that event in Hebrew history."[42] Like Justin Martyr and Theophilus, he openly contrasted the validity of Hebrew and Christian history with the "myriad follies"[43] of Egyptian and Chaldean history, and asserted the antiquity of Hebrew history over that of even the mythological history of

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[40]Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.7, (ANF 6:134).

[41]Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.2-7, (ANF 6:133-134).

[42]Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.1, (ANF 6:133).

[43]Julius Africanus, Fragment 1, (ANF 6:131).

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the Greeks.[44] He was able to demonstrate, for example, that Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt during the reign of the pharaoh Amosis,[45] 1020 years before the first Olympiad,[46] and 1237 years before Cyrus became king of Persia.[47] Unfortunately, only fragments of Africanus' chronology have survived, often in variant readings, and some of them extremely difficult to interpret.[48]

Lactantius of Nicomedia (240-320), originally from north Africa, continued in the tradition of working with integrated chronologies of Hebrew, pagan and Christian history.[49]

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[44]He wrote, "all the legendary accounts which are deemed especially remarkable by the Greeks by reason of their antiquity, are found to belong to a period posterior to Moses." Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.7, (ANF 6:134).

[45]Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.6, (ANF 6:134). He demonstrated, using Greek sources, that the first great flood of Attica, which had occurred when Ogygus ruled in Greece, coincided with the Exodus, Fragment 13.3-7, (ANF 6:133-134). It was fitting that Attica should have suffered at the same time as the Egyptians, Africanus continued, because God was punishing the Egyptians, and the people of Attica (according to his Greek sources) had originally been an Egyptian colony. Fragment 13.7, (ANF 6:134).

[46]Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.3-7, (ANF 6:133-134).

[47]Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.4-6, (ANF 6:133). Africanus also noted that Cyrus became king of Persia in the 70th year of the Babylonian captivity. Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.2, (ANF 6:133).

[48]The longest Fragments, 16 and 18, are maddeningly inscrutable. These particular fragments preserve Africanus' astronomical and mathematical attempts to connect the 70 weeks of Daniel 9.24 to the incarnation of Jesus and to the Last Judgment. Julius Africanus, Fragments 16, 18, (ANF 6:134-138).

[49]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.5-15; 7.14-25, ANF 7:104-116, 211-220.

Lactantius believed that a familiarity with history was a tremendous asset to the faithful. He taught that, "above all things, he who desires to comprehend the truth ought not only to apply his mind to understand the utterances of the prophets, but also most diligently to inquire into the times when each one of them existed, that he may know what future events they predicted, and after how many years their predictions were fulfilled."[50] Like his patristic predecessors, he used the Hebrew scriptures, classical authors, and the Sibylline Oracles[51] to demonstrate that Greek and Roman civilizations were much younger than Hebrew civilization.[52] Moses, he wrote, lived 700 years before the

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[50]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.5 (ANF 7:105). Again, Lactantius is an example of the common patristic attitude that writing and studying history can fulfill a noble and practical Christian purpose.

[51]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.6, 4.15, 4.18 (ANF 7:105-121). Like many Church Fathers Lactantius used the Sibylline Oracles as proofs of monotheism, and argued that they contained many prophecies of Christ. Lactantius was also the first Church Father to cite the body of hermetic writings commonly attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. Lactantius cites this literature frequently, and in addition to preserving ancient testimonia for some existing texts, Lactantius preserves many hermetic fragments that have not otherwise survived. This Corpus Hermeticum, as it is presently known, seems to have been compiled in Egypt during the 3rd century A. D. The unknown author was familiar with the speculative systems of Middle Platonism and of Philo Judaeus. He also had considerable knowledge of Valentinian Gnosticism and perhaps some Jewish mysticism. The writings show almost no knowledge of Christianity or of the traditional Egyptian religion. On this Corpus Hermeticum, see The Gnostic Scriptures, ed. Bently Layton (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1987), pp. 449-462.

[52]For example, "of so much greater antiquity are the [Hebrew] prophets found to be than the Greek writers." Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.5 (ANF 7:105).

Trojan War,[53] and Zachariah, one of the last Hebrew prophets, was contemporary with the earliest stages of the Roman Republic.[54] Probably because he believed that Rome was the final great empire to rule the world before the Last Judgment,[55] Lactantius incorporated considerably more early Roman history into his narrative than appears either in Theophilus or in the fragments of Africanus.[56] He noted, for example, that the Hebrews were released from the Babylonian captivity by Cyrus the Elder, and that Cyrus had "attained the supreme power over the Persians" at the same time when "Tarquinus Superbus reigned at Rome."[57] Taking that event as the first point of synchronism between Hebrew and Roman history, he argued that "the whole series of times may be collected from both the Jewish histories and from those of the Greeks and Romans."[58]

Building upon the work of these men,[59] Eusebius of

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[53]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.5 (ANF 7:104).

[54]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.5 (ANF 7:114).

[55]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.14-25 (ANF 7:211-220).

[56]He also wrote in considerable historical detail about the Roman imperial period in his polemical On the Manner in Which the Persecutors Died, translated by William Fletcher. In The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 7 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), pp. 301-322.

[57]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.5 (ANF 7:105).

[58]Lactantius, Divine Institutes 4.5 (ANF 7:105).

[59]I say "building upon the work of these men" because I am not certain of the *extent* to which Eusebius may have relied upon, appropriated, or departed from the work of Julius Africanus. Since the chronographical works of

Caesarea[60] (260-340) assembled a massive Chronicle in which he laid out the important events of Hebrew and Christian history in year-by-year intervals alongside parallel columns listing the important events of Near Eastern, Greek, and

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Africanus are largely lost, and since apart from fragments Eusebius' Chronicle exists only in Armenian and Latin translations, it has proved to be extremely difficult to determine the exact debt of Eusebius to Africanus. Unlike his Pareparatio Evangelica, where Eusebius quoted Africanus at length, and where he acknowledged his source, Eusebius did not mention Africanus at all in his Chronicle. Gelzer, in Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie, argued that Eusebius derived much of his information on archaic and classical Greece from Africanus, but also argued that apart from the list of Olympic *stadion* victors and a few Hebrew-Greek synchronisms, Eusebius borrowed little else from Africanus for the Chronicle. Gelzer, vol. 2, pp. 79-80, 91-97. This is challenged by Alden Mosshammer, The *Chronicle* of Eusebius and the Greek Chronographic Tradition (London: Associated University Presses, 1979), who argues (p. 157) that "Africanus did not chronicle Greek history with sufficient detail or precision to have been a major source of Eusebius for the notices of the archaic and classical periods," in the Chronicle. Mosshammer does not always convince, as when he writes (p. 157) that "the attribution to Africanus of Eusebius' list of Olympic victors must be abandoned. Africanus did not write a work to which such a list would have been appropriate." Since Africanus' work no longer exists in anything close to its original form, it seems odd to argue what might have been appropriate to it. No one disputes that Eusebius used Africanus, nor that Eusebius' Praeparatio Evangelica is the most important source for the surviving fragments of Africanus. What is disputed (and still largely unknown) is how much *unattributed* Africanus there is in Eusebius' Chronicle. See also Croke, "The Originality of Eusebius' Chronicle," pp. 195-200.

[60]For a recent assessment of Eusebius, see Robert M. Grant, Eusebius as Church Historian (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). See also D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, Eusebius of Caesarea (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1961), and D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Eusebian Chronicle: The Extent and Date of Composition of its Early Editions," Journal of Theological Studies, New Series, 6 (1955), pp. 248-253.

Roman history,[61] thus providing educated Greeks and Romans a nearly complete chronological context for studying sacred history.[62] Like his predecessors, Eusebius was extremely

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[61]Eusebius, Chronicorum, edited by J. P. Migne, in the series Patrologia Graeca, Vol. 19 (Paris, 1857), columns 101-598. This edition is basically a reprint of Cardinal Angelo Mai's 1833 edition. Book One is Zohrab and Mai's pirated nineteenth-century Latin translation of a faulty copy of an Armenian translation of Eusebius that was originally made in perhaps the fourteenth century. For details on Zohrab's theft of the manuscript from Aucher, whom he then attempted to discredit, see Mosshammer, The *Chronicle* of Eusebius, p. 42. Book Two is St. Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' Greek, edited from a Vatican manuscript. The Greek original of this great chronicle is lost; and, apart from fragments and epitomes, Eusebius' work survives only as it was later edited and translated by Jerome, and in the anonymous Armenian translation. The best modern edition of Book Two is by Rudolf Helm, Eusebius Werke, Vol. 7, Die Chronik des Hieronymus, 2nd ed., Die Greichischen christlichen Schriftstellen der ersten Jahrhunderte, Vol. 47 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956).

[62]Eusebius was not the first historian to attempt an integrated world chronicle. Hellenistic historians had attempted to develop integrated chronologies since at least the third century B. C. Eratosthenes of Alexandria (c. 275-194 B. C.) was the most famous of these Hellenistic chronographers, and his integrated chronicle, now extant only in fragments, was cited by Clement of Alexandria, Stromata 1.21 (ANF 2:327), and by Eusebius, and may also have been used by Theophilus of Antioch and Josephus. There was at least one third century B. C. Judaic attempt to work out a Biblical chronography. Demetrius the Chronographer (c. 210 B.C.) not only tried to work out the generational chronologies of the Pentateuch, but in his lost "On the Kings of Judea" he developed a chronology that placed the Assyrian conquest of Samaria at "573 years and 9 months" before Ptolemy IV (221-204 B. C.), and the Babylonian conquest of Judah at "338 years and 3 months" before Ptolemy IV. Demetrius' works have survived only in six fragments, all preserved in the integrated world chronologies of the early Church Fathers. Eusebius preserved five fragments, and Clement of Alexandria preserved one. See J. Hanson, "Demetrius the Chronographer, A New Translation and Introduction," in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. 2, Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works, edited by James

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concerned to discover and set out points of chronological synchronism among Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Assyrian, and Hebrew events. He laid the foundation for establishing these synchronisms in Book One, where he recounted long lists of famous persons and events drawn from the Bible, Herodotus, Livy, Diodorus Siculus, Manetho, the Olympic victory lists, and other well known records, noting a few synchronisms here and there.[63] In Book Two Eusebius reorganized this same material into parallel columns, the justly famous Canon Chronicles,[64] where he linked up the few synchronicisms earlier noted, and then used them to lay out a detailed and cross referenced chronicle of world history that was

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Charlesworth (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985), pp. 842-854.

[63]Eusebius, Chronicorum, 2.25.1, PG 19:210, where Eusebius notes the regnal synchronisms of Sicyon and Assyria.

[64]Eusebius' Canon Chronicle is somewhat difficult to cite by book and chapter, so I have adopted the following system. All references to a particular year in the Canon Chronicle will be either to the year of Abraham (which extends from the 43rd year of Ninus until the birth of Christ, 2015 years later, PG 19:349-529) or to the year of Christ (which extends from the birth of Christ until the end of the chronicle, PG 19:530-598). Additionally, each reference will offer (in parentheses) the traditional citation of PG 19:xx. Thus, "Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 1, PG 19:349," refers to Eusebius, Chronicle, Book 2, Canon Chronicle, Abraham, year 1, which is found in Patrologia Graeca, Volume 19, column 349. This is almost as cumbersome as saying "and these things occurred during the consulate of C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, in the eighth year of Cleopatra, in the 25th year of Hyrcanus, and the first year of Augustus." I am grateful for the simplicity of B. C. and A. D., whoever started it; and it was not Isidore.

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organized on a year by year basis.[65] Most of the earlier Church Fathers had begun their integrated chronologies with Moses; Eusebius began his chronicle with Abraham and his most significant Near-Eastern contemporaries.

Significant to whom? Assyria, Greece, and Egypt were ancient lands whose legendary histories were at least somewhat familiar to most educated Greeks and Romans. Moreover, all three of these civilizations, and two of their successors (Babylon and Rome), were eventually to hold Abraham's descendants in bondage. The Egyptians, of course, enslaved the Israelites and compelled them to build the great cities and monuments of Egypt, which story is recounted in the book of Exodus. The Assyrians destroyed the kingdom of Israel and reduced Judah to tributary status, which story is recounted in the books of Kings and Chronicles. The Babylonians, whom the Church Fathers commonly described as the successors of Assyria, conquered the kingdom of Judah and destroyed the temple of Solomon, which story is recounted in the books of Kings and Chronicles. Alexander led the Greeks in conquest through Palestine, and his Seleucid successors actively attempted to suppress the worship of the God of Abraham, which story is recounted in the books of Maccabees. Rome, which the Church Fathers commonly portrayed as the imperial successor of the Greeks (or occasionally as the

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[65]Earlier synchronizers, such as Josephus, Theophilus, Julius Africanus, or Clement of Alexandria, had worked on an event by event synchronization, or a regnal synchronization.

successor of Assyria), was the last of the great world empires to conquer Palestine and enslave its people, as recounted in the Gospels and Acts. The histories of these three ancient lands were not only familiar landmarks, but they also contained the stories of important events in salvation history.

Eusebius demonstrated[66] that Abraham, the first man to witness and honor the covenant of circumcision, was born in the 43rd year of King Ninus of Assyria, who was the first man to build a world empire.[67] Abraham, the father of the Hebrews, whose history was recalled in the Bible, thus became a contemporary of Ninus, the eponymous founder of Nineveh, whose legendary history was recalled by Ctesias,[68] Diodorus Siculus,[69] and others,[70] and whose name, Diodorus noted, was

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[66]"Demonstrated" is perhaps too strong a word in this instance, because Eusebius simply asserted, "Semiramim autem et Abraham contemporales fuisse, manifestum est." Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Prooemium, 2, PG 19:318a.

[67]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 1, PG 19:349-350.

[68]On Ctesias, see Godfrey L. Barber, article "Ctesias," in The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 300. Ctesias' account of early Persian history was cited frequently by Diodorus Siculus, Clement of Alexandria, and others. It survives only in fragments. Often castigated as an unreliable fabler, Ctesias seems to have preserved an early variant of the traditional Iranian history that is otherwise preserved only in fragmentary form in al Tabari's Tar'îkh al-rasul wa'l-mulûk and in Firdausi's epic and highly stylized Shâh Nâhme. For a detailed treatment of this complex material, see Ehsan Yarshater, "Iranian Traditional History," in The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 3, part 1, edited by Ehsan Yarshater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 359-477.

[69]Diodorus Siculus, Library of History, 2.1.4-2.7.1, in Diodorus of Sicily, translated by C. H. Oldfather and others, 12 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1946),

"the first to be handed down by tradition to history and memory for us as one who achieved great deeds."[71]

Eusebius does not stop at that single synchronism, however, but continues in his second column to link Abraham chronologically with other important figures from Asian and Bactrian history. When Abraham was seven years old, Ninus, the legendary founder of Nineveh, invaded Bactria and killed its king, Zarathustra,[72] a man who was the first of the Magi, the legendary founder of Zoroastrianism, and the sorcerer who

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1.349-371. Although he deals with Near Eastern, African, Greek, and Roman history, Diodorus does not offer an integrated history for the early civilizations, but instead considers the civilizations of a particular geographical region in each of his early books; only after his account of the Trojan War does he attempt an integrated world history.

[70]Ninus and Semiramis are legendary figures, of course, and Eusebius is often criticized for incorporating as much myth and legend as he did history into the Canon Chronicle. Such a criticism may be accurate, but it misses the point, at least for Late Antiquity. Eusebius was integrating biblical history into an account of world history as known to educated Greeks and Romans, thereby making the unfamiliar persons and events of Hebrew and early Christian history more readily accessible by putting them into a precise chronological context with the more familiar persons and events of Mediterranean history, legendary or otherwise. Eusebius used the resources available to him and generated a chronology of the ancient world that was deemed useful for more than a thousand years after his death. He is not to be faulted for his presumed unfamiliarity with the Behistun Inscription or the Assyrian King List any more than Isaac Newton is to be faulted for his presumed unfamiliarity with Quantum Electro Dynamics or the work of Richard Feynman, the late physicist.

[71]Diodorus Siculus, Library of History, 2.1.4, ed. Oldfather, 1:349.

[72]Eusebius, Chronicorum, 1.51.1, PG 19:136b. Diodorus Siculus mentions "Zathraustes" as the most ancient Iranian lawgiver (1.94.2), but has Ninus and Semiramis vanquish the Bactrian king Oxyartes, not Zarathustra. Diodorus Siculus, Library of History, 2.6.2, ed. Oldfather, 1:365-366.

had invented magic.[73] Ninus himself was the husband of Semiramis,[74] the fabulous Assyrian queen who built (or rebuilt) the famous walls and bridges of Babylon, and who, after Ninus' death, led her Assyrian armies to important victories in Egypt and Ethiopia. She too, Eusebius noted, was a contemporary of Abraham.[75] Having presented this series of Asian synchronisms, Eusebius was able to show that Abraham's history was as old as the Assyrian Empire, as

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[73]To Eusebius, Zarathustra of Bactria was the adversary of Ninus, and Zarathustra was not mentioned either as the founder of Zoroastrianism or as the inventor of magic. Those and other fabulous deeds, however, were commonly attributed to him by Greek writers such as Ctesias, and by Church Fathers such as Pseudo-Clement (whose Zoroaster is a son of Cain), Hippolytus, Arnobius, Augustine, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and Isidore of Seville (who mentions him in several works). On Zoroaster himself, see Mary Boyce, Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), especially pages 106-108, where Boyce quotes several of the less well known Greek texts on Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism.

[74]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 10, PG 119:349. This synchronizing of the legendary figures Ninus and Semiramis recurs in later Church Fathers: Augustine of Hippo, De Civitate Dei, 18.2, edited by Bernard Dombart and Alphonse Kalb, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 48 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1955), p. 595; Paulus Orosius, Seven Books Against the Pagans, 1.4, translated by Roy J. Deferrari, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 50 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964), p. 22; Isidore of Seville, Chronicon, 12, edited by Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by García Loaisa, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 7 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1803), p. 70. On the identification of the legendary Semiramis with the historical Sammura-Mat (fl. 810 B.C.), see Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, Portrait of a Dead Civilization, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 104; 359-60, note 34. On the presence of Semiramis in Iranian traditional history and in the Shâh Nâhme, see Yarshater, "Iranian Traditional History," p. 472.

[75]Eusebius, Chronicorum, 2. prooemium 2, 6, PG 19:318; 323.

ancient as the walls of Babylon, and contemporary with the beginnings of that ancient order of Magi who traveled to Bethlehem in Judea and adored Jesus of Nazareth as king, priest, and healer on the first Epiphany.

In the third and fourth columns of his chronicle, Eusebius linked the history of Abraham to the histories of Egypt and Greece. Since the above mentioned Assyrian and Bactrian monarchs were contemporaries of the first kings of the sixteenth dynasty of Egypt, Eusebius was able to place Abraham into a chronological context with pharaonic Egypt. In doing this, Eusebius was able not only to make cross references between Hebrew and Egyptian history, but also to lay out a chronological sequence of persons and events that anticipated the eventual migration of the twelve patriarchs into Egypt and the subsequent Egyptian bondage of Abraham's Israelite descendants and their epochal release from captivity in the Exodus.

In his column of early Greek rulers, Eusebius noted that Abraham, Ninus, Semiramis, Zoroaster, and Porro (of Egypt) were contemporary with the first Sicyonian kings to rule in Greece.[76] Why Sicyon? At first it may seem as though

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[76]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 1, PG 19:349. The kings of Sicyon were important figures in the legendary history of the Greeks, although modern history knows almost nothing about them. The celebrated Sicyonian King List contains the names of many Peloponnesian rulers who are now believed to have reigned in the Mycenaean period. During the classical period Sicyon was an important member of the Achaean League, and was an enemy of Argos (which according to an early Greek tradition had been founded by Egyptian invaders of the Peloponnesus).

Eusebius was merely using the most ancient Greek king list that he could find to establish a parallel chronology,[77] but his choice of Sicyon was more significant than simple antiquity. Just as Assyria and Egypt had been famous ancient empires in their day, so had Sicyon been famous in its own right for many ancient religious, military, and political events.[78] It was at Sicyon that "Prometheus brought down fire from heaven, the first sacrifice was made and the sacrificial customs of the Greeks were instituted."[79] Sicyon, along with Athens and Thessaly, had been one of the victors in the First Sacred War, fighting to liberate the sacred shrine of Delphi from the aggression of Cirrha.[80] The Sicyonians were also one of the earliest city states to establish a tyranny (which lasted for over a century), and the Sicyonian tyranny provides the clearest example of a dispossessed pre-Dorian aristocracy claiming the same political privileges as those possessed by the dominant

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[77]Eusebius, Chronicorum, 1.24.1, PG 19:209.

[78]For example, there was "a Mycenaean habitation of considerable importance," as well as dozens of prehistoric sites at or in the immediate vicinity of Sicyon. Charles H. Skalet, Ancient Sicyon, with a Prosopographia Sicyonia, The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 3, edited by David M. Robinson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), p. 41.

[79]Skalet, Ancient Sicyon, p. 41. Skalet cites Hesiod, Theognis, 535f; Strabo, Geography, 8.382, and others.

[80]N. G. L. Hammond, article "Sacred Wars," in Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 943.

Dorian aristocracy.[81] When Eusebius chose Sicyon as one of his benchmarks, as when he chose Assyria and Egypt, he selected a land that had tremendous significance for early Gentile history.

All of this was part of Eusebius' plan to coordinate and integrate the history of Abraham and his descendants with the histories of the most famous and most significant ancient civilizations of Asia, Egypt, and Greece. Once this had been accomplished, then Eusebius could set out in his parallel chronicle that when Abraham was seven years old, in the 49th year of Ninus, in the 28th year of King Europs of Sicyon, in the seventh year of the sixteenth dynasty of Egypt, Zoroaster, the great king of the Bactrians, was defeated and killed by King Ninus of Assyria.[82] With that set of persons and events firmly synchronized, Eusebius could then simply count years, reigns, dynasties, generations, and wars, and compose a parallel chronicle that extended in annual increments from the birth of Abraham until the reign of Constantine.

This Eusebian Chronicle was later extended by Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Isidore of Seville, and in its Isidorian redaction, it became the basis of most later medieval world

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[81]As argued by A. Andrewes, The Greek Tyrants (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 54-65.

[82]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 7, PG 19:330.

chronicles.[83] Its influence, however, was not limited merely to the sparse and annalistic chronicles that are characteristic of early medieval Europe. The Canon Chronicles also influenced Late Antique and early medieval historical narratives. Sulpicius Severus (363-401) made at least moderate use of the canons in his Historia Sacra.[84] Augustine incorporated many of its chronologies into his account of salvation history in De Civitate Dei.[85] Paulus Orosius, Augustine's younger contemporary, used the Eusebian canons to establish the basic chronology of his Seven Books Against the Pagans.[86] Unlike Theophilus, Clement of

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[83]Isidore of Seville, Chronica Major, ed. Theodore Mommsen, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, 11, Chronica Minora, Vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 391-481.

[84]Sulpicius Severus, Historia Sacra, translated by Alexander Roberts as The Sacred History of Sulpitius Severus, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, Volume 11 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1894), pp. 71-122. Sulpicius' use of the Canon Chronicle is difficult to ascertain. The first half of this work is largely a synopsis of the Old Testament. Sulpicius offers no discussion of Abraham's Near Eastern contemporaries. He does not begin to integrate Levantine or Greco-Roman chronology with the Biblical narrative until the time of Cyrus. His sections on Hebrew history during the second temple period are derived from Josephus. He is most valuable when he narrates the events of his own time, where he is particularly concerned with the Arian controversy and with the Priscillianist heresy in Spain. See below, Chapter Five. Although he wrote in the time of Stilicho, Sulpicius gives no indication that he knew anything about the disaster at Adrianople. He mentions in passing the rebellion of Magnus Maximus.

[85]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18 (CCSL 48:592-656).

[86]Building on the theological and historiographical traditions of his patristic predecessors, Orosius wrote that "God is the one ruler of all ages, kingdoms, and places."

Alexandria, and Julius Africanus, the later Church Fathers such as Jerome, Augustine, Orosius, and Isidore did not have to work out the complex interrelationships of Hebrew, Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman chronology; this had been accomplished for them by their predecessors.

Thus by the time of Eusebius of Caesarea the Christian system of synchronized world chronology had become fully developed. For various reasons, sometimes for the sake of historical accuracy, sometimes to demonstrate the antiquity of the Judaeo-Christian *kerygma*, and sometimes to teach a moral lesson, the early Church Fathers had established an integrated history of the most famous persons and events of Western Asia and the Mediterranean world. The earliest Christian chronologies had been organized on an event by event basis, but the Church Fathers soon developed chronologies based on synchronized regnal or generational lists, and it was Eusebius who eventually worked out the details of world history down to the annual level. The Fathers had established that Abraham had been born in the forty-third regnal year of Ninus, king of Assyria, and Ninus had been a contemporary of Semiramis, Zoroaster, and King Europs of Sicyon.[87] Moses and the Exodus were chronologically linked with the seventeenth regnal year of King Marathius of Sicyon, and with the sixteenth (and final!)

Orosius, Seven Books Against the Pagans, 7.2 (Deferrari, p. 286).

[87]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 1-7, PG 19:349.

year of King Chenceres of Egypt.[88] Troy fell 410 years after the birth of Moses.[89] The First Olympiad occurred 1240 years after the birth of Abraham, during the ninth year of King Azarias of Judah, and during the first regnal year of King Ardysus of Lydia.[90] And Jesus Christ was born just before the beginning of the forty-third regnal year of Augustus Caesar,[91] in the third year of the 194th Olympiad, 2015 years after the birth of Abraham.[92] When later writers wanted to know when something had occurred, if they could find a copy of Eusebius' Canon Chronicle, they could look it up.

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[88]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 505, PG 19:378.

[89]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 835, PG 19:407.

[90]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 1240, PG 19:441.

[91]The Canon Chronicle recorded that Jesus was born at the end of the forty-second regnal year of Augustus, but many Late Antique and medieval churchmen wanted to emphasize the connection between Abraham and Jesus. Since Abraham was born in the forty-third year of Ninus (the man who invented war), and Jesus was born just before the beginning of the forty-third regnal year of Augustus (the man who invented the Pax Romana), Jesus and Abraham were born at similarly significant points in the history of the world's empires. Many early churchmen were so enamored of balance and counterpoint in salvation history that they composed infancy gospels wherein the child Jesus blinded, crippled, withered, or otherwise afflicted several of the people that he later healed in his adulthood. See, for example, "The Account of Thomas the Israelite Philosopher Concerning the Childhood of the Lord," 3.1, where Jesus withers (or kills in some versions) the son of Annas the scribe. In New Testament Apocrypha, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, Volume 1, Gospels and Related Writings (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), p. 393. For a discussion of this and other infancy gospels, see Oscar Cullmann's introduction, ibid., 1:388-392.

[92]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 2015, PG 19:529-530.

Eusebius also composed an Ecclesiastical History[93] wherein he looked far into the Hebrew past, comparing the Hebrew prophetic literature to the Gospels and Epistles as part of an attempt to demonstrate that Jesus was the anticipated fulfillment of the Hebrew scriptures,[94] and wherein he also integrated a history of Christians and their church into the history of the Roman and Persian empires from the Incarnation of Jesus up to and including the reigns of Constantine I and Shapur II. This work, the first complete *narrative* Christian history, was not especially influential on Late Antique or early medieval Latin historical writing, but it was tremendously influential in the Late Antique and Byzantine Greek narrative historical tradition.[95] Eusebius

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[93]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, NPNF2 1:73-387.

[94]Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, 1.2-12.

[95]Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus all wrote lengthy and detailed ecclesiastical histories that were continuations of Eusebius' work. Like Eusebius, these writers eschewed speeches, made extensive quotations from written documents, concentrated on Christians and their Church, and largely ignored political and military events unless they had an effect on Christians. Sozomen's Ecclesiastical History, for example, devoted more attention to the discovery of the relics of the prophet Zachariah and St. Stephen (9.17, NPNF2 2:427) than he did to the Visigothic sack of Rome (9.9, NPNF2 2:424). Cassiodorus had the historical writings of these three men condensed into a single narrative history and translated into Latin by the monk Epiphanius. It was through this Latin condensation, commonly referred to as the Historia Tripartita, that the writings of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret became known to the west. It was undoubtedly Cassiodorus' version of these Greek historians that Isidore of Seville used in Chronicon, 12 (Arévalo, 7:70); and De Viris Illustribus 6, edited by Carmen Codoñer Merino, in El "De Viris Illustribus" de Isidore de Sevilla: Estudio y Edición Critica (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1964), p. 137. The most reliable

took a radical approach in this Ecclesiastical History, which was practically an implicit rejection of the historiographical traditions of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus. He was not interested in writing "a rhetorical work with a maximum of invented speeches and a minimum of authentic documents."[96] Eusebius included few speeches (unless he had a near-verbatim written account before him), but instead made extensive use of quotations from written documents such as letters, theological and philosophical arguments from the Church Fathers and their pagan or heretical opponents, historical passages from Josephus and Julius Africanus, and even quoted documents from the royal archives of Edessa. He used what we would today call primary sources. Similarly radical was Eusebius' treatment of political and military history: he practically ignored them. Eusebius made plenty of references to wars and politics, but they were never the overt subjects of his writings the way they usually were in the histories of Thucydides, Appian, and Dio Cassius. His attention was focused instead on Christians and their Church, and his history is a detailed account of a

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edition of the Historia Tripartita is Cassiodorus, Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita, edited by W. Jacob and R. Hanslik, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vol. 71 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pilcher-Tempsky, 1952). See also M. L. Laistner, "The Value and Influence of Cassiodorus' Ecclesiastical History," Harvard Theological Review 41 (1948), 51-67.

[96]Arnaldo Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century," in The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, edited by Arnaldo Momigliano (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 89.

people who were in the world but not of it, what Momigliano called a nation of "transcendental origin."[97]

The historiographical contributions of Irenaeus, Justin, Tertullian, and the other "non-historians" (that is, clerics whose primary literary purpose was apologetic) were a bit more subtle, but certainly no less important. In his Against Heresies, Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130-202) developed a critical methodology for determining which teachings could honestly claim the authority of apostolic succession and which could not. He was extremely concerned about which writings and teachings faithfully transmitted or carefully built upon the apostolic tradition, and thereby embodied the true doctrine, and which writings and teachings departed from or perverted the apostolic tradition, and thereby represented error or heresy. Writing at a time when the New Testament canon had not yet been solidified, Irenaeus could not simply compare a suspect text or teaching with an Oxford University Press critical edition of the Bible, but had to rely instead on the oral and written traditions that he and others had received.

Fortunately Irenaeus was in a good position to make judgments about the orthodoxy of a particular teaching. He himself was a disciple of Polycarp of Smyrna, who was a disciple of St. John, who was a disciple of Jesus, and thus Irenaeus was a direct recipient of the apostolic tradition. If a suspect teaching contrasted markedly with what he had

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[97]Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century," p. 90.

been taught by Polycarp, that was one mark against it. If it also contrasted with what other disciples of Polycarp and other disciples of John, and other disciples of Jesus had been taught, then it was surely erroneous, and should be denounced as such.[98] If the proponent of this new doctrine claimed to be a recipient of the "secret teachings" of Jesus, as many Gnostics claimed, then Irenaeus could point out that none of the catholic churchmen who were known to be part of the apostolic tradition knew of these secret teachings,[99] and none of the "secret teachings" had been vouchsafed to any of the companions of Mark, Peter, or Paul. If they did not come from Mark, Peter, or Paul, Irenaeus asked, whence then did

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[98]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1, Prefatio (ANF 1:315). Despite his intense efforts to expose and refute the innovations and errors of heretics, Irenaeus himself had some unusual ideas about the earthly life of Jesus. He taught that Jesus had been the perfect master and example to all men, and so he existed in the flesh as a child, a youth, a man, and an old man, and was over fifty years old when crucified, Against Heresies, 2.22.4-6 (ANF 1:391-392). Irenaeus makes this argument on the basis of textual exegesis, however, and does not suggest that this notion was any portion of the received *kerygma*. Another interesting idea in Irenaeus is his suggestion that when Moses was on Mt. Sinai receiving the ten commandments, God was willing to grant the Hebrews a light yoke, the decalogue, but when the Hebrews had made for themselves a golden calf, when they "had gone back in their minds to Egypt, desiring to be slaves instead of freemen, they were placed for the future in a state of servitude suited to their wish--[a slavery] which did not indeed cut them off from God, but subjected them to the yoke of bondage [to the Law]," Against Heresies, 4.15.1 (ANF 1:479). If the Hebrews wanted the harsh ways of Egypt instead of the merciful ways of the Lord, the Lord would give it to them in spades! Similarly, Lactantius suggested that the Mosaic Law was given to the Hebrews as a punishment. Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.10 (ANF 7:108).

[99]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.2-4 (ANF 1:415-417).

these teachings come? They certainly did not come from the legitimate and mainstream apostolic tradition, and so they should should be rejected as heresy.

Irenaeus believed that all of the heretical teachings ultimately led back to Simon Magus, the arch-heretic of the apostolic age, who had come from Satan as a despoiler of the true faith just as Satan had earlier appeared in Eden as a despoiler of paradise. The continuous stream of new "secret teachings" simply repeated the old lies of Simon Magus, which had been "craftily decked out in attractive dress" and given a respectable complexity by integrating them with ideas borrowed from the speculative systems of Hellenistic religions and philosophies. Irenaeus contrasted this complex and fraudulent agglomeration with the beauty and simplicity of the true apostolic *kerygma*, and he argued that the various heresiarchs had brazenly invented incredibly complex and obfuscatory systems of belief so that they could awe the simple with their apparent knowledge of the cosmic mysteries.[100]

Irenaeus' critical methodology for establishing the validity of philosophical and religious ideas, which he applied to the texts of the Valentinians,[101] the oral traditions of Carpocrates and the Carpocratians,[102] and all

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[100]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1, Praefatio, 2 (ANF 1:315); 3, Praefatio (ANF 1:414).

[101]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.1-22 (ANF 1:316-347).

[102]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.25.1-6 (ANF 1:350-351).

other Gnostic and heretical teachings whose existence was known to him, ultimately became a tool for assessing the validity not only of suspect teachings, but also of specific variants of the Biblical text. It was eventually one of the tools used to help establish the canon of the New Testament. This method, comparing a new teaching with the traditions of Christ as received and transmitted by the Apostles and the early Church Fathers, continued to be used throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages whenever a new heresy arose, or whenever there was a need to establish an accurate edition of a previously corrupted text. Tertullian took this sort of approach in his refutation of Marcion and other heretics.[103] Origen used a similar method in assembling his famous critical edition of the four major versions of the Septuagint: the *Hexapla*.[104] Augustine employed a similar critical/historical methodology to research and expose the origins and development of Pelagianism.[105] Isidore of Seville used this same method to refute the Arian and Acephalite heresies. Thus the church's monumental struggle

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[103]Tertullian, Prescription Against Heretics, 25-27 (ANF 3:254-256). See also Timothy D. Barnes, Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971).

[104]Maurice Wiles, "Origen as Biblical Scholar," in The Cambridge History of the Bible, edited by P. R. Akroyd and C. F. Evans, Vol. 1, From the Beginnings to Jerome (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 454-489.

[105]Augustine, On the Proceedings of Pelagius, translated by Peter Holmes, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Vol. 5 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1887; reprint Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), pp. 183-212.

against error and heresy, particularly as represented in the writings of Irenaeus of Lyon, contributed indirectly to a new Christian methodology of textual and dogmatic criticism.

The major historiographical contributions of Justin Martyr, Melito of Sardis,[106] Tertullian, and Origen have to do with typology.[107] Typology is a method of interpreting

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[106]Melito of Sardis, Sur la Pâque. See also Henry Chadwick, "A Latin Epitome of Melito's Homily on the Pascha," Journal of Theological Studies, New Series, 11.1 (1960), 76-82. Important discussion on the purpose and import of Melito's Paschal Homily in F. L. Cross, The Early Christian Fathers (London: Duckworth, 1960), pp. 103-109. Many fragments of Melito's works, in B. P. Pratten's extremely literal English translation, are to be found in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), pp. 750-762. ANF selections V and VI (pp. 757-758) are from a Syriac epitome of Paschal Homily 70-104.

[107]For a basic introduction to typology, see Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982), chs 4, 5. Although Frye's study is extremely insightful, he discusses typology primarily as a form of literature and criticism rather than as a phenomenon of time and history. Some of the best recent scholarship on typology has come out of Germany. German scholars attempt to redress the excesses of medievalists (such as D. W. Robertson, Jr. and Bernard Huppé) who systematically apply patristic techniques of typological exegesis to medieval secular literature, such as the poetry of Chaucer and Wolfram von Eschenbach. Hartmut Hoefer argues that the Church Fathers generally understood typology as applying only to Biblical persons and events. (Hoefer's conclusion may be valid with respect to medieval literature, but he forgets that Justin Martyr and Tertullian saw prefigurations of the cross revealed in Roman military standards and trophies.) Hartmut Hoefer, Typologie im Mittelalter, Zur Übertragbarkeit typologisches Interpretation auf weltliche Dichtung (Göppinger: Alfred Kümmerle, 1971); see especially pp. 49-126, where Hoefer considers the typology of the Church Fathers in terms of grammar and vocabulary. Peter Jentzmik reaches basically the same conclusion as Hoefer on this point, arguing that, although medieval German authors often compare Gideon to the Emperor Konrad, for example, they neither believed nor suggested that Gideon predicted, prefigured, prophesied, or revealed the

history[108] whereby a historical person or event, the type, foreshadows or prefigures a subsequent historical phenomenon, the antitype.[109] Inasmuch as the types and antitypes are linked to one another, there are necessarily no types which do not have antitypes, and vice versa. A straightforward example of this would be:

> Adam bears the figure of Christ, for just as he was formed on the sixth day in the image of God, so afterwards in the sixth age of the world the son of God put on the form of flesh, that is, he accepted the form of a servant, so that he might re-make man

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advent of Konrad, whereas they knew that Gideon did predict, prefigure, prophesy, and reveal the advent of Jesus. Peter Jentzmik, Zu Möglichkeiten und Grenzen typologische Exegese in mittelalterlicher Predigt und Dichtung (Göppinger: Alfred Kümmerle, 1973), pp. 222-255.

[108]Within the last forty years it has become fashionable to apply typological exegesis to literature, not always to the advantage of either literature or typology. For an example of the excesses of modern typological exegetes, who urge the use of typological exegesis to interpret almost every line of medieval poetry, see Durant W. Robertson Jr. and Bernard Huppé, Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951). More recently, Barnard Huppé, The Web of Words (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1970). For an uproarious (but serious) exegesis of Chaucer's Miller's Tale, for example, see Beryl Rowland, "Chaucer's Blasphemous Churl: A New Interpretation of the Miller's Tale, in Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honor of Rossell Hope Robbins, edited by Beryl Rowland (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 43-53. For a sympathetic but corrective approach to typological exegesis, see "Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature: The Opposition," in E. Talbot Donaldson, Speaking of Chaucer (New York: Norton, 1970), Chapter Ten, pp. 134-153.

[109]Lactantius, for example, wrote, "lesser things and things of small importance are figures and previous shadowings forth of great things. Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.14 (ANF 7:211).

in the likeness of God.[110]

or, more complexly:

> For just as, after the waters of the deluge, by which the old iniquity was purged--after the baptism, so to say, of the world--a dove was the herald which announced to the earth the assuagement of celestial wrath, when she had been sent her way out of the ark, and had returned with the olive-branch, a sign which even among the nations is the fore-token of peace, so by the selfsame law of heavenly effect, to earth--that is, to our flesh--as it emerges from the [baptismal] font, after its old sins, flies the dove of the Holy Spirit, bringing us the peace of God, sent out from the heavens, where is the Church, the typified ark. But the world returned unto sin; in which point the baptism would ill be compared to the deluge. And so it is destined to fire; just as the man too is, who after baptism renews his sins: so that this also ought to be accepted as a sign for our admonition.[111]

Although the above passages might seem like so much allegorizing to modern secular humanists, the insightful analyses of the Church Fathers have continued to have considerable importance to believing Christians for almost two millennia. As the new Catechism of the Catholic Church teaches: "The Church, as early as apostolic times, and then constantly in her Tradition, has illuminated the unity of the divine plan in the two Testaments through typology, which discerns in God's works of the Old Covenant prefigurations of

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[110]Isidore of Seville, Allegoriae Quaedam Sacrae Scripturae, 3, edited by Faustino Arevalo, in S. Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, Vol. 5 (Rome, 1802), pp. 116-151. Unless otherwise noted, all translations of Isidore are my own.

[111]Tertullian, On Baptism, 8, translated by S. Thelwall, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), pp. 672-673.

what he accomplished in the fullness of time in the person of his incarnate Son."[112] Typology was one of the many methods Christian writers used to demonstrate not only that Jesus was the Messiah, but also that the rites and rituals of the church had been foretold in the Hebrew scriptures. For example,

> God patiently waited in the days of Noah during the building of the ark, in which a few persons, eight in all, were saved through water. This prefigured baptism, which saves you now. It is not a removal of dirt from the body but an appeal to God for a clear conscience through the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[113]

Additionally, the Church Fathers believed that the correspondences between types and antitypes were real: they were not merely useful curiosities of literature, allegory, or myth, but were instead actual and intentional linkages of persons and events across time and history. The type preceded and foreshadowed the reality;[114] the type was a temporary sign of an eternal grace;[115] types and antitypes had been placed throughout time as signs and portents of the divine plan. Writing on this point, Jean Daniélou noted, "La typologie n'est donc pas . . . une exégèse de livres de l'ancien Testament; elle est une interprétation de l'histoire

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[112]Catechism of the Catholic Church, Libreria Editrice Vaticana (Liguori Publications: Liguori, Missouri, 1994), #128, p. 36.

[113]I Peter, 3.20-21.

[114]Melito, Sur la Pâque Homily 39-41, 58 (ed. Perler).

[115]Melito, Sur la Pâque 3, 4 (ed. Perler).

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même que ces livres racontent."[116] Similarly, Joseph Galdon remarked, "this correspondence is present because God controls the whole of history, and it is God who causes the earlier individuals, groups, and events to embody the characteristics which foreshadow later events."[117]

Writing in the fifth century, John Chrysostom taught that types and antitypes were God's way of preparing mankind for the cosmic act of salvation which was accomplished through Christ: "Because the things that were to happen were beyond our expectation, the types even of the names went before, in order that from the very first all the unsettling power of novelty might be taken away."[118] Moreover, these past events which shadow or prefigure subsequent events, were not merely circumstantial, but were in fact imprinted onto reality by God, as St. Paul wrote: "Now these things happened to them [i.e., the Hebrews] as an example [τυπικῶς], and they have been written down as a warning to us, upon whom the end of the ages has come."[119] Types were set down especially

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[116]Jean Daniélou, "La typologie d'Isaac dans le christianisme primitif," Biblica 128 (1947) 369.

[117]Joseph Galdon, Typology and Seventeenth Century Literature (Paris: Mouton, 1975), p. 23.

[118]John Chrysostom, Homilies on Matthew, Homily 2.4, translated by George Prevost, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series, Vol. 10 (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1888), p. 10.

[119]I Corinthians 10.11. Unless otherwise noted, all New Testament Greek quotations are from Novum Testamentum Graece, 26th ed., edited by Eberhard Nestle, Edwin Nestle and Kurt Aland (Münster/Westphalia: Institute for New Testament

throughout the Bible, and reading the New Testament in terms of typology "conforms to the intentionality of the book itself and to the conventions it assumes and requires."[120] Types and antitypes are thus not only historical events, but historical events that are laid out before us to reveal the direct intervention of God into time and history "in order to

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Research, 1979). I am very much aware that the New Testament texts used by the Church Fathers were very different from all modern "critical" texts, whether one prefers the 16th century Textus Receptus or the 20th century Nestle-Aland text. Origen, for example, used a New Testament text that was similar to but different from the "Caesarean" text as represented by Family 13 (Ferrar Group). Augustine used various Old Latin translations of generally unknown provenance and decidedly unknown Greek antecedents. Isidore sometimes used a version of the Vulgate, sometimes used the Vetus Latina, and sometimes quoted either from memory or (less likely) from his own edition of the Latin Bible; he seems not to have used any Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, if any were available to him. In instances where the use of a *particular* biblical text is important, such as the variants in the final verses of Mark, for a glaring example, I shall either quote the Biblical text *as quoted by* the individual Church Father, or at least quote from a version of the biblical text similar to the one(s) the Church Father seems to have used. Such usage will be clearly noted. Even this cautious approach, which may seem to be excessive, is only moderately sufficient; there are many instances where a biblical quotation that appears in a patristic text has been "corrected" or otherwise corrupted one or more times in the manuscript tradition, often by later patristic writers as well as by medieval copyists. Additionally, individual Church Fathers, including Isidore, would often switch from one manuscript tradition to another if it suited their exegetical purposes. The unpleasant and rarely acknowledged truth is that we do not have and the Church Fathers did not possess exact copies of the original New Testament manuscripts, and we generally do not even have copies of the manuscripts that an individual Church Father did use. Since most patristic texts are biblical exegesis, this is a considerable problem that is not easily dealt with.

[120]Frye, The Great Code, p. 80.

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transmit a particular revelation of him."[121]

Yet typology is more than simply a method of understanding scriptures. Typology is also a method of interpreting history itself, a way of discovering an orderly relatedness of the persons and events of history and then organizing them according to that relatedness into a "creative unitive order."[122] Typological exegesis "indicates the dynamic movement toward the fulfillment of the divine plan."[123] The Christian notion of history is centered on God, for God both created and controls the whole of history.[124] Further, the Church Fathers considered the Bible to be the oldest and most important historical document of

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[121]Saggs, "The Divine in History," p. 43, note 10. Saggs was speaking in this instance about Salvation History, not typology, and the more complete context is, "God preserved Israel in order to transmit a particular revelation of him."

[122]The phrase "creative unitive order" is from C. A. Simpson, who was *not* writing specifically about typology when he said, "in the context of history, chaos symbolizes unrelatedness; for unrelatedness is an aspect of disorder. In the light of this, history may be seen as the process by which human relationships are brought into creative unitive order." C. A. Simpson, "An Inquiry into the Biblical Theology of History," Journal of Theological Studies, New Series, 12.1 (April, 1961), 6.

[123]Catechism of the Catholic Church, #130, p. 36.

[124]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.16.7 (ANF 1:443); 4.20.7 (ANF 1:489); 5.1.1 (ANF 1:526-527); 5.28.2 (ANF 1:557). Tertullian, Against Marcion, 3.2 (ANF 3:322); 5.4 (ANF 3:435-436); 5.17 (ANF 3:465). Augustine, Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim 5.11.27, in PL 34:245-486. See also Jean Daniélou, "The Conception of History in the Christian Tradition," Journal of Religion 30 (1950), 171-179; Roger Hazleton, "Time, Eternity, and History," Journal of Religion 30 (1950), 1-12; Eric C. Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963).

all: it presented the only true universal history. Early Church Fathers such as Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria regularly cited the Hebrew Scriptures as more authoritative than, or corrective to, pagan texts.[125] Prudentius referred to Moses as "the historian of the world's birth."[126] Isidore of Seville described Moses as the first historian, more ancient than either Dares of Phrygia or Herodotus.[127] The Biblical account of history opens, Joseph Galdon wrote, "with the beginnings of time, with creation, and it will end with the *Eschaton*, the last days when the covenant will be fulfilled and the world will come to an end. Everything else that happens in the world can only find genuine significance as an element in this progressive revelation of God's redeeming plan."[128]

Typology as a method of exegesis or prophecy first

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[125]Justin Martyr, Trypho, 7 (ANF 1.198); Clement of Alexandria, Stromata 1.21 (ANF 2 324-334)

[126]Prudentius, The Origin of Sin, lines 339-341, translated by H. J. Thompson in Prudentius, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1949), vol. 1, p. 228.

[127]Isidore, Etymologiae, 1.42, edited by Faustino Arévalo, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vols. 3-4 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1798), vol. 3, p. 73. Hereafter, all references to the Arévalo edition of Isidore's writings will offer a full bibliographical citation on the first occurrence, and an abbreviated citation in all subsequent references. Thus, Isidore, Etymologiae, 1.42 (Arévalo 3:73) refers to the Arévalo edition of the Etymologiae, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 3, p. 73.

[128]Galdon, Typology and Seventeenth Century Literature, p. 68.

appears in Christian literature in the New Testament.[129] Jesus himself used a form of typological exegesis both to recall a Mosaic type of the crucifixion and to foretell his impending fate when he said: "And just as Moses lifted up the [brazen] serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up, so that everyone who believes in him may have eternal life."[130] He also used typology to foreshadow the resurrection when he offered the sign of Jonas: "Just as Jonas was in the belly of the whale three days and three nights; so will the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights."[131] Thus when the Church Fathers taught that the manna which fell from heaven was a type of the Eucharist, they were continuing in the tradition of Jesus, who said: "I am the living bread that came down from heaven; whoever eats this bread will live forever; and the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world."[132]

Typology was further developed by St. Paul, whose letters were liberally sprinkled with typological

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[129]The words "typos" and "antitypos" appear several times in the New Testament, always in a typological context. The word "typos" appears in John 20.25; Acts 7.44; Romans 5.14; First Corinthians 10.16; Philippians 3.17 and Hebrews 8.5. The word "antitypos" appears in Hebrews 9.24 and First Peter 3.21.

[130]John 3.14-15. This typological exegesis not only foretold the Crucifixion of Jesus, but it made sense out of an otherwise troublesome event in Mosaic times.

[131]Matthew 12.40.

[132]John 6.51.

interpretations of the Old Testament. Perhaps the most familiar Pauline typological exegesis was Galatians 4.22-31, in which he demonstrated that the two wives of Abraham, Agar and Sarai, were respectively types of the Old and New Testaments.[133] Paul's most powerful typological exegesis was in Romans 3.25-26, in which he argued that the crucified Jesus was "set forth as an expiation [*hilastērion*], through faith, by his blood, to prove his righteousness because of the forgiveness of sins previously committed." In this passage Paul used the word *hilastērion*, a word used in the Septuagint[134] to denote the cover of the Ark of the Covenant,[135] on which the sacrificial blood was sprinkled once each year, on the Day of Atonement, to wash away the sins that the Hebrews had committed during the past year.[136]

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[133]This particular typological exegesis was cited or repeated by Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Augustine of Hippo, Isidore of Seville, etc.

[134]Septuagint, Codex Sinaiticus. Edited and translated by L. Brenton (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1844); reprint [without deuterocanonicals], The Septuagint Version: Greek and English (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1970). Although not a critical edition, this text is based on the Codex Vaticanus, with missing passages supplemented (in an appendix) from the Codex Alexandrinus.

[135]*tò hilastērion*, Leviticus 16.14-20. This word, a Greek translation of the Hebrew *kappōret*, is often translated (following Luther) as "Mercy Seat." The new Jewish Publication Society translation of the Masoretic text translates *kappōret* as "Cover." Tanakh, the Holy Scriptures, pp. 180-181.

[136]See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Pauline Theology," section 73, in The New Jerome Biblical Commentary, ed. R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990), p. 1399. See also Karl Barth, Epistle to the Romans, translated from the sixth German edition by

Paul's point was that, just as God forgave the sins of the Hebrews once each year when he received a perfect sacrifice upon the *hilastērion*, so has God forgiven the sins of all mankind, once and for all time, when Jesus was received by God as a perfect sacrifice, and was revealed openly as the true *hilastērion*.[137]

This Pauline exegesis was taken up and greatly expanded by the author of Hebrews 9-10. Here the sacrifice on the cross was a heavenly reality that fulfilled the earthly copies,[138] "for if the blood of goats and bulls and the sprinkling of a heifer's ashes can sanctify those who are defiled so that their flesh is cleaned, how much more will the blood of Christ, who through the eternal spirit offered himself unblemished to God, cleanse our consciences from dead works to worship the living god."[139] Jesus himself was a fulfillment of the type of Melchizedek,[140] and with his perfect sacrifice, Jesus replaced the inferior and earthly Levitical priesthood of Aaron with the superior and heavenly priesthood of Melchizedek, that is, of Christ.[141] In fact,

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Edwyn C. Hoskyns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933; reprinted with corrections, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 104-107.

[137]Or, as Joseph Fitzmyer suggests, Christ "has become the new 'mercy seat.'" Fitzmyer, "Pauline Theology," p. 1399.

[138]Hebrews 9.23.

[139]Hebrews 9.13, 14.

[140]Hebrews 9.

[141]Hebrews 9.5-18.

the Hebrew law itself had "only a shadow of good things to come,"[142] and it had been replaced by a new covenant, mediated through Jesus.[143]

Since typology was thus deemed to be valid and useful by Christ, by St. Paul, and by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Church Fathers developed typological exegesis avidly. They did this not only to facilitate understanding of the ways of God, but in defense of the faith. The disputes with rabbinic Jews and Marcionite Gnostics concerning the Old Testament, as Jean Daniélou points out, "led the fathers to develop typology, which brought out, as against the Gnostics, the unity of the two testaments, and the superiority of the New, against the Jews."[144]

Typology was, in fact, used by the early Christians to "redeem" Judaism and the Old Testament in the Christian arguments against Marcionism and Gnosticism.[145] Marcion and

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[142]Hebrews 10.1.

[143]Hebrews 9.15.

[144]Jean Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, translated by Wulstan Hibberd (London: Burns and Oates, 1960), p. 1.

[145]The Gnostics themselves used typology to demonstrate the validity of their own religious system, or to explain some of their rituals. Gnostic typology had to do mainly with numbers, time, times, hours, days, seasons, and ages, all of which are types of the Ogdoad, the Ennoia, the archons, etc., Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.17.1-18.4 (ANF 1:342-344). Other examples of Gnostic typology would include interpreting the twelve apostles as types of the twelve aeons (Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 2.21.1-2 [ANF 1:389-390]), or arguing that the 365 days of the year are types of the 365 archons who rule the world (Eugnostos the Blessed, III.84.1-11 [NHL 234]). Irenaeus denounced and ridiculed this sort of Gnostic typology in Against Heresies, 1.17.1-18.4 (ANF 1:342-

many Gnostics argued that the Hebrew Scriptures had been composed by Satan, that Judaic Law was evil, and that Jesus, although he had indeed come as a redeemer, was not the Messiah and had not come in fulfillment of the Hebrew scriptures.[146] Christians disagreed with these negative assessments of the Hebrew religious experience, and the Church Fathers used typology to demonstrate that the "inexhaustible content"[147] of the Old Testament had a continuing relevance to Christians and was not merely the scriptures of an obsolete religion. Origen wrote: "We, by understanding the Law [i.e., the Old Testament] spiritually

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344) and 2.21.1-2.24.6 (ANF 1:387-396), passages which until recently formed the basis of almost all our knowledge about Gnostic typology. With the discovery and publication of the Berlin Gnostic Papyrus and the Nag Hammadi Library, however, this has changed. Several of the Gnostic texts found in these two collections explicitly use typology, such as Eugnostos the Blessed (III.70.1-90.11 [NHL 222-239]) and the Gnostic sayings collection known as the Gospel of Philip (II.51.29-86.19 [NHL 141-160]). The Gospel of Philip even offers a brief epistemology of types (II.67.9-13 [NHL 150]), teaching that "truth did not come into the world naked, but it came in types and images. The world will not receive truth in any other way." This gospel, which is concerned with types that are signs of the true god, and not with the typology of the ruler archons, even interprets the Gnostic rite of communion as a type (II.75.14-17 [NHL 154]), teaching that, "the cup of prayer contains wine and water, since it is appointed as a type of the blood for which thanks is given." Like the Christians, the Gnostics understood that typology described a correspondence between earthly and celestial reality that actually existed; even to the Gnostics, typology was not simply a variety of allegory, but an insight into the true nature of reality.

[146]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.27 (ANF 1:352-353); 3.13.12 (ANF 1:434-435); Tertullian, Against Marcion, 3, passim (ANF 3:321-344); 5.4-5 (ANF 3:435-440). See also Brown, Heresies, pp. 60-66.

[147]Catechism of the Catholic Church, #129, p. 36.

show that it was justly given for the instruction of the Church."[148] Since heresy, especially Gnosticism,[149] continued to plague the Church for centuries,[150] this sort of exegesis became a living tradition in the apologetic writings of the Church Fathers, and undoubtedly contributed to the survival of a Christianity that continued to recall (although not always to respect) its Old Testament heritage.[151]

The Church Fathers also used typology to redeem time and history. The Gnostics believed that time ultimately had no meaning at all, but was merely a finite succession of false

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[148]Origen, Homily #5 on Exodus, translated by Ronald Heine, in Homilies on Genesis and Exodus (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1982), p. 275. Marcion had argued that Judaic law had been *unjustly* given.

[149]Publication of the Gnostic codices from Nag Hammadi has reaffirmed the integrity and the accuracy of the Church Fathers' descriptions of Gnosticism. For example, Irenaeus' detailed description of the Gnostic creation myth, Against Heresies, 1.30.1-10 (ANF 1:354-356), corresponds in all of its major points, and in many minor details, with the Gnostic creation myths preserved in the Nag Hammadi codices. It has turned out that patristic denunciations of Gnosticism were, if anything, too gentle. See The Nag Hammadi Library in English, 3rd ed., edited by James M. Robinson (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988).

[150]Gnosticism continues to plague Christianity today, and certain aspects of Gnostic thought have even triumphed over orthodoxy. For example, a well known Canadian Presbyterian scholar has demonstrated the pervasive influence and alarming dominance of Gnostic theology, christology, eschatology, and the ahistorical (or even anti-historical) otherworldly attitude that is characteristic of Gnosticism, in mainstream American Evangelical and Fundamentalist Protestantisms. Philip J. Lee, Against the Protestant Gnostics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[151]For example, Irenaeus, Against Heresies; Tertullian, Adversus Judaeos, translated as An Answer to the Jews in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3 (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Co., 1885), pp. 151-173.

and meaningless moments, days, years, and ages that the creator archon devised in mockery of eternity.[152] Time was simply another aspect of the material world into which human souls had been cast.[153] For humans, time was part and parcel of the prison of this world,[154] since it limited their ability to perceive the true nature of eternity, and since it was used by the archons to deceive souls about the true nature of eternity and the universe.[155] Gnostic time was neither progressive nor circular, but was a static characteristic of material creation. Individual events were illusions, and to the extent that they were real at all they were simply symbolic representations of the activities of the

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[152]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.17.2 (ANF 1:342-343).

[153]Apocryphon of John, II.28.30-32 (NHL 121), where captive souls are described as "bound with measures and times and moments."

[154]Zostrianos [The Teachings of Zoroaster], VIII.27.1-9 (NHL 411), where the author relates that uncontaminated souls exist in endless and ageless eternity, whereas there are nine kinds of contaminated souls that exist within the realm of time. Although purporting to be the teaching of Zoroaster, this Gnostic concept does *not* reflect Zoroastrianism, which holds instead that *all* created souls, contaminated and otherwise, exist in creaturely time, from which they will be called to eternity at the end of time and abide in purity with God for ever. Greater Bundishihn, 1.37, translated by Boyce, Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism, p. 47.

[155]Hypostasis of the Archons, II.97.10-13 (NHL 169), teaches that when salvation occurs, the archons will be forced to "relinquish their ages," which in this context seems to mean their creaturely time will be abandoned or destroyed, and that the ruler archons will no longer afflict souls with the prison of created time.

fallen angels.[156] To the Gnostics, there was absolutely no connection between events that had occurred in the past, were occurring in the present, or would occur in the future: history did not exist. The past had absolutely nothing to do with the advent of Jesus, since he had not come in fulfillment of any religious prophecy, nor had he come at any particular moment in time that was more or less significant than any other moment in time. Jesus had appeared in time only because souls were imprisoned in time,[157] and for no other reason. Jesus had come as a messenger of the true God, who was above time, who had not created time, and who did not participate in time.[158]

This Gnostic attitude towards time, event, and history was utterly unacceptable to the Church Fathers. This is particularly evident in Irenaeus' Against Heresies, which was specifically written to combat Gnosticism. Irenaeus argued that the New Testament clearly revealed that Christ had come

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[156]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.17.1-18.4 (ANF 1:342-344).

[157]Concept of Our Great Power, VI.44.10-46.33 (NHL 315-316), where time is simply the duration of an imprisonment.

[158]Apocryphon of John, II.3.27-3.35 (NHL 106), where time is the creation of inferior beings whose origin is subsequent to the unoriginated supreme god, and the supreme god does not receive anything from the inferior beings, including an existence in time, since he is wholly sufficient unto himself. Allogenes, XI.63.21-23 (NHL 498), teaches that the Unknowable One, the Ultimate God, "neither participates in age nor does he participate in time." See also Zostrianos [Teachings of Zoroaster], VIII.3.28-4.19 (NHL 404), where it is taught that souls exist in time only for a short duration, whereas the true God exists in endless eternity.

in the fullness of time, and in fulfillment of the Hebrew Scriptures.[159] God had intervened repeatedly in time, offering a self-revelation that coursed throughout history, with each new revelation occurring at the fitting time.[160] These revelations often appeared in the form of types, whereby God delineated the reality by the shadow, the eternal by the temporal, and the celestial by the terrestrial.[161] All of the Hebrew past pointed towards Jesus, the Church Fathers argued, and all of human history was a long preparation for this redeeming act that would occur in the fullness of time.[162] To deny the reality of time, to repudiate the human past, or to deny the relevance of history, would be to repudiate Jesus himself. Accordingly, Irenaeus used typology to demonstrate events that had

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[159]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.4 (ANF 1:475). The following series of types are all drawn from Irenaeus, since he confronted Gnosticism so directly, but a similar series could just as easily be drawn from the writings of any of the Church Fathers, from Justin Martyr to Isidore of Seville. All of these men argued that time, events, and history were meaningful; this is one of the central themes in patristic literature.

[160]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.20.7 (ANF 1:489).

[161]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.4 (ANF 1:475).

[162]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.20.6-8 (ANF 1:489-490); 4.23.1 (ANF 1:494). This patristic emphasis on the fullness of time and the course of salvation history continues to be an important aspect of modern Christianity, as witnessed by Pope John Paul II's recent teaching that this fullness of time "marks the moment when, with the entrance of the eternal into time, time itself is redeemed, and being filled with the mystery of Christ becomes definitively *salvation time*." Pope John Paul II, Encyclical Letter Mother of the Redeemer (March 25, 1987), Vatican Translation (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, n.d.), ch. 1 (p. 6).

occurred at one point in history *did* have relevance to another point in history, because throughout history man was called to the reality of God by means of the type.[163] The birth and life of Jacob *did* have a relevance to the life of Christians.[164] The disobedience of Eve *did* have relevance to the obedience of Mary.[165] The passion of Abel, the just man who was put to death, *did* have relevance to the passion of Jesus.[166] Irenaeus argued that even heretics (such as the Gnostics themselves), those "who bring strange fire to the altar of God" and "who shall be burned up by the fire from heaven,"[167] had been historically and typologically prefigured by Nadab and Abiud.[168] Time and history, as the Church Fathers repeatedly argued, had meaning.

But typology was used not only as a tool to refute the Gnostic concept of time, event, and history, nor simply to "redeem" Judaism and the Old Testament from Marcionite condemnation; it was also openly used by the Apostles, by the

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[163]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.14.3 (ANF 1:479).

[164]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.21.3 (ANF 1:493), where Jacob is the younger son who supplanted the elder son, just as Christians were the later people who supplanted the Hebrews, who were the earlier people.

[165]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.22.4 (ANF 1:455), where Irenaeus describes how "the knot of Eve's disobedience was loosed by the obedience of Mary. For what the virgin Eve had bound fast through unbelief, this did the virgin Mary set free through faith."

[166]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.25.2 (ANF 1:496).

[167]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.26.2 (ANF 1:497).

[168]Leviticus, 10.1,2.

New Testament authors, and by the Church Fathers to *appropriate* Biblical history from the Hebrews (God's "earlier" people) and deliver it to the Christians (God's "later" people).[169] Under typological exegesis the Biblical past was revealed as a Christian past, and all the events, prophecies, and names of the Old Testament were revealed as pointing towards the fulfillment of human history in the Christ event.[170] Melito of Sardis, in his Paschal Homily, argued that Abel and Isaac were prefigurations of Christ;[171]

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[169]The categories "earlier people" and "later people" were developed early in patristic exegesis, and were extensively used by Isidore in his historical and exegetical writings. See for example Isidore, Allegoriae 6, "Cain, frater ejus, aetate major, qui eumdem Abel occidit in campo, priorem significat populum qui interfecit Christum in Calvariae loco." See also Allegoriae 71, "Duo portitores, qui de terra promissionis botrum in logni humeris gestaverunt, duos populorum significantiam expresserunt, quorum prior Judaicus gradiens adversus terga dat Christo, posterior, Christianus, eum qui nehit inspicit et sequetur Christum." Isidore of Seville, Allegoriae Quaedam Sacrae Scripturae, edited by Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by Cyprianus Suarius, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, Vol. 5 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), pp. 115-151. The Church Fathers, and Isidore in particular, have recently been savaged for their opinions on this topic by a particularly scurrilous instance of politically correct advocacy scholarship. See, Bat-Sheva Albert, "Isidore of Seville: His Attitude Towards Judaism and His Impact on Early Medieval Canon Law," in The Jewish Theological Quarterly Review, 80 (1990), 207-220.

[170]Augustine wrote, for example, that "the whole narrative of Genesis, in the most minute details, is a prophecy of Christ and of the Church." Augustine, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, 12.9, translated by R. Stothert as "Reply to Faustus the Manichaean" in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series, Vol. 4 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1887), pp. 274-275.

[171]Melito, Sur la Pâque 58-59, 69. Melito notes elsewhere that, unlike Jesus, Isaac did not suffer and die as a sacrifice, because Isaac was only a type (*τύποσ*) whereas

in fact, the entire Exodus event, wherein Moses, a type of Christ, rescued the Hebrews from a bondage of slavery, was an elaborate prefiguration of the Christ event, wherein Jesus, the celestial reality who was prefigured in Moses, rescued all of mankind from the bondage of death.[172] Most of the people of Judah did not see these fulfillments of their history in Jesus, Melito continued; instead they persecuted and killed Jesus, and were themselves subsequently punished by God in the destruction of Jerusalem and their dispersal throughout the world. Melito and the fathers argued that, since apart from the Apostles and their followers the Hebrew people had not heeded the call of Jesus, God called the Gentiles instead, supplanting the earlier people.[173] Accordingly, the history of God's chosen people, the history revealed in the Old Testament, became the true history of the Christians, God's newly and finally chosen people.

Typology was the tool that revealed the true meaning of the historical events of the Old Testament and demonstrated their significance in terms of Christ and the Christian

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Jesus was the fulfillment. Melito, Fragments, 9.7-8.

[172]Melito, Sur la Pâque 34, 66-68. Similarly, Lactantius, Divine Institutes 7.15 (ANF 7:212). More simply, Isidore of Seville wrote, "Moyses typum Christi gestavit, qui populum Dei a jugo diabolicae servitutis eripuit," Allegoriae, 59 (Arévalo 5.126). Similar arguments about the typological significance of the exodus were made by Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.30.4 (ANF 1:504).

[173]Melito, Sur la Pâque 94-98, 103.

Church.[174] Further, God had revealed himself in the history of *all* peoples, not just in Hebrew history, and scholars could use typology[175] to understand how their own secular history also revealed, or pointed to, the definitive fulfillment of history in Jesus Christ. Church Fathers such as Justin Martyr, Melito, Irenaeus, Augustine, and Isidore gradually developed an understanding of how typology revealed the truth of history, and eventually a knowledge of the typological significances of sacred and secular history became essential to understanding history itself.

Types and antitypes are thus not only historical events, but historical events that reveal the direct intervention of

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[174]Irenaeus, for example, described the entire life of Hosea as a prophecy of "actual works," [in operationibus]." Irenaeus taught that "that which had been done typically [typice] through his actions by the prophet [Hosea], the apostle [Paul] proves to have been done truly by Christ in the Church." Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.20.12, (ANF 1:492). The Latin text is from PG 7, pt.1:1042.

[175]This is a controversial point. Justin Martyr and Tertullian, for example, saw figures, signs and prophecies of the cross in Roman military standards and trophies. Tertullian saw these standards as especially potent signs of the cross, since standards were worshipped in military encampments. Justin and Tertullian described these figures and similitudes using the same words and the same sentence structures they usually applied to typological exegesis (Tertullian's "crucis, sicut ostendam" and "imaginem crucis feceris"), but they did not use the word *type* in these descriptions. Justin Martyr, First Apology, 55 (ANF 1:181-182). Tertullian, Ad Nationes, 1.12.5-16 (ANF 3:122); Apology 16.7-8 (ANF 3:31). Some scholars would insist that these standards and trophies were not types, but signs, since types can occur only within the Biblical narrative. Whether or not the Roman military standards and trophies were types of the cross, or just figures, signs, and prophecies of the cross, these things would be revealed and understood *through* typological exegesis.

God into time "for the purpose of bringing man to perfection."[176] Eric Rust says of this phenomenon that "God has his times in which he confronts men especially in judgment and mercy."[177] "At such a *kairos*," Rust continues, "time is invaded by and filled with eternity."[178] This aspect of typology is often referred to as "eternity impinging on time."[179] Galdon writes that the "divine resonance" [of typology] is actually the result of the impact of eternity upon historical time, of the meeting of the infinite and the finite at a given moment, as God's salvific will is worked out through the historical process.[180] As such, types clearly participate in eternity,[181] and are

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[176]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.1 (ANF 1:474).

[177]Irenaeus would add reproving, exhorting, "and then setting free his servant, and adopting him as a son." Against Heresies, 4.11.1 (ANF 1:472).

[178]Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, p. 206.

[179]Galdon, Typology and Seventeenth Century Literature, p. 57.

[180]Galdon, Ibid., p. 48.

[181]This notion is extremely similar in many respects to Plato's teaching that earthly things are imperfect shadows of ideal forms that are the true realities. In Platonic terms, an earthly entity, to the extent that it exists at all, exists through a sort of participation with the ideal form. It was in this sense that typology was taken up and used by Gnostics, particularly by the Docetists. If Jesus, for example, was the ideal form that had been prefigured and foreshadowed by Old Testament types, then Jesus was not really human, did not have a real body, and so on. A powerful example of the Docetists' neo-Platonic teaching on types has been preserved in the third century Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions, 8.62, "God the Creator in the beginning made types, from which forms and species may now be

temporal manifestations of a celestial archetype.[182] In this participation, however, types and archetypes must not be thought of as losing either their temporal identity or their objective reality.[183] Certain events in the life of Isaac,

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expressed.... God created insensible elements, which he might use for forming and developing all other things." Recognitions of Clement, translated by Thomas Smith, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 8 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), pp. 75-214. The Recognitions contain, in addition to the romance of Clement, and Docetic interpolations, a very early Christian text known as the *Kerygmata Petrou*, as well as a very early Christian account of salvation history (preserved in Recognitions 1.27-72 and elsewhere). The Recognitions enjoyed tremendous circulation in the West during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, having been translated into Latin by Rufinus. See New Testament Apocrypha, vol. 2., pp. 102-127, 532-571.

[182]Hebrews 8.5; 9.24. See also Mircea Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History, translated by Willard Trask, corrected edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965). Eliade considered such typological participation in eternity as indicating a cyclic rather than a linear understanding of history. He wrote that when such participation occurs, time is abolished "through the imitation of archetypes and the repetition of paradigmatic gestures.... through such imitation, man is projected into the mythical epoch in which archetypes were first revealed ... he who reproduces the exemplary gesture thus finds himself transported into the metaphysical epoch in which its revelations took place." Myth of the Eternal Return, p. 35. Eliade's argument may apply to typology; indeed, some Christian theologians think that it does. It must be remembered, however, that Eliade refers to voluntary and deliberate *ritual* compliance with a celestial or divine archetype on the part of the temporal imitator. Of course, the Jesus of the Gospel of Matthew does just this, and he is frequently referred to as performing a certain action specifically to fulfill a prophecy, such as Matthew 12.17: where the author notes that "This was to fulfill what had been spoken through the prophet Isaiah."

[183]The Catechism of the Catholic Church is very explicit on this point: "Nor do the calling of the patriarchs and the exodus from Egypt, for example, lose their own value in God's plan, from the mere fact that they were intermediate stages." #130, p. 36.

for example, are intrusions of eternity into the temporal world that constitute a sign, or a foreshadowing, of the penultimate and soterial intrusion of eternity into time which was to occur at Calvary. Yet, like other personae who were types, Isaac remained Isaac, living and dying as other men had done.[184] God may have imprinted signs and types onto Isaac's life and deeds, but Isaac himself was no less a historical person simply because God chose to reveal signs through him,[185] nor were the activities and intentions of his earthly life anything other than one man's human responses to

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[184]Melito adds that even though Isaac was a type [τύπος] of Jesus, and not the reality, Isaac's life and works were a source of awe, even fear, to those around him. Melito, Fragments, 9 (ed. Perler, pp. 234-235)

[185]This was the basic premise of Antiochene exegesis, which taught that the Old Testament, even though it was heavily laden with typological significance, reflected and preserved a historical account of human actions and human theological understanding at a particular time and in a particular place, ancient Israel, and that most of the Old Testament meant exactly what it said. This characteristic feature of Antiochene exegesis appeared as early as Ignatius of Antioch (fl. 110), who reaffirmed that Jesus' life, death, and resurrection had actually occurred, and were not just fabulous examples of moral exhortation. Ignatius, Epistle to the Trallians, 9-10, translated by Kirsopp Lake, in The Apostolic Fathers, 2 Vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1912), 1:221. Things were no less real just because they had a spiritual or moral significance. In this, Antiochene exegesis continued in the historical tradition of Paul and Luke, who repeatedly reminded their readers that these events *had actually happened*. Antiochene exegesis was perhaps a reaction against the excessive allegorizing tendencies of Alexandrian exegesis, but it was also a passionate refutation of Docetism and the Gnostic Redeemer myth.

the particular circumstances of his own place and time.[186] Jesus too, who was the archetypical fulfillment of the type carried by Isaac, was a real and historical person.[187] Typology is merely a method of recognizing signs given to man by God, a recognition of certain patterns in God's salvific actions as they are manifested throughout time and history for mankind's eternal improvement and instruction. Typology does use a particular variety of allegorical interpretation of actual historical persons and events to achieve an understanding of those signs, but typology itself is not a form of allegory;[188] instead it is a theory about how the historical process actually operates,[189] and about how God

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[186]For a discussion of Theodore of Mopsuestia's emphasis on the irreducibly human historical reality of Old Testament persons and their deeds, even though these persons and their deeds might also be types, see Maurice Wiles, "Theodore of Mopsuestia as a Representative of the Antiochene School," in The Cambridge History of the Bible, edited by P. R. Akroyd and C. F. Evans, Vol. 1, From the Beginnings to Jerome (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 489-510. See also Rowan Greer, Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian (Westminster, Maryland: John Knox Press, 1961), and Rowan Greer, "The Christian Bible and Its Interpretation," in Early Biblical Interpretation, edited by Wayne Meeks, Library of Early Christianity, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), pp. 109-203, esp pp. 178-184. Theodore of Mopsuestia's "Commentary on Galatians 4:24" is translated in Documents in Early Christian Thought, edited by Maurice Wiles and Mark Santer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 151-154.

[187]Frye writes that "both Testaments of the Bible, however oblique their approach to history, deal with real people and real events." Frye, The Great Code, p. 85.

[188]Durant W. Robertson, Jr., A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 190. See also Frye, The Great Code, p. 85.

[189]Frye, The Great Code, p. 81.

reveals himself throughout all time and history.[190]

Although not fully articulated until Augustine of Hippo, the most radical transformation of ancient historical philosophy that the Church Fathers achieved was a new understanding of how time itself worked. Many Greek and Roman philosophers taught that time and history were cyclic,[191] that events were endlessly repeated throughout

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[190]If it were proper to term the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Eusebius as "scholarly," then typological histories such as the Book of the Cave of Treasures could be termed "popular." This work, similar in many respects to Jubilees and the Book of Adam and Eve, (see below, Chapter 6) organizes all human history into six millennia, corresponding to the six days of creation. Its author, traditionally Ephraim the Syrian (d. 373), makes extensive use of allegory and typology to demonstrate that all of the major figures and events of the Old Testament somehow prefigured Jesus, the events of the New Testament, or the Church. The Book of the Cave of Treasures, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1927). Although similar in some respects to Isidore's Allegoriae and Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, I do not believe that Isidore had access to the work; it does not appear to have been translated into Greek or Latin in antiquity. Nevertheless, although the Book of the Cave of Treasures may not have had much direct impact on Christian historiography, it is almost the sole survivor of what appears to have been an entire genre of typological histories.

[191]There were, of course, cyclic elements in Hebrew philosophy and historiography (such as the cyclic recurrence of trespass and retribution in the Deuteronymic history), and there were linear elements in Greco-Roman philosophy and historiography. For example, the "Damascus Rule" from the Dead Sea Scrolls (also known as the "Zadokite Document") deals with cyclic elements in Hebrew history when it recounts: "For when they were unfaithful and forsook [the Lord], he hid his face from Israel and his Sanctuary, and delivered them up to the sword. But remembering the covenant of the forefathers, he left a remnant to Israel and did not deliver it up to be destroyed." Damascus Rule, 1, translated by Geza Vermes, in The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, 3rd ed.(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990) p. 85. On these points see Trompf, The Idea of Cyclic Recurrence in Western Thought, pp.

eternity, and that in the final analysis there was neither change nor progress in human (or cosmic) history.[192] The various cyclic theories concerning time and history proved to be unacceptable to most Christians, and as early as the second century the Church Fathers had begun to speak out against them.[193] Although he did not undertake a systematic refutation of the Epicurean, Pythagorean and Stoic theories of cyclic history,[194] Origen argued that these cyclic theories were preposterous,[195] that they were worthy of nothing less than condemnation,[196] and that they seriously

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116-178. See also G. J. Whitrow, Time in History: Views of Time from Prehistory to the Present Day (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 33-82. The point here is not that the Hebrews never thought cyclically, nor that the Greeks and Romans always thought cyclically, but that the Church Fathers found cyclic history utterly unacceptable, whether in Judaism or paganism, and that they sought to replace it with a purely linear conception of time, persons, events, and history.

[192]For a brief bibliography of ancient testimonies of the cyclic theory, see above, Chapter One, note 6.

[193]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 3, 6 (ANF 2:66-67). Tatian singled out Zeno and the Stoics, whom he ridiculed, as believing in the cyclic theory, which he repudiated, but which he did not refute. Writing from a more orthodox Christian viewpoint than Tatian, Clement of Alexandria noted that "the most renowned of the Stoics" believed in the theory of cosmic cycles. Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 5.14 (ANF 2:469).

[194]Origen charges the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Pythagoreans with believing in the theory of cosmic cycles. Origen, Against Celsus, 4.67-69 (ANF 4:527-528); 5.20-21 (ANF 4:551-552).

[195]Origen, Against Celsus, 5.20 (ANF 4:552).

[196]Origen explicitly condemns and openly ridicules the theories of cyclic repetitions in On First Principles 2.3.4, translated by F. Crombie, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 4

undermined the Christian doctrine of free will.[197] Augustine denounced these theories as well, recognizing, among other things, that the cyclic theories necessarily denied any hope of final resurrection or true salvation to mankind.[198] Christianity demanded a linear view of time and history, with (as St. Paul insisted) one creation, one fall of man, one crucifixion, one last judgment, and one salvation.

To the Church Fathers, history had a very specific end, the *Eschaton*. Further, in the Christian understanding of history, man is progressing through time towards a cosmic goal under the guidance and according to the purpose of a benevolent creator/savior God. Thus, as Eric C. Rust has noted: "The Christian view of history gives time significance. Time is used for the actualization of the divine purpose, and history has meaning for God."[199]

The divine purpose, of course, is to be realized in the *Eschaton*. Rust writes, "history must have a *telos*, a

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(Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1885), pp. 272-273.

[197]Origen wrote, concerning cyclic history, "now, if this be true, our free-will is annihilated. . . if these things be granted, I do not see how our free-will can be preserved." Against Celsus, 4.67 (ANF 4:527). He briefly reiterated this point in Against Celsus, 5.21 (ANF 4:552). In On First Principles, 2.3.4 (ANF 4:272-273), he argued: "For souls are not driven on in a cycle which returns after many ages to the same round, so as either to do or desire this or that, but at whatever point the freedom of their own will aims, thither do they direct the course of their actions."

[198]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.21, (CCSL 48:376-379).

[199]Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, p. 206.

purpose; it must be directed towards fulfillment, it demands an *Eschaton*, an end, in which that fulfillment shall have reality and all historical and meaningful time will be purified and resurrected."[200] It is towards this fulfillment that Christians have ever prepared themselves, and in anticipation of this fulfillment that the Christians sing "as we wait in joyful hope." Father Daniélou remarks on this topic, "waiting for the *Parousia* dominates the entire Christian attitude.... For it is by means of the *Parousia* that the entire Christian vision of history is defined."[201]

This discussion of the Christian notion of history seems irrelevant, at first glance, to typology, but such is not the case. Indeed, the theocentric, linear notion of time progressing towards a divine purpose is a sine qua non of typology. Typology is meaningless without this framework of linear time. Galdon writes, "typological realism, the metaphysical correspondence of type and antitype, and the evolutionary development of the antitype as forma perfectior, demand a framework and context of history which is able to

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[200]Rust, Ibid., p. 215.

[201]Daniélou, "The Concept of History," p. 174. Not all Christians believe in waiting. For medieval Christian attempts to create an apocalyptic environment that would induce the *Eschaton*, see Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages (New York: Oxford, 1970). For a related phenomenon amongst the American Indians, the Ghost Dance, see Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return, p. 73.

explain and clarify these events."[202] To understand this framework completely, something must be said concerning Christian notions of eternity, and the typological implications of those notions.

To the Church Fathers, eternity is a characteristic of God. Time participates in eternity, but time itself is not eternal; it had a beginning, has a middle,[203] and will have

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[202]Galdon, Typology and Seventeenth Century Literature, p. 54. See especially Chapter 4, "Typology and History," pp. 54-69.

[203]On the cosmic significance of the "middle" of time, which some theologians understand as being the "Christ-event," see Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 81-93; see also Cullmann, "The Connection of Primal Events and End Events with the New Testament Redemptive Theory," p. 119. Not all theologians concur with Cullmann's explanation of beginning, middle, and end times. Many disagree particularly when Cullmann describes the eternity of God in almost Zoroastrian terms as "endless time." See Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, pp. 215f. See also R. A. Markus, "'Sacred History' and 'Salvation History,'" in Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 231-232. Cullmann insisted, for example, that the patristic argument that God existed prior to, independent of, and superior to time was in fact a Hellenization of the primitive Christian conception of time. God was not timeless, Culmann argued, and his eternity must be understood "in terms of endless time." For Cullmann (who on this point writes in direct opposition to the teachings of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius, Augustine of Hippo, and Isidore of Seville), eternity is an endless linear and progressive time, and creation exists not in a created time, but instead "as a limited portion of that same line, and not something different." Cullmann, Christ and Time, pp. 60-63. Cullman's notion of limited creaturely time and endless cosmic time is extremely similar to the Zoroastrian concept of limited and unlimited time, i.e., "from limitless time [Ahura Mazda] created time of long duration. Some call it limited time." Greater Bundihshn, 1.44, translated by Mary Boyce, Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism, p. 47.

an end.[204] In short, eternity is distinct from time.[205] Further, God himself does not exist *in* time; rather time flows *from* the "divine and blessed life.[206] For Clement of Alexandria, God is "above space and time"[207]; Origen wrote that God "administers entire ages of time,"[208] and transcends "all time, all ages, and all eternity."[209] According to Augustine, God is "omnes simul."[210] God thus exists

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[204]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.2 (ANF 1:474).

[205]For an examination of this concept in the theology of St. Augustine, see below, Chapter Three. See also Galdon, Typology and Seventeenth Century Literature, pp. 54-69; Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, pp. 206-228, 279, 280. Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return, would argue that this is a separation of time into sacred and secular, and is for that reason cyclic rather than linear. Yet the Christian understanding of eternity is not to be understood as a form of time at all, and certainly not as Eliade's "metahistory." Eternity is, rather, whence God created time.

[206]Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium, 1.365, translated by Jaroslav Pelikan, "Space, Time, and Deity," ch. 7 of Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 114. In this chapter Pelikan considers the teachings of the Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, and Basil of Caesarea, on the Lordship of God over time, and on time as a divinely created "receptacle" for the natural world (p. 118). Although Pelikan does not specifically examine the patristic sources of the Cappadocian Fathers, they were clearly writing in the tradition of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Athanasius.

[207]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 2.2, (ANF 2:348). See also Stromata, 5.11, (ANF 2:461), God is "above both space, and time, and name, and conception."

[208]Origen, Against Celsus, 4.69, (ANF 4:528).

[209]Origen, On First Principles, 4.1.28 (ANF 4:377).

[210]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.13.16, edited by Lucas Verheijen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 27 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1981), p. 202.

simultaneously in the past, the present, and the future, and is eternally contemporaneous with every moment of temporal history.[211] There are some elusive hints of this aspect of God in the Bible. In Exodus 3.14, the Lord describes himself as "I am who am." In Isaiah 41.4 he proclaims "I, the Lord, am the first, and with the last I will also be." The Letter to the Hebrews 3.18 says that "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever." In Revelation 1.8 Jesus describes himself: "'I am the Alpha and Omega,' says the Lord God, 'the one who is and who was and who is to come, the almighty [*pantokrator*].'"[212]

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[211]Augustine, Confessionum, 11.13.16 (CCSL 27:202), "Anni tui omnes simul stant, quoniam stant... Anni tui dies unus, et dies tuus non cotidie, sed hodie, quia hodiernus tuus non cedit crastino; neque enim succedit hesterno." See also De Civitate Dei, 12.16 (CCSL 48:372), "Ille enim semper fuit aeternitate inmutabii." For a detailed modern discussion of this difficult concept, see Karl Barth, "Jesus, Lord of Time," translated by R. H. Fuller, chapter 47.1 in Church Dogmatics, Vol. 3, The Doctrine of Creation, pt. 2, edited by G. W. Bromily and T. F. Torrance (Edinburgh: Clark, 1960), pp. 436-511; see especially p. 465, where Barth demonstrates from Biblical evidence (Exodus 3.14; Revelation 1.8; 1.17-18; 22.13) that the "time" of Jesus "is always simultaneously present, past, and future."

[212]Barth, "Jesus, Lord of Time," p. 465, offers an exegesis of this passage (Revelation 1.8) wherein he argues that Jesus is actually saying: "I am all this simultaneously. I, the same, am; I was as the same; and I will come again as the same. My time is always simultaneously present, past, and future. That is why I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the ending, the first and the last. Since my present includes the past and the future it is both the first and last of other times. All times have their source and end in my time. Of course, all these other times are real times, for at the heart of them I have time. But other times are previous to or subsequent to mine. They are overshadowed, dominated, and divided into periods by my time. It is my present that makes them either past or future, for my present includes both. I was, and I

These self revealing statements certainly imply a divine existence apart from history, as well as eternal simultaneity. The Fathers picked up on this notion of the eternal simultaneity of the Lord, and Victorinus (d. 304) wrote: "On the same day on which the dragon seduced Eve, the angel Gabriel brought glad tidings to the Virgin Mary; on that same day the Holy Spirit overflowed [into] the Virgin Mary ... he made light; ... on that same day, Christ was born, on which [day] he formed man; on that day he suffered, on which [day] Adam fell; on that same day he rose again from the dead, on which [day] he created life."[213] Such are the Christian notions of time, eternity, and history that underlie, and make possible, typology.

If God is above time, if he transcends "all time, all ages, and all eternity,"[214] and is eternally contemporaneous with every moment of temporal history, what then is the relationship of Jesus to time? This question, and the various answers proposed, was one of the central issues in the greatest and most divisive Christological heresy of Late

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am to come, as surely as I am and live." "This," Barth continues, "is how the author of the Apocalypse sees the being of Jesus in time."

[213]Victorinus, "On the Creation of the World," translated by R. E. Wallis, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 7 (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), p. 343. Latin text in PL 5:313a.

[214]Origen, On First Principles, 4.1.28 (ANF 4:377).

Antiquity and the early Middle Ages: Arianism.[215] In addition to their more famous teaching that Jesus was not consubstantial with the Father, Arius and his followers also taught that Jesus was not coeternal with the Father, but instead had a beginning in time. They taught that "there was when he was not," and that there was "a time before the Word."[216]

The idea that Jesus had a beginning in time and that there had been an interval when the Word did not exist was unacceptable to mainstream Christians such as Alexander of Alexandria and Ossius of Córdoba.[217] It also proved to be

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[215]The classic Lutheran analysis is Adolf von Harnack, "The Doctrine of the Homousia of the Son of God with God Himself," Chapter One of History of Dogma, vol. 4, pp. 1-107. For a recent Calvinist treatment, see Harold O. J. Brown, "The Great Alternative: Arianism," Chapter Eight of Heresies, pp. 104-143.

[216]Athanasius, Discourse Against the Arians, 1.4.11, translated by John Henry Newman and A. Robinson, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 4 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1892), p. 312. Athanasius' writings against the Arians, particularly the Discourse and the "Historia Arianorum" (actual title unknown), although often cited as historical writings, were never intended by Athanasius to be historical writings at all; instead they were polemical "press releases" designed to propagandize *for* Athanasius' cause and to propagandize *against* his opponents. As one recent scholar has written, "we are at best reading 'instant history', written to publicize an event as widely as possible," B. H. Warmington, "Did Athanasius Write History?" in The Inheritance of Historiography, 350-900, edited by Christopher Holdsworth and T. P. Wiseman (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1986), p. 8.

[217]Ossius of Córdoba (d. 357), also known as Ossius the Confessor, endured persecution under Maximianus, participated in the council of Elvira (310), and was the principal religious advisor to Constantine from 310 until 328. Understanding the seriousness of the split between the Arian

unacceptable to the majority of bishops at the Council of Nicaea in 325. The original Nicene creed, composed in direct response to the heretical teachings of Arius and his party, explicitly repudiated the notion that Jesus had a beginning in time, or that there had been a time when Jesus did not exist:

> Eos autem qui dicunt "erat quando non erat," et "antequam nasceretur non erat," et quod ex nullus extantibus factus est, ... hos anathematizat et condemnat catholica et apostolica ecclesia."[218]

Thus did the Homoousian party at the Council of Nicaea reaffirm the patristic teaching that Jesus is God, that eternity is a characteristic of God, and that time is a creature.

The issue of the coeternity of the Father and the

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and Alexandrian factions in Africa, Ossius convinced Constantine to summon the Council of Nicaea in 325, where he was the most important spokesman for the homoousian party. It was probably Ossius who suggested the term "homousios" to Constantine, and so it was cruel and ironic that Ossius was eventually compelled by Constantius II to repudiate that term and to forbid its use (below, Chapter Five). For a brief introduction to Ossius, see V. de Clercq, "Ossius of Córdoba," New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol 7 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), pp. 153-154. Sozomen praised Ossius as a man "honored for his faith, his virtuous life, and most approved in those former times for his confessions about this [homoousian] doctrine." Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History, 1.18 (NPNF2 2:252-253). See also von Harnack, History of Dogma, 4:50.

[218]Symbolum Fidei eiusdem Niceni Concilii, in Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Gonzalo Martinez Diez and Felix Rodriguez, in Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Canónica, vol. 3 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1982). p. 77.

relationship of Jesus to time and eternity did not go away with the Council of Nicaea, however, but continued to be an issue between Arians and Catholics until well into the seventh century.[219] Writing in the late 360's, Athanasius argued that not only was it a blasphemy to believe that there had been a time when Jesus did not exist, but that is was illogical as well, "for how did time or age at all subsist when the Word, as you [Arians] say, had not appeared, 'through' whom 'all things have been made and without' whom 'not one thing was made?'"[220] In the early 400's, Augustine of Hippo still found it necessary to insist, against the Arians, "He was begotten before all times, begotten before all ages ... do not think that there was any space of eternity in which the Father was and the son was not ... Never did the Father exist and the Son not exist, and yet the Son was begotten of the Father."[221] Addressing the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Leo the Great insisted that the Son is "not later in time, ... but the same Only-begotten and

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[219]The last known Arian king was Rothari (636-652), or perhaps Grimoald (662-671), kings of the Lombards in Italy. Chris Wickham, Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Authority, 400-1000 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), p. 34.

[220]Athanasius, Against the Arians, 1.4.13 (NPNF2 4:314). Athanasius quotes from John 1.3, "all things came to be through him, and without him nothing came to be."

[221]Augustine, Sermo de Symbolo ad Catechumenos, 3.8, ed. R. Vander Plaetse, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 46 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1969), p. 190. My translation.

Everlasting Son of an Everlasting Parent."[222] And so it went for centuries.

The Catholic struggle against the Arian doctrine of a Jesus who was begotten in time lasted exceptionally long in Spain, where it began as early as 357 (if not before) and lasted until 589.[223] As part of his attempt to reconcile Catholics and Arians in 582, one of the points that Leovigild (d. 586), the last Arian king of Visigothic Spain, conceded to the Catholics was that Christ *was* coeternal with the Father,[224] although he did not concede the coeternity of the

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[222]Leo the Great, "The Tome of St. Leo," translated by Henry R. Percival, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 14 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1899), p. 254.

[223]See below, Chapter Five.

[224][Liuvichildus dicit] "Manifeste cognovi, esse Christum filius Dei aequalem Patri." Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, 6.18, ed. Bruno Krusch, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, vol. 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1937), p. 287. Gregory reports this as part of a discussion he had with Frankish ambassadors who had just returned from Spain. No record of Leovigild's doctrinal innovation on this point has survived from Spanish sources. See also P. D. King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 15; E. A. Thompson, The Goths in Spain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 85; Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 51; José Orlandis, Historia de España, La España Visigótica (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977), p. 108. Roger Collins, "King Leovigild and the Conversion of the Visigoths," in El Concilio III de Toledo: XIV Centenario, 589-1989; reprinted with original pagination in Roger Collins, Law, Culture and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain (London: Variorum, 1992), 7-8. All of these modern authors rely on the testimony of Gregory of Tours.

Holy Spirit.[225] When the Visigoths finally renounced Arianism and converted to Catholicism in 589, among the beliefs that they explicitly condemned were the Arian doctrines that the Son of God had a beginning, and that the Son of God was not coeternal with the Father; further, they anathematized any who continued to hold such beliefs.[226] Writing in the early 600's and looking back on the Arian

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[225]Gregory of Tours, Historia, 6.18 (Krush, p. 70). Leovigild's concession that Christ was coeternal and coequal with God the Father, and his insistence that the Holy Spirit was neither coeternal nor coequal with the Father and the Son, was a trinitarian position that corresponded to the "Macedonian" heresy, which was explicitly condemned at the First Council of Constantinople in 381. Isidore wrote of this heresy: "Macedoniani a Macedonio Constantinopolitano Episcopo dicti sunt, negantes, Deum esse Spiritum sanctum," Etymologiae 8.5.44, ed. Faustino Arévalo, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 3 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1798), p. 357; and "Macedoniani quamquam patrem et filium unius substantiae dicant, spiritum vero sanctum creaturam adfirmant," De Haeresibus, 18 in S. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, De Haeresibus liber, ed. A. C. Vega, Scriptores Ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini Veteris et Medii Aevi, vol. 5 (Madrid: Typis Augustinianis Monasterii Escurialensis, 1940), p. 30. No record of Leovigild's doctrinal innovation on this point has survived from Spanish sources, unless the reference to the Macedonian heresy in III Toledo, 41-45 (Diez, p. 62) is an allusion to Leovigild's policy, which I doubt. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p. 85, n. 3, suggests that this brief mention of the Macedonian heresy was an allusion to Leovigild's semi-Arian position, but he fails to mention that the reference occurs in a paragraph that describes the heresies condemned at the first four Ecumenical Councils: Nicaea, which condemned Arianism; Constantinople, which condemned Macedonianism; Ephesus, which condemned Nestorianism; and Chalcedon, which condemned Eutychianism.

[226]Concilium III Toletanum, anathema 2, "Quicumque Filium Dei Dominum Iesum Christum negaverit a Paterna substantia sine initio genitum et aequalem Patri esse consubstantialem, anathema sit." Ibid., anathema 3, "Quicumque Spiritum Sanctum non credet aut non crediderit a Patre et Filio procedere eumque non dixerit coaeternum esse Parti et Filio et coessentialem, anathema sit." In Colección Canónica Hispana, vol. 5, p. 79.

heresy that had plagued Spain for so long, Isidore of Seville recalled that one of the most important characteristics of the Arian heresy had been that its adherents did not acknowledge the coeternity of the Son.[227] Clearly the issue of the relationship of time to eternity, and the debate about whether Jesus was Lord of Time or merely a celestial creature who came into existence after time had begun, were central to the development of Christian doctrine. Thus when the Church Fathers debated the Arians, some of the most important topics with which they had to deal concerned the nature of time: Had it always existed? Was it an aspect of God, or merely a creature? At what point did time begin to exist? And, most importantly, did Jesus or the Holy Spirit have a beginning in time?

The Church Fathers were also concerned with historical causation. What, or who, caused events to happen? Who were the actors in history? The Church Fathers recognized that there were basically three potential causes in history: the celestial, which would include God and his angels; the terrestrial, which would be the actions of man; and the

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[227]Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.5.43 (Arévalo 3.356-357), "Ariani ab Ario Alexandrino presbytero orti sunt, qui coaeternum Patri Filium non agnoscens, diversas in Trinitate substantias asseruit: contra illud, quod ait Dominus: 'Ego, et Pater unum sumus.'" Isidore quotes John 10.30. Isidore, De Haeresibus, 17 (Vega, p. 29), is more brief: "Arriani negant esse unius naturae vel essentiae Trinitatem, sed filium creaturam patris, spiritum vero sanctum filii creaturam existimant. Hi etiam rebaptizant. At contra." Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum 7 (Alonso, p. 184) notes that the Arians "crederent filium patri maiestate esse minorem, aeternitate posteriorem."

infernal, which would include the actions of the devil and his demonic servants. God, of course was the creator of the universe and the lord of history. He acted throughout history, and directed its course. Humans, although they might be instruments of the divine will, were essentially individual free agents[228] who were ever faced with the choice to submit in joy and humility to God and to act in accordance with the divine plan, or pridefully to rebel against God, and

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[228]The early Church Fathers were as emphatic in their belief in free will as they were emphatic in their belief in the foreknowledge of God. See, for example, Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, 102 (ANF 1:250), 141 (ANF 1:269-270); Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolycum, 2.27 (Grant, p. 71); Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.37 (ANF 1:519-521) ; Hippolytus, Refutation of all Heresies, 10.29 (ANF 5:151); Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.17 (ANF 2:319), 2.3 (ANF 2:349); Tertullian, Against Marcion, 2.3-5 (ANF 3:298-301); Origen, On First Principles, 1.8.3 (ANF 4:265-266), 2.9.2 (ANF 4:290), 2.9.6 (ANF 4:292), 3.6.7 (ANF 4:347). Augustine held to this belief throughout most of his life, but in the bitterness and despair of his old age, having struggled against the Pelagians, and having lived to see the Visigothic sack of Rome and the dismemberment of the Western portions of the Roman Empire, Augustine repudiated his earlier position and pronounced that the human will was not free. Augustine's basic argument is that the human will is not free because in our fallen state we are not fully aware of the choices that are before us, and thus we cannot choose, or will to choose, either faith or grace; the human will can only turn to faith and grace through the agency of God. See especially De Predestinatione Sanctorum, written in 428, translated by Robert Wallis as On the Predestination of the Saints, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series, Vol. 5 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1887; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), pp. 497-519. Perhaps the ultimate extension of this late Augustinian teaching on the will is not to be found among Calvinists, but among the Muslim *Ash'arites*, who teach that God determines all deeds and events in the universe, but that he judges each man according to whether he acted willingly or with reservation in doing good or evil.

act according to their own passions.[229]

The third actor was the devil. Like Jesus, the Apostles, and the New Testament authors, the Church Fathers were acutely aware that, to paraphrase a recent chiliastic author,[230] Satan was alive and well on planet earth. Justin Martyr taught that Satan and his devils had inspired the heresies of Simon Magus, Menander, and Marcion.[231] Tatian saw the devil and his demons as the originators of idolatry, immorality, disease, and war.[232] Irenaeus traced the origin of all Christian heresies back to Simon Magus, the arch-heretic of the apostolic age, who had come from Satan as a despoiler of the true faith just as Satan himself had earlier appeared in Eden as a despoiler of paradise.[233] Tertullian quickly recognized that the devil, whose aim was to "destroy the truth," was the conceptual force behind the monarchical

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[229]This point was extremely important with respect to causation in Isidore, who seemed to argue that the moral condition of an individual somehow rendered his will less than fully free. This point will be taken up in Chapter Six, particularly as regards the moral consequences of heresy.

[230]Hal Lindsey, Satan is Alive and Well on Planet Earth (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1972).

[231]Justin Martyr, First Apology, 56-58 (ANF 1:182).

[232]Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 12-19 (ANF 2:70-73). Most of the Church Fathers would have correctly classified Tatian as being part of the Gnostic problem, rather than part of the Christian solution, although they would have conceded that some of his earlier writings, such as the Diatessarion, were orthodox.

[233]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.23.1 (ANF 1:347); 1.27.4 (ANF 1:353); 3, Praefatio (ANF 1:414). Irenaeus also taught that Satan had inspired the Gnostics, Against Heresies, 1.21.1 (ANF 1:345); 1.25.3 (ANF 1:350).

modalist heresy as preached by Praxeas.[234] Prudentius, writing in the late fourth century, argued that the devil had inspired the nations around the Hebrews to attack and try to destroy God's earlier chosen people, and that the devil continued to war against God's newly chosen people, the Christians. "Alas," he wrote, "with what armed forces does the ruthless enemy press upon the race of men, with what attendant trains under his command does he wage his iron wars, [and] with what dominion [does he] triumph over the conquered."[235] The Church Fathers knew that despite Christ's triumph over death and his offer of salvation to humanity, mankind was still living in a war zone that was on the very edge of Hell. The rebellion of Satan against God, and the devil's destructive campaign against mankind, would continue unabated until the end of the world and the last judgment.[236]

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[234]Tertullian Against Praxeas 1, translated by Peter Holmes in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885), p. 597.

[235]Prudentius, The Origin of Sin, 406-408 (Thompson, p. 233): "Heu quantis motale genus premit improbus hostis / armigeris, quanta ferrata satellite ductor / bella gerit, quanta victos dicione triumphat."

[236]This potent and terrifying image, revealed to or developed by the Church Fathers, has continued to course throughout Christian literature as part of what Northrop Frye would call "The Great Code." Writing in the dark days of the early 1940's and alluding to the devil's continuing war against God's people, J. R. R. Tolkien said, "and the evil that he had begun still sprouted like a dark seed in Middle Earth, bearing bitter grain, which though it were ever reaped and burned, was never at an end." J. R. R. Tolkien, "The Drowning of Anadûnê," in Sauron Defeated, edited by Christopher J. R. Tolkien (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), p. 358.

That the end of the world and the last judgment would occur the Fathers did not doubt. In fact, almost all of the early Fathers thought that the *Eschaton* was imminent.[237] Certainly there was Biblical support for this belief. The Church Fathers cited the apocalyptic warnings that coursed throughout the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, that dominated the visionary passages of Revelation,[238] and which had appeared earlier in Hebrew history in the prophetic writings of Daniel[239] and Ezekiel.[240] Jesus himself had cautioned his disciples to "Watch,"[241] and to "be vigilant at all times and pray that you have the strength to escape the tribulations that are imminent,"[242] reminding them that "this generation shall not pass away until these things have taken place."[243] Paul wrote that Jesus had appeared "when the

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[237]Epistle of Barnabas, 4 (Lake, 1:349-353); Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.10.2 (ANF 1:474); 4.25.1 (ANF 1:496); 4.33.15 (ANF 1:511); 4.38.1 (ANF 1:521); 4.41.4 (ANF 1:525); 5.15.2 (ANF 1:543); 5.15.4 (ANF 1:543); 5.17.1 (ANF 1:544); Tertullian, Apology, 21 (ANF 3.35); Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.10 (ANF 7:108); 5.7 (ANF 7:142); 7.15 (ANF 7:212).

[238]Where Jesus says three times "I am coming soon!" Revelation 22.7-20.

[239]Daniel, 7.1-12.13.

[240]Ezekiel, 1-48.

[241]Mark 13.33, 37.

[242]Luke 21.36.

[243]Matthew 24.34; Mark 13.30; Luke 21.32. Many of the Church Fathers realized that Jesus' admonitions that "this generation shall not pass away" might well have referred to

fullness of time had come,"[244] and that the scriptures "have been written down as a warning to us, upon whom the end of the ages has come."[245] The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews spoke openly of "these last days,"[246] and of Jesus as having "appeared at the end of the ages."[247]

The Church Fathers believed that God, who was the creator[248] and administrator of time,[249] and who was himself above all time and space,[250] was working out his plan of

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the destruction of Jerusalem that occurred under Nero and Vespasian rather than the apocalypse.

[244]Galatians 4.4.

[245]First Corinthians 10.11.

[246]Hebrews 1.1.

[247]Hebrews 9.26.

[248]Athanasius wrote, "of all the ages the Word is King and Maker," Against the Arians, 1.4.12 (NPNF2 4:313). See also Irenaeus, Against Heresies 2.28.3 (ANF 1:400). Irenaeus *may* have written more explicitly on this topic. In fragment 7 (ANF 1:569), Maximus of Turin (fl. 425) quoted Irenaeus as having written "The will and the energy of God [θέλησις καὶ ἐνέργεια Θεοῦ] is the effective and foreseeing cause of every time [ἡ παντὸς χρόνου] and place [καὶ τόπου] and age [καὶ αἰῶνος], and of every nature." Greek text from PG 7, pt. 2:1232, fragment V. Tertullian, Against Marcion, 2.3 (ANF 3:299), argued that God created time, and that there was no "before" prior to the creation of time. See also Tertullian, Against Marcion, 5.17 (ANF 3:465).

[249]Origen, Against Celsus, 4.69 (ANF 4:528), "God administers entire ages of time ... performing during each of them what is requisite with a reasonable regard to the care of the world." See also Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.16.7 (ANF 1:443); 4.20.7 (ANF 1:489); 5.1.1 (ANF 1:526-527); 5.28.2 (ANF 1:557). Tertullian, Against Marcion, 3.2 (ANF 3:322); 5.4 (ANF 3:435-436); 5.17 (ANF 3:465).

[250]Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 2.2 (ANF 2:348); 5.11 (ANF 2:461). Tertullian, Against Marcion, 1.3 (ANF 3:273); 1.8 (ANF 3:276); 3.5 (ANF 3:324).

salvation in time and through history. History revealed "the whole economy of salvation [coming] to pass according to the good pleasure of the Father."[251] The author of the Epistle to Diognetus argued that so many long ages of history had passed before the advent of Jesus not only because God was gradually revealing himself to a fallen humanity, seeking thereby "to form a mind conscious of righteousness,"[252] but also because God had patiently endured man's "time of working iniquity"[253] to grant mankind a full measure of time to learn that salvation was impossible except through him. The author taught that God allowed and endured that mankind should exhaust all of its vain and pretentious attempts to know the truth and to achieve self-salvation, and eventually realize that mankind could be saved only through God, before he revealed the truth and offered a final salvation through Jesus. Yet, before that revelation could occur, man's "wickedness" must be allowed to reach "its height."[254]

If the early Church Fathers believed themselves to be living in the last times, what then did they think of all the

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[251]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.23 (ANF 1:455).

[252]Epistle to Diognetus, ch 9, translated by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 1, p. 28.

[253]Epistle to Diognetus, 9 (ANF 1:28).

[254]Epistle to Diognetus, 9 (ANF 1:28). Again, from the beginnings of the apostolic preaching, Christianity was proclaimed not as a new religious or philosophical discovery on the part of the human intellect, but instead as God revealing himself to mankind.

previous ages?[255] If Jesus had come in the fullness of time, and if he was a fulfillment of the ages, what were those ages that he had fulfilled?[256] Paul had argued that the world had known three ages:[257] the age of death, which had been from Adam to Moses; the age of the Law, from Moses to Jesus (who had been born under the Law),[258] and the age of Grace, from Jesus until the Last Judgment. Irenaeus briefly suggested a

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[255]For another description of early Christian systems of periodization, see Roderich Schmidt, "Aetates Mundi: Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 67 (1955-56), 288-317. Schmidt examines the evolution of the "six days of creation - six ages/millennia of the world" *Gliederungsprinzip*, and particularly the substitution of thematic "ages" in place of fixed length millennia in the chronographical writings of Augustine, Isidore, and Bede. Schmidt sees this substitution as part of an anti-millennialist tendency in the later Church Fathers, particularly Augustine, who normally opposed fixed-length millenarian speculation. As Schmidt notes, the sextipartite periodization: Adam - Noah - Abraham - Moses - David - Babylonian Captivity - Jesus, did not become widespread in the west until after Augustine.

[256]The following brief discussion of early Christian systems of periodization emphasizes the writings of the Church Fathers and almost completely neglects some of the more elaborate Judaic chronographic speculations such as the 2nd century B.C. Midrashic Book of Jubilees. As interesting as these midrashic texts are, their circulation appears to have been extremely limited in late antiquity, at least in the west, and I am not certain that they played any major role in the development of *Christian* systems of periodization, although they are eloquent testimony to ancient Judaic interest in historical periodization and chronographical speculation. With its emphasis on Jewish Law and on cycles of jubilees, the Book of Jubilees had little in common with Patristic writings, which emphasized the centrality of Jesus to all history. Jubilees recounts "a division of years from the time of the creation of the law ... according to the jubilees." Jubilees, 1.28, trans. O.S. Wintermute, in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Vol. 2, p. 54.

[257]Romans 5.12-21.

[258]Galatians 4.4.

periodization based on covenants,[259] referring to God's Old Covenants with Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses, as well as the New Covenant[260] of Grace under Jesus. Irenaeus also argued that, since God created the world in only six days, the world would endure for only six thousand years,[261] a period that Irenaeus saw as being near its completion, since the Incarnation of Jesus and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit had occurred "in the last times."[262] In Christ and Anti-Christ, Hippolytus of Rome (170-236) reconciled the classical system of metallic ages (that is, a declining sequence of ages of gold, silver, brass, and iron) with a periodization

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[259]Irenaeus, Against Heresies 3.11.8 (ANF 1:429). This brief passage has inspired Harold O. J. Brown to describe Irenaeus as a forerunner of "covenant theology." Brown, Heresies, pp. 79-80; 456, note 6.

[260]As described in Hebrews 8.7-13.

[261]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 5.28.3 (ANF 1:527).

[262]Irenaeus repeatedly described the period since the Incarnation as "the last times." In the original Greek Irenaeus wrote ἐσχάτων (4.38.1), which the ancient translator (c. 220) has usually rendered "in novissimis temporis," or a grammatical variation thereof. See Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.10.2 (ANF 1:474); 4.25.1 (ANF 1:496); 4.33.15 (ANF 1:511); 4.38.1 (ANF 1:521); 4.41.4 (ANF 1:525); 5.17.1 (ANF 1:544), and many other instances in Against Heresies, books four and five. Irenaeus used similar phrases repeatedly in his Proof of the Apostolic Preaching, translated from the Armenian by Joseph P. Smith, Ancient Christian Writers, 16 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), "in the end of times," 6 (p. 51); "in the end of times," 8 (p. 52); "in the end of this age," 21 (p. 60); "in the last times," 22 (p. 61); "in the end of this age," 30 (p. 67); "in the end of days," 89 (p. 102). In Proof (as in Against Heresies), Irenaeus always used this sort of a phrase to characterize the moment in history when Incarnation of Jesus had occurred, but he also used the phrase to describe his own age, the second century.

based on the vision of the four beasts from Daniel as well as with the "succession of empires" theory.[263] Lactantius built upon these systems of periodization in his Divine Institutes,[264] and then, expanding upon Irenaeus, suggested another. Just as God had created the world in six days, he wrote, so would the world stand for six ages of one thousand years each, since one day to God is like a thousand years to mankind.[265] He believed that the world was already at least

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[263]Hippolytus, Christ and Anti-Christ, 22-28, translated by S. Salmond, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 5 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1886), pp. 209-210. Hippolytus, the first anti-pope, also compiled an integrated world chronicle. This chronicle has survived in several variant and fragmentary versions, none of which preserves the entire chronicle, and all of them heavily interpolated with later material. Only two substantial fragments, the Diamerismos and the Stadiasmos, seem to preserve Hippolytus' work in anything close to the original form. The Diamerismos is ethnographic and geographic, and describes the descendants of Noah and the lands in which they settled. It was known to Isidore, who seems to have used it in Etymologiae, Book IX. The Stadiasmos was a list of Olympic victors in the *stadion* race, and although Hippolytus included the list in his chronicle, he was not its author. For a recent critical edition of these fragments, which includes a German translation of the Armenian fragments, see Hippolytus, Die Chronik, edited by Adolf Bauer and Rudolf Helm, in Hippolytus Werke, vol. 4, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, vol. 46 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955).

[264]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.15 (ANF 7:212-213).

[265]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.14 (ANF 7:211-212), 7.25 (ANF 7:220). For the teaching that a day of God was equal to a thousand years to mankind, Lactantius drew on the familiar passages in Psalms 90.4, "a thousand years in your eyes are merely a yesterday," and II Peter 3.8, "with the Lord one day is like a thousand years and a thousand years is like one day."

Speculations concerning historical periodization also occurred within rabbinic Judaism during the third and fourth centuries A.D., and many of these have been preserved in the Gemaras of the Babylonian Talmud, compiled in Sassanian

5,800 years old, and that the end would soon follow.[266] Lactantius also mentioned, but did not further develop, a periodization of Roman history that he attributed to Seneca.[267] Using this system, Lactantius compared the "Ages of Rome" to the "Ages of Man," and described Rome as having gone through an infancy, a childhood, an adolescence, a maturity, and an old age.[268] Lactantius added, pointedly, "if these things are so, what remains, except that death follow old age?"[269]

Persia during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Sanhedrin babli 97a-98b, for example, contains escatological speculations concerning the advent of the Messiah, including the rabbinic teaching that "the world is to exist six thousand years. In the first two thousand there was desolation; two thousand years the Torah flourished; and the next two thousand years is the Messianic era." Sanhedrin babli, translated by Jacob Schacter and H. Freedman, in The Hebrew-English Translation of the Babylonian Talmud, edited by Isidore Epstein, New Edition (London: Soncino Press, 1969), 97a (end). This newer, bilingual edition of the "Soncino" Talmud is to be preferred over the original 1935 edition wherever it is available, not only because its pagination corresponds to standard rabbinic usage, but also because most of the passages intentionally omitted in the 1935 edition, or printed only in the notes, are restored to their proper context in the 1969 bilingual edition. Because both the chronological excogitations of the rabbis and the frequently censored passages of the Tosefta and the Talmuds became the subject of apologetic, adversarial disputation, and eventually polemic in Visigothic Spain, they will be dealt with below, in Chapter Five.

[266]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.25 (ANF 7:220).

[267]Commonly attributed to Seneca the Elder, not Seneca the Stoic. See The Elder Seneca, translated by M. Winterbottom, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1974), 2:614-615.

[268]Lactantius, Divine Institutes 7.15 (ANF 7:213).

[269]Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.15 (ANF 7:213).

Of all the early Christian systems of historical periodization, however, the system that eventually became the most influential (and which continues to be used throughout the world as a common *Zeitrechnung*) is the system of reckoning years according to the Incarnation of the Lord. Although often attributed to Isidore of Seville, this system was in fact developed by Eusebius of Caesaraea. Eusebius' Canon Chronicle reckoned each series of persons and events in its own terms, and his tables contained chronologies such as the forty second year of the Egyptian eighteenth dynasty, the third year of Augustus, and so on. But alongside all of these parallel chronologies, Eusebius used two events in history as common points of reference. The first was the birth of Abraham, and Eusebius reckoned all persons and events for the next 2015 years of world history in terms of the year of Abraham.[270] Then, in the 2015th year of Abraham, in the third year of the 194th Olympiad, in the thirty-second regnal year of Herod the Great of Judaea, in the forty-second regnal year of Augustus Caesar, "Jesus Christus Filius Dei in Bethlehem Judae nascitur."[271] From the nativity onwards

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[270]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, PG 19:349-529.

[271]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 2015, PG 19:529-532. Eusebius noted that from the creation of Adam until the birth of Jesus there had been "quinque millia ducenti duo minus." He noted also that Tertullian, in his Adversus Judaeos, dated Jesus' birth to the forty first year of Augustus. Eusebius wrote in Greek, not in Latin, but the Canon Chronicle survives only in Jerome's Latin translation, which is quoted here.

Eusebius reckoned the beginning of a new era, that of Christ,[272] which corresponds chronologically and ideologically with the Western Anno Domini, or A. D. system.[273] Thus, Augustus Caesar died in the fifty-sixth year of his reign, in the ninth regnal year of Archelaus of Judaea, in the second year of the 198th Olympiad, and in the fourteenth year of Christ.[274] Jesus was crucified and resurrected in the thirty-third year of the era of Christ.[275] Marcus Aurelius died in the 180th year of the era of Christ.[276] This system of periodization, reckoning years from the Incarnation of Christ until the end of time, gradually became the dominant chronographical system of Western Civilization.[277]

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[272]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, PG 19:530-598.

[273]This system of reckoning was not taken up immediately by the Church. Isidore of Seville, often credited with inventing the nativity-based chronology, in fact did not use it, and continued to reckon events according to the "Spanish Era."

[274]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Christ 14, PG 19:551.

[275]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Christ 33, PG 19:555.

[276]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Christ 180, PG 19:563.

[277]Eusebius' system was modified somewhat by Dionysius Exiguus (fl. 545), who used the Alexandrian 19 year paschal cycle for calculating Easter, and dated the birth of Christ to A.U.C. 754. Dionysius argued that Christians should reckon their years according to the Incarnation, rather than use A.U.C. or the Diocletianic era. Ironically, Dionysius was several years off in his reckoning of Jesus' birth, which resulted in the chronographical incongruity that Jesus was born approximately 4 B. C. Altaner, Patrology, pp. 574-575. Dionysius' extant writings can be found in J. P. Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina, Vol. 67 (Paris, 1867), cols. 9-519. See especially Liber de Paschate (cols. 483-493), and Argumenta

Whatever ages had passed before them, however, the early Church Fathers were certain that the fullness of time was at hand, and that the *Eschaton* was imminent. They were not overworried about the past ages of history, except that they had been fulfilled with the advent of Jesus. Now Christians should prepare for the future, they argued, for the end of the world, and for the last judgment. Accordingly, except for Lactantius' brief attempts to integrate various systems of historical periodization, the early Church Fathers did not undertake any systematic attempt to analyze, understand, and explain the entire human past. That enormous task was taken up by Augustine of Hippo, a man whose writings on time, event, and history are in many ways a culmination and fulfillment of the historiographical traditions of the early Church Fathers.

Paschalia (cols. 492-508). Cassiodorus (490-583), a friend and associate of Dionysius, adopted the Dionysian reckoning for the birth of Christ in his Chronica, edited by Theodor Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissi, Vol. 11, Chronica Minora, Vol. 2, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 109-161. Isidore of Seville does not seem to have been aware of the Dionysian cycle (Etymologiae, 6.17 [Arévalo 3:267-272]), nor did he date any historical events from the Incarnation. Isidore usually dated events according to the regnal years of Visigothic and Byzantine monarchs, or according to the "Spanish Era," which began in 38 B.C. Dating events according to the Christian era was not widely practiced by historians until after Bede used "Anno ab Incarnatio Domini" as the chronological basis for his Ecclesiastical History of the English People in A.D. 731. Thus, "In the year of our Lord 725, which was the seventh year of King Osric of Northumbria ..." Ecclesiastical History, 5.23, translated by Leo Sherley-Price and R. E. Lathem, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1990), p. 322.

CHAPTER 3

CHRISTIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN LATE ANTIQUITY: AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO ON TIME, ETERNITY, EVENTS, AND HISTORY

Saint Augustine of Hippo was a theologian and a philosopher, not an historian. Nevertheless, his famous historiographical digressions, dealing as they do with the higher significance of time, event, and history, have had an impact on western historiography equal to or perhaps greater than the writings of Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, or Livy. His writings dramatically changed Western concepts of time, event, and history. Indeed, they have done so to such an extent that, regardless how modern historians select and organize historical data, their basic philosophical attitudes regarding time and events are those of Augustine.

Although his purposes were primarily theological and pastoral rather than historical, Augustine had some extremely important things to say about the nature of time, event, and history. He had three major points to make: First, he argued that time and history were linear and progressive, and that they were filled with unique and meaningful events, thereby vehemently repudiating the pagan proposition that time and history were cyclic and static, and filled only with meaningless events that were repeated endlessly throughout

time. Second, he argued that, although God intervened salvifically in time, God himself existed outside of time. Finally, he argued that the true meaning of history was not to be found in an accounting of kings and emperors and wars but was to be found instead in studying and learning from God's salvific interventions into time and history.

These points do not sound particularly revolutionary today, nor would they have during the Middle Ages, but in the late fourth and early fifth centuries they were bold departures from the theological, philosophical, and historiographical beliefs that were characteristic of Late Antique paganism.[1] Augustine saw that contemporary pagan attitudes regarding time, event, and history were incompatible with Christianity and were therefore false. Further, since the essential truths of Christianity were in fact incompatible with Late Antique attitudes, Christianity itself was under a sophisticated philosophical attack from exponents of neo-Platonic and Stoic thought.[2] Augustine's purpose was not so much to set out a philosophy of history for Christian historians to adhere to as to refute the

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[1]For the earlier period, see E. R. Dodds, "The Dialogue of Paganism with Christianity," in Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 102-138. For the later period see Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century," pp. 79-99.

[2]Critics included Julian the Apostate, Eunapius, Aurelius Victor, Symmachus, and proponents of the still attractive Platonic and neo-Platonic speculative systems of Plotinus and Porphyry. Augustine also had to deal with attacks on Christianity by Manichaeans, particularly the bold assault of Faustus.

various attacks on Christianity that derived from the Late Antique conceptions of time, event, and history.[3] He wanted to demonstrate the superiority and validity of the Christian faith.[4]

Augustine's discussions of time, event, and history were written over the course of some four decades, from his excogitations on past events and the human memory in De Magistro,[5] written in 389, to his final thoughts on the subject in Book 22 of De Civitate Dei, completed in 427.[6] Although these writings were "not planned by Augustine as a careful and thorough exposition" of a systematic Christian

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[3]Momigliano believes that Augustine and Orosius did *not* write their historical works to refute pagans such as Julian, Porphyry, Symmachus and Ammianus Marcellinus, but instead they tried to refute the nostalgic epitomizers of early Roman history: religious and literary antiquarians who looked back to the "good old days" of Rome before Christianity had made such a mess of things. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century," pp. 94-99. Whether or not Momigliano is right, Orosius' Seven Books Against the Pagans certainly demonstrated that the Romans themselves were perfectly capable of making a mess of things long before the Christians showed up to help them.

[4]Augustine may also have been determined to refute any ancient ideas that he believed should not be "appropriated" into Christianity, such as cyclic history. One of the many charges he levelled against heretics was that they had drawn many of their heretical ideas from pagan philosophy.

[5]Augustine, De Magistro, edited by Klaus-Detlef Daur, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 29 (Turnholt, Brepols, 1970), pp. 139-203.

[6]A chronology of Augustinian texts relevant to this study is appended to the end of this volume. For a more detailed Augustinian chronology, see Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo: A Biography. (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), pp. 16-17, 74-77, 184-187, 282-285, 378-379.

interpretation of time, event, and history,[7] there is a remarkable consistency to them. At no point does he depart from the three basic principles outlined above, viz., that time is linear and progressive; that God exists outside of time; and that the true meaning of history is God's salvific interventions.

Like Augustine's larger *corpus*, however, the writings wherein he considered time, eternity, events and history do not evince any attempt at a systematic theology, because generally they were not written so much to expound Christian doctrine as they were composed to combat specific heterodoxies that the Christians (and often only African Christians) were facing.[8] Further, most of his arguments

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[7]As Paul Lehmann, writing in a somewhat different context, remarks of the anti-Pelagian writings. "The Anti-Pelagian Writings," p. 207, in A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, ed., Roy Battenhouse. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 203-234.

[8]Augustine's De Magistro, De Genesi ad Litteram libri duodecim, and the Confessiones were written during his anti-Manichaean period. De Trinitate derived from his anti-Donatist period. De Civitate Dei and De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali date from his anti-Pelagian period. Although Augustine wrote about time, event, and history in all of these texts, in each instance he emphasized different aspects of the topics under discussion. The degree of emphasis differed so markedly from writing to writing that at least one modern scholar has found it necessary to try to reconcile Augustine's apparently divergent theories of time. J. Morrison, "Augustine's Two Theories of Time," New Scholasticism, 45 (1971), pp. 600-610. Not only does Morrison miss the point, that Augustine stressed different but not necessarily divergent aspects of time as the situation required it, but Morrison continues to assume that Augustine should be considered as a systematic theologian. Instead, an analogy from the American Forest Service might be more appropriate: Augustine was like a smoke jumper, boldly leaping from hot spot to hot spot in a valiant attempt to

were adversarial rather than evangelical: he would make a point against the Donatists rather than establish a definitive point of dogma. Thus there is no Augustinian Summa (at least not until Anselm of Canterbury derived one in the twelfth century), and therefore we should not say "Augustine writes this about free will," but should say instead "in refuting the Pelagians, Augustine makes this adversarial point about the human will." Augustine himself acknowledged that his works were incidental and tentative rather than systematic and authoritative when he said that he wrote because he had made intellectual or spiritual progress, and that the very process of writing enabled him to make further progress.[9] Nevertheless, and despite its incidental and adversarial nature, what the Augustinian *corpus* "lacks in systematic form it gains in vitality."[10]

Although Augustine dramatically affected the way that history was written in Western civilization, he himself did not compose any explicitly historical writings; what he wrote was Christian apologetic, which he saw as much more valuable than mere history.[11] Despite this *caveat*, it is widely

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extinguish the fires of heresy. Unlike God, Augustine lived in time, and was mutable.

[9]Augustine, Epistolae, 143.2 PL 33:xx.

[10]Lehmann, "The Anti-Pelagian Writings," p. 207.

[11]In De Civitate Dei, 3.17 Augustine wrote that he was unable to write his own account of Roman history, but instead borrowed historical material from other authors. See also De Civitate Dei, 3.18, where Augustine wrote that if he were to recount all of the calamities of the Punic wars he would turn

recognized that the philosophical and historiographical digressions in many of Augustine's writings get at the very core of history itself. In De Civitate Dei he wrote that he wished to challenge the Stoic and Neo-Platonic[12] theory of cyclic repetitions in history and consequently argued that time and history were both linear and non-repetitive.[13] In De Trinitate and elsewhere he suggested various (and overlapping) systems of periodization, positing, for example, that human history could be divided into a time before the advent of Mosaic Law, a time when man was subject to the Law, and the current period of history, a time when man lives under Grace.[14] In book eleven of his Confessiones, Augustine wrote that he wanted to understand the underlying nature of

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into "just another chronicler." Augustine saw his De Civitate Dei as apologetic, and not as history.

[12]"Neo-Platonic," of course, is a modern term. Augustine called Porphyry a Platonist.

[13]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.20 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:376), "Nunc enim contra opinionem disputamus, qua illi circuitus asseruntur, quibus semper eadem per intervalla temporum necesse esse repeti existimantur." De Civitate Dei has often been referred to as Augustine's response to the charge that Christianity was ultimately responsible for the sack of Rome. As Peter Brown notes, this is at best an extremely simplistic understanding. Brown, Augustine of Hippo, p. 312.

[14]Augustine, De Trinitate, 4.4.7, edited by W. J. Mountain, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), p. 170, "unum tempus computamus ante legem, alterum sub lege, tertium sub gratia." This periodization is adopted from St. Paul's tripartite division into periods of death, law, and grace, in Romans 5.12-14.

time itself.[15] In De Magistro, he asserted that it was impossible for humans to write or talk about the past; they could consider only those impressions of the past that were stored in the memory.[16]

In all of these areas Augustine carefully considered the interrelationship of continuum and change, the characteristics of time, event, and history, thus wrestling with what Marc Bloch calls "the great problem of historical inquiry."[17] He not only explored the nature of time, but, as Christopher Dawson has noted, "was actually the first man in the world to discover the meaning of time,"[18] that is, he discovered that time was not merely an attribute of the cosmos, but that it had an essential function in the created

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[15]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.23.30 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:209), "Ego scire cupio uim naturamque temporis."

[16]Augustine, De Magistro, 12.39 (ed. Daur, CCSL 29:197). "Cum uero non de his, quae coram sentimus, sed de his, quae aliquando sensimus, quaeritur, non iam res ipsas, sed imagines ab eis impressas memoriaeque mandatas loquimur." Augustine briefly discussed the ability of the human memory to "hold" images of vast size and power in Contra Epistolam Manichaei, 17, translated by R. Stothert as Against the Epistle of Manichaeus, in Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, First Series, Vol. 4 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1887), p. 137.

[17]Marc Bloch, The Historian's Craft, translated by Peter Putnam (New York: Random House, 1953), p. 28. The complete text is: "Now, this real time is in essence a continuum. It is also perpetual change. The great problem of historical inquiry derives from the antithesis of these two attributes."

[18]Christopher Dawson, "St. Augustine and his Age," in A Monument to St. Augustine, ed., M. C. D'Arcy. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1930), p. 69.

universe.[19] His "inventive audacity" allowed him to reject practically the entire historiographical tradition of the ancient world, to develop a Christian "philosophy of history," and to try to understand the nature of "irreversible historic becoming."[20]

Augustine explained his understanding of the nature of time, event, and history most explicitly when he confronted and refuted the neo-Platonic and Stoic concepts of cyclic history,[21] thereby attacking what Mircea Eliade calls "the

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[19]It was in time, for example, that souls were either saved or lost. Robert Jordan, "Time and Contingency in St. Augustine," in Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays, edited by Robert A. Markus (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1972), p. 257. Likewise it was in time that God chose to reveal his ultimate redemptive act, the Christ event. Jaroslav Pelikan, The Myth of Continuity: Time and History, Memory and Eternity in the Thought of Saint Augustine. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1986), p. 39. Augustine's contributions to our understanding of time are very often overlooked today. G. J. Whitrow, in his The Natural Philosophy of Time (London: Thomas Nelson, 1961), devotes some 34 pages to the historical development of man's notion of time and memory (pp. 77-115), yet fails to mention Augustine even once, although Augustine had turned up *en passant* on page 30, note 1. Augustine is similarly neglected (although not so utterly ignored) in Stephen Toulmin and June Goodfield, The Discovery of Time (London: Hutchinson, 1965).

[20]Jacques Maritain, "St. Augustine and St. Thomas," in A Monument to St. Augustine, ed., D'Arcy, p. 220. The complete text is: "Augustine's inventive audacity, more disposed to take risks in the region of probability than St. Thomas's theological prudence, sought to obtain some understanding even of the mere succession of events in human history; relying on scripture, Augustine created a philosophy of history. [This]...and the sentiment of irreversible historic becoming, of the world's movement and development in the sense of time is, in our opinion, one of the most precious jewels of our Augustinian inheritance."

[21]If David Ulansey is right, Mithraism was another ancient religious system that offered its initiates a unique interpretation of time, ages of the world, and cosmic cycles.

myth of the eternal return."[22] Belief in this doctrine of cosmic cycles was so widespread in Late Antiquity that J. B. Bury described it as practically "the orthodox theory of

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Ulansey does not interpret the ubiquitous Mithraic Tauroctony in terms of a life-renewing sacrifice based on supposed Iranian archetypes, as Franz Cumont had. Instead, Ulansey explains the bull sacrifice in terms of Mithras/Perseus as lord of time and lord of the precession of the equinox intervening in the current cosmic cycle to bring about the end of the age of Taurus (the previous world age, when Taurus was on the celestial equator during the vernal equinox) and move the entire universe into the age of Pisces (the present world age, when Pisces is on the celestial equator during the vernal equinox). This Mithraic symbolism was not Iranian in origin, but instead developed by "a group of Stoicizing intellectuals in the Cilician capital of Tarsus interested in the traditional Stoic concerns of astrology, astral religion, and astronomical cycles [who] learned of Hipparchus' discovery of the precession of the equinoxes. They hypothesized the existence of a new divinity responsible for this cosmic phenomenon, a divinity capable of moving the structure of the entire cosmos and thus a divinity of great power." Ulansey, The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 93. See especially pp. 93-103. Since the Mithraic mysteries were secret, Augustine could not have known about them, and I do not suggest at this point that he actively refuted specifically Mithraic concepts of cyclic time. Nevertheless, this discovery about Mithraism further demonstrates the strong and abiding interest that ancient philosophies and religious systems had concerning time, eternity, and cosmic cycles. If Ulansey is right about the connection between Stoicism and Mithraism, then my comment in Chapter One that "there was no direct and open link in the pagan world between a personal philosophy and a philosophy of history" may have to be amended somewhat, although the existence of a Mithraic cosmology that explained the precession of the equinoxes in terms of a lord of time is only marginally comparable to the Christian attempt to explain all of time, eternity, and history in terms of Jesus Christ.

[22]For a seminal discussion of concepts of linear and cyclic history, see Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return, especially. pp. 35, 104. 143.

cosmic time" among Greek and Roman philosophers.[23] Unlike Augustine, Late Antique pagan philosophers "did not think of a divine purpose being worked out in and through the mess of history."[24] Augustine knew better.

Augustine was remarkably familiar with the theory of cosmic cycles. He knew the cyclic theorists believed that the cosmos repeated itself throughout history, and that there was an unending cycle of renewal and repetition of the natural order, within which cycle each being and every event would be exactly duplicated time and time again as age followed upon age and cycle followed upon cycle.[25] He certainly understood the philosophy behind Marcus Aurelius' comment that "a rational soul ... can reach out into eternity, embracing and comprehending the great cyclic renewals of creation, and thereby perceiving that future generations will have nothing new to witness, even as our

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[23]J. B. Bury, The Idea of Progress, an Inquiry into its Origin and Growth (New York: MacMillan, 1932; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1987), p. 12. Similarly, Richard Morris, Time's Arrows (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 24. For a more complete discussion, see Richard Sorabji, Time, Creation, and the Continuum: Theories in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (London: Duckworth, 1983).

[24]Henry Chadwick, Augustine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 31,32.

[25]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.14 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:368), "Hanc autem se philosophi mundi huius non aliter putaueruent posse uel debere dissoluere, nisi ut circuitus temporum inducerent, quibus eadem semper fuisse renouata atque repita in rerum natura atque ita deinceps fore sine cessatione adseuerarent uolumina uenientium et praetereuntium saeculorum."

forefathers beheld nothing more than we of today,"[26] and Cicero's "time is like the unwinding of a cable; it creates nothing new, but only unfolds each event in its order."[27] Indeed, the notion of cyclic recurrence was so attractive to the ancient world that even Origen, who ridiculed and explicitly condemned the theory of cyclic repetitions,[28] subscribed to the concept in some measure, positing a cycle of successive non-identical creations: "There were ages before our own," he wrote, and "there will be others after it . . . after the end of this present world, others will take their beginning."[29] Faced with the ubiquitous nature of these various cyclic theories, the ever vigilant bishop of Hippo resolved to make "a full-scale assault" on these notions.[30]

Augustine was contemptuous of cyclic history, saying

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[26]Marcus Aurelius, Meditations 11.1, translated by Staniforth, p. 165.

[27]Translated by Jason Saunders, in Greek and Roman Philosophy after Aristotle, p. 102. Saunders translates from J. von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, 2.944.

[28]Origen, On First Principles, 2.3.4 (ANF 4:272-273).

[29]Origen, On First Principles, 3.5.3 (ANF 4:342). Origen cites Biblical passages referring to "a new heaven and a new earth," such as Revelation 21.1; 21.5.

[30]Chadwick, Augustine, p. 72. Nor did Augustine spare Origen's moderate acceptance of periodic cataclysms and creations. He denounced Origen's views on this point in various works, writing in the De Civitate Dei that the Church was right to condemn Origen for "his theory of the incessant alteration of misery and bliss, the endless shuttling to and fro between those states at predetermined epochs." Augustine, The City of God, 21.17, translated by Bettenson, p. 995.

that even if it were not possible to refute these cyclic philosophies through reason, then faith should cause a Christian to laugh at such ideas.[31] Nonetheless, he was at least somewhat sympathetic to the reasons behind the neo-Platonic and Stoic insistence on cyclic time. Many pagan philosophers believed that God must necessarily be immutable, and their cyclic theories were an elaborate attempt to explain the perfect immutability of the divine mind.[32] They saw that the world around them was mutable, and since they considered God to be a part of time and the universe the only way they saw to reconcile the mutability of time and history with the immutability of God was to explain time and history in terms of cycles. Time and history could move, the theory went, but as the eternal cycles looped ever back onto one another, there would be no real change or development in the universe. This notion allowed for a God who was present both in time and in the universe, but also allowed for a God who was himself immutable.[33] The primary problem with this

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[31]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.18 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:374). "Has argumentationes, quibus impii nostram simplicen pietatem, ut cum illis in circuitu ambulemus, de uia recta conantur auertere, si ratio refutare non posset, fides inridere deberet."

[32]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.18 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:374), "mentem diuinam omnino inmutabilem." Not only was the mind of God unchangeable, but also the divine plan: Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.4 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:324), "incommutabilitate consilii Dei."

[33]Many modern Christians, often responding to the apocalyptic horrors of World Wars One and Two or the genocidal proclivities of communist states, have departed from this Chalcedonian orthodoxy and questioned the notion

cosmology, for Christians at any rate, was that it made time and history meaningless; the prophecies of the Old Testament, the sacrifice of Jesus, even the resurrection itself, all became irrelevant.[34]

Augustine's solution to the problem of the relationship between the perfect immutability of God[35] and the obvious changes that occur in the physical universe was a radical one: He argued for a cosmos wherein God existed outside of time,[36] in a changeless and timeless eternity.[37] God's

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that God is impassible and changeless. For a recent introduction to and analysis of this ancient and troublesome question, see Paul S. Fiddes, The Creative Suffering of God (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[34]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.14 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:369).

[35]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.4.33 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:324), "cum in nullo sit omnino mutabilis."

[36]Clement of Alexandria had earlier taught that God was "above both space and time, and name, and conception" Clement, Stromata, 2.2 (ANF 2:348); 5.11 (ANF 2:461).

[37]Augustine, Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim, 8.20.39, PL 34:388. "Hic ergo incommutabili aeternitate uiuens creauit omnia simul, ex quibus currerent tempora et inplerentur loca temporalibusque et localibus rerum motibus saecula uoluerentur." See also Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.6 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:326), "in cuius aeternitate nulla est omnino mutatio." Although radical within the context of Stoicism and Neoplatonism, Augustine's attempt to reconcile the immutability of God with the obvious mutability of the visible world was fully within the cosmological tradition of Church Fathers such as Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian, as described above. Tertullian's description of God's goodness, for example, terms it "without all order of a beginning, and all mode of time, it will be reckoned to possess an age, measureless in extent and endless in duration, ... [but] no sort of temporal sequence." Tertullian, Against Marcion, 2.3 (ANF 3:299). For Tertullian's argument that God exists independently of time, see Against Marcion, 1.3 (ANF 3:273); 1.8 (ANF 3:276);

immutable plan, however, was worked out in a linear fashion inside of time.[38] This solution allowed Augustine to insist that "though God is eternal, time is real, and that human history is neither a dreamlike appearance of eternity nor a perpetual cycle in which nothing is new."[39]

Having thus discovered God in eternity rather than in time, Augustine found it necessary to discuss the nature of eternity. This was an extremely difficult task for mortal

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3.5 (ANF 3:324). The Gnostics also argued that the supreme god existed outside of time, and was both superior to time, and independent of it. See The Sophia of Jesus Christ, III.94.1-96.15 (NHL 224-225); Allogenes, XI.63.22-24 (NHL 498). The major difference, of course, is that Gnostics believed time to be an inferior creation of the creator archon that was a materialistic mockery of true eternity, whereas the Church Fathers insisted that God had created time.

[38]Augustine, Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim, 5.11.27, PL 34.330. "Sed illud etiam atque etiam consideremus, utrum possit nobis per omnia constare sententia quae dicebamus, aliter operatum Deum omnes creaturas prima conditione, a quibus operibus in die septimo requievit; aliter istam earum administrationem, qua usque nunc operantur: id est, tunc omnia simul sine ullis temporalium morarum intervallis; nunc autem per temporum moras, quibus videmus sidera moueri ab ortu ad occasum." See also Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.6 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:326), "Quod enim fit in tempore, et post aliquod fit et ante aliquod tempus; post id quod praeteritum est, ante quod futurum est." Again, Augustine's argument that God was working out his plan in time and through history was fully consistent with early Christian thought, as described above, but it was totally at odds with the Gnostic tradition, which saw time as a prison.

[39]William Christian, "The Creation of the World," in A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine, edited by Roy Battenhouse (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 328. It was the Gnostics, of course, who taught that time was a false and dreamlike mockery of eternity (Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.17.2 [ANF 1:342-343]). The Stoics and the Epicureans taught that time repeated itself eternally in an unending cycle.

men, he wrote, for however much we might try to comprehend the nature of eternity, humans can conceive of eternity only in terms of movement and change that have occurred or will occur in the familiar temporal periods of past and future.[40] He began to describe eternity by contrasting it with time and movement, noting that eternity is that which is forever still, whereas time is that which is never still.[41] Eternity is still because in eternity there is no change;[42] God exists all at once,[43] Augustine argued, and has neither past nor

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[40]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.11.13 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:200-201). "Qui haec dicunt, nondum te intellegunt, quomodo fiant, quae per te atque in te fiunt, et conantur aeterna sapere, sed adhuc in praeteritis et futuris rerum motibus cor eorum uolitat et adhuc uanum est." The task is no easier today, and Etienne Gilson notes that "superhuman efforts are required of us if we would understand the relation of created time to creative eternity...since we ourselves are subject, even within our minds, to the law of becoming, we cannot picture how that which is permanent exists." Etienne Gilson, The Christian Philosophy of St. Augustine. (New York: Random House, 1960; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1983), pp. 191-195. Writing some six hundred years before Augustine, Plato had made a similar comment about the "inaccurate modes of expression" that we must necessarily use when talking about time. Plato, Timaeus, 37e-38c, in The Collected Dialogues of Plato, ed. Hamilton and Cairns, pp. 1166-1167.

[41]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.11.13 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:201). "Quis tenebit illud et figet illud, ut paululum stet et paululum rapiat splendorem semper stantis aeternitatis comparet cum temporibus numquam stantibus et uideat esse incomparabilem."

[42]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.6 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:326), "in aeternitate autem nulla mutatio est."

[43]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.13.16 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:202). "Anni tui omnes simul stant, quoniam stant... Anni tui dies unus, et dies tuus non cotidie, sed hodie, quia hodiernus tuus non cedit crastino; neque enim succedit hesterno." See also Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.16 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:372), "Ille enim semper fuit

future, only the eternal present.[44]

Eternity, then, became an uncreated characteristic of God. Time, Augustine argued repeatedly, was a creature, that is, time exists only because God created it.[45] In fact, in

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aeternitate inmutabii." This recalls Irenaeus' comment that God is "sine initio et sine fine, vere et semper idem," Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 2.34.2, PG 7, pt. 1, col. 835. See also Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.2, PG 7, pt. 1, col. 1002, "Deus semper idem est."

[44]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.11.13 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:201), "non autem praeterire quidquam in aeterno, sed totum esse praesens." See also Augustine, Confessiones, 11.13.16 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:202), "Hodiernus tuus aeternitas;" Tertullian, Against Marcion, 1.3 (ANF 3:273); 1.8 (ANF 3:276); 3.5 (ANF 3:324). The concept of the "eternal present" was familiar to neo-Platonists through Plotinus, who argued that 'The Intelligence,' one of the primal hypostases, "embraces all, possesses all in unchanging identity. It 'is' alone. And it always has this character of presentness. Future it has not; already it is all it could ever later become. Past it has not; no intelligible entity ever passes away. All it contains exists in an eternal present." Plotinus, Enneads, 5.1.4, translated by E. O'Brien, in The Essential Plotinus, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett, 1981), p. 95. This is similar to Parmenides' concept of true being: "It was not in the past, nor shall it be, since it is now, all at once, one, continuous." Parmenides, Fragment 8, The Presocratic Philosophers, ed. Kirk and Raven, p. 273.

[45]Augustine, De Genesi ad Litteram imperfectus liber, 3.7, PL 34.222, "et quoniam etiam tempus ipsum creatura est." De Genesi ad Litteram imperfectus liber, 3.8, PL 34.223, "illud certe accipiendum est in fide, etiamsi modum nostrae cogitationis excedit, omnem creaturam habere initium; tempusque ipsum creaturam esse, ac per hoc ipsum habere initium, nec coaeternam esse creatori." De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.44 (ed. Martin & Daur, CCSL 32:62). "Narratione autem historica cum praeterita etiam hominum instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa historia numeranda est, quia iam quae transierunt nec infecta fieri possunt, in ordine temporum habenda sunt, quorum est conditor et administrator deus." De Civitate Dei, 12.15 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:369), "quando quidem altitudinem Dei penetrare non possunt; qua, cum ipse sit aeternus et sine initio, ab aliquo tamen initio est excorsus tempora et hominem ..." De Civitate Dei, 12.16 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:371), "sicut ergo dicimus creatum tempus." De Gratia

answer to those who concern themselves with what God was doing before he created the universe,[46] Augustine remarked that the very question was ridiculous.[47] There was no divine inactivity before creation because time itself was a creature and there could be no 'before' antecedent to the creation of time.[48] The universe and time were created simultaneously, and it was inane for men to envisage a previous time of

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Christi et de Peccato Originali, 2.27.32, PL 44:401, "diuinitas uero eius omne tempus excedit, quia per illam universa facta sunt tempora." See also Tertullian, Against Marcion, 2.3 (ANF 3:299); 5.17 (ANF 3:465). For the Gnostic argument that time was a creature brought into existence by an inferior being, see Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 1.17.2 (ANF 1:342-343). Plato had also argued that time was a creature. Plato, Timaeus, 37d-38c, in The Collected Dialogues of Plato, ed. Hamilton and Cairns, p. 1167.

[46]Such as Cicero, The Nature of the Gods 1.21-22, translated by H. McGregor (Baltimore: Penguin, 1972), p. 78.

[47]Irenaeus argued that the answer "remains with God, and it is not proper for us to aim at bringing forward foolish, rash, and blasphemous suppositions." Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 2.28.3 (ANF 1:400).

[48]Augustine, Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim, 5.5.12, PL 34:325, "Factae itaque creaturae motibus coeperunt currere tempora: unde ante creaturam frustra tempora requiruntur, quasi possint inveniri ante tempora tempora." Confessiones, 11.13.15 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:202), "cum ergo sis operator omnium temporum, si fuit aliquod tempus, antequam faceres caelum et terram, cum dicitur, quod ab opere cessebas? Id ipsum enim tempus tu feceras, nec praeterire potuerunt tempora, antequam faceres tempora. Si autem ante caelum et terram nullum erat tempus, cur quaeritur, quid tunc faciebas? Non enim erat tunc, ubi, non erat tempus." This is similar to Tertullian, who argued that "before" did not exist antecedent to God's creation of time. Tertullian, Against Marcion, 2.3 (ANF 3:299). See also Athanasius' response to the Arians, "for how did time or age at all subsist when the Word, as you [Arians] say, had not appeared, 'through' whom 'all things have been made and without' whom 'not one thing was made?'" Athanasius, Against the Arians, 1.4.13 (NPNF2 4:314). Athanasius quotes from John 1.3, "all things came to be through him, and without him nothing came to be."

divine idleness, since time did not even exist before the creation of the world.[49]

Neither does creation itself imply a change in the divine plan, Augustine argued, since the origination of the universe was within God's conception from eternity,[50] and

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[49]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.5 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:326), "respondetur eis isto modo inaniter homines cogitare praeterita tempora uacationis Dei, cum tempus nullum sit ante mundum." Augustine, Confessiones, 11.13.15 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:202), "cum ergo sis operator omnium temporum, si fuit aliquod tempus, antequam faceres caelum et terram, cum dicitur, quod ab opere cessebas? Id ipsum enim tempus tu feceras, nec praeterire potuerunt tempora, antequam faceres tempora. Si autem ante caelum et terram nullum erat tempus, cur quaeritur, quid tunc faciebas? Non enim erat tunc, ubi, non erat tempus." See also Origen, On First Principles, 3.5.3 (ANF 4:341). The Christian proposition that time and creation began together is in agreement with Plato, Timaeus, 37c-38d, in The Collected Dialogues of Plato, ed. Hamilton and Cairns, pp. 1166-1167, and also with Philo of Alexandria, On the Account of the World's Creation Given by Moses, 7.26, translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, Philo, Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1929), Vol. 1, p. 21. Cicero, on the other hand, held that "from all eternity there has been an infinite time, unmeasurable by any periodical divisions." Cicero, The Nature of the Gods, 1.21, translated by H. McGregor, p. 78.

[50]On the question posed by Origen, On First Principles, 1.2.10 (ANF 4:249-250), as to whether or not creation was an essential aspect of God, since God could not be eternally sovereign if there were no creation for him to be sovereign over, Augustine says that he has no answer. Augustine suggests that people should avoid that particular question because it is simply too hard. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.16 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:370-372). This was a recurring issue in patristic thought. As early as the second century Irenaeus had argued for the necessity of creation, writing that since Jesus "had a pre-existence as a saving Being, it was necessary that what might be saved should also be called into existence, in order that the Being who saves should not exist in vain." Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.22.3 (ANF 1:455). Clement of Alexandria taught that God could not be completely fulfilled in his goodness unless he created man. Clement of Alexandria, The Instructor, 1.3, translated by W. Wilson, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 2 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885),

thus occurred without change or development either in the divine will or the divine plan.[51] By describing a changeless God who is outside of time, and by subordinating time to creaturely status, Augustine solved two of the more

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pp. 210-211. Origen argued that "the title of Omnipotent in God cannot be said to be older than that of Father," Origen, On First Principles, 1.2.10 (ANF 4:250). Tertullian argued that God was not "Lord" until after the act of creation, because prior to creation there was nothing for him to be Lord over. Tertullian, Against Hermogenes, 3, translated by Peter Holmes, in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 3 (Buffalo, New York: The Christian Literature Publishing Company), 1885, pp. 478-479. Augustine had earlier expressed an opinion similar to these in De Trinitate, where he argued that the title "Lord" was not eternal to God because that would imply that God's creatures were eternal beings rather than created beings; further, since man was created in time the Lordship over man was something that had happened to God in time (although God was not changed by having that happen to him). Augustine, De Trinitate, 5.16.17 (ed. Mountain, CCSL 50:225).

All of these patristic arguments are similar to the Zoroastrian teaching that before creation God was not Lord, since there was no goodness to be Lord over apart from himself, and that the Lordship of God necessarily derives from creation. Further, God created time, without which the universe could not exist. And finally, unless God created the universe goodness would not be able to triumph over evil and God could not realize his full nature as a saving being, since there would be no creatures that needed to be saved. Greater Bundahishn, 1.1-35, translated by Mary Boyce, Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism, pp. 45-47. Despite these similarities, however, there is no evidence that the Church Fathers had any direct knowledge of Zoroastrian doctrines. Nevertheless, the similarities between Gnostic, Christian, and Zoroastrian concepts of time, creation, eternity, and salvation certainly indicate some sort of religious cross-fertilization.

[51]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.15 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:370), "nec consilium uoluntatemque mutasse." See also Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 2.3.2 (ANF 1:362), where Irenaeus argued that creation had been a part of God's plan, and that the act of creation does not imply either change in God, or change in the divine plan. Implicit in Irenaeus' argument is the proposition that creation was not a tragic mistake, as the Gnostics argued, but fully conceived in the mind of God and a manifestation of God's goodness.

troublesome cosmological difficulties of neo-Platonic and Stoic thought: that of an omniscient and changeless God, and that of change and continuum in the universe. Augustine's cosmology revealed an unoriginated God who created beings that were subject to change yet who does not change himself,[52] a God who originated creatures that were themselves subject to movement and development in time yet who remains himself without either temporal movement or development.[53]

Having argued for the supratemporal existence of God, and having demonstrated that time was a creature, Augustine next considered time itself.[54] He wanted to understand the

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[52]This is similar to Irenaeus, who wrote, "in this respect God differs from man, that God indeed makes, but man is made; and truly, he who makes is always the same, but that which is made must receive both a beginning, and middle, and addition, and increase.... God is always the same." Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 4.11.2 (ANF 1:474). "Et hoc Deus ab homine differt, quoniam Deus quidem facit, homo autem fit: et quidem qui facit, semper idem est: quod autem fit, et initium, et medietatem, et adjectionem, et augmentum accipere debet.... Deus semper idem est..." PG 7 pt. 1, col. 1002b. See also Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 2.34.2, where God is "sine initio et sine fine, vere et semper idem..." PG 7 pt. 1, col. 835c.

[53]Augustine, De Trinitate, 1.1.3 (ed. Mountain, CCSL 50:30), "Proinde substantiam dei sine ulla sui commutatione mutabila facientem, et sine ullo suo temporali motu temporalia creantem, intueri et plene nosse difficile est." Again, this recalls Tertullian, Against Marcion, 1.3 (ANF 3:273), 1.8 (ANF 3:276); 3.5 (ANF 3:324).

[54]For the possibiliity that the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers might have influenced Augustine's concept of time, see John Callahan, "Basil of Caesarea: A New Source for St. Augustine's Theory of Time," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 63 (1958), 437-454. Panagiōtēs Tzamalikos, disputes Callahan's argument in "Origen: The Source of Augustine's Theory of Time," Philosophia 17/18 (1987/88), 386-414 (English text), 414-418 (Greek summary).

very nature and vitality of time.[55] In a famous passage he inquired: "What is time? If no one asks me, then I know; but if someone inquires and I try to explain it, then I do not know. Still, I do know that if nothing passed, then there would be no past time, and if there were nothing still to come, there would not be a future time, and if nothing were, there would not be a present time."[56]

After a caveat regarding the difficulties of his topic, and after his humble entreaty "I ask, Father, I do not

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In this arrogant and mean spirited polemic, Tzamalikos argues that Augustine plagiarized his most interesting ideas about time from Latin translations of Origen, and not from the Cappadocian Fathers (all of whom constantly plagiarized from Origen, he tells us), but that Augustine borrowed wrongly because he had a "false knowledge" about Origen's actual opinions (p. 413). Not content with repeatedly calling St. Basil and St. Augustine plagiarists, Tzamilikos goes on to argue that he is smart; that most other scholars are wrong, dull, ignorant, or otherwise incapable; and that people should read his dissertation. In fact, instead of offering proof for his many assertions, Tzamilikos constantly refers the reader to his own unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, and cites it not even by page, but by chapter! Tzamilikos' argument that Origen is the source of Augustine's theory of time may be valid, but Tzamalikos' approach to his topic, and his utter disregard of civility, make for extremely tiresome reading.

[55]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.23.30 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:209), "Ego scire cupio uim naturamque temporis." There is an excellent analytical summary of Augustine's temporal excogitations in Hugh Lacey, "Empiricism and Augustine's Problems about Time," in Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Marcus, pp. 280-308.

[56]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.14.17 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:202-203). "Quid est ergo tempus? Si nemo ex me quaerat, scio; si quaerenti explicare uelim, nescio; fidenter tamen dico scire me, quod, si nihil praeteriret, non esset praeteritum tempus, et si nihil adueniret, non esset futurem tempus, et si nihil esset, non esset praesens tempus." My translation. See also Augustine, De Genesi ad litteram libri Duodecim, 5.5.12, PL 34:325-326.

assert; preside over [my inquiry] and counsel me,"[57] Augustine dove headlong into a complex and prayerlike excogitation on the nature of time. Almost immediately he linked time to impermanence and motion. There are no times that are coeternal with God, he wrote, because God is permanent, whereas "if times were permanent, they would not be times."[58] Elsewhere he added that "time does not exist without movement and transformation, whereas in eternity there is no change."[59]

This point of departure was similar to Stoic and neo-Platonic notions of time. The Greek philosopher Aetius wrote in his Ξυναγωγὴ that "most of the Stoics assert that motion itself is the essence of time."[60] Philo noted that "time is a measured space determined by the world's movement."[61] Yet

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[57]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.17.22 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:205). "Quaero, pater, non affirmo: deus meus, praeside mihi et regne me." My translation.

[58]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.14.17 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:202), "Et nulla tempora tibi coaeterna sunt, quia tu permanes; at illa si permanerent, non essent tempora." My translation.

[59]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.6 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:326), "Si enim recte discernuntur aeternitas et tempus, quod tempus sine aliqua mobili mutabilitate non est, in aeternitate autem nulla mutatio est." My translation.

[60]Aetius, fragment from the Ξυναγωγὴ περὶ ἀρεσκόντων, translated by Jason Saunders, in Greek and Roman Philosophy After Aristotle, p. 89. Saunders translates from J. von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, 2.514.

[61]Philo, On the Account of the World's Creation Given by Moses, 7.26, (Colson and Whitaker, p. 21). Similarly, Tertullian had argued that time was a measure of the duration possessed by creatures that have a beginning and an end. Tertullian, Against Marcion, 1.8 (ANF 3:276).

Augustine was not content to identify time with motion, even with celestial motion. He noted that in Joshua 10.13 the sun stood still while the war went on: time and change continued to be manifested.[62] He eventually concluded that although "no body can move except in time," time itself "is not the motion of a body."[63]

If time is not motion, then perhaps it is time itself that moves, for "time derives its length from many movements into the past of things that cannot exist simultaneously,... all of the past is propelled [backwards] by the future and all of the future follows [into] the past"[64] This solution he found similarly unsatisfactory since it did not explain where the future came from, where the past has gone to, or what exactly it was that was moving. He returned to a consideration of change and found a partial solution there.

All created things exist in time and are subject to change. When something changes, it is no longer exactly the thing it was; its new state of existence, that is, its condition after change, seems to be such that it cannot exist simultaneously with its previous self. This is like the old

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[62]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.23.29 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:208-209).

[63]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.24.31 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:210), "Nam corpus nullum nisi in tempore moueri ... Non [est] ergo tempus corporis motus." My translation.

[64]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.11.13 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:201), "longum tempus nisi ex multis praetereunibus motibus, quae simul extendi non possunt,... omne praeteritum propelli ex future ex omne futurum ex praeterito consequi ..." My translation.

adage that no two things can be in the same place at the same time. Once something changes, it is no longer what it was; it becomes a different thing, and that different thing must necessarily exist either in a different place or in a different time. Time, it turns out, has not only to do with change, but with successive states of existence: "those things that cannot exist simultaneously exist in succession to one another."[65] Time becomes something like a "measurable successiveness"[66] of change.

The problem with this solution is that it tends to rob time of any reality. It leaves open the possibility that more than one thing does exist in a single place at the same time, but that man is simply unable to perceive those multiple existences. Time would then become a mode of perception that is perhaps more of a psychological reality than an objective reality.[67] There is no doubt, however, that Augustine believed in the objective existence of time: in several places he explicitly remarked that God created

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[65]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 11.6 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:326), "quae simul esse non possunt, cedit atque succedit." My translation.

[66]The phrase is that of Jordan, "Time and Contingency in St. Augustine," p. 272.

[67]Etienne Gilson hopes that human perceptions do reflect an objective reality, although he cannot prove it any more than Augustine could. He writes: "Our inability to perceive things simultaneously and in the unity of an indivisible act is primarily the inability of things to exist simultaneously in a permanent and stable unity." Gilson, The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine, p. 195.

time.[68] If God created time, then time must necessarily exist. Still, Augustine "wanted to know whether time is a feature of the objective physical world, or whether time is a subjective phenomenon; whether temporal relations are relations among physical events, or relations among private, mental events."[69]

The debate over these two possibilities was not limited to Augustine. Philosophers continued to work out the implications of Plato's remarks in the Timaeus, which argued

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[68]Augustine, De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim, 5.5.12, PL 34:325-326, "Factae itaque creaturae motibus coeperunt currere tempora: unde ante creaturam frustra tempora requiruntur, quasi possint inveniri ante tempora tempora." De Genesi ad Litteram imperfectus liber, 3.7, PL 34:222, "et quoniam etiam tempus ipsum creatura est." De Genesi ad Litteram imperfectus liber, 3.8, PL 34:223, "illud certe accipiendum est in fide, etiamsi modum nostrae cogitationis excedit, omnem creaturam habere initium; tempusque ipsum creaturam esse, ac per hoc ipsum habere initium, nec coaeternam esse creatori." De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.44 (ed. Martin & Daur, CCSL 32:63), "Narratione autem historica cum praeterita etiam hominum instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa historia numeranda est, quia iam quae transierunt nec infecta fieri possunt, in ordine temporum habenda sunt, quorum est conditor et administrator deus." De Civitate Dei, 12.15 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:369), "quando quidem altitudinem Dei penetrare non possunt; qua, cum ipse sit aeternus et sine initio, ab aliquo tamen initio est excorsus tempora et hominem ..." De Civitate Dei, 12.16 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:371), "sicut ergo dicimus creatum tempus." De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, 2.27.32, PL 44:401, "diuinitas uero eius omne tempus excedit, quia per illam universa facta sunt tempora." Tertullian had also insisted that God created time. Tertullian, Against Marcion, 2.3 (ANF 3:299); 5.17 (ANF 3:465).

[69]Lacey, "Empiricism and Augustine's Problems about Time," in Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Markus, p. 280.

for a simultaneous creation of time and the universe,[70] and Aristotle's paradoxes from the Physics, Book 4, which suggested that time did not really exist.[71] Plotinus argued that "time, which abandons one moment for the next, is only a fleeting image upon the level of the soul."[72] The Gnostics, of course, had argued that time was a prison of the soul.[73] On the other hand, Seneca, a Stoic, insisted that "time must also be included among the causes, for nothing can be made without time."[74] Thus Augustine was not merely going off on some introspective lark, but attempting to resolve one of the more serious cosmological problems of the ancient world: the ultimate reality of time.

In his discussion of time, Augustine adopted a threefold periodization of temporality: past, present, and future. The past is that which is no more, the present is that which is, and the future is that which is not yet. Since man is especially cognizant of the present, it was with present time that Augustine began his discussion. Almost immediately,

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[70]Timaeus 37c-38d, in The Collected Dialogues of Plato, ed Hamilton and Cairns, pp. 1166-1167.

[71]Chadwick, Augustine, pp. 70, 71.

[72]Plotinus, Enneads, 5.1.4, in The Essential Plotinus, ed. O'Brien, p. 95.

[73]Apocryphon of John, II.28.31-33 (NHL 121); Concept of our Great Power, VI.44.11-46.34 (NHL 315-316).

[74]Seneca, fragment translated by Jason Saunders, in Greek and Roman Philosophy After Aristotle, p. 83. Saunders translates from J. von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, 2.346a.

however, he realized that there were problems with his approach. When he tried to pin down the present, he quickly realized that it existed for only a brief instant, because the future always drives the present moment into the past.[75] Thus, "we cannot rightly say that time is, except by reason of its impending state of not being."[76]

Augustine did not find that answer terribly helpful, so he proceeded along another line of inquiry. Retaining his division of time into past, present, and future, Augustine pondered whether man could possibly measure time. He believed that humans were given the ability to experience and measure moments of time,[77] and he attempted to determine just what it is that we measure when we say that we are measuring time. There were serious problems in trying to do this, he realized, because when we measure time we tend either to use inappropriate terms that are more properly applied to spatial

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[75]This calls to mind Tatian's remark, "How can the future be passing when the present exists?" Oration to the Greeks, 26 (ANF 2:76).

[76]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.14.17 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:203), "Non uere dicamus tempus esse, nisi quia tendit non esse?" Translated by R. S. Pine-Coffin in Confessions (Baltimore: Penguin, 1961), p. 264. Jordan, "Time and Contingency in St. Augustine," p. 272, comments that the reason Augustine cannot pin down and define time any better than saying it is about not to exist is that time in fact does not exist in "an absolute sense."

[77]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.15.19 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:203), "Videamus ergo, anima humana, utrum praesens tempus possit esse longum: datum enim tibi est sentire moras atque metiri."

relationships, or to measure time by itself.[78] This inevitably results in a situation in which the information we derive from our measurements tends to tell us much about the measuring devices but little about the thing measured.[79]

In addition to the problems of measurement, there are the problems of what is measurable, if anything. The problem has to do with the fact that time won't stand still long enough to be measured. Augustine wrote, "although it is possible to know and measure time while it is passing, once it has passed it no longer exists, and then it is not possible to measure it."[80] When time is passing, we can

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[78]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.26.33 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:211). Augustine fell back onto a spatial description of time at several points in his discussion, such as when he said, "Si enim sunt futura et praeterita, uolo scire, ubi sint," Augustine, Confessiones, 11.18.23, (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:205).

[79]Here, as elsewhere, Augustine touched on one of the central problems of modern quantum mechanics. One of the basic principles of the "Copenhagen" approach to quantum mechanics is that we can explain things only in terms of the measuring device, and even then our measurements are flawed because we cannot measure anything unless we interfere with it. Hence all information derives not from measuring any sort of a natural state of existence, but from our attending to how an artificially induced discontinuity reacts to our measuring device. John Gribbin, In Search of Schroedinger's Cat: Quantum Physics and Reality (New York: Bantam, 1984), p. 120.

[80]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.16.21 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:205), "Cum ergo praeterit tempus, sentiri et metiri potest, cum autem praeterierit, quoniam non est, non potest." See also Augustine, Confessiones, 11.26.33 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:211), "Tempus metior scio, sed non metior futurum, quia nondum esse, non metior praesens, quia nollo spatio tenditur, non metior praeteritum, quia iam non est. Quid ergo metior? An praetereuntia tempora, non praeterita?" Once again this calls to mind Quantum Mechanics, specifically the Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle, which teaches that we

measure it only as it passes through the present. Since it is not possible for the fleeting present to have duration,[81] we wind up measuring something that is coming out of a future that does not yet exist, passing through a present that has no duration, and moving into a past that no longer exists.[82] Augustine eventually realized that any measurement of time must necessarily be an internal phenomenon. He measured time in his soul, he wrote, "because the impressions of those things that pass by remain in [my soul] after they have passed, and [when I measure time] I measure the impression that is still present to me, not the things that have passed away."[83]

But do the past and future actually exist? He offered

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can know the velocity of an object, or its position, but not both.

[81]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.15.20 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:204), "praesens tempus longum se esse non posse."

[82]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.21.27 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:207), "Ex illo ergo, quod nondum est, per illud, quod spatio caret, in illud, quod iam non est." Similarly, De bono viduitatis, 20.25, PL 40:447, "Praeteritus dies non revertitur in futurum, et post hesternum pergit hodiernus, et post hodiernum perrecturus est crastinus, et ecce omnia tempora et temporalis transeunt." See also Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim, 5.5.12, PL 34:325-326.

[83]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.27.36 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:213), "In te, anime meus, tempora metior. Noli mihi obstrepere, quod est, noli tibi obstrepere turbis affectionum tuarum. In te, inquam, tempora metior. Affectionem, quam res praetereuntes in te faciunt et, cum illae praeterierint, manet, ipsam metior praesentem, non ea quae praeterierunt." My translation.

a tentative 'no' at one point,[84] but quickly corrected himself. Since many people remember the past, and since those memories more or less coincide with one another, the past must necessarily exist.[85] Things that do not exist cannot be remembered.[86] Similarly, God has taught the prophets and allowed them to see the future,[87] and since it is impossible for people to see things that do not exist, the future must necessarily exist.[88] Likewise, if people were attentive to certain signs that exist in the present, they could anticipate the future,[89] and the future necessarily exists in that anticipation and expectation. Therefore, he

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[84]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.15.18, (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:203). Considering the troublesome concepts of "long past" or "short future," Augustine asked, "sed quo pacto longum est aut breue, quod non est? Praeteritum enim iam est et futurum nondum est."

[85]M. C. D'Arcy notes that, after Augustine spent so much time seeking the nature of time, "it is in memory that he catches sight of his quarry." M. C. D'Arcy, "The Philosophy of St. Augustine," in A Monument to St. Augustine, ed. D'Arcy, p. 189.

[86]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.17.22 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:205), "et qui narrant praeterita, non utique uera narrarent, si animo illa non cernerent: quae si nulla essent cerni omnino non possunt."

[87]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.19.25 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:206), "Docuisti enim prophetas tuos.... Nam quod non est, nec doceri utique potest."

[88]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.17.22 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:205), "Nam ubi ea uiderunt qui futura cecinerunt, si nondum sunt? Neque enim potest uideri is quod non est."

[89]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.18.24 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:206), "praedici possunt ex praesentibus, quae iam sunt et uidentur."

concluded, "the past and the future do exist."[90]

If the past exists, then we can measure it; but, since the only record the past has left is in our memories, it is in memory that we must measure the past.[91] We do this by comparing the recalled duration of certain events with the recalled duration of other events. This is all well and good, but Augustine was certainly aware that what we measure in the memory is not the past, or even past time, but is instead our recollection of the past. He admitted as much when he noted that "when the question concerns not things which are present to our senses but which once were, we do not speak of the things themselves, but of images derived

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[90]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.17.22 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:205), "Sunt ergo et futura et praeterita." Not everyone will be convinced by this argument, since an inventive mind can create the perception of meeting people who remember the same past as they do, or create the perception that prophets see the future, and so on *ad nauseam*, but this sort of thing has to stop somewhere. With Augustine, it stopped with the Bible, which in the end was his only point of reference, apart from his own perceptions. He believed in the truth and reality of the Bible. If the Bible said that prophets foresaw the future, then they must have. If the Bible recorded a past, then that past must have existed at least once. For Augustine, the Bible itself became a sort of measuring device.

[91]Etienne Gilson notes that "there is something terrifying about the vastness of memory," since it can contain so much of the past. "We not only look for lost objects with the help of the memory; there are times when we look for an object lost in the memory itself. This is what happens when we try to recall something. We do not know what the lost object is, because we look for it. It must be forgotten, therefore, and yet as various recollections come to mind, the mind discards them until it has the recollection it wants and then it says: 'that is it.'" Gilson, The Christian Philosophy of Saint Augustine, p. 100.

from them and imprinted on the memory."[92] That is, as one modern scholar has remarked, "whenever we are asked about familiar, but absent, sensible things we respond by changing the subject, that is, by talking of our memory images instead."[93]

But if the past exists only in memory, the future only in anticipation or in prophecy, and the present has no duration, how is it that we are able to comprehend things that have duration? How is it that we can comprehend speech, appreciate music, or sense motion? How is it that our awareness of what *is* is not limited to that instantaneous point known as the present?

Ultimately, in answering this question, Augustine came closest to demonstrating that the past and the future actually exist. We are able to comprehend the recent past, the immediate present, and the short term future, he argued, through an extension of the soul (distentio animi) that transcends time. We don't remember the past or anticipate the future in the fleeting present during the course of this

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[92]De Magistro, 12.39, trans. Burleigh, p. 96. Latin text in CCSL 29:197, "Cum uero non de his, quae coram sentimus, sed de his, quae aliquando sensimus, quaeritur, non iam res ipsas, sed imagines ab eis impressas memoriaeque mandatas loquimur." See also Gareth Matthews, "Augustine on Speaking from Memory," in Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. Markus, pp. 168-175.

[93]Matthews, "Augustine on Speaking from Memory," p. 168.

"retentional awareness,"[94] but actually experience them all at the same time. In doing so, we transcend time itself and participate in an ever so small chunk of the eternal present.

All of this, however, does not really explain what time is. Augustine may have demonstrated through his analysis of retentional awareness that the past and future really exist, but he had not yet put them into any meaningful framework of time; that is, he did not demonstrate what past, present, and future have to do with time, or whether there were any such things as *past* time and *future* time. When he finally attempted to do this, the result is a little unexpected. He begins, "if the future and the past do exist, I want to know where they are. I may not yet be capable of such knowledge, but at least I know that wherever they are, they are not there as future, or past, but as present. For if wherever they are, they are future, they do not yet exist; if past, they no longer exist. So wherever they are and whatever they

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[94]The phrase "retentional awareness" is from Ludger Hoelscher, The Reality of the Mind (New York: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1986), p. 83. Hoelscher uses the existence of this "retentional awareness," which transcends time and space, as an argument for the reality and incorporeality of the human soul, pp. 86-89. Whitrow prefers "a more neutral term, such as *mental present*," in his The Natural Philosophy of Time, p. 78. Whitrow offers a detailed discussion of this aspect of human awareness in pages 71-110, with recurrent references to Plato, Plotinus, Heraclitus, Freud, and numerous modern scientists and psychologists. He seems studiously to avoid considering the speculative contributions of the Church Fathers, even those of Aquinas. Whitrow does condescend to mention in passing on page 155 that Isidore of Seville and Bede discussed temporal atomicity, but he seems to cite them at second hand, offering neither citations nor analysis.

are, it is only by being present that they are."[95] This line of argument allows for a future, but no future time, and a past, but no past time. People may have a recollection of past time, in their memory, an awareness of present time through their sensory attentiveness, and an anticipation of future time, but these are perceptual awarenesses. What individuals actually perceive is the present: a present of the recollected past, a present of the present, and a present of the anticipated future.[96]

The "passage" of time, then, is itself a perception, a sort of moving window opening into the eternal present that allows man to comprehend change and development, a way of understanding different states of being by perceiving them as a meaningful sequence of interconnected events. These different states of being actually exist, perhaps even simultaneously in the eternal present, but aside from the distentio animi that allows for our retentional awareness, we perceive only a small slice of this higher reality.[97] Why it

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[95]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.18.23 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:205), "Si enim sunt futura et praeterita, uolo scire, ubi sint. Quod si nondum ualeo, scio tamen, ubicumque sunt, non ibi ea futura esse aut praeterita, sed praesenta. Nam si et ibi futura sunt, nondum ibi sunt, si et ibi praeterita sunt, iam non ibi sunt. Vbicumque ergo sunt, quaecumque sunt, non sunt nisi praesentia." Translation by R. S. Pine-Coffin, p. 267.

[96]Augustine, Confessiones, 11.20.26 (ed. Verheijen, CCSL 27:207), "Praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatia."

[97]Similarly, Gnosticism taught that time was one of the things used by the evil archons to keep the soul asleep: beings in time could see only a small chunk of the eternal

comes to us in this way is impossible to determine through our senses or our reason; we have to accept on faith that there is some higher meaning not only in the events that we perceive but also in the *sequence* that we perceive them. Time thus becomes important in Augustine's epistemology because it allows us to understand a divinely-ordered continuum that is otherwise quite beyond our comprehension. It is through time that God reveals this continuum to us a few pieces at once, according to the limits of our understanding, and organized into a meaningful sequence of events whose purpose is to reveal the divine plan of redemption: the sacred history.

When he came to discuss this meaningful sequence of events, that is, the order in which we perceive events as they "pass through" time, Augustine openly attempted to refute the cyclic theory of history. Earlier, when his philosophical system placed God outside of time and demonstrated that time was a creature, he was simply setting forth an alternative cosmology that satisfied the concerns of Stoic and Neoplatonic thinkers yet at the same time allowed for the supreme validity of Christianity. Once he had established that his particular interpretation was possible, he then set out to prove that it was also the <u>only</u> possible interpretation.

His argument for a linear, non-cyclic interpretation of

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present, and therefore not comprehend the true nature of the universe, or even the true nature of their own existence.

history was conceptually based on one point: that history consisted of a meaningful sequence of unique events which had meaning only through the integrity of their sequence and their uniqueness. Like Justin Martyr and Tertullian before, he made his point by referring not only to the Scriptures but also to the pagan past. The neo-Platonic philosopher Porphyry (232-305), for example, taught that, when human souls were purified of all evil and eventually united with the deity, they would know true and unending bliss.[98] Augustine conceded that Porphyry was correct in this instance, and then used this point of agreement between Christian and pagan philosophy to mount an attack on the cyclic theory of history. He argued that souls could not experience true bliss if they were destined to be cast down into the cycles of time and misery again and again.[99] He argued instead that "the soul is involved from the start in the process of successiveness,"[100] and that this successiveness was directed towards a conclusive reconciliation with God. A cyclic interpretation of history

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[98]Porphyry, quoted in Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 10.30 (CCSL 47:307), "Quod mundatam ab omnibus malis animam et cum Patre constitutam numquam iam mala mundi huius passuram esse confessus est."

[99]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 12.21 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:376-379). The Gnostics realized that the inevitable consequence of cyclic time was that beings could not truly be saved. Hence, Gnostics rejected cyclic time, and argued that, once saved, the soul was "not again cast into another flesh." Apocryphon of John, II.27.20-22 (NHL 120). See also Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 3, 6 (ANF 2:66-67).

[100]Chadwick, Augustine, p. 71.

with no real development or final resolution did not allow for any final salvation, any final damnation, or any ultimate accomplishment of the Divine plan. Only a linear interpretation of history would allow for these things.

Further, just as the soul experienced successiveness and development, there was a developmental successiveness to history. Unique events had necessarily to occur in a certain meaningful sequence, because God revealed his eternal plan sequentially, through these unique events. Moreover, certain of these unique events were more important than other events in the cosmic scheme of things, and it was these events that constituted true history, which is to say that they were events which both actually happened and which also had a sacred and miraculous significance.[101] Augustine argued that these events were not to be found in the traditional histories of Greece and Rome, however, which were largely histories of kings and emperors and wars. They were to be found instead in salvation history: the history of God's salvific interventions in time, those aspects of the past which revealed the Divine plan. These events were such things as the fall of man, Moses' receiving the law, the crucifixion, and the resurrection: events of divine and human history that were recorded in the Bible, and in the Nicene Creed.

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[101]Augustine, Epistolae, 102.33 (PL 33:383), "Non sane absurbe, neque importune requiritur quid ista significent, ut cum hoc expositum fuerit, non tantum gesta, sed etiam propter aliquam significationem conscripta esse credantur."

The most complete development of this theory of time, events, and history occurred in Augustine's De Civitate Dei. It was there that he demonstrated that history was not just one thing after another, but "an ontic sequence of historical events"[102] leading towards a *telos*: salvation. He attempted to relate the mutability of temporal history to the unchangeable eternity of God's plan, a measurement of "succession in terms of meaning."[103] Further, Augustine argued that the best history of these events was in the Bible, wherein the events were set forth in "a context within which we must respect both the event-character and the sequence of events as essential elements."[104]

History, to Augustine, was "creaturely time achieving meaning."[105] Accordingly, he "redefined the relationship between the sacred and profane throughout time."[106] As J.B. Bury remarked, "the history of the earth was recognized as a unique phenomenon in time; it would never occur again, or anything resembling it. More important is the fact that Christian theology constructed a synthesis which for the

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[102]Oscar Cullmann, "The Connection of Primal Events and End Events with the New Testament Redemptive Theory," p. 120.

[103]Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, p. 24.

[104]Cullmann, "The Connection of Primal Events and End Events with the New Testament Redemptive Theory," p. 122.

[105]Rust, Towards a Theological Understanding of History, p. 217.

[106]Ernst Breisach, Historiography, Ancient, Medieval, and Modern. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 84.

first time attempted to give a definite meaning to the whole course of human events, a synthesis which represents the past as leading up to a definite and desirable goal in the future."[107]

Having discovered salvation history, Augustine then had to explain its significance to an audience for whom the Bible was merely the legendary history of an obscure people. To his pagan readers especially, "the only real history was the account of the glorious achievements of their own civilizations."[108] This disparity between the limited knowledge of sacred history and the more widespread knowledge of secular history had occurred because the events of secular history, what Augustine called the city of this world,[109] developed in the bright and garish light of slavery, lust, and the dominion of human pride. Sacred history on the other hand, what Augustine called the history of the City of God,[110] had occurred "in the shadow"[111] of the proud and mighty princes of the earth, and was manifested in this "world of time" by events that had occurred among God's chosen people, a people who were divinely called to live in

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[107]Bury, The Idea of Progress, p. 22.

[108]Brown, Augustine of Hippo, p. 322.

[109]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18.1 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:592).

[110]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 1.1 (CCSL 47:1-2); 18.1 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:592-593).

[111]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18.1 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:593).

faith and serve the Lord.[112] One of the ways Augustine tried to present his case for salvation history was "to provide an imposing historical background for the Christian faith and to establish the importance and antiquity of sacred history--that is, Jewish and Christian history."[113] He did this, as had earlier Church Fathers such as Julius Africanus, Lactantius, and Eusebius, by incorporating events of the less well known Hebrew and Christian history, the *true* history, into the familiar narrative of classical history, usually trying to compare meaningful Biblical events with events in traditional history that had occurred in a similarly significant context.[114] He also did this by subordinating the more traditional political and military history to theology, that is, by concentrating on God's chosen people,[115] and their Church.

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[112]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 1.1 (CCSL 47:1-2). Again, the Christian kerygma was that God had called mankind; mankind had not discovered God on its own. God intervened in time.

[113]Harry Elmer Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover, 1962), p. 45.

[114]Following the example of Eusebius, in his De Civitate Dei Augustine described Abraham as a contemporary of Ninus and Semiramis of Assyria (CD 18.2 [ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:593-595]); Moses was a contemporary of Deucalion's flood (CD 18.10 [ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:600-601]); Aeneas arrived in Italy when Abdon was judge over the Hebrews (CD 18.19 [ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:610]); and Rome was eventually founded after the children of Israel had already spent 718 years in the promised land (CD 18.22 [ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:612-613]).

[115]By the phrase "Chosen People," Augustine meant different things at different times. Clearly Abraham and the Children of Israel were God's chosen people throughout much

Augustine devoted all of De Civitate Dei, Book 18 to a narrative of salvation history, what he calls the history of the City of God, that was integrated and synchronized with the familiar persons and events of secular history, what he calls the history of the city of this world.[116] Thus he noted that the liberation of the Hebrews from exile in Babylonia "coincided with the liberation of Rome from royal tyranny."[117] He also noted that certain events of pagan history, or certain pagan writings, were also part of

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of history, but Augustine followed the Apostles and the early Church Fathers in arguing that God eventually extended his favor to those people who truly believed in and worshipped him and who did his will, that is, to the Christians. Under the old covenant the Hebrews were God's chosen people; under the new covenant the Christians became God's chosen people. That Augustine and the Church Fathers were usually much more harsh than St. Paul in their supercessionism is not to be denied, yet the fathers were not antisemitic. Jesus was a Hebrew of Judea, as were Peter, James, John, and Paul. Augustine and the Church Fathers believed that the proper attitude of Christians towards the Judean Hebrews should be one of respect for an ancient and honored people, but also a missionary attitude that sought their conversion to Christianity. The Church Fathers also decried the frequent attacks that some intolerant rabbinic Jews occasionally made on Christianity, attacks that had resulted in the martyrdom of Polycarp, for example. To call them antisemitic, or to suggest that their attitudes towards rabbinic Judaism provided the theological underpinnings of Hitler's "final solution," as has recently become popular in some academic circles, is to misread what the Church Fathers actually wrote.

[116]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18.1 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:592-593).

[117]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18.26 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:617), "Sub Dario ergo rege Persarum impletis septuaginta annis, quos Hieremias propheta praedixerat, reddita est Iudaeis soluta captiuitate libertas, regnante Romanorum septimo Rege Tarquino. Quo expulso etiam ipsi a regum suorum dominatione liberi esse coeperunt."

salvation history. For example, he explained that the initial letters of one of the Sibylline prophecies spelled out "Ιεσουσ Χρειστος Θεου υιος σωτηρ,"[118] and thus was evidence that divine grace had allowed even pagan prophets to see somewhat of the truth. Similarly, Augustine openly argued that a knowledge of pagan history was valuable to Christians, because, for example, one could determine how old Jesus was when he was crucified by referring to known dates in Roman history.[119] Augustine had a specific point in mind here: some Christians, perhaps following the lead of Irenaeus,[120] held that Jesus was at least "forty-six years of age when he suffered."[121] Augustine believed that errors of

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[118]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18.23 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:613), "carmina esse dicens Sibyllae Erythraeae, ubi ostensit quondam loco in capitibus uersuum ordinum litterarum ita se habentem, ut haec in eo uerba legerentur: Ιεσουσ Χρειστος Θεου υιος σωτηρ, quod est Latine, Iesus Chreistus Dei filius saluator."

[119]Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.42 (ed. Martin & Daur, CCSL 32:62), "Nam et per olympiadas et per consulum nomina multa saepe quaeruntur a nobis et ignorantia consulatus, quo natus est dominus et quo passus est, nonnullos coegit errare, ut putarent quadraginta sex annorum aetate passum esse dominum, quia per tot annos aedificatum templum esse dictum est a Iudaeis, quod imaginem dominici corporis habebat."

[120]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 2.22.4-6 (ANF 1:391-392). Despite his prodigious efforts to keep Christian doctrine free from error, Irenaeus himself espoused the notion that Jesus was an old man when he was crucified: Jesus had lived through all the ages of man, i.e., infancy, childhood, adolescence, manhood, and senescence, so that he could be a perfect master to all men.

[121]Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, 2.28.42 (ed. Martin & Daur, CCSL 32:62). Forty-six years corresponded to the time it took to build the temple in Jerusalem.

this sort could be avoided if the sketchy chronology of the gospel were compared with "profane history." Thus, secular history could actually reinforce the sacred narrative on important points. In short, Augustine attempted to make the unfamiliar familiar through association with the known.

Augustine was interested not only in the narrative of salvation history, but also in how history could be understood through periodization. He developed, or perhaps popularized, three separate systems of historical periodization. All of these schemes were based on the mystical significance of certain numbers in the Biblical narrative (such as the number six) or on the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. He justified using the numbers in this fashion with the caustic remark, "no one is so stupid and inept to contend that [these numbers] are placed in scripture without cause, or that the numbers are mentioned without mystical purpose."[122]

Augustine's best known scheme of historical periodization holds that the six ages of history (prior to the last judgment) reflect the six days of creation.[123]

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[122]Augustine, De Trinitate, 4.6.10 (ed. Mountain, CCSL 50:175), "Frustra tamen eos esse in scripturis positos et nullas esse causas mysticas cur illic isti numeri commemorentur nemo tam stultus ineptusque contenderit."

[123]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.35, PL 34:190, "et easdem sex aetates habere similitudinem istorum sex dierum, in quibus ea facta sunt quae Deum fecisse Scriptura commemorat." The Seventh, or Sabbath Age begins when Jesus returns in Judgment, Ibid., 1.23.41, PL 34.193.

These six ages are 1) Adam to the Deluge; 2) the Deluge to Abraham; 3) Abraham to David; 4) David to the Babylonian Captivity; 5) Babylonian Captivity to the Nativity; 6) Nativity to the Last Judgment.[124] His second system of periodization is closely related to the first, wherein the six days of creation are related not only to the six ages of history, but also to recognizable stages of human growth and development.[125] In this system of periodization,[126] 1) from Adam to Noah represents human infancy;[127] 2) from Noah to

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[124]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.35-41, PL 34:190-193, written in 388. Augustine was evidently very pleased with this system of periodization, and he continued to develop it throughout the last 40 years of his life. See, for example, Contra Faustum Manichaeum, 12.8, PL 42:257-258, written in 398; De Trinitate, 4.4.7 (ed. Mountain, CCSL 50:169-170), written in 399-419; De Civitate Dei, 22.30 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:865-866), written in 427.

[125]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 16.43 (ed. Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48:550). See also De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos. 1.23.35-41, PL 34:190-193.

[126]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.35-41, PL 34:190-193. Augustine outlined a complex system of historical periodization in these passages, as the next several notes indicate. Augustine realized that, for a system of periodization to be valid, each period must be not just a duration of years, but a duration of years that had discrete characteristics unto itself, unlike the other periods in specifics but nonetheless causally related to them. That is, a system of periodization must explain history, and not merely segment it.

[127]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.35. PL 34:190. The first age of the world corresponded to the first day of creation, and represented the infancy of man. The morning of the first age began with Adam, and the evening began with the flood. The age ended with the saving of Noah and his family. The first age lasted ten generations.

Abraham represents childhood;[128] 3) from Abraham to David represents adolescence;[129] 4) from David to the Babylonian Captivity represents young manhood;[130] 5) from the Babylonian Captivity to the Incarnation represents maturity and middle age;[131] and 6) from the Incarnation to the Last Judgment represents old age.[132]

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[128]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.36, PL 34:190-191. The second age of the world corresponded to the second day of creation, and represented the boyhood of man. The morning of the second age began with Noah, and the evening began with the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel. The age ended with Abraham being called out of Ur. The second age lasted ten generations.

[129]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.37, PL 34:191. The third age of the world corresponded to the third day of creation, and represented the adolescence of man. The morning of the third age began with Abraham, and the evening began with the wickedness of Saul. The age ended with the advent of David. The third age lasted fourteen generations, as recorded in Matthew 1.7.

[130]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.38, PL 34:191. The fourth age of the world corresponded to the fourth day of creation, and represented the early manhood of man. The morning of the first age began with David, and the evening began with the sinfulness of the Hebrew kings. The age ended with the forced transmigration of the Judeans to Babylon. The fourth age lasted for fourteen generations, as recorded in Matthew 1.7.

[131]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.39, PL 34:191-192. The fifth age of the world corresponded to the fifth day of creation, and represented the maturity and middle age of man. The morning of the fifth age began with the Babylonian Captivity, and the evening began with the many sins of the Hebrew people. The age ended with the nativity of Jesus. The fifth age lasted fourteen generations, as recorded by Matthew 1.7.

[132]Augustine, De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos, 1.23.40-41, PL 34:192-193. The sixth age of the world corresponded to the sixth day of creation, and represented the old age of the "old" mankind and his renewal in Jesus. The morning of the sixth age began with the preaching of the Gospel, and the evening will begin with the apocalypse. The

Augustine's third system of historical periodization built upon the example of St. Paul in Romans 5.12-14. In this less complex scheme, Augustine argued that human history could best be understood through a tripartite division of time, in which "we reckon one time before the law, another time under the law, and a third under grace."[133] The Pelagian heretics, however, had evidently understood the first age, before the law, as having been a period when man lived in a state of natural righteousness, and therefore humanity had not needed the law.[134] Augustine refuted this heretical notion at some length, arguing that it was death that had reigned from Adam until Moses, not a natural

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age will end with the last judgment. We do not know how many generations this last age will endure, but Augustine was not certain that he was not seeing the end of the sixth even in his own lifetime. Augustine's De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri duos was probably written in 388 or 389, that is, after the Visigoths had entered the empire and ravaged Greece, but before they had sacked Rome, and before the beginning of the great Germanic incursions of the fifth century. Again, the Church Fathers believed that they were living at, or near, the end of time.

[133]Augustine, De Trinitate, 4.4.7 (ed. Mountain, CCSL 50:170), "unum tempus computamus ante legem, alterum sub lege, tertium sub gratia." See also De Doctrina Christiana, 2.16.25 (ed. Martin & Daur, CCSL 32:51), "tria tempora ante legem, sub lege, sub gratia."

[134]Augustine, De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, 2.26.30, PL 44:400, "Non igitur sicut Pelagius et eius discupli tempora diuidamus, dicentes primum uixisse iustos homines ex natura, deinde sub lege, tertio sub gratia. Ex natura, scilicet ab Adam tam longe aetate, qua lex nondum erat data."

righteousness.[135] When the law was given to man, it was not something that was able to give life, but merely something that made man aware of his sinful state. What actually saved man under the period of the law was grace.[136] The saving grace of God that was present but concealed during the time of the law was then openly and physically revealed by Christ.[137] In fact, Augustine continues, it is better to divide history into a period of death from Adam to Moses, law and grace from Moses to Jesus, and then grace alone after Jesus.

What, then, is the end to all of this? What is Augustine's contribution to our understanding of time, event, and history? His periodization of history into six ages became the standard historical periodization of medieval historians. His integration of sacred and secular history in De Civitate Dei further developed the earlier patristic tradition of parallel chronicles to the extent that such an approach became a guiding principle of Christian universal

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[135]Augustine, De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, 2.24.29, PL 44:399, "Quamuis ergo mors regnauerit ab Adam usque ad Moysen."

[136]Augustine, De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, 2.25.29, PL 44:399, "quamvis ergo nec lex per Moysen data potuerit a quoquam homine regnum mortis auferre, erant tamen et legis tempore homines Dei, non sub lege terrente, conuicente, puniente, sed sub gratia delectante, sanante, liberante."

[137]Augustine, De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali, 2.25.29, PL 44:400, "Si ergo nunc manifestata est, etiam tunc erat, sed occulta. Cuius occultationem significabat templi uelum, quod est ad eius significandam reuelationem Christo moriente conscissum."

history, which continued to blend the theocentricity that was typical of the early Church Fathers and the Hebrew "moralizing historians"[138] with the secular historical traditions of the ancient world. After Augustine, history had not only a cosmic meaning but also it taught a divinely inspired moral lesson as well.

Also like the earlier Church Fathers, Augustine insisted that history was real. When Christians learned about a miracle, for example, they should neither doubt that the miraculous event had actually occurred, nor should they believe that the event itself had occurred without purpose.[139] These events of sacred history should be recorded by historians and studied by the faithful so that knowledge of events which had *actually* happened and which *also* had a sacred and miraculous significance would call people more completely to the faith. Augustine argued that if people "are moved to faith through figures that are proclaimed by words rather than by deeds, how much more should they be moved [to faith] by figures that are also proclaimed by events."[140] Moreover, people should not doubt

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[138]Wayne Meeks, The Moral World of the First Christians. Library of Early Christianity. Vol. 6. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), p. 92.

[139]Augustine, Epistolae, 102.33, PL 43:383, "Prius ergo non dubitet Jonam prophetam in aivo ingenti marinae belluae triduo fuisse, qui vult scrutari cur hoc factum sit: non enim frustra factum est, sed tamen factum est."

[140]Augustine, Epistolae, 102.33, PL 33:383. "Si enim movent ad fidem quae figurate tantum dicta, non facta sunt; quanto magis movere debent quae figurate non tantum dicta,

that these miraculous and historical events are examples of the word of God, because whereas man is limited to speaking by words alone, divine power speaks both by words and by events.[141]

Thus Augustine's historiography was a mature philosophy of Christian history, a philosophy based on ascertaining and recording a meaningful sequence of actual persons and events. Individually, these persons and events had a discrete and meaningful significance of their own; yet, when they were considered within the greater context of the divine plan, they also had a sacred significance. This teaching was in complete accord with the Antiochene school of historical exegesis, as represented by John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, which insisted that actors and events always had a historical significance that reflected their origination in a particular time and place, even though they might also have a typological or allegorical significance. That is, Moses crossed the Red Sea because he wanted to get to the other side, and God inspired Moses to preserve an account of the crossing because he wanted to foreshadow the Christian rite of baptism. Augustine's teaching was also in accord with the Alexandrian school of exegesis, as represented by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, which tended to interpret almost every

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sed facta sunt!" My translation.

[141]Augustine, Epistolae, 102.33, PL 33:383. "Nam sicut humana consuetudo verbis, ita divina potentia etiam factis loquitur." My translation.

word of the Old Testament in either a typological or an allegorical fashion. That is, Moses crossed the Red Sea because he wanted to lead the Hebrews out of spiritual darkness and into the glorious light of God through the mystery of baptism.

Perhaps Augustine's greatest achievement, however, was supplanting the cyclic theory of history with the linear theory of history. As noted above, earlier Church Fathers, such as Origen, had ridiculed and denounced the cyclic theory, but it was not until Augustine that the "myth of the eternal return" was irrefutably repudiated. This historiographical revolution allowed for a theory of progress and development in human affairs, holding as it did that the sequence of events was as significant as the events themselves: that history matters. It also offered men the hope of an irrevocable escape from the miseries of this world by freeing them from the hopelessness of inevitable cyclic returns. It offered them the hope of a final salvation. The Christian view of history, as developed by the early Church Fathers, could afford to be optimistic. Unlike Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Zosimus, who could but look with increasing horror upon the seemingly inevitable decline of Rome, Christian historians could look beyond their present miseries to a time when history would be fulfilled, time would end, and they would enjoy true bliss in eternity.

CHAPTER 4

CHRISTIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN LATE ANTIQUITY: FROM THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS THROUGH GREGORY OF TOURS

Although Isidore was heavily influenced by the historiographical and exegetical systems of Augustine, it must not be forgotten that the years between Augustine's death in 430 and the beginning of Isidore's episcopate in 599 were some of the most tumultuous years in the history of western civilization.[1] The universal imperium of the Roman Empire was destroyed; the continuum of salvation history seemed to be interrupted; and the western Church was largely obliged to adopt a fortress mentality as churchmen who adhered to the Niceno-Chalcedonian creed realized that the true faith was preserved only in the sundered realms of the west, and that it was seriously threatened on all sides by barbarian kings and heretical emperors. Isidore may well have been an intellectual heir of Irenaeus, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Augustine, and Orosius, and the Catholic churchmen of Visigothic Spain may have received and transmitted the

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[1]On the intellectual and ecclesiastical history of this period, see R. A. Markus, The End of Ancient Christianity (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See also the essays collected in R. A. Markus, From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in Late Antiquity (London: Variorum Reprints, 1983).

spiritual heritage of North African Christianity,[2] but the process of inheritance was anything but smooth.[3] The intervening years saw the radical transformation of the political, economic, and military structures[4] of the Western provinces of the Roman Empire. Many of these provinces were lost forever to Roman control, and became independent

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[2]In addition to the strong influence of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine in Spain, large numbers of North African churchmen fled to Spain during the Arian persecution of Catholics under Constantius, during the intense Vandal persecutions of Catholics of Carthage, during the Byzantine persecution under Justinian and his successors, and during the Berber revolts of the later sixth century. Victor of Vita reports that most of the inhabitants of the North African town of Tiaspa fled to Spain during the reign of Huneric, who carried out a particularly harsh persecution of Catholics. Victor of Vita, History of the Vandal Persecution, 3.29, trans. John Moorhead, Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 10 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), p. 76. In the late 560's the African monk Donatus, "along with seventy other monks and a copius library of books," fled to Spain and founded a monastery. Hildefonsus of Toledo, De Viris Illustribus, 3, ed. Carmen Cornoñer, (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1972), p. 120. My translation. According to John of Biclaro, Donatus "was held in high esteem as a worker of miracles," John of Biclaro, Chronicle, 18, trans. Kenneth B. Wolf, in Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, Translated Texts for Historians, Vol. 9 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), p. 65. See also Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain, pp. 80-81. J. N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 62 (1962), 170.

[3]The classic narrative account, for which there is no completely satisfactory replacement, is J. B. Bury, The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927; reprint, New York: Norton, 1967).

[4]For Late Antique institutional history, see A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey, 2 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

barbarian kingdoms.[5] It was during this chaotic "migration age" that large numbers of Germanic, Hunnic,[6] Iranian[7], and Slavic[8] tribesmen swarmed across the once stable Rhine-Danube frontier[9] and looted or occupied imperial territory[10] in

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[5]For his analysis of the limitations of our knowledge, and his suggestions regarding some of the directions that scholars should take, see Lucien Musset, The Germanic Invasions: The Making of Europe, AD 400-600, translated by Edward and Columba James (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975). For a challenging military perspective on this period, see Arthur Ferrill, The Fall of the Roman Empire: The Military Explanation (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988). Jaroslav Pelikan offers an assessment of patristic attitudes in The Excellent Empire: The Fall of Rome and the Triumph of the Church (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987).

[6]On the Huns, the best study remains Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, The World of the Huns: Studies in their History and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). This excellent study is not as well known as it deserves to be, perhaps because Maenchen-Helfen relies more heavily on critically evaluated fourth and fifth century written and archaeological evidence than on romantic nineteenth century images of pageantry and Völkerwanderung, but perhaps also because Maenchen-Helfen shows little patience (or charity) for those who disagree with him.

[7]The Alans, who "migrated" from northwestern Persia to Brittany, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa, were an Iranian speaking people. See Bernard S. Bachrach, A History of the Alans in the West (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973). Many Alanic names, as well as a good deal of Alanic mythology, turn up in medieval literature, particularly the Arthurian cycle. Uther, the name of Arthur's father, was an Alan name.

[8]On the Slavic invasions, see John V. A. Fine, Jr., The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983), pp. 9-73.

[9]And perhaps across the Bay of Biscay. Robert L. Reynolds, "Reconsiderations of the History of the Suevi," Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire 35 (1957), 19-47.

Europe from Athens to Lusitania and in North Africa from Ceuta to Carthage.[11] Augustine lived to see Rome itself sacked (twice) in 410 by a loose confederation of Germanic and Hunnic tribesmen led by the Gothic kings Alaric and Athaulf. Jerome grieved over the unhappy fate of the Christian empire with thoughts borrowed from Jeremiah's lamentations over the destruction of Jerusalem.[12]

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[10]One of the more interesting (and controversial) recent studies of the Germanic settlements is Walter Goffart, Barbarians and Romans, A. D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). Goffart tends to play down the violence of the invasions. He examines instead the various ways in which the Roman administrative and landholding classes accommodated the migrating armies by incorporating them into existing economic, military, and political institutions. Nevertheless, in our attempts to rehabilitate and un-barbarianize the Germanic invaders, we should call to mind Wallace-Hadrill's comment about the Vikings, and not presume that the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi were "little more than groups of long-haired tourists who occasionally roughed up the natives." J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Vikings in Francia (Reading: Univ. of Reading Press, 1975), p. 5.

[11]How many barbarians does it take to make a swarm? The numbers of barbarian invaders during the years 378-418 reported by ancient historians are probably exaggerated. We do not know how many there were. There were sufficient soldiers in Alaric's army of 410 to sack Rome. There were sufficient barbarians in southern Gaul to offend the nose of Sidonius Apollinaris. There were sufficient Alans in southern Gaul to leave a few Alanic place names. There were sufficient Goths in sixth century Hispania to limit the invading Byzantines to the southeastern littoral, but insufficient Goths to repel the Byzantines for the better part of a century, assuming (which we cannot) that only Goths fought in the Visigothic army. For an example of the patent inaccuracy of our information on this matter, see Goffart, Barbarians and Romans, pp. 231-234. Goffart notes, accurately, "How many Vandals and other barbarians Geiseric led into Africa continues to be anybody's guess," p. 234.

[12]Jerome, Letters, translated by W. H. Freemantle, in Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 6 (New York: Christian Literature Company,

During the decades after Augustine's death Rome and the west were threatened in the 440's and 450's by another loose confederation of Hunnic and Germanic tribes, once while these tribes were in the employ of the Roman general Aëtius,[13] and once when they were led by the Hunnic king Attila.[14] Subsequent decades saw Rome sacked by the Vandals, operating out of their newly conquered lands in North Africa.[15] Italy itself was occupied[16] by a confederation of Germanic, Hunnic,

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1893), 60.16-17 (p. 130); 123.16-17 (pp. 236-237); 126.2 (p. 252); 127.10-13 (pp. 256-257); 128.4 (p. 260).

[13]On Aëtius, see J. M. O'Flynn, Generalissimos of the Western Roman Empire (Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1983), pp. 74-103. See also Theodor Mommsen, "Aëtius," Hermes 46 (1901), 516-547.

[14]Ulf Täckholm, "Aetius and the Battle on the Catalaunian Fields," Opuscula Romana 8 (1969), 259-276.

[15]For a near contemporary account of the Vandal conquest and the early years of occupation, see Victor of Vita, History of the Vandal Persecution. The fragments of Priscus, which contain much information about the Vandals, are edited with an English translation in R. C. Blockley, The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus, vol. 2 (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983), pp. 222-400. Procopius' detailed history of the Vandals, from their legendary origins on the shores of the Maeotic Lake to their defeat by the armies of Justinian, can be found in Procopius, History of the Wars, Books III-IV: The Vandalic War, edited and translated by H. B. Dewing. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1916). Isidore offers a very brief regnal chronology of the Vandal kings in Isidore of Seville, History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi, 2nd ed., translated by Guido Donini and Gordon Ford, Jr. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 33-38.

[16]The classic study remains Thomas Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders, vols. 1-3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892-95). More recently, see Chris Wickham, Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Authority, 400-1000 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), pp. 9-27.

and Iranian tribesmen whose demographics were so diverse that scholars are still arguing about whether their leader Odovacar was Germanic, Hunnic, Iranian, or a combination thereof.[17] Eventually, in A. D. 476, the western barbarians decided that they could do without even the pretense of a Roman emperor, and the last western emperors were either deposed (Romulus Augustulus) or murdered (Julius Nepos). Odovacar, the deposer, was himself deposed and killed by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, whose descendants established an Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.[18] By the year 500 the western provinces of the Roman Empire had ceased to exist in any political sense, having been replaced by seven or more Germanic, Celtic, or Iranian kingdoms.[19] From the mid-sixth

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[17]Robert L. Reynolds and Robert S. Lopez, "Odoacer: German or Hun," The American Historical Review 52 (1946), 36-53.

[18]On the Ostrogoths, see Herwig Wolfram, History of the Goths, translated by Thomas J. Dunlap from the second German edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). See also the delightfully revisionist essay by William Bark, "Theodoric vs. Boethius: Vindication and Apology," The American Historical Review 49 (1943), 410-426.

[19]For a Marxist perspective on these settlements and kingdoms, see the collection of essays by E. A. Thompson in Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire, edited by E. A. Thompson (Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), but see also Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Alans in Gaul," Traditio 23 (1967), 476-489; Bernard S. Bachrach, "Another Look at the Barbarian Settlement in Southern Gaul," Traditio 30 (1969), 354-358. Thompson and Bachrach should be read as point/counterpoint, particularly on the Bacaudae and on the barbarian settlement in southern Gaul. One of the more interesting and revealing aspects of the Bachrach/Thompson dispute is the question of whether or not the Bacaudae were proletarian revolutionaries who were trying to seize the means of production. Another point of dispute is whether or not the Visigoths were settled in

century onwards, Italy, North Africa, and southeastern Spain suffered yet another cataclysmic assault as the Byzantine Empire invaded and occupied lands that Justinian and his successors claimed as their own. Plague followed. These were busy years.

The Christian historiography of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages was as shaken by the barbarian invasions and by the subsequent destruction of the Roman Empire as Hebrew historiography had been shaken by the Assyrian and Babylonian invasions and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. The Christian triumphalism that was characteristic of fourth century Christian historians such as Eusebius of Caesarea quickly gave way in the fifth century to incredulity, dismay, and resignation. The Church Fathers had long taught that the apocalyptic struggles that would precede the end of the world could occur at any moment, but their initial responses to the cataclysmic events of the fifth century indicate that they would have preferred the end of the world to have occurred in someone's lifetime other than their own.

Just as post-exilic Hebrews wondered about the role of

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southern Gaul so that they would develop a sense of economic solidarity with the landlord class and thus prop up the decadent landlordism and the slave mode of production that characterized the late Empire. Thompson often seems to be trying to vindicate the theories of Marx and Engels rather than to elucidate barbarian history. Nonetheless, the work of these scholars remains extremely valuable, despite Thompson's appalling lack of charity (or even public civility) towards fellow scholars.

their people in a post-apocalyptic world that was dominated by Iranian, Macedonian, and Hellenistic Greek invaders,[20] so did Late Antique and early medieval Christians wonder about the role of Christianity in a post-apocalyptic world dominated by Germanic, Iranian, and Byzantine Greek invaders.[21] Who were these barbarians, where did they come from, and what was their role in God's plan? What was God's purpose in destroying the political system that had sheltered and nurtured his people? Where now was the Roman Empire? What was God's purpose in dispersing his faithful believers throughout a world of non-believers?[22] In Hebrew terms, how were the Kingdom of David and the Temple of the Lord to be restored? In Christian terms, now that Rome was destroyed, how was the regnum Christianorum to be restored and how was Christianity to fulfill its mission?

As early as Tertullian, Christians had understood at least part of God's purpose in sanctioning the existence of the Roman Empire. Part of the divine plan was that Rome was

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[20]James L. Kugel, "Early Interpretation: The Common Background of Later Forms of Biblical Exegesis," in Early Bible Interpretation, edited by Wayne Meeks, Library of Early Christianity, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), pp. 11-106. See especially pages 40-51, on "The Messiness of History."

[21]Ernst Breisach, "The Problem of Continuity in an Age of Upheaval," in Historiography, Ancient, Medieval and Modern, pp. 88-97.

[22]Or, in the case of the early Middle Ages, of dispersing non-believers or heretics among his faithful followers, and then handing over political and military authority to those same barbarian invaders.

to be the scourge of God that punished the peoples of Judaea for rejecting Jesus.[23] More importantly, the existence of the pax Romana facilitated the evangelical work of the Church. Christianity spread everywhere throughout this immense empire,[24] and through their piety and industriousness the Christians strengthened the Roman economy and at least tried to improve public morality.[25] Indeed, even during the days of persecution, Christians had offered prayers on behalf of the emperors and administrators of the Empire, not only to obey the commandments of scripture,[26] but also because they realized that only the continued existence of the Roman Empire would offer peace to mankind and hold back the imminent and universal catastrophe of the end of the world.[27]

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[23]Tertullian, Apology, 26 (ANF 3:40).

[24]Tertullian, Apology, 1 (ANF 3:17-18).

[25]Tertullian, Apology, 42 (ANF 3:49).

[26]Tertullian, Apology, 31 (ANF 3:42). Tertullian quotes I Tim. 2.2.

[27]Tertullian, Apology, 32 (ANF 3:42-43); 39 (ANF 3:46-47). See also Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.25 (ANF 7:220), "the fall and ruin of the world will shortly take place; except that while the city of Rome remains it appears that nothing of this kind is to be feared." Christians such as Tertullian dreaded the end of the world not so much because they themselves feared death, but because they hoped to complete the evangelization and conversion of the world before the advent of the day of wrath. Although Tertullian is praiseful of Rome in some measure, a few lines after noting that Christians pray for the continued well being of the Empire Tertullian goes out of his way to call Socrates and Cato the Elder a couple of pimps: "Leno est philosophus et censor!" Tertullian, Apologeticum, 39.13, edited by E. Dekkers, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Vol. 1 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1954), p. 152.

Writing only a few years before the Visigothic sack of Rome, Prudentius had exulted in the security of Roman citizens under the Christian emperors: "No barbarian foe shatters my bars with his spear, nor with strange arms and dress and hair goes roving through my captured city, carrying off my young men to bondage across the Alps."[28] In a few years, that smug sense of perpetual security would no longer be justified, at least not for the Christians of Western Europe.

By the 450's it must have seemed to many that this imminent and universal catastrophe, long held back by the might of Rome, was well on its way to fulfillment.[29] As Raymond Thouvenot drolly noted, "the political situation was then most serious."[30] Many Christian historians and

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[28]Prudentius, Reply to Symmachus, 2.692-695, "... nullus mea barbarus hostis / cuspide claustra quatit, non armis, veste comisque / ignotus capta passim vagus errat in urbe / transalpina meam rapiens in vincula pubem." In Prudentius, translated by H. J. Thompson, 2 Vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann, 1949), Vol. 2, pp. 60-61.

[29]For landed patricians such as Sidonius Apollinaris the transition from imperial rule to Gothic rule was perhaps more distasteful and messy than apocalyptic, what with regular mail service being interrupted and all, but Sidonius seems to have offered a minority opinion. His contemporaries, such as Salvian and Hydatius, described the invasions as a veritable firestorm in which cities were destroyed and the countryside depopulated. Sidonius Apollinaris, The Letters of Sidonius, 2 volumes, translated by O. M. Dalton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915). On Sidonius' complaint that the mail was no longer dependable, see ibid., 9.3.1-3, pp. 179-180.

[30]Raymond Thouvenot, "Salvian and the Ruin of the Roman Empire," Antiquity 8 (1934), 315. This excellent article uses the information preserved in Salvian the Presbyter's Governance of God to examine and classify the military, economic, and social "evidence of the deeply rooted causes that brought about the fall of the Empire," p. 315.

chroniclers offered lamentations for a fallen world. Salvian the Presbyter (400-475) in Gaul[31] and Hydatius of Lemica (394-470) in northwestern Spain[32] mourned the brutal destruction of their world in phrases that echoed Jeremiah's description of the desolation of Jerusalem[33] and the exiled Hebrews who wept by the waters of Babylon.[34] Pagan and Christian historians alike sought to explain the disasters that afflicted Rome. Pagan authors blamed Rome's misfortune on the Christians, and Christian authors blamed it on heresy. Orosius, for example, traced the beginning of Rome's fall to the day when Constantius II (337-361) "was persuaded to believe that there are certain gradations in God,"[35]

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[31]Salvian the Presbyter, The Governance of God, translated by Jeremiah O'Sullivan, in The Writings of Salvian the Presbyter, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 3 (New York: CIMA Publishing Company, 1947).

[32]Hydatius, Continuatio Chronicorum Hieronymianorum, edited by Theodor Mommsen, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 11, Chronica Minora, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 13-36. On Hydatius, see Steven Muhlberger, The Fifth-Century Chroniclers: Prosper, Hydatius, and the Gallic Chronicler of 452, ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, Vol. 27 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990). See also E. A. Thompson, "Hydatius and the Invasion of Spain," in Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), pp. 137-160.

[33]"How lonely she is now, the once crowded city! Widowed is she who was mistress over nations; the princess among the provinces has been made a toiling slave." Lamentations 1.1.

[34]"By the rivers of Babylon we sat mourning and weeping when we remembered Zion." Psalms, 137.1.

[35]Orosius, Seven Books Against the Pagans, 7.29, trans. Deferrari, p. 332. Orosius noted that, immediately after the emperor adopted Arianism, an earthquake shook the Roman east, civil war broke out between the imperial brothers, and the

whereupon the emperor vigorously adopted the Arian heresy, and then attempted forcibly to impose it on the Church. God punished Constantius for his blasphemous impiety, Orosius grimly noted, and God punished both the empire and the Church for departing from the true faith and succumbing to heresy. As these fifth and sixth century historians, pagan and Christian alike, attempted to understand what had happened to Rome, most explained Rome's military and political failures as inevitable consequences of the widespread corruption of Roman moral and religious values.

Salvian described Rome's military collapse as God's punishment on a corrupt and blasphemous Roman people, a people who were Christian in name only,[36] who had fallen from their high calling as Christians, and who preferred moral licentiousness and the love of riches to moral righteousness and the love of God.[37] They remained pagans in their hearts, he argued, and in their pleasures.[38] He hurled calumnies and

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empire suffered a series of reverses in a war against Sapor, Emperor of Persia. Ibid. 7.29, pp. 332-333.

[36]"Where, therefore, is our Christianity, we who receive the sacrament of salvation only for the purpose that we may sin afterwards with the greater crime of deviation from righteousness?" Salvian, The Governance of God, 6.7, trans. O'Sullivan, p. 163.

[37]Salvian, The Governance of God, 4.4-5, trans. O'Sullivan, pp. 97-99.

[38]"Minerva is worshipped and honored in the gymnasia, Venus in the theaters, Neptune in the circuses, Mars in the Arena, Mercury in the wrestling schools, and therefore the worship of superstitions is according to the inclinations of those who worship.... It is a kind of sacrilege for a Christian man to be associated with this superstition,

jeremiads at his fellow citizens, targeting especially government officials, wealthy landowners, and the clergy: people who had wantonly betrayed their governorship of Christendom[39] and who were now experiencing God's just wrath.[40] With intense bitterness Salvian rebuked these powerful men and women for their avaricious and lustful ways, but he openly praised the Goths and Vandals for their charity,[41] their chastity,[42] and for their open and simple faith in God.[43] He saw the invaders as God's punishing scourge, but he held to the hope that his fellow citizens might be called once more to a life of righteousness, now that these morally upright barbarians had supplanted the corrupt imperial officials who had previously governed Gaul. Similarly, he hoped that the Goths and Vandals, who had originally been infected with the heresy of Arianism "from

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because he shares in the worship of those devils in whose festivals he takes delight." Salvian, The Governance of God, 6.11, trans. O'Sullivan, pp. 170-171.

[39]Salvian, The Governance of God, 5.8-10, trans. O'Sullivan, pp. 140-149.

[40]Salvian, The Governance of God, 4.8, trans. O'Sullivan, pp. 102-104.

[41]Salvian, The Governance of God, 5.4, trans. O'Sullivan, pp. 132-134.

[42]Salvian, The Governance of God, 7.6-7, trans. O'Sullivan, pp. 193-194.

[43]Salvian, The Governance of God, trans. O'Sullivan, 7.9-10. pp. 197-200. In this passage Salvian also pointed out that imperial armies were often led by pagan commanders, whereas the Goths and Vandals were led by Christian kings who prayed to Jesus.

the perverseness of a Roman teacher," would be turned to the Catholic faith.[44] When men would not govern righteously and honorably, he wrote, then the governance of God, which constantly worked towards the salvation of mankind, would replace them with new governors.[45]

Gildas Sapiens (d. 570), writing during the 530's in what was left of Roman Britain, said that he took pen in hand for "lamentation rather than display" of rhetorical and scholarly erudition.[46] Gildas did not simply chronicle the misfortunes of his own day, however, but offered his readers an abbreviated version of salvation history and a condensed Roman imperial history before proceeding to his famous account of how "the barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians: thus the two modes of death await us, we are either slain or drowned."[47] Nor did Gildas simply write Lamentations over the unhappy fate of Britain; like Salvian in the previous century, and like the prophet

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[44]Salvian, The Governance of God, 5.3, trans. O'Sullivan, p. 132.

[45]This calls to mind Isidore's statement "A ruler who acts correctly keeps the name of king, but in doing wrong he loses it. Hence the ancients said: 'You will be king if you do right, if you do not you will not be king.'" Etymologiae, 9.3.4. Isidore of Seville, Etylomogiae, Liber IX, edited and translated into French by Marc Reydellet, in Étymologies, Livre IX, Les langues et les groupes sociaux, Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984, p. 121.

[46]Gildas, The Destruction of Britain, 1.1, in The Works of Gildas, translated by J. A. Giles (London: James Bohn, 1891), p. 1.

[47]Gildas, The Destruction of Britain, 2.20, trans. Giles, p. 16.

who had written almost a millennium earlier, Gildas directed his accusing pen towards the unrighteous governors of his own day,[48] hurling accusatory jeremiads at corrupt and avaricious British rulers, singling out by name those who were "addicted to fornication and adultery."[49] Yet Gildas saw even less hope than Salvian for the recovery of the Christian west. Unlike the Germanic tribes who had settled in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, Goths and Vandals who were at least Christians of a sort, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes who devastated Britain were utterly pagan; Gildas could find no redeeming value in their heathen presence.[50] The holocaust that had fallen upon Britain, he believed, was the punishing hand of God, scourging "after his accustomed manner these his Israelites."[51]

The fifth and early sixth century Christian historians, most of whom were churchmen, did not usually have the taste for the sort of philosophical or historiographical speculation that Eusebius, Augustine or Orosius had offered. The duties of pastoral care during a worldwide conflagration

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[48]"Britain has kings, but they are tyrants; she has judges, but unrighteous ones; generally engaged in plunder and rapine, but always preying on the innocent." Gildas, The Destruction of Britain, 3.27 (p. 24).

[49]Such as Constantine of Dumnonia, whom Gildas charged with sacrilege, infanticide, and adultery. Gildas, The Destruction of Britain, 3.27-28 (pp. 24-25).

[50]Of the "fierce and impious Saxons," he wrote that they were "a race hateful both to God and men." Gildas, The Destruction of Britain, 2.23 (p. 19).

[51]Gildas, The Destruction of Britain, 2.26 (p. 22).

kept them occupied with more immediate and pragmatic matters: When was Easter? Will the Roman legions ever return? How do you ask for mercy in Iranian when an Alan is about to behead your parishioners? Augustine may have speculated about the epistemology of time and the existential reality of the future, but "Dark Age" historians such as Gildas could see little beyond the disasters of their own grim present. Salvian might *hope* that barbarian rule would better facilitate Christian living and the cure of souls than had Roman imperial rule, but, having lived through the brutal destruction of Trier, Mainz and other important Roman cities during the barbarian invasions, Salvian had little reason to be optimistic. If Gildas saw any future at all, it was the future that had been predicted in the Apocalypse of John, an apocalypse that had undoubtedly come upon the world in Gildas' own lifetime.

By the middle and late sixth century, however, these lamentations had often given way to resolution and hope, at least on the continent. Once they had gotten settled down, the barbarian invaders turned out to be not so bad after all. At any rate, the Franks, Goths and Suevi were there to stay, and the inhabitants of the former Roman Empire might as well make the best of it, and try to figure out how these new barbarian kingdoms might fit into the divine scheme of things. Just as earlier Church Fathers such as Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and Augustine had appropriated first Hebrew, and then Greek and Roman history, and ultimately

incorporated the stories of these peoples into a narrative of salvation history, so the later Latin Fathers gradually incorporated the Germanic barbarians into the most recent chapters of salvation history. Gregory the Great (540-604) saw the Germanic hordes as part of God's plan for the salvation of mankind.[52] During the heyday of the Christian Empire far too many Christians had neglected their proper duty as missionaries.[53] Some prominent Christians had even

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[52]See G. R. Evans, The Thought of Gregory the Great (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). R. A. Markus, "Gregory the Great and a Papal Missionary Strategy," The Mission of the Church as the Propagation of the Faith, edited by G. J. Cummings, Studies in Church History, Vol. 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 29-38. R. A. Markus, "Gregory the Great's Europe," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, 31 (1981), 21-36.

[53]E. A. Thompson notes that, "between the conversion of Constantine in 312 and the accession of Justinian in 527 the Catholic Church is not known to have sent missionaries beyond the imperial frontier so as to convert the pagan barbarians who lived there." E. A. Thompson, "Barbarian Collaborators and Christians," p. 240, in Romans and Barbarians, pp. 230-248. Thompson recalls that those churchmen who were sent out, such as Ulfilas to the Goths and Palladius to Ireland, were sent to Christian communities that already existed outside the imperial frontiers (p. 240). Thompson argues that Christian officials inside the empire were generally not motivated by "an ambition to save barbarians from the Fire Everlasting," but instead were almost uniformly indifferent "to the spiritual welfare of the barbarians" (p. 241). The Arian Visigoths, on the other hand, enthusiastically supported missionary endeavors, and successfully converted the pagan Sueves to Arian Christianity (p. 240). Only later did emperors such as Justinian and popes such as Gregory the Great actively seek to convert the barbarians. Thompson suggests that these later evangelical missions may have often been motivated more by political concerns than by spiritual ones: Justinian wanted military allies, Gregory wanted religious subjects. Whether or not Thompson's characteristic Marxist and anticlerical interpretation of Justinian and Gregory's motives is accurate, Thompson is certainly correct to note that, once Christianity gained acceptance (and then dominance) in the Roman Empire, its former evangelical

begun to suggest that the Imperium Christianorum was itself an earthly (even eternal!) manifestation of the promised Davidic kingdom.[54] Worse, Christian perversity and negligence had allowed heretics to spread their unholy pestilence among the peoples of the earth, and Christendom itself had exported the Arian heresy to the Goths when they had piously requested religious instruction from Constantinople.[55] Perhaps, with the barbarian invasions, God

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activism was quickly replaced by a complacent disregard for the spiritual welfare of non-Christians outside the empire.

[54]So argued Theodore E. Mommsen in "St. Augustine and the Christian Idea of Progress: The Background of The City of God," in Theodore E. Mommsen, Medieval and Renaissance Studies, edited by Eugene F. Rice, Jr. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 265-298. Mommsen cited passages from Origen, Eusebius, Lactantius, John Chrysostom, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, and Prudentius wherein these fathers openly suggested that Old Testament prophecies of a Messianic kingdom (such as Psalms 46 and 72 and Isaiah 2.4) had been fulfilled in the Imperium Christianorum (pp. 281-285). Mommsen argued that Augustine's City of God was as much a polemic against this sort of "Christian progressivism" as it was against pagan accusations that Christianity was responsible for the sack of Rome. Mommsen also argued that Orosius, commonly considered to have written in the historiographical tradition of St. Augustine, was actually writing in the Eusebian tradition of "Christian progressivism." Theodore E. Mommsen, "Orosius and Augustine," ibid, pp. 325-348.

[55]Salvian, Orosius, and Isidore never forgot that when the Goths had converted to the Christian faith, and when they asked the emperor to send them spiritual teachers, that the Roman Empire had responded by infecting the Goths with the Arian heresy. Orosius had written, "the Goths through legates had petitioned suppliantly that there might be sent them bishops from whom to learn the rule of the Christian faith. The emperor, Valens, with fatal perverseness, sent teachers of the Arian doctrine." Orosius, Seven Books Against the Pagans, 7.33, trans. Deferrari, p. 340. Salvian wrote, "even the very heresies of the barbarians at one time stemmed from the perverseness of a Roman teacher; hence, it is even our crime that the barbarian peoples began to be

in his wisdom was bringing the heathen *to* the Christians; if the Christians would not go to the heathens, then God would bring the heathens to the Christians. Accordingly, Gregory sent missionaries out into the former territories of the Roman Empire, negotiated directly with the Germanic rulers, and won souls to Christ.

While Gregory the Great was sending out missionaries to incorporate the barbarians into Christendom, Christian historians were beginning to incorporate the barbarians into (or at least append them onto) their integrated world histories. Writing in the fifth and early sixth centuries, Salvian and Gildas had addressed their fellow citizens and coreligionists, and had written <u>about</u> the new barbarian rulers. Continental historians writing in the sixth century, such as Cassiodorus and Gregory of Tours, chose to write for a somewhat more diverse audience: in addition to addressing their fellow ex-Romans,[56] they wrote histories that were

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heretics." Salvian, <u>The Governance of God</u>, 5.3, trans. O'Sullivan, p. 132. Nor did the later Visigothic kings forget the imperial origin of their heresy. In his public profession of Nicene Christianity at the Third Council of Toledo (589), King Recared pointedly recalled that "the famous race of the Goths ... [has been] until now separated from the Faith and from the unity of the Catholic Church through the depravity of its teachers." Recared, "Tome of the Most Holy Faith," translated by J. N. Hillgarth, <u>Christianity and Paganism, 350-750: The Conversion of Western Europe</u> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), p. 91.

[56]Cassiodorus would not have accepted such an epithet. Gregory might have resented it, but he would have recognized its validity.

intended for the new Gothic and Frankish aristocracies.[57] Their historiographical agendas included not only recounting salvation history, and explaining the collapse of Roman rule in the west, but also describing who exactly these new peoples were: Where had the barbarians come from? What was their past history? How had they become Arians? Why weren't they mentioned in the Bible, or at least in Josephus or Strabo? How did they fit into God's plan?

Cassiodorus (490-583) was one of the first western Christian historians to address these questions. At the request of Theodoric the Great, Cassiodorus compiled a history of the Goths. The original version of this history, written in the 520's, has not survived, but an epitome of the work has been preserved, incorporated into the Gothic section of Jordanes' tripartite world history.[58] Cassiodorus

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[57]For an excellent introduction to these "new" historians, see Walter Goffart, The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

[58]Jordanes, Romana et Getica, edited by Theodor Mommsen, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 5, part 1, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1882), pp. 1-138. The tripartite history is divided as follows: Part I (pp. 1-10) was an integrated chronicle of salvation history, written in the tradition of Eusebius and Jerome. Part II (pp. 10-52) was a Roman history that began with Romulus and extended to Justinian. Part III (pp. 53-138) was the famous De Origine Actibusque Getarum. Jordanes, for all his weaknesses as an historian, may have realized that Christianity, Greco-Roman culture, and the Germanic tribes were the most vital forces at work in Late Antique civilization. Walter Goffart reminds us that Jordanes "needs to be assessed as the creator of a little historical library, centered in Justinian's reign, and not solely as the author of a "national" Gothic history. Goffart, The Narrators of Barbarian History, p. 21.

identified the Goths with Herodotus' Scythians,[59] and thus traced Gothic origins back to a period before the Trojan war. These ancient Goths ruled much of Asia, he wrote, and they had even gone to war against Egypt.[60] The legendary Amazons, he continued, were actually Gothic women.[61] It was the Goths, led by Queen Tomyris, who had defeated Cyrus of Persia in the Danube basin.[62] The Goths themselves were the ancestors of many distinguished and noble peoples, including the Parthians.[63] Cassiodorus gave the Goths a noble and heroic past, a past that flattered the Gothic nobility, whose royal ancestry he demonstrated to be more ancient than those of the Greeks. More importantly, Cassiodorus seems to have intended his Gothic history "to reconcile the Romans to the rule of those whom they regarded as barbarians by glorifying the Gothic race in general, tracing its history back into the dim past and bringing it into close contact with the great

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[59]Jordanes, Gothic History, 5.39-46, translated by Charles C. Mierow in The Gothic History of Jordanes, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915; reprint, Cambridge: Speculum Historiale, 1966).

[60]Jordanes, Gothic History, 6.47, trans. Mierow, p. 63.

[61]Jordanes, Gothic History, 5.44-7.52, trans. Mierow, pp. 62-64.

[62]Jordanes, Gothic History, 10.61-62, trans. Mierow, pp. 67-68.

[63]Jordanes, Gothic History, 6.48, trans. Mierow, p. 63. Jordanes attributed this particular legend to Pompeius Trogus, and it may not have been in Cassiodorus.

classical nations of antiquity."[64]

Which is to say that Cassiodorus lied. It was one thing to identify the Goths with the Getae, as Greek and Roman historians had done since the time of Jerome, but it was quite another to identify them with the Scythians, the Amazons, and the Parthians. Some of the reasons for this invention were political, as mentioned above. Cassiodorus gave the Goths an ancient pedigree to flatter the Gothic kings, on the one hand, and to reconcile the Romans to Gothic rule on the other: one big lie, for the good of all concerned. That technique had worked for Livy and Augustus,[65] why wouldn't it work equally well for Cassiodorus and Theodoric? If Cassiodorus could successfully integrate the Goths into the narrative of universal history, then at least the illusion of continuity and universalism within Roman history might be preserved.[66]

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[64]Charles C. Mierow, "Introduction" to Jordanes, Gothic History, p. 15.

[65]Livy, too, recently has become the target of the new politically correct revisionist historians. That Livy wrote his history to justify the Augustan system seems obvious, even justifiable, given his moralist approach, yet he was no imperial toady. For a savage attack on Livy that ridicules him as "the Augustan orderly ordered to find order and stamp it on the past, ordering his readers to read it in an orderly fashion," see John Henderson, "Livy and the Invention of History," in History as Text: The Writing of Ancient History, ed. Averil Cameron (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), pp. 64-85.

[66]Even Cassiodorus' Chronicle seems to push the big lie. He embedded a list of Roman consuls in his Chronicle, and may have been trying to demonstrate that there had been an unbroken continuity of Republican traditions in the city of Rome that had extended from the expulsion of Tarquin Superbus

Gregory of Tours (539-594) took quite a different approach to barbarian history than had Cassiodorus. Gregory wrote a lengthy and detailed History of the Franks, to which he appended a brief epitome of salvation history lifted from Eusebius, Jerome, and Orosius.[67] Ever the realist, Gregory did *not* trace Frankish ancestry to remote antiquity,[68] as Josephus and the early Christian apologists had done for the Hebrews, nor did he provide the Franks with a long list of ancient heroes and princes, as Livy had done for the Romans and Cassiodorus for the Goths. Instead, Gregory portrayed the Franks as a savage and barbarous people who were in a

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until his own day. In many ways, Cassiodorus implied, the Gothic kings were no more of a disruption of Republican traditions than the emperors had been. To wealthy scions of the Senatorial class, which class Cassiodorus represented, that may well have been an argument that could be sustained. Cassiodorus, Chronica, edited by Theodor Mommsen, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 11, Chronica Minora, vol. 2, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 109-161.

[67]Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, translated by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974). Once again, as in the writings of Orosius, Eusebius, etc., the legends of Ninus and Zoroaster turn up in the early pages of Gregory's world chronicle. Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, 1.5-7, trans. Thorpe, pp. 71-73.

[68]The legend that the Franks were descendants of the Trojans was first recorded by one of the authors of the Chronicle of Fredegar, and not by Gregory. Fredegar, Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii scholastici libri IV, edited by Bruno Krusch, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, vol. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 1-193. Book Four of this Chronicle is also available as The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar, edited and translated by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1960). Wallace-Hadrill's edition differs considerably from Krusch's, not only in punctuation, but also in chapter divisions.

position to become the protectors of God's holy Catholic Church at a time when the Roman Empire was no longer able (or fit) to perform that office, and at a time when most of the western Church remained under Arian domination.[69] As Gregory saw it, God had entrusted the Catholic Church with the salvation of the Franks, and he had entrusted the protection of the Catholic Church in Gaul to the Franks.[70] Only the Church and its saints mitigated the savagery and treachery of the Franks, and even then it usually took a miracle to awe the Frankish kings and their warriors into respecting the Church. Eternal Rome may have failed, but the governance of God and the truth of the Catholic faith would sustain all Christians.

Abandoning most of the techniques of appropriation and integration that were characteristic of earlier Christian historiography, with their emphases on a universalism and continuity, Gregory's focus was considerably narrower; he concerned himself almost exclusively with the political and religious history of Gaul and its people during a period of extreme adversity. This approach resembles post-exilic

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[69]Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks, 2.37, trans. Thorpe, pp. 151-154.

[70]Gregory was following in the tradition of Bishop Avitius of Vienne, whose letter to Clovis (c. 498) flattered the Frankish king for his "extreme subtlety" of intellect, praised him for facilitating the salvation of the Frankish race through his own baptism, reminded him that he owed a debt of humility to the Church, and politely suggested that Clovis could serve Christendom by conquering his neighbors. "Letter of Bishop Avitius to King Clovis," trans. Hillgarth, Christianity and Paganism, pp. 76-78.

Biblical texts as such as Ezra, Nehemiah, Judith, and Maccabees, concentrating as it does on the travails of the faithful in a shattered world, much more than it resembles the Christian triumphalism of Eusebius or the dissimulating universalism of Cassiodorus. This "rebuilding after the apocalypse" approach, wherein the universalism and continuity derived from God rather than from any earthly empire or kingdom, became characteristic of Christian historians in the early medieval west, as exemplified by writers such as Bede and Nennius, and it is one of the things that differentiates medieval historiography from ancient historiography.

Christian Historiography before Isidore: a Brief Summation

By the late sixth century, when Gregory of Tours wrote his History of the Franks, Christian historiography had gone through a lengthy and complex series of developments. This process had begun with the authors of the New Testament, and particularly the authors of the Synoptic Gospels, narrating the history of Jesus and the Apostles. Although concerned with historical events, these Gospel narratives were often organized theologically rather than chronologically. That is, although the Synoptic Gospels narrate a series of historical events that occurred during the ministry of Jesus, the authors arranged these events thematically, in order to reveal certain religious truths, rather than in a strict

chronological order.[71] The Gospel authors were not consciously writing history in the way that Thucydides or Tacitus had done, but instead were writing in the biblical tradition of proclaiming the higher significance of certain historical events. To the Gospel authors, the meaning of these events took precedence over the mere order of their historical occurrence within the ministry of Jesus.

The author of the Acts of the Apostles, however, did take a more chronological approach to history, tracing as he did "the continuity of salvation history through its central crossroads, the life of Jesus and the birth of the Church,"[72] and describing "the progress of the word of salvation on its appointed course."[73] The Gospel authors were concerned with proclamation rather than history, and they placed more emphasis on *what* was said and done during the ministry of Jesus than on the precise event sequence of *when* these things

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[71]Or, as the great Catholic exegete Raymond E. Brown put it, "the Gospels are in logical order, not necessarily in chronological order. Each evangelist has ordered the material according to his understanding of Jesus and his desire to portray Jesus in a way that would meet the spiritual needs of the community to which he was addressing the Gospel. Thus individual evangelists emerge as full authors of the Gospels, shaping, developing, pruning the tradition, and as full theologians, orienting that tradition to a particular goal." Raymond E. Brown, Responses to 101 Questions on the Bible (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), p. 57. What Brown has described in these few words is a Christian approach to history that has been applied by Christian historical apologists for the better part of two millennia.

[72]Richard J. Dillon, "Acts of the Apostles," in The New Jerome Bible Commentary, p. 723.

[73]Dillon, "Acts of the Apostles," p. 723.

had occurred, particularly since the events of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus were seen as the consummation and fulfillment of his earthly life. The author of the Acts of the Apostles, however, was concerned with the progressive development of that proclamation, and he narrated the words and deeds of men and women whose actions were guided by the Holy Spirit towards the fulfillment of a historical mission: the consummation of human history *in time*, according to the divine will, and within the divine plan. When human deeds were recounted, even if those human deeds were guided by the Holy Spirit, event chronology became much more important. Thus the author of Luke-Acts necessarily became a "historian digesting and contouring the past"[74] in accordance with a particular historical purpose.

This emphasis on the chronological order of events became especially important during the next phase of Christian historiography, when, following the lead of Jewish writers such as Josephus, Christian apologists such as Justin Martyr began to emphasize the extreme antiquity of the Judaeo-Christian experience. As Justin Martyr and others argued for the antiquity of the Judaeo-Christian kerygma, thus becoming historical apologists as well as theological and moral apologists, they necessarily had to advance beyond mere pronouncements of antiquity to some sort of historical proofs that were based on event synchronization.

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[74]Dillon, "Acts of the Apostles," p. 723.

Event synchronization is an extremely complex historical endeavor, particularly when there is no generally agreed upon system of chronological reckoning. The Christian historical apologists did not themselves initiate the historiographical process of event synchronization, a process that had begun with Hellenistic historians such as Berosus of Babylon and Manetho of Alexandria, and even with Herodotus to a certain extent, but nevertheless Christian historical apologists such as Theophilus of Antioch and Clement of Alexandria seized upon the historiographical opportunities presented by the Hellenistic integrated world chronologies to appropriate Greco-Roman history to a Christian purpose. Clement of Alexandria, for example, began to argue that God had revealed himself in diverse ways throughout history to all people, and all that was true and beautiful in any culture ultimately derived from the inspiration of the Christian God. Moreover, these historical apologists, particularly Justin Martyr and Tertullian, developed typology as a historiographical tool that enabled men to recognize not only the theological and philosophical truths that God had revealed directly, but also the way that God had revealed himself and his plan more subtly, though signs and portents.

In addition to these event-specific and typological approaches to historical chronology, Clement of Alexandria also tried to work out an integrated generational chronology of world history, working not only with the generational lists of the Old and New Testaments, but also with the

traditional genealogical lists of Near Eastern and Mediterranean history. His attempts were less than fully successful, and often make for tiresome reading, but Clement's early generational chronologies made it considerably easier for subsequent Christian historians to determine more precise regnal and annual chronologies.

Julian Africanus appears to have been the first Christian historian to work out a parallel chronology not only of events, but also of dynasties, and even of individual reigns. Like Justin Martyr and Clement of Alexandria before him, Julius Africanus was interested in demonstrating the superior antiquity of the Judaeo-Christian religious experience, but he was also interested in integrating the events of Judaeo-Christian history into a world chronology so that he might demonstrate the centrality of the events of Judaeo-Christian history to the fulfillment of the divine plan for all human history. With Julius Africanus and Tertullian, the Christian historical apologists begin to appropriate not only certain events of Near Eastern and Greco-Roman history to a Christian purpose, but in fact begin to appropriate the *entire narrative* of human history and describe the history of all peoples in terms of a series of divine interventions and revelatory events. The Christian God was not only Lord of the Christians, according to these Church Fathers, but he was also the Lord of Time and the master of history: a universal God who directed universal history to his universal purpose.

The final stage in the development of a Christian historiography in the ancient world was the extension of the historical record from the event synchronizations and regnal synchronizations that were characteristic of second and third century Christian historical apologetics, as characterized by the writings of Clement of Alexandria and Julius Africanus, to an integrated parallel annual synchronization. This was realized by Eusebius, who was the first historian to attempt to organize the whole of human history, from the days of Abraham, the Friend of God, and Ninus, the first emperor, down to the days of Constantine, who was both the friend of God *and* the first Christian emperor, and to organize that history on a year by year basis. This annual synchronization was continued, and greatly expanded, by St. Jerome, and this Eusebius/Jerome world chronicle became the chronological foundation of later world chronicles and world histories, such as those of Augustine and Orosius.

At the same time that these historiographical developments were occurring, an evolution concerned largely with event chronology and the appropriation of historical narratives, Christian historical apologetics also made great advances in terms of theological and philosophical maturation. Historical apologists such as Justin Martyr and Tertullian formulated elaborate arguments suggesting that not only was Christianity the consummation and fulfillment of the Hebrew religious experience, but that Christianity had superseded and replaced Judaism as the *only* form of worship

that was acceptable to God, and that the Christians had superseded and replaced the Jews as God's chosen people. According to this interpretation, whereas during the Biblical era of Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah and Jeremiah, it had been the Jews whose eyes were opened to the light of faith and who constituted the true church, and the Gentiles who were the blind, impious, perfidious people of error, a people who had persecuted God's people and who did not understand the ways of the Lord, Justin Martyr and Tertullian, among others, integrated into their historical apologetic the argument that God's favor had been withdrawn from the Jews, who had repudiated and crucified Jesus Christ, and even called his blood upon them and their children for all time, and from that point on the Jews had become the blind, impious, perfidious people of error, who persecuted God's people and who did not understand the ways of the Lord, and the Gentile Christians had become the people whose eyes had been opened to the light of faith and who constituted the true Church. The Church Fathers developed elaborate historical arguments to support this contention, drawing not only upon testimony from the Old and New Testaments, but also on the undeniable historical fact of the destruction of Jerusalem and the diaspora of the Jews. The Jews continued to suffer God's displeasure, and the temporal punishments that accompanied such displeasure, the Fathers continued, because the Jews continued to curse Christians, and because they continued to persecute Christians, even to the point of

exciting the Roman civil and military authorities against them. Thus did the schism between Christianity and rabbinic Judaism, which had begun during the lifetime of Jesus and his disciples, become grafted onto early Christian historiography as an irreducible and irreplaceable leitmotif.

While appropriating Jewish history and repudiating rabbinic Judaism, the Christian historical apologists also appropriated many of the ideas and much of the terminology of Greek philosophy and history. Augustine of Hippo, for example, appropriated many of the concepts and terms of Greek philosophical argument, and then used these concepts and terms to develop and elaborate a Christian philosophy of time, event, and history that repudiated and ridiculed the entire Greco-Roman conception of time and history. History had a purpose, the Christian historians argued, a purpose towards which God was continually directing human affairs. Time had a beginning, Augustine argued, it had a middle, and it was progressing towards its divinely appointed end. Time itself, along with the events that filled time, and the end to which time was inevitably progressing, all became part of the Christian philosophy of history. The Christian historical apologists, from Justin Martyr to Augustine of Hippo, were omnivorous.

With the Germanic invasions, and the simultaneous collapse of centralized Roman civil and military authority in the West during the years after 378, Christian historians were faced with a series of new challenges. How were they to

explain the fall of the Roman Empire, the Christian Empire, in terms that explained it as a manifestation of the divine plan for Christians rather than as a mere secular event that was without Christian significance? How were they to integrate these Germanic and Iranian invaders into the narrative of Judaeo-Christian history, particularly if the Christian Empire dismembered by these invaders had earlier been presented in Christian historical apologetic as an integral part of God's ineffable plan?

Salvian the Presbyter and Cassiodorus Senator were some of the first Christian historical apologists to apply Christian historiography to these questions. Salvian successfully explained the catastrophes that beset the Roman world in terms of divine punishment for the unabated sinfulness of the Christian people. He also explained the barbarian invasions as an opportunity for moral reform and religious evangelism. The Christians had become an unchaste and sinful people, he argued, and they could learn chastity, as well as certain other moral virtues, from the Germanic tribes. The barbarian invaders themselves were either pagans, thus bringing an opportunity to practice Christian evangelism onto the very doorsteps of Roman Christians, or they had been converted to heresy through the perversity of a Roman Emperor, in which case their presence offered an excellent opportunity for the Roman Christians to undo past errors and call these barbarians to the true Church. Just like the early Christians, who had been given the task of

civilizing and Christianizing the Roman Empire, had God given the Roman Christians the task of civilizing and Christianizing these new barbarians.

Cassiodorus would have added, "these *ancient and noble* barbarians," which is how he sought to present them to his learned Roman audience. Cassiodorus was one of the first Christian historians to integrate barbarian history, particularly Gothic history, into the narrative structure of world history. He proclaimed the ancient and noble origins of the Goths, and celebrated the legendary heroes of their race, thus not only making the Goths acceptable (in some sense) as governors of Roman Italy, but also recognizing them as a people who were worthy of receiving the true faith from the hands of Christians. They were not animals, nor merely the violent scourge of an angry God, but instead were noble men and women who cherished their liberty and who had besought Rome itself to teach them the faith of Jesus Christ. God had seen fit to establish them as rulers over the Roman people, and even as protectors of his Holy Church.

Gregory of Tours approached Frankish history with greater restraint and stronger misgivings. Although they did not have an ancient and noble history, the Franks had at least fought alongside a Roman army when the Huns had threatened Gaul, and perhaps therefore had some preference towards civilization over barbarism. The Frankish king, Clovis, despite his savagery and treachery, had been a friend of the Church, and had sought to protect the Church from the

depredations of his unruly followers, even before he himself had been baptized. The Church, in its proper turn, had then converted the entire Frankish people to the true and Catholic faith. After their conversion to Catholicism, the Franks even became champions of the Catholic faith, going to war on behalf of the true Church (so Clovis claimed) to liberate their fellow Catholics from the rule of heretics. Thus did Gregory of Tours incorporate the Frankish people into the divine plan, even though it was a rough fit, at best, and portray them as divinely-appointed protectors of the Catholic Church.

In southern Gaul and throughout the Iberian peninsula, however, where the very Goths that Clovis defeated had won a kingdom for themselves, things were a little more complex for Christian historical apologists to digest. The theological, philosophical, and historical problems that faced Isidore of Seville were much less easily dealt with. In Spain, the Arian Visigoths had not been defeated, but had triumphed instead. In Spain, the Arian Visigoths had defended the realm against equally heretical conquerors from Greece. In Spain, the Arian Visigoths had eventually converted to Catholicism, and in their turn had become the champions of God's Holy Church. Isidore had a greater task before him than Salvian, Cassiodorus, or Gregory had faced. Salvian the Presbyter dared to hope that the Goths would be converted to Catholicism and eventually become the protectors of God's holy Church; Isidore was the historian who witnessed the

conversion of the Goths from Arianism to Catholicism and whose Spanish Church sanctified and supported the subsequent Gothic attempts to establish a more perfect regnum Christianorum in Spain and southern Gaul. Because those things had been accomplished in Spain, the Gothic presence must necessarily have been an important part of the divine plan. History had to be written and rewritten to take into account this new understanding of the new reality. The remainder of this dissertation will consider the various ways that Isidore of Seville faced these historiographical challenges, and the various ways that he applied and adapted the techniques of Christian historical and heresiological apologetics to the particular circumstances of the seventh century Visigothic kingdom.

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ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON TIME, ETERNITY, EVENTS, AND HISTORY: THE UNFOLDING OF SALVATION HISTORY

VOLUME II

by

Jace T. Crouch

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1997

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CHAPTER 5

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON TIME, ETERNITY, EVENTS, AND HISTORY: TECHNIQUES OF ACCOMMODATION IN VISIGOTHIC SPAIN

In Spain,[1] shortly after Gregory of Tours began to write his History of the Franks, Bishop Leander of Seville, his younger brother, Isidore, and other Catholic churchmen such as John of Biclaro and Fulgentius of Astigi, led an evangelical mission to convert the Arian Visigoths of Spain and Gaul to Catholicism.[2] After a lengthy struggle, this

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[1]Following the lead of Joseph O'Callaghan and others, I use the term "Spain" to connote Late Antique and Medieval *Hispania*, that is the Iberian peninsula and people in it; I do not mean the modern nation state of Spain, nor do I mean Castile. This usage is not as anachronistic, nor as "Castilianizing" as it might seem. Isidore's orthography was usually "Spania" rather than "Hispania," although older editions of Isidore's works, from Grial's (1559) and Arévalo's (1792-1803) up to and including Lindsay's (1911), tended to correct Isidore's Late Latin orthography so that it conformed to classical patterns. Mommsen's MGH edition of Historia Regibus Gothorum, as well as the more recent editions of Isidore's works by Alonso, Codoñer Merino, Gómez, and Reydellet (cited below), return to Isidore's own orthography.

[2]The term "Catholic" might seem at first to be somewhat anachronistic when applied to the seventh century Spanish church, but "Catholic" is the very term that the Spanish Christians of the Niceno-Chalcedonian confession applied to themselves, to their faith, and to their Church. The term "Roman Catholic" would certainly *not* be applicable to any seventh century western Church, and artificial terms such as "Western Catholic" or "Latin Christians" are equally too inclusive and too vague to be more than marginally useful. Isidore thought of himself as a Catholic, and he had a firm

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Catholic mission succeeded in 589, when King Recared renounced the Arian confession, accepted the Nicene and Chalcedonian creeds, and converted to the Catholic faith. John of Biclaro (549-615) praised Recared for restoring "the Goths and the Suevi to the unity and peace of the Christian church,"[3] and openly compared Recared to Constantine the Great,[4] who had presided over the Council of Nicaea, and to the emperor Marcian, who had presided over the Council of

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understanding of how his church differed from the Arian church, as well as from the emerging Orthodox church.

[3]John of Biclaro, Chronicle, 85, trans. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, p. 76.

[4]If Recared was a second Constantine, it was only in the same sense that Jesus was a second Adam; for Constantine, although initially responding to the call of faith, had fallen away from the true doctrine and embraced Arianism, whereas Recared was obedient to the call of faith and embraced Catholicism. Isidore did not celebrate Recared as a second Constantine, recognizing as he did that Constantine became an Arian at the end of his life, and that it was the Arian emperors of the Constantinian dynasty that persecuted Catholics. If any Visigothic king resembled Constantine, it would have been Leovigild, who was a great warrior, like Constantine; who founded a new city, like Constantine; who had his own son killed, like Constantine; and who died an Arian heretic, like Constantine. Isidore reserved his praise for emperors of the Theodosian line, a dynasty which had originated in Spain, and which had sent the Visigoths into Spain to restore order shortly after the deaths of Didymus and Veranianus, two Spanish nobles of the Theodosian gens who were murdered by Gallic usurpers in 409. These points will be taken up below, in Chapter Six, where I will consider events and actors in Isidorian history, the theory and practice of Isidorian history, as well as Isidore's historical propaganda. For Constantine's lapse into heresy, see Isidore, Chronicon, 99, ed. Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by Garcia Loaisa, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 7 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1803), pp. 96-97.

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Chalcedon.[5] In the decades after this momentous conversion, Isidore of Seville established (or perhaps expanded) a system of schools and libraries throughout Spain, partially to train (or retrain) the Visigothic clergy, partially to educate the Gothic nobility, but especially to begin to rebuild Spain as a Catholic realm. This transformation of Spain quickened its pace in the early 600's, after the last Imperial troops were driven from the peninsula. Finally, it must have seemed to many Spanish Christians, after centuries of warfare, political turmoil, and religious strife, all of Spain was united under a single Catholic ruler, as it had not been since the reign of Theodosius. The Gothic kings, working together with the Catholic churchmen of the realm, reestablished the Pax Romana, or at least a reasonable Christian simulacrum of it, in Spain and Septimiana.[6] It was within this renewed sense of a Christian mission, building upon the historiographical traditions of the Church Fathers, that in the early seventh century Isidore of Seville began to consider the nature of time, event, and history.

If the early Church Fathers developed and mastered elaborate techniques of historical appropriation, as argued in the earlier chapters of this dissertation, the Spanish

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[5]John of Biclaro, Chronicle, 92, trans. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, p. 78.

[6]Fontaine, Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique, 2nd ed., 3 vols (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1983), vol. 2, p. 887, hereafter cited as Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol. #, p.#.

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Fathers, from Ossius of Córdoba (256 - 358) to Isidore of Seville (560 - 636), and on through Hildefonse (d. 667) and Julian of Toledo (d. 690), developed and mastered their own special techniques of accommodation. Proponents of Christian historiography might argue that all of human history was divinely directed towards its fulfillment in Christianity, but the historical reality of Late Antique and early medieval Spain was that Spanish Christians had to come to some sort of an accommodation with competing, contradictory, and often adversarial religious groups. Referring to its Christian, Islamic, and Judaic heritage, Joscelyn Hillgarth has called medieval Spain a "Land of Three Religions."[7] Many Spanish historians, following the lead of Américo Castro,[8] believe that intellectual and cultural interactions among these religious groups, hostile or otherwise, made major contributions to the development of a Spanish "national character." Castro, who minimizes continuities between the Visigothic kingdom and later Spanish history,[9] would trace

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[7]Joscelyn N. Hillgarth, The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516, Volume One, 1250-1410: Precarious Balance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 155-214. This phrase, of course, is appropriate to any of the Muslim-dominated (or formerly dominated) regions of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East.

[8]Américo Castro, The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History, trans. W. King and S. Margaretten (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

[9]Castro, "The non-Spanish Structure of Roman and Visigothic Hispania," in The Spaniards, pp. 174-208. This should be balanced with Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "De la Remota España Primitiva a la Supuesta España Mudéjar," in España: Un Enigma Histórico, vol. 1, 4th ed. (Barcelona:

the beginnings of this complex process of interreligious accommodation to the Islamic conquest in 711.[10] More recently, Joscelyn Hillgarth has argued for looking beyond both Covadonga and the Islamic conquest to Isidore of Seville, who developed a "providential explanation of history ... [that] made sense of a Roman world suddenly taken over by unpredictable barbarian tribal leaders."[11] Although substantially in agreement with Hillgarth, I believe that it is necessary and desirable not only to look at the sort of history (and propaganda) that Isidore recorded, but also to examine how Isidore adapted and expanded the historiographical techniques of the Church Fathers, as well as their teachings on the nature of time and eternity, and

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Editora Y Distribuidora Hispano Americana, S.A., 1973), pp. 99-188. Sánchez-Albornoz, of course, is Castro's great opponent in the debate over continuity and discontinuity in Spanish history.

[10]Castro, "The Spaniards as the Consequence of the Intermingling of Three Castes of Believers," in The Spaniards, pp. 48-94. Sánchez-Albornoz, on the other hand, emphasizes the continuity of "la estructura funcional de la peninsulares" from the Gothic period onwards, in "No se Arabiza la Contextura Vital Hispana," chapter 4 of España: Un Enigma Histórico, pp. 189-239. The great debate between these two scholars included not only such things as institutional and religious history, but also the origins and development of the decorative arts in Spain. For example, to Castro the "arabesques" that are characteristic of the Spanish decorative style are the result of Christian contacts with Arabic and Mauretanian art. Sánchez-Albornoz, on the other hand, argues with equal conviction that these same "arabesques" were already present in the Visigothic minor arts, such as the famous votive crown of Reccesvinth and Visigothic fibulae.

[11]Joscelyn N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," History and Theory 24 (1985), 26.

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then applied these techniques and teachings to the specific doctrinal and historical issues that confronted Catholic Christians in seventh-century Spain.

In recounting salvation history, the early Church Fathers from Justin Martyr through Augustine of Hippo traced not only the guiding hand of God throughout all human history, but also specifically traced how their God extended his covenant first to Abraham, a man who as an individual was the friend of God; then to the Hebrews, who as a particular group had been God's chosen people; and finally a universal extension of the covenant to all of mankind, through the agency of the universal Christian Church carrying out its sacred mission within the universal Roman Empire. The Church Fathers understood their God as the Lord of History, an understanding of the relationship between God and history that continues to be expressed by modern Roman Catholics in the Third Eucharistic Prayer: "From age to age you gather a people to yourself, so that from east to west a perfect offering may be made to the glory of your name."[12] In a very deliberate sense, Christian history was and is a history of that universal gathering.

Yet by Isidore's day that universal gathering had become a regional sundering: east had been sundered from west,

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[12]Order of Mass, Eucharistic Prayer III, in The Vatican II Sunday Missal: A B C Cycles from 1975 to 1999 and thereafter, translated by the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, 1974), p. 612.

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Catholics from Arians, even Spain from Rome.[13] Heretical and schismatic kings and emperors[14] intervened in and presided over doctrinal struggles that resulted in offerings to God that were anything but perfect. Under the heretical leadership of Emperors Justinian and Heraclius, what was left of the universal Roman empire persecuted the universal Catholic church. Many Catholic Christians began to think of themselves as localized remnants of the faithful who struggled valiantly against both heresy and barbarism to preserve the true doctrine.[15] As a Christian historian,

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[13]Why the distance between the Spanish Church and the Papacy? The key issues seem to have been Justinian's heretical council of 553, the Monothelete heresy that originated from that council, and Rome's acceptance both of the council and of the Monothelete heresy. Most of the west did not recognize Justinian's council. Isidore did not consider it legitimate, and the Spanish Church never recognized it during the Visigothic era. By accepting Justinian's council, the Papacy effectively isolated itself from western Christendom. Aside from the Papacy of Gregory the Great, these were not good years for the bishop of Rome. Some bishops became pope by killing their predecessor, or by ingratiating themselves to the eastern emperor, or by being appointed by the Imperial bureaucracy as apparachiks. Further, Gregory the Great appears to have intervened in the selection and deposition of bishops in Imperial-occupied Spain, not only usurping rights that the Spanish church had reserved to itself, but also actively collaborating with the Imperial occupation force. The Papacy, regardless of the personal esteem in which Gregory the Great was held, was seen as an avenue of interveners and heretics.

[14]Germanic kings such as Leovigild in Spain and Geiseric in North Africa, and Roman emperors such as Constantius, Anastasius, Justinian, and Heraclius.

[15]Leander of Seville still spoke of a universal Catholic church, as did Isidore, but each of them also realized that heresy and schism were extremely widespread, and often existed with state support, as they had in Spain prior to 589, and as they still did in Byzantium, in Italy, and in North Africa. Leander looked forward to a time when all of

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Isidore might trace the earlier stages of salvation history in much the same ways as had Theophilus of Antioch, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, Sulpicius Severus, and Jerome; but, unlike the early Church Fathers, he could no longer think of the Roman Empire as continuing to play any part in the gathering together of the faithful. Instead, he had to think, and to act, in terms of being in a particular place at a particular time rather than as being a citizen of a universal and eternal empire.[16] He was a Spanish Catholic who, if he wanted to be an effective bishop, would have to deal with historical events (such as the Gothic occupation) and doctrinal issues (such as Priscillianism and Arianism) that affected Spain. If the divinely ordained gathering of the faithful was to continue, if God's will was to be done in Spain as it was in heaven, then the Spanish Church, led by

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Spain would be united under Catholic rule, and Isidore, who lived to see the Gothic armies finally expel the Imperial heretics from southeastern Spain, celebrated that unity. For Leander's remarks on the universality and unity of the Catholic Church, see Leander of Seville, "Sermon on the Triumph of the Church for the Conversion of the Goths," trans. Claude Barlow, in Iberian Fathers, vol. 1, Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, Leander of Seville (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1969), pp. 229-235.

[16]On the transition from universalism to particularism in the sixth and seventh century, see the recent articles by Jacques Fontaine: "De l'universalisme antique aux particularismes médiévaux: la conscience du temps et de l'espace dans l'antiquité tardive," in Popoli e Paesi nella Cultura Altomedievale, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano de Studio sull'alto Medieoevo, vol. 29, Pt. 1 (Spoleto: Presso le Sede del Centro, 1983), pp. 15-45; and "Las mutaciones de la cultura occidental, de la Antigüedad Tardía a la alta Edad Media," in Historia Universal Europa, Siglos III-X, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1981), pp. 158-163.

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men such as Isidore, would have to assume many of the tasks that previously had been performed by the Roman state: establishing and protecting a Christian society that would facilitate the cure of souls; Christianizing and civilizing barbarians; and eliminating heresy. In the early medieval west, while barbarian kings held court in cities that had been founded by Caesar himself, Isidore of Seville was one of many Catholic churchmen who resolved to facilitate the renewal and extension of Christian society.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the lives of any of these men, or even about life in general in the Visigothic realm.[17] As Roger Collins succinctly notes, "the evidence relating to the ideals and aspirations of the society, in terms of the civil and ecclesiastical laws and some of the treatises of the leading bishops of the realm, is unusually abundant, and [the evidence] relating to the concrete realities of the interplay of personalities and politics and to the practical application of the legislators' normative injunctions is almost non-existent."[18] Except for a few saints' lives and Julian of Toledo's History of

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[17]The best overall study remains P. D. King, Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), which necessarily focuses on institutional history.

[18]Roger Collins, Early Medieval Europe, 300-1000 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 148.

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Wamba,[19] no contemporary biographies have survived, apart from brief bibliographical notices in successive Spanish editions of De Viris Illustribus.[20] Accordingly, most biographical details must be gleaned from incidental remarks in letters and prefaces to religious or other non-biographical texts, or from a few intriguing notices in Isidore's Etymologiae. When assembled, these pieces of information often allow us to formulate a skeleton outline of a person's life (if we are lucky), but they tell us next to nothing about a person's character.

Isidore's family were members of an Hispano-Roman "senatorial" aristocracy that owned estates in the province of Carthaginensis and a few villas in the province of Baetica.[21] The family continued to live in Carthaginensis

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[19]Julian of Toledo, Historia Wambae Regis, ed. W. Levison, in Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis Episcopi Opera, vol. 1, ed. Joscelyn Hillgarth, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 115 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1976), pp. 213-249.

[20]There are several African and Spanish extensions of the original Jerome and Gennadius De Viris Illustribus texts. See especially Isidore of Seville, De Viris Illustribus, ed. Faustino Arévalo, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 7 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1803), pp. 138-164, an older edition that preserves the seventh century interpolation of several African chapters into Isidore's basic text. Chapters on later Spanish writers are in Hildefonsus of Toledo El «De Viris Illustribus» de Ildefonso de Toledo, edited and translated into Spanish by Carmen Codoñer Merino, Acta Salmanticensia, Filosofia y Letras, 65 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1972).

[21]Jacques Fontaine and Pierre Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthagenoise Severianus et les siens? Observations sur l'histoire familiale d'Isidoro de Séville," in Estudios en Homenaje a don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 Años, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1983), pp. 378-387.

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until the early 550's, when the city of Cartagena was occupied by Imperial forces.[22] Isidore's father was named Severianus,[23] but we do not know the name of his mother. Severianus' family included the daughter Florentina, who became a Catholic nun, and the sons Fulgentius, Catholic bishop of Astigi (fl. 580-619) and Leander, Catholic bishop of Seville (540-599). All of these elder children were born in Carthaginensis, perhaps at Cartagena itself.[24]

Sometime between 549 and 552, perhaps in nervous anticipation of Justinian's invasion, the Visigoths expelled

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[22]Thompson, Goths in Spain, p. 327. Cartagena remained under Imperial control until sometime between 610 and 619, when it was razed by the Visigoths. Ibid., p. 334.

[23]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 28 (Codoñer Merino, pp. 149-150): "Leander, genitus patre Severiano, Carthaginiensis provinciae Hispaniae..."

[24]Or were they? Fontaine and Cazier suggest that Florentina may have been conceived in Carthaginiensis but born in Seville, since Leander compared Florentina's deposition in Seville to a turtle laying her eggs to protect her young, (itself an allusion to Psalm 83.4, which in the Vetus Latina reads: *etenim passer invenit sisi domum, et turtur nidum uib ponat pullos suos*), Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise Severianus," pp. 361-365, 385. The Vetus Latina quotation is from p. 362, note 33. Isidore's mother *may* have taken the name Turtur when she became a nun, if she became a nun; little is certain on this point. For Leander's remarks, see Leander of Seville, The Training of Nuns and the Contempt of the World, ch. 31, trans. Claude Barlow, in Iberian Fathers, vol. 2, Martin of Braga, Paschasius of Dumium, Leander of Seville, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 63 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1969), p. 227. Fontaine and Cazier cite a new critical edition of Leander's text: Leander of Seville, De Institutione Virginum et Contemptu Mundi, edited and translated into Spanish by Jaime Velasquez, in De la Instructtion de las Virgines y Desprecio del Mundo, Corpus Patristicum Hispanum. Vol 1 (Madrid: Fundacion Universitaria Española, 1979).

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Severianus and his family from the province of Carthaginensis as part of a preemptive strike against prominent senatorial families suspected of having Imperial sympathies.[25] The dislocated family settled in Baetica, probably taking up residence at their villa in Seville, or perhaps in Astigi.[26] Jacques Fontaine believes that Isidore was born after this exile had begun, probably in Seville[27] sometime in the 560's. Isidore's parents died shortly after his birth, and he was raised and educated under the direction of his elder brother

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[25]Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthagenoise Severianus," p. 353. Fontaine and Cazier recall the intrigues between Roman senatorial families like the Anicii and the emperors of Constantinople during the Ostrogothic period in Italy, such as the great conspiracy that proved so fatal to Boethius, ibid., p. 380. With Justinian's reconquest having succeeded in North Africa, Sicily and the Balearic Islands, and showing every sign of imminent success in Italy, the Visigothic rulers had every reason to anticipate an Imperial invasion of Spain, ibid., p. 386. If Fontaine and Cazier are correct about the internal exile of Severianus and his family, this Visigothic policy would have been consistent with the policy of internal exile imposed on Masona of Mérida and John of Biclaro by King Leovigild.

[26]Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthagenoise Severianus," p. 387.

[27]Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthagenoise Severianus," p. 398. Earlier scholarship has tended to believe that Isidore was born in Cartagena during the Imperial occupation. Joscelyn N. Hillgarth, article "Isidore of Seville," in Dictionary of the Middle Ages, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, vol. 6 (New York: Scribners, 1985), p. 563. Other scholars take a middle ground: "Severianus removed his family to Seville around the time of Isidore's birth, perhaps to escape the invasion of southern Spain by the troops of Justinian." Katherine Nell MacFarlane, Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1980), p. 3.

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Leander,[28] who became bishop of Seville sometime before 579.

Isidore's family held prominent ecclesiastical positions in Baetica throughout the late sixth and early seventh centuries, and his elder brothers, each of them a bishop, were active both in the political affairs of Spain and in the great Catholic struggle against Arianism and other heresies. At one point in the 580's or 590's Bishop Leander sent Fulgentius into Carthaginensis, perhaps on a diplomatic mission of some sort, if Leander's previous diplomatic activities are any indication.[29] Fulgentius lived well into the seventh-century, and it was as bishop of Astigi that he signed both the Decretum Gundemari in 610[30] and the canons of

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[28]Although it is less certain, Leander may also have raised and educated Florentina and Fulgentius. MacFarlane, Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods, p. 3.

[29]Leander, The Training of Nuns and the Contempt of the World, ch. 31 (Barlow, p. 226). If this mission occurred after the Visigothic conversion to Arianism in 586-589, perhaps Leander sent Fulgentius into Byzantine-controlled territory to negotiate with the Imperial forces on behalf of the Visigoths. Recared was anxious to obtain a copy of Athanagild's 554 treaty with Justinian, even asking Gregory the Great to provide a copy, Thompson, Goths in Spain, p. 332. Perhaps the search for this elusive treaty is one of the reasons behind Fulgentius' otherwise mysterious mission.

[30]Decretum Gundemari, edited and translated into Spanish by José Vives, with Tomás Marín Martínez and Gonzalo Martínez Díez, in Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, España Christiana, Textos, vol. 1, 403-407 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), p. 406. The Decretum Gundemari is also available in PL 84.482-484 and J. Mansi, ed., Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, vol. 10 (Florence, nd.; reprint, Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1960), cols. 510B-512D. As of this writing, the Decretum Gundemari is not yet available in the Diez edition of the Hispana.

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II Seville in 619.[31] Sometime between 598 and 615 Isidore dedicated De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis to Fulgentius, who seems to have requested that Isidore compile such a work.[32] It was Leander, however, to whom Gregory the Great dedicated Moralia in Job, who was the most famous of Isidore's brothers. In addition to serving as bishop of Seville from ca. 579 to 599, Leander travelled to Constantinople on three occasions, twice as a diplomat on behalf of a Gothic king, and once during a period of exile from Spain.[33] Despite these diplomatic efforts, however, it was as a Catholic apologist and a staunch opponent of heresy that Leander was best known. Along with John of Biclaro and others Catholic churchmen, Leander led a "Catholic apologetic offensive"[34] against Arianism during the 580s. When Recared and the Visigoths converted from Arianism to Catholicism in 589, it was Leander who directed that conversion and who presided over the Third Council of Toledo, the council that recognized Catholic Christianity as the state religion of the Visigothic

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[31]Vives, Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, p. 185.

[32]Isidore, De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis, prefatio, ed. Christopher M. Lawson, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, vol. 113 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1989), p. 1.

[33]A diplomatic mission on behalf of Hermenigild in 579-582, in exile from 584-585, and a diplomatic mission on behalf of Recared sometime in the 590's. Along with John of Biclaro and Masona of Mérida, Leander endured exile during the reign of Leovigild (573-586), although it is not certain whether he was exiled for religious or for political reasons.

[34]The phrase is that of Collins, Early Medieval Europe, p. 145.

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realm. This tradition of Catholic activism, especially of activism against heresy, was passed on to Isidore.

About Isidore himself we know surprisingly little,[35] although his literary activities have left highly visible tracks. He became bishop of Seville upon Leander's death in 599.[36] Since the famous "letter from Pope Siricius to Himerius of Tarragona in 385 stated that a bishop must be forty years of age,"[37] many scholars have dated Isidore's birth sometime around 560.[38] Although we know almost nothing about Isidore's schooling, even Isidore's earliest writings evince an extremely thorough education,[39] and scholars have

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[35]The contemporary and near contemporary sources are examined in Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol. 1, pp. 5-9, vol. 3, pp. 1021-1023; and in Mullins, Spiritual Life, pp. 1-41. Also useful is Joscelyn Hillgarth's article "Isidore of Seville," in Dictionary of the Middle Ages 6:563-566.

[36]Braulio of Saragossa, List of the Books of Isidore, translated by Claude Barlow, Iberian Fathers, vol. 2, Braulio of Saragossa, Fructosus of Braga (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1969), p. 140; Hildefonsus, De Viris Illustribus, 8 (Codoñer Merino, p. 128).

[37]Mullins, Spiritual Life, p. 3, n. 13, where she cites Arévalo, Isidoriana, 17 (1:122-123), who cites the letter of Pope Siricius. The famous letter is preserved in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, PL 84:635a (Paris, 1862), and is also reprinted in PL 13:1131-1147 (Paris, 1845). Pope Siricius is neither as emphatic nor as explicit on this point as Arévalo leads one to believe.

[38]Arévalo, Isidoriana, 1:122; Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol 1. p. 6, n. 1; Fontaine and Cazier, "Qui a chassé de Carthagenoise Severianus," p. 398; Hillgarth, "Isidore of Seville," Dictionary of the Middle Ages 6:563; MacFarlane, Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods, p. 3; Mullins, Spiritual Life, p. 3.

[39]Eleuterio Elorduy, "Uidad orgánica de su educación reflejada en su escritos," in Miscellanea Isidoriana: Homenaje a S. Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIII centenario de su

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long seen Leander as the guiding hand behind Isidore's early intellectual training, reasonably speculating that Leander trained him as an ally in the struggle to convert the Goths from Arianism to Catholicism and as a collaborator in the massive and necessary enterprise of educating and reforming the clergy and people of the Visigothic realm.[40]

Isidore's literary activities spanned more than three decades, from such early works as Libri Differentiarum, which appeared shortly after 598,[41] through the much neglected Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, which was not completed until shortly before his death on April 4th, 636.[42] Isidore never finished the twenty volume Etymologiae, which was edited into its final form by Isidore's student and friend Braulio of Saragossa.[43] Several of Isidore's more secular

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muerte (Rome: Gregorian University, 1936), pp. 293-322; Jacques Fontaine, "Cohérence et originalité de l'Étymologie Isidorienne," in Homenaje a Eleuterio Elorduy, S. J., ed. Félix Rodrigues and Juan Iturriaga (Bilbao: Universidad de Duesto, 1978), pp. 113-144.

[40]Mullins, Spiritual Life, p. 14, argues for the likelihood that Leander "would enlist his aid in the instruction of the recently converted Visigothic clergy and laity."

[41]José A. de Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la chronología de las obras de S. Isidoro," in Miscellanea Isidoriana, p. 88.

[42]Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la chronología de las obras de S. Isidoro," p. 88.

[43]Hillgarth, "Isidore of Seville," Dictionary of the Middle Ages, 6:564.

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writings were dedicated to Visigothic kings,[44] but most of his writings were religious works, and these were dedicated to churchmen[45] or to members of his family.[46] Some of his correspondence has survived,[47] including letters to Braulio of Saragossa and a dedicatory "epistle" to Sisebut. These letters and dedications are sufficient to demonstrate that Isidore was friend and advisor to several Visigothic kings, notably Sisebut and Sisenand.

In addition to being a scholar, Isidore led an active life in the affairs of church and state in the Visigothic realm.[48] As bishop of Seville, he was not only the spiritual overseer of the province of Baetica, but responsible as well for such worldly tasks as administering church lands and supervising church finances. Isidore also had to be both a

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[44]Such as the Etymologiae, dedidated to Sisebut, and the Historia Regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum, et Sueborum, dedicated to Suinthila.

[45]Such as the Allegoriae, dedicated to one "frater Orosius," who is otherwise unknown. Brief discussion in Arévalo, Isidoriana, 1:484-485.

[46]Isidore dedicated De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis to his brother Fulgentius, and De Fide Catholica Contra Judaeos to his sister Florentina.

[47]Several letters traditionally ascribed to Isidore are now universally considered to be spurious: letter #1, to Leudefredus; letter #6, to Duke Claudius; letter #7, to Redemptus; letter #8, to Eugenius. Isidore, Epistolae, ed. Faustino Arévalo, Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, Vol. 6 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), 557-582.

[48]Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol. 1, pp. 12-16, 735-888; Fontaine, "King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography," in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, edited by Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 93-129.

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judge and a diplomat in his capacity as bishop of Seville, and his surviving letters indicate that he intervened forcefully yet cautiously in matters of ecclesiastical discipline and church reform.[49]

Isidore first appeared in political history in 610,[50] when he travelled to Toledo "pro occursu regio" and signed the Decretum Gundemari, which transferred the episcopal leadership of Carthaginensis from Imperial-occupied Cartagena to Gothic-controlled Toledo.[51] In 619 Isidore presided over the Second Council of Seville,[52] which is famous for Isidore's refutation of the Acephalite heresy.[53] In 636 he

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[49]Isidore, Epistolae 4 & 5, ed. Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by Joannes Baptista Perez, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 6 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), pp. 563-566.

[50]Although he may have played a role in the conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism, Isidore himself did not sign the canons of III Toledo.

[51]It is interesting to speculate why Isidore signed this decree immediately after King Gundemar. Was Isidore already the most prominent churchman in the Visigothic realm in 610, and thus accorded an honor appropriate to his station? His cryptic subscription "pro occursu regio" indicates that his presence and participation were the result of a summoning rather than an inviting, and certainly Gundemar had summoned bishops from throughout Spain and Gaul. As bishop of Seville, Isidore may have had ecclesiastical authority over Cartaginensis (or at least over the exiles), and Gundemar might have expected his acquiesence as a matter of course. Isidore (and Fulgentius, who also signed) may also have represented an important Cartaginensian family who possessed estates in the occupied province.

[52]Text in Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:163-185.

[53]II Seville, 13, Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 5:172-185.

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presided over the great Fourth Council of Toledo,[54] which reaffirmed and promulgated the doctrine of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit,[55] called for clerical and liturgical reform,[56] prohibited the forced baptism of Jews (but imposed other religious and social sanctions on them),[57] recognized Sisenand's successful coup d'état against Suinthila,[58] and, in the justly famous seventy-fifth canon, promulgated an extremely sophisticated theory of and blueprint for Davidic kingship.[59] Isidore died on April 4, 636,[60] the last surviving member of an Hispano-Roman family whose sons had actively participated for over fifty years in the transformation of Spain from a collection of disorganized

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[54]Critical edition in Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Gonzalo Martinez Diez and Felix Rodriguez, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Canónica (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), 5:161-274.

[55]IV Toledo, Canon 1, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:181-183. On the doctrine of the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, see José Madoz, "Le symbole du IV[e] concile de Tolède," Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 34 (1938), 5-20.

[56]IV Toledo, Canons 2-56, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed Martinez Diez, 5:183-235.

[57]IV Toledo, Canons 57-66, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:235-242.

[58]IV Toledo, preamble, lines 309-333, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:179-181); Canon 75, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:248-260).

[59]IV Toledo, 75, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:248-260.

[60]Mullins, Spiritual Life, p. 38. Isidore's feast day, celebrated on April 4th, is noted in the Mozarabic Breviary, Liturgica Mozarabica, ed. Anthonius Lorenzana, in J.P. Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina. Vol. 86 (Paris, 1891), col. 1328b.

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and heretical barbarian realms into a unified Catholic kingdom wherein Catholic churchmen played a major role in electing the Catholic kings.[61]

The barbarian conquest and occupation of Spain seems to have been somewhat less immediately apocalyptic than the subsequent and more spectacular struggles in Gaul.[62] There had been no invading Hun army, for example, no battle of the Catalaunian Plains,[63] and no patricians such as Aëtius,

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[61]Given Leander and Isidore's successful promotion of Catholicism among the Goths, and Isidore's attempts to incorporate the institution of Gothic kingship into the framework of an existing Christian society, this ecclesiastical family is almost a test case of Walter Goffart's argument that in the fifth century the surviving Roman administrative and landholding classes accommodated the migrating Germanic armies by incorporating them into existing social institutions. Goffart, Barbarians and Romans, pp. 3-39. These "techniques of accommodation," as Goffart calls them, continued well into the seventh century in Spain, and involved integrating the Goths into existing religious institutions as well as into the economic, military, and political institutions on which Goffart concentrates. On Isidore and Gothic kingship, see Jace Crouch, "Isidore of Seville and the Evolution of Kingship in Visigothic Spain," Mediterranean Studies 4 (1993), 23-40.

[62]The conquest of Roman Spain from 406 to 480 is outlined by Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), pp. 14-24. See also E. A. Thompson's four part series "The End of Roman Spain," Nottingham Medieval Studies 20 (1976), 3-28; 21 (1977), 3-31; 22 (1978), 3-22; 23 (1979), 1-21; reprinted in Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), pp. 137-229.

[63]The Visigoths did, in fact, fight at that battle, and thus contributed to the survival of the Christian west. Isidore described the Battle of the Catalaunian Plain as an event of Gothic history, not of Spanish history, thus reminding his readers that the Goths had accomplished great deeds long before they settled in Spain. Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, Sueborum, et Wandalorum, chs 25-27, edited and translated into Spanish by Christóbal Rodriguez Alonso,

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Aegidius, or Syagrius struggling determinedly to preserve the territorial integrity of the western empire.[64] The Roman Empire had lost control of Gaul as a direct result of barbarian conquest, as Roman armies were gradually defeated, destroyed, or displaced, and as the invading Franks, Burgundians, and Goths simply took what they wanted for themselves,[65] but Spain was lost more by default. After a brief attempt on the part of the Roman officials Didymus and

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in Las Historias de los Godos, Vandalos, y Suevos de Isidore de Sevilla: Estudio, Edición Crítica Y Traducción, Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, No. 13 (León: Centro de Estudios E Investigación "San Isidoro," 1975). This edition contains both the longer and shorter rescensions of the Historia, but unless otherwise noted, all refernces will be to the longer rescension.

[64]Aëtius virtually ignored a Gallician request for military assistance against the Suevi in 431. Hydatius, Chronicon, chs. 95-103, edited by Theodor Mommsen as Continuatio Chronicorum Hieronymianorum, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 11, Chronica Minora, vol. 2, 13-36. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), p. 22. Cited hereafter as Hydatius, Chronicon.

[65]Recently this "the barbarians took what they wanted" attitude has been called into question by Walter Goffart, whose arguments are summed up in Barbarians and Romans, pp. 38-39, 54-55. Goffart argues that the barbarians were assigned tax generating allotments (and poor ones at that!), and that these settlements occurred almost entirely on Roman terms, and without overmuch direct expropriation of private property. Although this explanation *may* work for the Ostrogothic settlements in Italy, and perhaps for the hotly disputed barbarian settlements of southern Gaul, it does not work for Spain, where the fifth century chroniclers and historians regarded the barbarian invaders as predators, not as tax farmers. Despite his conclusions, which few scholars are willing to accept in their entirety, Goffart again reminds us to look at the ancient sources ever more closely, and not merely to repeat the arguments of Edward Gibbon, or to paraphrase those of Marx and Engels.

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Verinianus to resist the Vandal, Alan, and Suevic armies,[66] the Roman legions were simply withdrawn from Spain by the ill-fated usurpers Gerontius and Maximus to fight another usurper, Constantine, in southern Gaul.[67] Apart from a brief and unsuccessful military incursion into Baetica in 422, led by the Magister Militum Castinus,[68] the Roman legions never returned to the peninsula. Spain, as had earlier been the case with Britain, was left to fend for itself.[69]

Crossing the Pyrenees in 409, the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi quickly divided western and southern Spain among

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[66]Orosius, Against the Pagans, 7.40 (Deferrari, p. 356-357); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum 71 (Alonso, p. 288).

[67]Orosius, Against the Pagans, 7.42 (Deferrari, p. 359); Olympiodorus, Fragment 17 (Blockley, pp. 177-181; Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History, 9.11-9.15 (NPNF2 2:425-427).

[68]Hydatius, Chronicon, 77 (Mommsen, p. 20).

[69]One may not agree with E. A. Thompson's Marxist approach to history, or his representation of Aëtius' motives, but Thompson's characterization of Aëtius actions (or, rather, inaction) is appropriate: "With the periphery of the Western Empire -- Britain, Spain, the all-important Africa -- Aëtius rarely bothered. He never visited those luckless lands. He did little or nothing to save them from their invaders, though Hydatius and the thrice-groaning Britons begged him for his help. The 'last of the Romans' was interested in the landlords of southern Gaul and Italy: the rest of the world could fend for itself." E. A. Thompson, "Hydatius and the Invasion of Spain," in Romans and Barbarians, p. 142. Although not historians, Verdi and his librettist Solera passed a similar verdict on Aëtius in the opera Attila, in which Aëtius petitions Attila to spare Italy, saying: "Avrai tu l'universo, Resti l'Italia a me." Giuseppe Verdi and Temistocle Solera, Attila, prologue, scene four.

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themselves.[70] True, in 418 Constantius, magister militum of the West did send the Visigoths into Spain to punish the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi,[71] but this resulted only in the Asding Vandals replacing the Siling Vandals in 428 as the barbarian overlords of Baetica and southern Spain.[72] In 441, as the Asding Vandals consolidated their holdings in North Africa, the Suevi in their turn looted Seville[73] and occupied the provinces of Baetica and Carthaginensis.[74] Led by King Theoderic II (453-466), the Visigoths again invaded Spain in 457-458, and drove the Suevi back into Galicia, but this time the Visigoths stayed, incorporating central and southeastern

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[70]Hydatius, Chronicon, 49 (Mommsen, p. 18); Orosius, Against the Pagans, 7.40 (Deferrari, p. 357); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 73, 83 (Alonso, pp. 290-292, 310). Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p. 18, suggests that the usurpers Gerontius and Maximus settled the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals in western and southern Spain as federates, "replacing units of the Roman army in Spain" with these barbarians so that the Roman legions of Spain could join Gerontius in his war against Constantius in Gaul.

[71]Hydatius, Chronicon, 63-68 (Mommsen, p. 19); Orosius, Against the Pagans, 7.43 (Deferrari, pp. 362-363); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 21, 22 (Alonso, pp. 204-208).

[72]Hydatius, Chronicon, 86-90 (Mommsen, p. 21).

[73]Seville was first sacked and then occupied in 409-416 by the Siling Vandals, in 428 by the Asding Vandals, and by the Suevi from 441 until the Visigothic conquest in 457-458.

[74]Hydatius, Chronicon, 123 (Mommsen, p. 24); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 86 (Alonso, p. 312). For a modern account, see E. A. Thompson, "The End of Roman Spain, Part Two: The Suevic Adscendency," Nottingham Medieval Studies 21 (1977), 3-31; reprinted as "The Suevic Kingdom of Galicia," in Romans and Barbarians, pp. 160-187.

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Spain into their own kingdom.[75]

Southern and eastern Spain had been part of the Roman world since the end of the second Punic war. Although Roman expansion in Spain had been gradual, by the first century B.C. the southeastern regions of Spain had been sufficiently Romanized to provide Julius Caesar with one of his best legions.[76] Augustus consolidated the Roman position in Spain during the early years of the Principate, particularly in Baetica, where residents of cities such as Seville and Córdoba had long enjoyed full Roman citizenship.[77] Hellenization followed, as the Romans "initiated the country into the most complex perfections of Hellenic culture."[78] By the middle of the first century A.D. some of Rome's greatest intellects, such as Seneca the Elder, Columella, and

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[75]Hydatius, Chronicon, 186-192 (Mommsen, p. 30-31); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 31-34, 87 (Alonso, pp. 220-228, 312-313).

[76]Plutarch, Life of Caesar, ch. 12, translated by Rex Warner, in Plutarch: Fall of the Roman Republic (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), p. 255. Plutarch notes that Caesar was able to raise the required ten cohorts in a few days. Plutarch also notes that Córdoba was the site of Caesar's first epileptic seizure, Life of Caesar, ch. 17 (trans. Warner, p. 260),

[77]Theodor Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire: The European Provinces, translated by William Dickenson and Robert Broughton, ed. Robert Broughton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 70.

[78]Jaime Vicens Vives, Approaches to the History of Spain, translated from the 2nd Spanish edition (1960) by Joan Ullman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 15.

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Quintillian, were men who had come from Spain.[79] St. Paul himself had planned to travel to Spain,[80] and Spanish tradition holds that St. James the Elder proclaimed the Gospel in Spain.[81] Spain eventually provided Rome with some of its most capable emperors, including Trajan[82] and Theodosius the Great,[83] causing Isidore to praise Spain as

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[79]Quite properly, Américo Castro cautions against anachronisms when rattling off lists of names like this. These men were not Spaniards, he insists, but Romans who came from the Iberian peninsula. "Only a hallucination," Castro writes, "explicable as a kind of collective psychosis, could make of Seneca and his philosophy a Spanish phenomenon... Seneca was a Roman, educated, like many others, by Greek masters imbued with Stoic thought, which had no specific relation to his motherland, Corduba." Castro, Spaniards, p. 177. My point is that the Iberian peninsula was rapidly Romanized, particularly the southern regions, both by the extensive settlement of Romans in Spain, and by the various Iberian peoples acculturating themselves to Roman patterns of civic life during the centuries after the second Punic War. On Seneca, if Isidore knew that he was from Spain, he does not mention it, perhaps because of Seneca's active role in persecuting Christians. Isidore, Chronicon, 70 (Arévalo 7:88).

[80]Romans, 15.23-28; Isidore of Seville, De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, 68.2, edited and translated into Spanish by César Chaparro Gómez, Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985), p. 199. I have used the Chaparro Gómez edition throughout this dissertation.

[81]Isidore, De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, 71.2, ed. Chaparro Gómez, p. 205.

[82]If Isidore knew that Trajan was from Spain, he did not mention it. Isidore, Chronicon, 76 (Arévalo, 7:91-92); Etymologiae, 5.29.38. Nor did Isidore praise Trajan in any way, although some early Christian writers had. Isidore noted instead that Simon Cleophas, bishop of Jerusalem, was crucified during Trajan's reign.

[83]In Historia Regibus Gothorum, 11 (Alonso, p. 188), Isidore refered to Theodosius as "Spani," whereas in Chronicon, 105, and Etymologiae, 5.39.37 he did not.

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"rich in purple-clad rulers."[84] By the fourth century Christianity was so well established in Spain that Ossius of Córdoba (A.D. 256-358) played an important role in the conversion of Constantine to Christianity, and subsequently presided over the Councils of Antioch and Nicaea in 325, and the Council of Sardica in 343, where he was a staunch defender of Nicene Christianity against the heresy of Arius.[85] As Theodor Mommsen remarked, "Roman civilization pervaded Spain earlier and more powerfully than any other province."[86]

Regardless of how Romanized and Christianized Spain had become over the centuries, however, by the seventh century Spain was no longer a Roman province, and Catholic orthodoxy in Spain was under assault. Isidore of Seville lived in a post-imperial Spanish environment that was substantially different from the post-imperial situation of Gregory of Tours or Gildas. When the Franks conquered northwestern Gaul, they were not heretics, but simply pagans. When the Franks converted to Christianity, it was to Catholic Christianity. In Britain also, the various Germanic invaders were pagans who eventually converted to Catholic

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[84]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, prologue (trans. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, p. 82).

[85]V. C. De Clercq, "Hosius of Córdoba," in The New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), 7:153-154.

[86]Mommsen, The Provinces of the Roman Empire: The European Provinces, p. 77.

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Christianity. In Spain, however, the Visigoths had already been converted to Christianity before they invaded Spain, but to an heretical form of Christianity that explicitly rejected both the Nicene and the Chalcedonian creeds. The Visigoths were Arians, possessed of their own heretical church,[87] their own version of the scriptures,[88] their own priesthood, their own liturgy,[89] and their own mission.[90] Unlike Gregory of

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[87]Since the Arian Goths had their own (Gothic) version of the scriptures, their own Christology (subordinationist), their own sacramentology (triple immersion), their own clergy, and even met in different churches, it is entirely appropriate to speak of an Arian church.

[88]The Goths originally used a Gothic paraphrase of the New Testament, traditionally attributed to Bishop Ulfila: Die Gotische Bibel des Vulfila, nebst der Skeireins, dem Kalender und den Urkunden, edited by Ernst Bernhardt, Sammlung Germanistischer Hilfsmittel für den praktischen Studienzweck, Vol. 3 (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1884). By the fifth century the Goths appear to have been using a Latin Bible, and sometime around the year 403 two Gothic scholars, Sunnia and Fretela, made inquiries to Jerome regarding the progress that he was making on his new Latin translation of the Psalms. Jerome, Epistola 106, cited by Peter Heather and John Matthews, The Goths in the Fourth Century, Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 11 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), p. 156. Herwig Wolfram believed that Sunnia and Fretela were Catholicized Goths, History of the Goths, p. 197.

[89]Speaking of the Arian Vandals, Isidore charged them with "perverting the mysteries of the saints," which may be a reference to the Arian liturgy. Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 75 (Alonso, pp. 294-296).

[90]Given the aggressive missionary activity carried out by the Gothic clergy, which contrasted markedly with the neglect of missionary work by Nicene Christians, I believe that it is proper to speak in terms of a Gothic "mission," to evangelize their fellow Germanic peoples. It was Arian missionaries from the Gothic controlled lands of southern Gaul, for example, and not Catholic missionaries from the Hispano-Romans, who converted the Suevi to Christianity. Hydatius, Chronicon, 232 (Mommsen, pp. 33-34). See also E. A. Thompson, "The Conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism," in

Tours and Gildas Sapiens, Isidore and the Spanish Christians had to deal with a competing variety of Christianity, an heretical variety, moreover, that was as aggressively supported by the Visigothic kings as it had been supported by the emperors Constantius and Valens in the fourth century.[91] Like the Arian emperors before them, the Visigothic kings occasionally persecuted Catholic Christians, sometimes severely.[92] Worse, after the final Gothic conquest of the

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Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, ed. Edward James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 81.

[91]Isidore harshly criticized both Constantius and Valens for their unholy promotion of Arianism (Chronicon, 100-103 [Arévalo, 7:97-99), and for the damage that they caused not only in Spain, but especially for the damage that Valens did to the Goths. For a recent treatment of Constantius' promotion of Arianism and his long struggle with Athanasius, see Timothy Barnes, Athanasius and Constantius, Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[92]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 41 (Alonso, p. 238-240), where Isidore said that, although a heretic, the Arian Theudis granted sufficient peace to the Catholics that he allowed them to hold a church council, which implied that the other Arian kings did *not* grant peace to the Catholics and did *not* allow them to hold church councils. In Historia Regibus Gothorum, 45 (Alonso, pp. 246-248), Isidore described the Arian Agila as being contemptuous of the Catholic faith, and accused him of profaning a Catholic church in Córdoba with the bodies of dead men and dead horses. In Historia Regibus Gothorum, 50 (Alonso, p. 256), Isidore described Leovigild's "Arian furor" and his great persecution of Catholics. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, 5.38 (Krusch, pp. 243-245) attributed Leovigild's great persecution of Catholics to the perversity of Leovigild's queen, Goiswinth, but Gregory is notorious for blaming the excesses of Germanic kings on the evil influence of their wives. After noting the extent of Arian persecution in the peninsula, Gregory thought that there must be only a few devoted Catholics remaining in Gothic-controlled Spain, but this seems to have been an exaggeration. Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum, 6.18 (Krusch, p. 287). On this same point, however, John of Biclaro, Chronicle, 58, trans. Wolf,

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Suevic kingdom in 585, and despite the fact that the Suevi had converted from Arianism to Catholicism some two decades earlier,[93] Leovigild may even have attempted to reintroduce Arianism to Galicia.[94] Arianism was truly a formidable adversary.

Additionally, during the late sixth and early seventh centuries, Spain, Italy, and North Africa had to endure the military and religious depredations of Justinian's conquering armies. Imperial troops seized control of the southeastern

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Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, p. 72, noted that many Catholics succumbed to pressure, temptation, or merely convenience under Leovigild, and "inclined toward the Arian doctrine."

[93]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 90-92 (Alonso, pp. 316-320). For difficult and often contradictory evidence concerning the religious history of the Suevi, see Thompson, "The Conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism," pp. 77-92.

[94]The evidence for this is troublesome. Neither John of Biclaro nor Isidore mentioned Leovigild's Arianizing activities in Galicia. Despite this, at the Third Council of Toledo, in 589, four Arian bishops from Galicia renounced Arianism: Sunnila of Viseo, Gardingus of Tuy, Beccila of Lugo, and Arvittus Oporto, III Toledo, lines 569-580, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:96-97. If there were four Arian bishops in Galicia as late as 589, some twenty years after the Suevi had abandoned Arianism for Catholicism, where had they come from? Were they older Arian bishops who had gone without parishioners for two decades? Were they Arian bishops for a non-Suevic Arian population that might have maintained itself in Galicia since the time of Constantius? Since John of Biclaro, in his Chronicle, 85, trans. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, p. 76, praised Recared for uniting both the Goths and the Sueves to Catholicism, it is reasonable to assume that these Arian bishops represented a partial reconversion of the Suevi from Catholicism *back to* Arianism. E. A. Thompson suggests that Leovigild installed Arian bishops where he could in Galicia, but did not have time before his death to reconvert all of Galicia. Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp. 87-91.

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littoral of Spain,[95] along with most of Italy and all of North Africa. The Imperial authorities then tried to impose their own state-supported varieties of heresy, Monophysitism (in its Acephalite form) and Apthartodocetism, in the occupied territories.[96] Worse, the Imperial administration was even more aggressive in promoting its heresies than the Visigoths had been. Justinian, the Caesaropapist emperor who had deposed one pope and imprisoned (and tortured) another,[97] intervened in Church affairs so brazenly that in 553 he even compelled the Second Council of Constantinople[98] to accept a modified version of the Chalcedonian Creed that tended

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[95]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 47 (Alonso, pp. 248-249); Chronicon, 115. For a modern account of the "Byzantine Province," see Thompson, Goths in Spain, pp. 320-354.

[96]This was a particularly Justinianic heresy (Isidore, Chronicon, 115 [Arévalo, 7:103]), which taught that Jesus had an incorruptible body that consisted of a celestial substance that was different from the bodies of ordinary human beings. To Catholics, this tended towards Docetism, and was soundly rejected. Christie-Murray, History of Heresy, pp. 74-75.

[97]Popes Silverius (536-537), and Vigilius (537-555). For an early medieval account, which may be derived from contemporary accounts, see Liber Pontificalis, 60-61, translated by Raymond Davis as The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), pp. 53-59.

[98]The canons and anathemas of Justinian's council have been preserved in a very fragmentary condition. The anathemas against Origen were lost in the early Middle Ages, and not rediscovered until the sixteenth century. There remains some doubt about their authenticity, although most scholars accept the Mansi edition (Mansi, 9:173ff), and the reprints that derive from it, as authoritative. Since the Spanish Church did not consider this council to be legitimate, none of its canons or decrees was preserved in the Hispana collection.

towards Monophysitism, thus imposing on the assembled churchmen a creed that he himself happened to favor at that moment. It had been at this infamous council, which Isidore did not reckon among the true and universal Church Councils,[99] that Justinian had compelled the assembled bishops to condemn and anathematize several of the more outspoken opponents of Apollinarianism and Monophysitism, celebrated Church Fathers who had long since died in the peace of the Church: Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa.[100] Justinian also insisted on the condemnation of "Origenism," and ordered that Origen's writings be burned.[101] Subsequent Byzantine emperors were less heretical and less willing to run roughshod over the

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[99]Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.16.5-10 (Arévalo, 3:264-266), in which Isidore says that, just as there are only four Gospels, so were there only four venerable and universal councils: Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

[100]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 18 (Codoñer Merino, p. 144).

[101]See the discussion in von Harnack, History of Dogma, vol. 4, pp. 244-252. Harnack is even less favorably inclined towards Justinian than Isidore was. The anathemas against Origen are translated by Henry Perceval in The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church: Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 14 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1899; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1956), pp. 316-320. Although useful, Perceval's translation of these Councils is not a translation of the Hispana, but of various fragments found in Mansi and elsewhere (although often derived from the Hispana); Perceval was extremely hostile to anything that smacked of Catholicism, and especially of anything that reeked (to him) of Spain. His notes, for example, are caustically anti-Catholic, or, anti-popish, as he undoubtedly would have said.

Church than Justinian (and Theodora) had been, but by the death of Justinian (565) eastern Christianity was already considerably different in theology and practice than the Christianity of Spain and North Africa.

Thus the Catholics of Spain in the sixth and seventh centuries faced much more sophisticated religious opponents than had Christians in Britain or northwestern Gaul during the fifth and sixth centuries. The pagan Franks, for example, had not brought with them an intellectual and philosophical faith, nor a highly trained clergy that could hold its own in a debate with Catholic Christians, but the Imperial forces that invaded Spain certainly had. The Angles and Saxons who conquered southern and western Britain had not carried with them their own version of the scriptures, their own eucharistic theology, their own Christology, nor their own philosophical speculations about the nature of time and eternity, but the Arian Visigoths who invaded Spain had done those very things. This environment of aggressively competing Christianities necessarily compelled the Catholics of Spain to defend themselves in Christological, sacramentological, and even cosmological terms that were irrefutably derived from an authoritative version of the scriptures,[102] from the ancient teachings of Jesus and the Apostles, and from the writings of the orthodox Church

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[102]Perhaps this is one of the reasons that Isidore praised Jerome's fresh translation of the scriptures in Etymologiae 6.4.5 (Arévalo, 3:251).

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Spanish Catholics had to be able to denounce the Visigothic and Imperial versions of Christianity as heretical innovations that seriously departed from the teachings and traditions of the true Church. They had to be more learned in scripture, more secure in doctrine, and better versed in the Church Fathers than their heretical opponents were. They had to be conversant with scriptural, doctrinal, patristic, and conciliar arguments against Arianism, Monophysitism, and Acephalitism (all of which were current problems), as well as with Priscillianism, Pelagianism, Donatism, and the various Imperial heresies.[103] Not surprisingly, these learned skills are the very things for which Isidore and Leander of Seville were praised by their contemporaries: eloquence, mastery of scripture, mastery of church doctrine; and extensive knowledge of the church fathers. They were each excellently trained[104] to refute heresy and to promote the Catholic

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[103]Although intentionally describing the Catholic clergy of Visigothic Spain as being in the forefront of the Church militant, I do not mean to imply that they were proto-Jesuits. Nevertheless, there certainly seems to be a characteristically Spanish fervor for orthodoxy that has animated Iberian Catholics throughout Spain's long Christian history. Men and women as remotely removed from one another as Gregory of Elvira, Leander of Seville, Theodulf of Orléans, Domingo Guzman, Ignatius Loyola, and Theresa of Avila come immediately to mind. I also confess that in my mental picture of the Third Council of Toledo Leander always wears scarlet robes!

[104]The source of Leander's education is unknown. Perhaps the famous schools of Córdoba were still open during the 560's, before Leovigild destroyed that city. If so, he may have studied there. Leander certainly studied during his stay in Constantinople, but he was a learned man, and a

faith. Isidore's education, which was overseen by his older brother Leander, may in fact have been coordinated with this very end in mind.

Given the problems facing the Spanish Church, why did Isidore bother to write about such topics as time, eternity, and history? Over the next forty pages, I shall suggest four answers. First of all, Isidore wrote about time, eternity, and history because he was an encyclopedist who wanted to preserve as much ancient learning as was possible, and he believed that understanding the origin and history of things would be a useful and important component of Christian learning in a unified Catholic Spain. Secondly, Isidore was restructuring the outline of time and history to demonstrate that the Goths were an integral part of salvation history and were the legitimate inheritors of Roman rule in Spain, a task of historical appropriation and assimilation that is fully consistent with the patristic traditions of apologetics and historiography. Thirdly, like Church Fathers such as Irenaeus, Athanasius, and Augustine, Isidore believed that many heresies were based on erroneous opinions regarding the nature of time, history, and eternity, and he wanted to promulgate a Catholic understanding of time, eternity and history that would refute heresy at its very foundations. Fourthly, in the tradition of Church Fathers such as Justin

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bishop, even before that. Once again, we know so tantalizingly little about the actual conditions of life in Visigothic Spain.

Martyr and Tertullian, Isidore sought to demonstrate that validity of the Christian interpretation of time, events, and history and to disprove and refute the religious counterclaims of rabbinic Jews.

One of the reasons that Isidore devoted so much attention to time, eternity, and history was that he had an omnivorous intellect and thought that these topics were certainly as worthy of discussion as rhetoric, anthropology, or agriculture. As Katherine Nell MacFarlane remarked, Isidore was "a voracious reader of both pagan and Christian authors, and delved into a variety of subjects not usually of interest to the churchmen of his age."[105] Isidore manifested his great learning by writing not only voluminously, but also on many topics, ranging from theology and canon law to eclipses and temporal atomicity, thereby creating for "his own and succeeding ages a synthesis of patristic teaching in every branch of sacred learning."[106] Thus did Spain "succeed Africa as the guardian of Classical and Christian letters."[107] In short, Isidore was a great codifier and systematizer of knowledge, and his Etymologiae in particular was intended to be an integrated encyclopedia of useful

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[105]MacFarlane, Isidore of Seville on the Pagan Gods, p. 3.

[106]Mullins, Spiritual Life, p. 40.

[107]J. N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 62 (1962), 170. See also Fontaine who writes: "Ces conditions politiques exceptionnelles destinaient l'Espagne à succéder à l'Afrique comme guardienne de la tradition antique." Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol. 2, p. 887.

information. Accordingly, he devoted considerable space in the Etymologiae to chronology, history, and various questions on the nature of time,[108] just as he devoted considerable space to metallurgy and agronomy. That is to be expected in a compendium of universal knowledge such as an encyclopedia, but there is much more to Isidore's work than encyclopedia writing. One still has to determine how Isidore's writings addressed the intellectual, political, heresiological, and apologetic needs of Catholics in seventh-century Spain.

Following the lead of Jacques Fontaine, many scholars think that Isidore was the stimulus behind a systematic attempt to restructure the cultural, intellectual, and religious foundations of Catholic Spain.[109] According to Fontaine's thesis, Isidore and his contemporaries understood this restructuring as fourfold in nature: "an intellectual renaissance; a moral rearmament; a religious revival; and ... construction of a new political, royal, and national ideology."[110] Isidore's collaborators included not only the Catholic clergy of Spain, but at times the Gothic kings themselves. Isidore was certainly friend and advisor to

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[108]Relevant passages include: 1.41-43 (history); 3.15-23 (music); 5.28-39 (time, chronology & history); 6.16 (four Church councils); 7.1.22 (God); 7.6-10 (Biblical names); 8.3-5 (heresies); 9.1-2 (languages, peoples & empires); 9.3.2 (succession of empires); 11.1 (cities); 13.2.2-3 (temporal atomicity); 13.22 (floods); 14.28-30 (Hispania); 18.48.1 (historical plays).

[109]Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol. 2. pp. 867-869; Fontaine, "King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii," p. 97.

[110]Fontaine, "King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii," p. 99.

several Visigothic kings, most notably to Sisebut and Sisenand. King Sisebut, moreover, appears to have been an eager collaborator with Isidore,[111] at least on certain levels. Together with the clergy and nobility of the realm, Sisebut and his bishops consciously attempted to preserve the heritage of their classical and Christian past and to apply the knowledge gained thereby to conditions existing in their own day, such as integrating Gothic history into the narrative of salvation history, and reaffirming the truth of the Catholic faith against the counterclaims of heretics and Jews. These ambitious men attempted to redefine and restore Spanish society from the top down, and it is now widely accepted that one of the outcomes of their efforts was an intellectually vital and culturally ambitious renaissance Isidorienne.[112]

Whether Isidore was thinking only in terms of systematizing and preserving knowledge, or whether his writings were actively intended to expand and improve an existing educational system in the Visigothic realm is difficult to determine. Isidore clearly believed that a complete Christian education would extend beyond the seven

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[111]Sisebut "was an active collaborator in the Isidorian renaissance, which had as its aim nothing less than the reconstruction of the civil and religious life of Visigothic Spain," Fontaine, "King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii," p. 97. See also Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, pp. 876ff; Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," pp. 168-170.

[112]Fontaine devotes an entire chapter to "La Renaissance Isidorienne: sa nature et ses limites," Isidore de Séville, vol. 2, pp. 863-888.

liberal arts to include such things as history, philosophy, and natural science.[113] He took it for granted that a monastery would have a library,[114] and insisted that monks devote themselves to reading for at least three hours each day.[115] At a very minimum, Isidore's writings were an attempt to establish a bibliographic foundation for an educational system. But an educational system for whom? Certainly for the clergy, with whose education the councils of Toledo continued to concern themselves, and whose surviving writings "reveal the presence of an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity."[116] Perhaps there was an educational system of some sort for the nobility as well, although there are few certainties regarding even the ethnic or economic makeup of the nobility in Visigothic Spain, let alone any consensus about its level of literacy.[117] The slate tablets known as "las Pizarras," which include Latin texts that range in diversity from economic records and school exercises to regnal lists and unintelligible (to us) lists of numbers,

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[113]These topics are presented in great detail in the Etymologiae, books 1-8.

[114]Isidore, Regula Monachorum, 8.1-3, ed. Faustino Arévalo, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia. Vol. 6 (Rome: Antonii Fulgoni, 1802), pp. 535-537.

[115]Isidore, Regula Monachorum, 5.6 (Arévalo 6:532).

[116]Castro, The Spaniards, p. 193.

[117]For a recent assessment of literacy in the Visigothic realm, see Roger Collins, "Literacy and the Laity in Early Medieval Spain," in The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe, edited by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 114-119.

have raised more questions about literacy in Visigothic Spain than they have answered.[118]

Nevertheless, there are tantalizing hints about lay literacy in the Visigothic realm, at least among the aristocracy. After his "Arian Council" in 580, King Leovigild issued a religious pamphlet containing a digest of Arian theology,[119] although we do not know how many copies were distributed, who distributed them, or even their intended audience.[120] The Chronicle of Fredegar recounts that, after Recared converted to Catholicism, all of the Arian books were put into a house and then the house was burned down over them,[121] a fate that uncannily parallels the death of the emperor Valens, who centuries earlier had sent

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[118]Las Pizarras Visigodas: Edición crítica y estudio, ed. Isabel Velasquez Soriano, Antigüedad y Christianismo: Monografias Historicas sobre la Antigüedad Tardía. Vol. 5 (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1989).

[119]III Toledo, anathema 16, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:82-83, which refers to the pamphlet as "libellum detestabilem duodecimo Leuuigildi regis a nobis editione, in quo continetur Romanorum ad haeresem Arrianam transductio et in quo «Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto» male a nobis instituta continetur..." I use the cowardly phrase "Leivigild issued" because I am not certain whether Leovigild himself directly participated in the composition of this pamphlet, or whether he merely directed his Arian clergy to assemble it.

[120]That is, we do not know if these pamphlets were designed to be used by the Arian clergy to help them evangelize the Catholic population, by the Arians to reinforce their faith in the face of increasingly aggressive Catholic evangelism, or if they were apologetic texts intended to be read *by* the Catholics to show them the error of their ways. If any copies have survived, none has been discovered.

[121]Chronicle of Fredegar, 4.8 (ed. Wallace-Hadrill, p. 7).

Arian teachers to the Visigoths.[122] No Spanish writer relates this story, and we do not know how many books were burned, what sort of books they were,[123] or even how big a house it took to contain them.[124] At least one Visigothic noble, Count Laurentius, had a library that included

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[122]The story may be apocryphal. Neither John of Biclaro nor Isidore records it. Isidore certainly would not have missed the opportunity to express the irony of such a story, and with his love of grammatical and historical parallelism he *might* have described the event very much like this: *"Just as the Goths unknowingly burned Valens, who had placed himself in a house, the man who had been the agent of their falling into the Arian heresy when they were a youthful people, and who had caused so many Gothic souls to burn in Hell, so in their maturity did the Goths knowingly burn Arian books, which they themselves had placed in a house, the books that had sustained them in their Arian heresy, and in departing from their Arian error many Gothic souls were saved from the flames of Hell."* Note that this is *not* a quotation from Isidore.

[123]We can only speculate. Leovigild's Arian pamphlets were probably destroyed, as well as any writings by Arius or other notorious heretics. It is also reasonable to assume that Gothic Bibles were burned, perhaps because of their Arian origins, but perhaps also because they were written in Gothic rather than in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. Isidore noted that there were three sacred languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. These were the languages of the Bible, and the languages that were written above Christ on the cross. Isidore believed that a person could only understand the full meaning of the Scriptures if he knew these languages. Etymologiae 9.1.3 (Reydellet, p. 33); Liber Numerorum 4.17 (Arévalo, 5:224).

[124]If this book burning actually happened, why doesn't Isidore mention it? Did he not want to rub it in? Did he not want to remind the former Arians (including ex-Arian churchmen who were still living) of their humiliation? Might he have disapproved of destroying books, even heretical ones, particularly since he was working on building up or improving an educational system?

exegetical texts,[125] although the library appears to have been dispersed after his death.[126] Several Visigothic kings were highly literate, including Sisebut,[127] who was writing Latin poetry[128] and composing saints lives[129] at a time when the English kings could not even write their names, and Recared, who corresponded with Pope Gregory the Great.[130] King Chindasvinth had a library, presumably at Toledo, but all that we know of this library is that it did not possess a copy of Apringius of Beja's Commentary on the Apocalypse, although Emilian of Toledo, one of Chindasvinth's advisors

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[125]Braulio of Saragossa, Letter 64, trans. Claude Barlow, in Iberian Fathers, vol. 2, Braulio of Saragossa, Fructosus of Braga, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 63 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1969), p. 25.

[126]Braulio, Letter 26 (Barlow, p. 65).

[127]Sisebut's correspondence is in Epistolae Wisigothicae, nos. 2-9, ed. W. Gundlach, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae, vol. 3, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), pp. 662-676.

[128]Sisebut, De Libro Rotarum, edited by and translated into French by Jacques Fontaine, in Isidore de Séville: Traité de la Nature (Bordeaux: Féret et Fils, 1960), pp. 328-335.

[129]Sisebut, Vita et Passio S. Desiderii, ed., Enrique Florez, in J.P. Migne, ed., Patroligia Latina, vol. 80 (Paris, 1863), cols. 377-384.

[130]Recared *may* have written letter 9.227a to Gregory, although there is still no consensus regarding the authenticity of this letter. Gregory certainly wrote letter 9.228 to Recared, which appears to be a response to a letter from Recared, perhaps 9.227a. Gregory the Great, Registrum Epistolarum, ed., Paul Ewald and Ludwig Hartmann, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1891), pp. 221-225. A letter from the monk Tarra to Recared has been published in Epistolae Wisigothicae, letter 10, pp. 676-677.

and a correspondent of Braulio of Saragossa, thought that it might contain such a work.[131] Thus despite all of the modern scholarly talk about an "Isidorian Renaissance," an intellectual and literary renaissance that certainly occurred among the higher clergy and nobility, our knowledge concerning the secular aspects of this renaissance, such as the extent to which it affected the levels of literacy among the lay nobility, or even among the lower clergy, is extremely limited.

Although apart from Braulio of Saragossa we cannot know precisely who used Isidore's great encyclopedia in the seventh century Gothic realm, or even how they might have used it, the Etymologiae[132] is nevertheless properly seen as the intellectual centerpiece of this Isidorian renaissance. At least a thousand medieval manuscripts of this great

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[131]Braulio, Letter 26 (Barlow, p. 65).

[132]Until the new international edition is completed, the best modern edition of the Etymologiae continues to be Etymologiarum Libri XX, edited by Faustino Arévalo, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vols. 3-4 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1798). This edition was reprinted by J. P. Migne in Patrologia Latina, vol. 82 (Paris, 1850), cols. 73-728. The Migne reprint is a workable enough edition, but it is ridden with typesetting errors (which vary from reprint to reprint), and should be used with caution. W. M. Lindsay's Oxford Classic Texts edition, Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri xx, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon 1911), which was intended to be a reader's edition rather than critical edition, has not achieved general acceptance. Except where individual volumes of the new international edition have been published (see below), I have relied on the original edition of Arévalo throughout this dissertation.

encyclopedia have survived.[133] The unifying principle of the Etymologiae, and the cause of its uniqueness,[134] was the attention that Isidore devoted to the origin of things: that is, to their history. The Etymologiae is not merely an etymological encyclopedia of words, like the Oxford English Dictionary; instead it is a compendium of signs: a semiotic analysis of persons, places, things, and ideas, all discussed in terms of the words (that is, the written and verbal signs) that point to these persons, places, things, or ideas. Isidore believed that the written or verbal sign of a person, place, thing, or idea conveyed at least a part of the meaning

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[133]Beginning in the late 1970's, an international community of scholars under the direction of Jacques Fontaine and Yves Lefevre determined to publish a modern critical edition of the Etymologiae. Each of the twenty books will be published in a separate volume, with a twenty first volume containing indices and (it is hoped) a concordance. Each volume will contain a critical edition of Isidore's Latin text, as well as a translation into a modern European language. The project is described in Joscelyn N. Hillgarth, "A New Critical Edition of the 'Etymologiae' (Origines) of Isidore of Seville," Classical Philology 69 (1974), 227. See also Olga Gete Carpio, "Una nueva edición de las etimologias," Helmantica 35 (1984), 111-16.

At the risk of some bibliographic repetition, I note that the following volumes have appeared: The Etymologies, Book II, Rhetoric, edited and translated into English by P. K. Marshall, Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983); Étymologies, livre ix, les langues et les groupes sociaux, edited and translated into French by Marc Reydellet, Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984); Étymologies, livre xii, animaux, edited and translated into French by Jacques André, Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1986); Étymologies, livre xvii, de l'agriculture, edited and translated into French by Jacques André, Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981).

[134]Fontaine, "Cohérence et originalité de l'Étymologie Isidorienne," in Homenaje a Eleuterio Elorduy, pp. 113-144.

of that person, place, thing, or idea. The etymology of a word told not only where the word came from, but also why the word signified what it did. Isidore believed that very often the origin of a word could tell us something about the reality that the word signified, often through helping us to understand the origin and history of the person, place, thing, or idea that was signified. In this, Isidore was in agreement with Augustine of Hippo, who "believed that the common usage of words often reflected a providential design to establish more firmly in men's minds certain profound truths."[135] When Isidore told his readers that a certain word had a particular meaning because of a certain set of historical circumstances, he was also telling them the origin of that signification, that is, he was telling them the history of the word and the idea behind it. That is why the Etymologiae was also known as the Book of Origins, which in fact is how Isidore himself often referred to the work.[136]

It may be preposterous to suggest that the history of a word is the same thing as the history of an empire or the history of salvation, and I do not believe that Isidore would have suggested that. He did, however, believe that the history of a word was similar in many ways to the history of an empire. To Isidore, history, like words, had meaning. That is, history, particularly biblical history, was to be

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[135]Peter Brown, "Christianity and Local Culture in Late Roman Africa," Journal of Roman Studies 58 (1969), 88.

[136]Isidore, Etymologiae, Prefatio (Arévalo, 3:1).

understood not only in its literal, historical sense, but also was to be understood as a sign that pointed beyond this world to some higher mystery.[137] Just as the word *decalvatio* pointed beyond its own letters and sounds to a harsh physical punishment that was inflicted for certain political and religious offenses committed in the Visigothic realm,[138] so did the Persian conquest of the neo-Babylonian empire point beyond a mere military event to the higher reality of God's intervening in time and releasing his chosen people from captivity.[139] Everything possessed meaning, if only we could understand it.

Isidore did not, however, limit his discussion of time, eternity, events, and history to the etymological discussions

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[137]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, Prefatio, 1 (Arévalo, 5:259).

[138]On decalvation, see Floyd Seyward Lear, "The Public Law of the Visigothic Code, Appendix C," Speculum 26 (1951), 15-16; reprinted (as Appendix B) in F. S. Lear, Treason in Roman and Germanic Law: Collected Papers (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), pp. 159-161. There is no scholarly consensus about whether this mysterious punishment involved scalping or merely shaving the head. I believe that the normal form of this punishment was shaving the head, which is the action indicated in Isidore, Allegoriae 81, "Dalila, quae Samson verticem decalvavit, synagogam significat: quae Christum in loco Calvariae crucifixit" (Arevalo, 5:130). The biblical text clearly (and famously) has Samson's hair growing back after having been cut off, and I do not believe that Isidore would have used *decalvavit* in this context if the normal usage of the term in seventh century Spain implied judicial scalping. Or did the Visigoths think that Samson had been scalped, and that his hair growing back was a miracle? Interestingly enough, Isidore seems to be making some sort of play on the similarity of the words *decalvavit* and *Calvariae*, which sort of punning is not unusual for Isidore, particularly in the Allegoriae.

[139]Isidore, Chronicon, 43 (Arévalo, 7.80-81).

in the Etymologiae. Instead, Isidore returned again and again to these complex topics throughout most of his written works. Isidore's Chronicon,[140] De Viris Illustribus,[141] and Historia Regibus Gothorum[142] are themselves historical works,

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[140]The entire text is relevant to this dissertation. The most recent critical edition is Isidore of Seville, Chronicon, edited by Theodore Mommsen, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 11, Chronica Minora, vol. 2, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 391-481. This edition continues to be extremely useful, particularly as regards Isidore's sources, although it is organized by line numbers rather than by Arévalo's chapter numbers. Mommsen's edition supplements and improves upon, but does not replace, Arévalo's edition (cited above, note 4). Migne's reprint of Arévalo's edition is in Patrologia Latina, vol. 83 (Paris, 1862), cols. 1017-1056. I have used Arévalo's original edition, not the Migne reprint, throughout this dissertation. Instances where I have preferred Mommsen's readings to Arévalo's will be clearly indicated in the notes.

[141]The entire text is relevant to this dissertation. This work has survived in longer and shorter rescensions. The longer version appears in Arévalo, 7:138-164 (cited above). A critical edition of the shorter rescension appears in El "De Viris Illustribus" de Isidore de Sevilla: Estudio y Edicion Critica, edited by Carmen Codoñer Merino (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1964), pp. 130-153. This recent edition is an improvement on Arévalo, particularly since Codoñer Merino restores Isidore's chapter on Ossius of Córdoba to its original prominence in the text. Professor Codoñer Merino has been criticised, however, for excising a few short passages that many modern scholars consider to be authentic, and placing them not in the text in brackets (where they belong), but in a separate section on p. 27. Hillgarth, "Position of Isidorian Studies," pp. 836-837. I have used Codoñer Merino's edition throughout this dissertation, with frequent reference to Perez and Arévalo's notes.

[142]The entire text is relevant to this dissertation. The most recent critical edition is Isidore of Seville, Historia Regibus Gothorum, Sueborum, et Wandalorum, ed. Alonso, cited earlier. This excellent edition contains both the longer and shorter rescensions of the Historia, but unless otherwise noted all references will be to the longer rescension. The Gothic portions of Alonso's edition have been translated into English by Wolf in Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, pp. 81-110, cited above. See also Isidori

as are De Fide Catholica Contra Judaeos[143] and Allegoriae Quaedam Sacrae Scripturae[144] in their own way, and Isidore offers digressions in each of these works on the meaning and purpose of time and history. There are also passages concerned with the nature of time, eternity, events, and

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Iunioris episcopi Hispalensis historia Gothorum Wandalorum Sueborum, edited by Theodor Mommsen, in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol. 11, Chronica Minora, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), pp. 241-303. Mommsen's edition continues to be useful, particularly his notes and source analyses. The English translation of Mommsen's text by Guido Donini and Gordon Ford, Jr., Isidore of Seville: History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi, 2nd ed. has not been particularly well received (i.e., Hillgarth, "Position of Isidorian Studies," pp. 834-835), but it does offer an English translation of the Vandalic and Suevic sections. I have used the Alonso edition throughout this dissertation, with frequent reference to Mommsen's edition.

[143]Relevant passages incude: 1.2.2-5 (Jesus begotten before all time); 1.8.2 (Jews look to the "extreme east" for leadership); 2.1.13 (these are the last days); 2.15.9 (all things done in type); and the final sections (historical reality of typology and the presence of the divine plan throughout all history). The most recent edition is De Fide Catholica Contra Judaeos, edited by Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by Joannes Mariana, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia. vol. 6 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), pp. 1-520. This edition was reprinted by J. P. Migne in Patrologia Latina 83 (Paris, 1862), cols. 449-536. I have used Arévalo's original edition throughout this dissertation, not the Migne reprint.

[144]The entire text is relevant to this dissertation. The most recent edition is Arévalo, 5:115-151 (cited above, Chapter Two). Arévalo's edition has been reprinted in J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 83 (Paris, 1862), cols. 97-128. A Spanish translation of the Allegoriae by Lorenzo Molinero appears in San Isidoro, Algunas Alegorias de la Sagrade Escritura (Buenos Aires: Cursos de Cultura Catolica, 1936). I have used Arévalo's original edition throughout this dissertation, not the Migne reprint.

history in his Sententiarum libri tres,[145] in the exegetical collection Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum,[146] in the recently discovered De Haeresibus,[147] in De Ortu et Obitu

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[145]Relevant passages include 1.6-8 (time), and 2.6 (predestination). The Sententiarum was very popular during the Middle Ages, and over 400 manuscripts have survived. Hillgarth, "Position of Isidorian Studies," p. 833. The most recent edition is Isidore of Seville, Sententiarum libri tres, edited by Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by Garcia de Loaisa, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 6, pp. 115-362 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802). The Arévalo edition has been reprinted by J. P. Migne in Patrologia Latina, vol. 83, cols. 537-736. Arévalo's text is also available, along with a Spanish translation, in Isidore of Seville, Sententiarum libri tres, translated by Ismael Roca Meliá, Santos Padres Españoles, vol. 2, San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, 1971), pp. 213-525. I have used Arévalo's original 1802 edition throughout this dissertation, not the Migne reprint.

[146]Like the Etymologiae, there are numerous passages in Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum that are relevant to a discussion of time, eternity, events, and history, including: Praefatio (typology and history); Gen. 2.1-10 (six ages); Gen. 4.6-7 (serpent = heresies); Gen. 6.28 (six thousand years); Gen. 7.5 (six ages); Gen, 7.29 (six ages); Gen. 9.3 (Babel & heresies); Gen. 18.9 (three ages); Gen. 25.4 (life in time, life in eternity); Ex. 29.7 (six thousand years); Ex. 35.2 (six ages); Lev. 8.1 (heresy & strange fire of Aaron's sons); Josh. 8.2 (golden tongued heretics); and Gen. 17.6 (large number of Jews in Spain). The most recent edition is Isidore of Seville, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, edited by Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by Joannes Grial, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 5 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), pp. 259-552. This edition has been reprinted by J. P. Migne in Patrologia Latina, vol. 83 (Paris, 1862), cols. 207-430. I have used Arévalo's original edition throughout this dissertation, not the Migne reprint.

[147]The entire work is relevant. Critical edition in S. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, De Haeresibus liber, edited by A. C. Vega, Scriptores Ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini Veteris et Medii Aevi, vol. 5 (Madrid: Typis Augustinianis Monasterii Escurialensis, 1940). Microfilm: University of Notre Dame, # NEH/MI 92-8462-1. NOTE: This is the correct citation; the citation in Ferreiro, The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain, 418-711: A Bibliography (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 403,

Patrum,[148] in the lexicographical work Libri Differentiarum,[149] in Liber Numerorum,[150] and in De

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#5152, is incorrect; the citations in Hillgarth, "Position of Isidorian Studies," p. 833, are somewhat confusing.

[148]Throughout this work Isidore considers the lives of the fathers as prophesies of deeds as well as prophesies of words. Many of the fathers are also types. Particularly relevant is the passage on St. James in Spain. The most recent critical edition is: Isidore of Seville, De Ortu et Obitu Patrum, edited and translated into Spanish by César Chaparro Gómez, Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985). I have used the Chaparro Gómez edition throughout this dissertation.

[149]Over two dozen passages are relevant to this dissertation, including 1.67/6 (aevum et saeculum); 1.496/8 (sempiternum et perpetuum); 1.239/372 (figuram et formam); 1.528/373 (similitudinem et figuram); 2.7-11 (patris et fili et spiritus sanctus); 2.115 (grace and free will); and 2.123 (legem et evangelium [typology]). The most recent complete edition can be found in Isidore of Seville, Libri Differentiarum, edited by Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by P. Pantinus and Roland Wicelius, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 5 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), pp. 1-114. A critical edition of Book One appears in Isidoro de Sevilla, Diferencias Libro I, edited and translated into Spanish by Carmen Codoñer Merino (Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992). There is no modern edition of Book Two, which is concerned largely with theology, cosmology, and soteriology. Book Two is generally regarded as genuine, but many scholars have expressed doubts regarding the Isidorian origin of Book One, not only because of the spare lexicographical style, but also because Book One was usually transmitted independently of Book Two. Codoñer Merino's edition has demonstrated to the satisfaction of most scholars that Book One is by Isidore, and I see no pressing reasons for disagreement.

The textual tradition of this work is extremely complex, especially as regards the organization of passages. Arévalo arranged the passages alphabetically, an organization reflected in many medieval manuscripts, as well as in the Grial edition of 1599. Codoñer arranges the passages thematically, an organization that echoes the structure of the earliest manuscripts. Since her numbering of passages is radically different from that of Arévalo, Codoñer lists Arévalo's enumeration alongside after her own, and provides several indices and tables. I have relied on Codoñer Merino for Book One, but cite all passages according to both systems of enumeration: Arévalo's numeration/Codoñer Merino's new

Ecclesiasticis Officiis.[151] Even Isidore's Epistolae[152] have relevant passages on certain points of causation and continuity. Although none of these latter writings is an historical work in a modern sense, or even in an Isidorian sense,[153] at certain points each of these works makes mention

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enumeration. Citations from Book Two refer to the original Arévalo edition, not to the Migne reprint.

[150]Relevant passages include 4.18 (three ages); 7.29 (six days & six ages); and 8.36-37 (seven the number of all the time of the ages). The most recent edition is Isidore of Seville, Liber Numerorum, edited by Faustino Arévalo, in Sancti Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia, vol. 5, (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), pp. 220-288. This edition was reprinted by J. P. Migne, in Patrologia Latina, vol. 83 (Paris, 1862), cols. 179-200. The Migne reprint should be used with caution, as there are numerous printer's errors. I have relied on Arévalo's original edition throughout this dissertation, not the Migne reprint.

[151]The most important passages are in 1.18-45. The most recent critical edition of De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis is by Lawson, as cited above. I have used Lawson's edition throughout.

[152]The most recent edition is Arévalo, 6:557-582, as cited above. This edition has been reprinted in J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 83 (Paris, 1962), cols. 893-912. The Migne text is reprinted with an English translation in The Letters of Isidore of Seville, 2nd ed., translated by Gordon B. Ford, Jr. (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1970). An English translation of Isidore's correspondence with Braulio appears in Braulio of Saragossa, Letters, trans. Barlow, pp. 15-26.

[153]In Etymologiae 1.41-43 (Arévalo, 3:72-73), Isidore defined history as a narration of things that have been accomplished (1.41.1), including many deeds and events that were instructive to the present (1.43.1), all of which enabled scholars to understand past ages (1.43.2), and to know the succession of consuls and kings (1.43.2). Although various passages in the above-mentioned non-historical works did in many instances point out the relevance of past events to Isidore's present, offer insight into historical periodization, or make passing remarks about the nature of time and eternity, *none* of them is a historical narrative in the way that Historia Regibus Gothorum is, or even in the sparse way that the Chronicon or De Viris Illustribus are.

of or offers consideration of the higher importance of time, eternity, events, and history. This recurring theme is not merely an indication that Isidore thought that time, eternity, events and history were important and deserved mention, because neither anthropology, mineralogy, nor agriculture, all topics dealt with extensively in the Etymologiae, crop up again and again as leitmotifs in his other works. Why did Isidore devote so much attention to these topics?

As regards Isidore's strictly historical works, Chronicon, De Viris Illustribus, and Historia Regibus Gothorum, scholars have argued for some time now that Isidore had a very specific political agenda: he sought to legitimize the existence of the regnum gothicum in Spain and Gaul by describing the Goths as the legitimate successors of Roman imperial rule.[154] He was, in short, an apologist (some scholars have even called him a propagandist) for the Visigothic monarchy. This explanation, however, works only for the political aspects of the above-mentioned historical writings, and does not adequately address the religious and philosophical elements in these and other Isidorean texts concerned with time, eternity, events, and history. Although certainly conceding Isidore's role as a propagandist for the

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Nevertheless, time, eternity, events, and history are topics that turn up again and again in their pages. These passages will be dealt with systematically below, in Chapter Six.

[154]For discussion and bibliography, see Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," pp. 23-43.

Goths,[155] I would further suggest (and will argue below) that Isidore saw the Visigoths as arriving in Spain when they did as a part of God's plan for the preservation of the true Church, for the protection and salvation of the peoples of Spain and Gaul, as well as for the salvation of the Visigoths themselves. When considered from this perspective, the historiographical and chronological excogitations that can be found throughout most of Isidore's writings are fully consistent in intent, and even in form, with the similar historiographical and chronological excogitations of the earlier Church Fathers; viz., there is a direction to history, and God allows men and women to participate as his agents toward the fulfillment of the divine plan. Just as time and eternity, events and history were important components in the theodicy of the early Church, so were these interrelated topics important to Isidore's theodicy.

Combatting heresy was another important reason that Isidore returned again and again to the topics of time, eternity, events, and history. Like many of the later Church Fathers, Isidore was extremely concerned with heresy, and properly so. Heresy and heretics had plagued Spain from the fourth century until Isidore's own day,[156] and continued to

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[155]Crouch, "Isidore of Seville and the Evolution of Kingship in Visigothic Spain," pp. 23-40.

[156]Arno Borst, "Das Bild der Geschichte in der Enzyklopädie Isidors von Sevilla," Deutsche Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 22 (1966), 1. Borst sees Isidore's apologetical writings as directed against Priscillianism, Arianism, and Judaism.

be problems for the Spanish church for the next two centuries. As Américo Castro has noted, "the anti-Trinitarian, or incorrectly Trinitarian, belief of many Christians in the Iberian peninsula ... [which antedated] the arrival of the Arian Germans, was not altered overnight by the conversion of Recared."[157] Instead, the struggle against these heresies continued, at least on an intellectual level, and probably on an apologetical level, well into the seventh century.

Most prominent among these heresies, and the two that were traditionally associated with early medieval Spain, were Priscillianism and Arianism. Each of these heresies involved heterodox opinions regarding the nature of time, history and eternity. In order to refute these heresies completely and to establish a theological and intellectual foundation that would hinder any potential recurrence of these heresies, Isidore repeatedly drew upon the creeds and canons of the Catholic Church councils,[158] sifted through the writings of the Church Fathers, and carefully unfolded a Catholic

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[157]Castro, The Spaniards, p. 201.

[158]In fact, the famous Hispana collection of Church councils initially may have been intended for use in the struggle against heresy. The original version of this collection, compiled before 619, has generally been ascribed to Isidore, although Isidore's work may have been based on a preliminary compilation by Leander. Martinez Diez, Colección Canónica Hispana, 1:306-325. Certainly the canons and creeds most completely preserved in the Hispana are those which made explicit pronouncements, condemnations, and anathemas against heresies, particularly against Arianism, Priscillianism, Macedonianism, and Monophysitism.

understanding of time and eternity that was utterly at odds with Priscillianist and Arian teachings.

The Priscillianist heresy,[159] named after Priscillian, Bishop of Avila[160] (d. 385) was an ascetic movement,[161]

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[159]For a revisionist analysis of Priscillianism as a social movement, see Raymond van Dam, "The Heresy of Priscillianism," chapter 5 of Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 88-114. Despite the evidence of Gnosticism and Manichaeanism presented in the Priscillianist Tractates (see below), Van Dam does not believe that there were any Manichaeans or Gnostics in late fourth century Spain and Gaul. He considers the entire Priscillianist affair to have been a struggle between an overly assertive church leadership and certain independence-minded regional pietist communities. The accusations of heretic, Gnostic, Manichee, sorcerer and pervert that were levied against Priscillian and his followers, Van Dam argues, were simply the most effective charges to make against a popular opponent: 1990's Americans might call them "outcome based" accusations (my words). There may be an uncomfortable amount of truth in this latter argument, and many an accusation of Manichee or Gnostic (and later of Priscillianist!) may simply have been an "idiom of heresy with which people articulated unacceptable aspects of their communities." Van Dam, p. 108. In 1690's Salem, the idiom was "witch." Manichee hunters in twentieth century America have worked their way through "papist," "anarchist" and "communist" to "sexist," "heterosexist" and (well, if I said it, then *I* could be denounced as a Manichee). On this unpleasant and recurrent aspect of civilized society, see Marvin Harris, Cows, Pigs, Warriors, and Witches: The Riddles of Culture (New York: Random House, 1974), pp. 207-240.

[160]Priscillian and his companions, who were executed at Trier by Magnus Maximus in 385, had the unpleasant distinction of suffering "the first use of secular punishment for a purely ecclesiastical offense." Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p. 6. For a near contemporary account of the proceedings against Priscillian, see Sulpicius Severus, Chronicle, 46-51 (NPNF2 11:119-122). Jerome names Priscillian's unfortunate companions as Latronianus, Felicissimus, Julianus, and Euchrotia, persons whom he calls the co-originators of the schism. Jerome, Lives of Illustrious Men, 121-122, translated by Ernest Richardson, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 3 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1892; reprint, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 1953), p. 383. For recent work on Priscillian, see

described as Gnostic by Hydatius of Lemica,[162] and described by Isidore as combining elements of Gnosticism and Marcionism.[163] Many of its doctrines had been introduced to Spain from Egypt or the Levant during the fourth century, although the heresy itself was confined almost exclusively to Spain and southern Gaul.[164] Priscillianism was condemned at

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Henry Chadwick, Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). Chadwick argues convincingly that Priscillian was executed not for heresy, but for sorcery (p. 143-144) and perhaps for practicing a variety of Gnostic sex magic (perhaps Sethianism) that involved the eucharist (pp. 55, 148, 206-207). Priscillian's followers transported his body from Trier to Spain, where he was given a martyr's funeral, Sulpicius Severus, Chronicle, 51 (NPNF2 11:122). The Priscillianists built a shrine for their martyred saint in Galicia, and eventually this shrine was surrounded by a necropolis (p. 150). Chadwick suggests that the famous shrine of Santiago de Compostela, which was built atop a 4th-6th century shrine-necropolis, may have been built intentionally over the shrine of Priscillian. He notes that "it would not be without analogy for a great orthodox centre of pilgrimage to be installed on an old site formerly associated with schism and heresy" (p. 233).

[161]Its asceticism was based on the Gnostic teaching that humans were emanations of God (or the divine spirit) who had been captured and imprisoned in material bodies. Priscillianism called for reproductive abstinence, presumably so that no more souls could be trapped in bodies through procreation. Priscillian also emphasized going about barefoot, particularly during prayer or religious services.

[162]"Priscillianus declinans in haeresem gnosticorum," Hydatius, Chronicon, 13 (Mommsen, p. 15).

[163]Isidore, Etymologiae 8.5.42 (Arévalo, 3:356); Isidore, De Haeresibus, 28 (Vega, pp. 31-32). Isidore notes Priscillianist astrological beliefs, as well as their doctrine that the soul derived from God but was brought down to earth by an evil power.

[164]In his biographical chapter on Ithacius, Priscillian's greatest opponent in Spain and his principal accuser at Trier, Isidore noted that Priscillian learned his libidinous practices and magical arts from Mark of Memphis, who was a

the First Council of Saragossa in 380,[165] at the First Council of Toledo in 399 or 400,[166] and once again at the

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disciple of Mani. Isidore, Viris Illustribus, 19 (Arévalo, 7:148). Chadwick suggests the possibility that Priscillian "may have been influenced by Messalian ascetics from Egypt and Syria." As supporting evidence, Chadwick discusses the 381-384 pilgrimage from Spanish Galicia to Jerusalem and upper Mesopotamia of the Priscillianist noblewoman Egeria; notes several "very striking links" between the Messalian practices and Priscillianism; and remarks upon the widespread presence of Syrian merchants in Gaul and Spain. Chadwick, Priscillian, pp. 166-167. V. C. De Clerq, suggests that this Mark of Memphis was actively promulgating heresy in Spain as early as 325-40, and that he was excommunicated by Ossius of Córdova sometime before 343. De Clerq, "Ossius of Cordova and the origins of Priscillianism," Studia Patristica, Vol. 1. Papers presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies, ed. Kurt Aland and F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 601-606

[165]Concilium Caesaraugustanum I, Canons 1-4, in Colección Canónica Hispana, 4:291-296. These canons condemn certain Priscillianist practices, such as communicants reserving the eucharist for later use; they do not condemn specific Priscillianist doctrines or theology.

[166]Hydatius, Chronicon, 5.31 (Mommsen, p. 16). A complete text of I Toledo has not survived. For the most important and most explicit anti-Priscillian fragments, see "The Priscillianist Professions and the Judgement of the Council of Toledo," edited by Henry Chadwick, in Chadwick, Priscillian, pp. 234-239. These anti-Priscillianist fragments from I Toledo were not transmitted as part of the Hispana collection (which preserves only fragments of and post-conciliar additions to I Toledo), but they have survived in two 16th century transcriptions from a now destroyed tenth-century Spanish manuscript. Chadwick, Priscillian, pp. 179-182. For other anti-Priscillian fragments from I Toledo, see, Concilium Toletanum I, anathemas 1-18, in Colección Canónican Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 4:339-344. The anti-Priscillianist anathemas, and the credo that accompanies them, were undoubtedly composed after I Toledo, probably after 447, and appended to the fragments of the acts of I Toledo in the seventh century. Chadwick suggests that the Credo and the anathemas may originally have been a letter sent to Galician bishops by the bishops of the four provinces who had participated in I Toledo, perhaps sent at the behest of Pope Leo I, which implicitly called upon the Galician bishops to renounce all adherence to Priscillianist doctrines. Chadwick, Priscillian, pp. 176-178. See also J.

First Council of Braga in 561,[167] but the heresy continued to be an issue in Spain, well into the seventh century.[168] The famous Würzburg Priscillianist tractates,[169] several of which

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A. de Aldama, El Símbolo Toledano I, su Texto, su Origen, su Posición en la Historia de los Símbolos, Analecta Gregoriana, vol. 7 (Rome: Gregorian University, 1934).

[167]Concilium Bracarense Primum, "Proposita contra Priscillianam haeresem capitula et relecta continent haec," and anathemas 1-17, Concilian Hispaniae, edited by Francisco Antonio González, in J. P. Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina, vol. 84 (Paris, 1862), cols. 563-565. The doctrines atttributed to Priscillian in the pronouncements of this council are Gnostic in their theology, angelology, cosmology, demonology, anthropology, and soteriology; moreover, many of them are heavily influenced by Manichaeanism. A modern critical edition of this important council has not yet appeared. Its eventual appearance in the Diez and Rodriguez series Colección Canónican Hispana is widely anticipated.

[168]I use the cowardly phrase "continued to be an issue" because I am not certain whether Priscillianism continued to be practised in Spain in the seventh century, and thus Spanish churchmen were responding to a clear and present danger, or whether concerns over a possible revival of Priscillianism, perhaps through its literary remains, inspired Spanish churchmen to continue their anti-Priscillianist activities. Certainly the literary heritage of Priscillianism was not dead by the seventh century. Not only did Priscillian's prologues to the gospels continue to circulate anonymously in many gospel manuscripts, but as late as 651 Braulio of Saragossa warned Fructosus of Braga to "be on your guard, even at this late date, against the poisonous dogma of Priscillianism... To such an extent has Priscillian distorted the Scriptures by the zeal of his heresy that even to this day we find many books depraved by the taint of this corruption." Braulio of Saragossa, Letter 41, trans. Barlow, p. 102. On the monarchian prologues, see John Chapman, "Priscillian, the Author of the Monarchian Prologues to the Vulgate Gospels," Revue bénédictine 23 (1906), 335-349.

[169]Priscillian of Avila, Tractates, ed. G. Schepss, in Patrologia Latina, Supplement, ed. Adalbert Hamman, vol. 2 (Paris: Garnier, 1960), 1413-1483. Another collection that may reasonably be assigned to Priscillian is Canones in Pauli Apostoli Epistulas, ed. G. Schepss, in Patrologia Latina, Supplement, ed. Adalbert Hamman, vol. 2 (Paris: Garnier, 1960), 1391-1413.

may have been written by Priscillian himself,[170] expressed the Gnostic belief that time is a prison from which souls must be released before they can be reunited with God.[171] These tractates also taught the heretical opinion that, "in the divine dispensation that governs history, we have now passed beyond the six days of the created order, and are called to enter the sabbath rest of the people of God,"[172]

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[170]The tractates seem similar in content to the Priscillianist writings condemned by the First Council of Toledo, as well as to the works circulating under Priscillian's name that were known to Jerome, Lives of Illustrious Men, 121 (NPNF2 3:383). Chadwick notes that, "accordingly, it is not unreasonable to think Priscillian himself the principal author of the tractates, the fifth being granted as a likely exception." Chadwick, Priscillian, p. 69. Chadwick suggests that "it is certain that Jerome read at least the first of the Würzburg tractates, and this passage of Lives of Illustrious Men shows that he regarded Priscillian as their reputed author. That Priscillian himself is the author of the sixth tractate is taken for granted both by the Priscillianists and their opponents at the Council of Toledo in 400." Chadwick, Priscillian, p. 152, n. 2. Van Dam, Leadership and Community, p. 89, also considers Priscillian to have been the author of these tractates.

[171]Tractate 6, ed. Schepss, cols. 1465-1466. Also cited by Chadwick, Priscillian, p. 76. This tractate, which is an interpretation of Exodus, frequently deals with issues of time and eternity, particularly with reference to humans being called out of time, just as the Hebrews were called out of Egypt. There is also frequent reference to the solar and lunar phenomena of which the Priscillianists were so enamored. If these tractates are indeed from Priscillian's own hand, then there is no doubting that he was a Gnostic, as his enemies claimed.

[172]Chadwick, Priscillian, p. 71. Chadwick here reasonably interprets and cautiously paraphrases Tractate 5, Genesis, ed. Schepss, cols. 1457-1458, particulary the clause "ut sabbatizato in omnibus mundo requiem, quam in se deo promiserat, praesentaret," which he does not quote. Priscillian was fond of 100+ word sentences, and most passages of these tractates are open to several interpretations. The tractates' grammatical structure is so

which interpretation of history differed sharply from the chronographical reckoning taught by Catholics such as Augustine of Hippo and Isidore.[173] Priscillian and his followers were also accused of teaching that human fate was governed by the stars,[174] and Jacques Fontaine has argued convincingly that many of Isidore's astronomical and astrological writings were intended to combat not only "les phantasmes de l'imagination astrologique,"[175] but also the persistent astrological doctrines of Priscillianism.[176]

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complex, and the sentences so filled with neologisms, that it is virtually impossible to translate them completely. One is grateful for the general clarity of Isidore. Priscillian and his followers were undoubtedly interested in interpreting the six days of creation as representing the six ages of history, and they did believe that the sabbath age had come upon the world.

[173]Another Priscillianist (or perhaps Manichaean) text from this period, known as the Fragment of Prague, breaks off just as the author had begun to discuss the six ages of the world. He reckons the first age from Adam to Noah, but the fragment breaks off at that point. Fragmentum Pragense, Interpretationes et Responsa de Creatione Mundi, de Nominibus Fluuiorum Paradisi, de Sex Aetatibus Mundi, ed. A. Dold and L. Eizenhoefer, in Patrologia Latina, Supplement, ed. Adalbert Hamman, vol. 2 (Paris: Garnier, 1960), cols. 1484-1485.

[174]Augustine, De Haeresibus, 70, ed. R. Vander Plaetse and C. Beukers, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 46 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1969), p. 334. See also Concilium Toletanum I, anathema 15, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 4:344, which anathematizes those who believe in "astrologiae vel mathesiae." Leo the Great, Epistola 15.9 (PL 54:685c), also condemns the Priscillianist belief in "fatalibus stellis."

[175]Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol. 2, p. 457.

[176]Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, vol. 2, pp. 453-467, 589, vol. 3, pp. 1099-1100, 1116. Fontaine would include Sisbut's poem on lunar eclipses as part of this campaign to eradicate superstitious beliefs and magical practices, particularly the

Whether or not Priscillianism was a "dead letter" in Spain by 600, Isidore found it necessary and expedient not only to denounce Priscillianism as a heresy,[177] but also to expound an epistemology of time, eternity, and history that invalidated its intellectual and mystical foundations. In addition to Isidore's dismissal of astrology as a superstition,[178] and his repeated assertions that the Sixth Age was not yet completed,[179] his Prooemia, a collection of brief introductions to the books of the Bible, may have been composed as a Catholic alternative to the Monarchian prologues to the Gospels, prologues that had been written by Priscillian and which were still in wide circulation in the seventh century.[180]

The Arian heresy, named after Arius of Alexandria (d. 335), was so widespread and so successful in late antiquity that one can almost speak of an Arian Church. Ossius of

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magical ritual of "drawing down the moon," ibid, pp. 1099-1100. See also Jacques Fontaine, ed. Isidore de Séville: Traité de la Nature (Bordeaux: Féret et Fils, 1960), p. 5; Jacques Fontaine, "Isidore de Séville et l'astrologie," Revue des études latines 31 (1953), 278-282, 297.

[177]Isidore, Etymologiae 8.5.42 (Arévalo, 3:356); Isidore, De Haeresibus, 28 (Vega, pp. 31-32).

[178]Isidore, Etymologiae, 3.27.2 (Arévalo 3:144); 3.72.38 (Arévalo 3:166),

[179]Chronicon, 122 (Arévalo 7:122); Etymologiae, 5.38.5 (Arévalo 3:232); Etymologiae, 5.39.42 (Arévalo 3:239).

[180]Isidore of Seville, Prooemia in libros veteris ac noui Testamenti, edited by Faustino Arévalo, with additional notes by Joannes Mariana, in Sanctori Isidori Hispalensis Opera Omnia Vol 5 (Rome: Antonii Fulgonii, 1802), pp. 190-219.

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Córdoba led the struggle against Arianism at Nicaea in 325,[181] just as Leander led the struggle against Arianism at Toledo in 589.[182] It was ironic that Spanish bishops should have played important roles in the struggle against Arianism both at its inception and at its final collapse some 260 years later. By recounting the evil that one Arian emperor (Constantius II) had done to Ossius[183] and by noting the evil that another Arian emperor (Valens) had done to the Goths,[184] Isidore was able not only to argue for a sort of victim-solidarity between Catholics and Goths against the eastern emperors and their recurrent heresies, but also to be able to criticize Arianism without such criticism automatically being understood as a reference to the Goths. The Goths had been victimized by an eastern emperor no less than had Ossius and

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[181]He was the first bishop to sign the Canons of Nicaea, even signing before the representatives of the Bishop of Rome.

[182]These sorts of interesting comparisons crop up throughout Spanish history, particularly in the early period. Leander may have resembled Ossius in some senses, because Leander was the Catholic advisor who brought a king and his bishops to the homoousian creed, just as Ossius brought Constantine and his bishops to the homoousian creed, but Leander was also like Gregory of Elvira, who persevered in his adherence to the homoousian creed under conditions of extreme adversity, and who eventually called Ossius to repentence, just as Leander was ultimately successful in calling the Goths to Catholicism.

[183]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 1 (Codoñer Merino, pp. 133-135).

[184]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 7-9 (Alonso, pp. 180-186); Chronicon, 103 (Arévalo, 7:99).

other Spanish bishops.[185]

Isidore emphasized the victimization of the Goths by the eastern emperors when he recounted the history of how Arianism had come to the Goths. He noted that the Goths had not been part of the original Arian faction that had willfully departed from the Catholic faith. Instead they were a later people, who had been called from heathenism to Christianity, but who had been sent evil and heretical teachers by the heretical emperor Valens.[186] In fact, the Goths had never departed from Catholicism to heresy, but instead, when they piously had sought the Catholicism of the universal Church, an evil emperor had responded by giving them heresy much as an unfit father might give his children a stone in response to their request for bread.[187] Until their final conversion in 589, the Goths had never fully become Christians; they had received Christian baptism (which the Catholics of Spain respected as valid, despite its Arian ministration),[188] but they had not yet received confirmation. This Catholic sacrament, complete with anointing and laying on of hands, the Goths finally received in 589, making them

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[185]Like Ossius, the Goths eventually repented.

[186]Isidore, Historia Gothorum, 7 (Alonso, p. 180); Chronicon, 103 (Arévalo, 7:99).

[187]Matthew 7.9.

[188]Spanish Catholics had condemned the rebaptism of Arian converts to Catholicism as early as the fourth century, a condemnation that was reaffirmed in 385 by Pope Siricius' letter to Himerius of Tarragona (PL 13:1146b).

full members of God's holy Church.[189] Thus could Leander celebrate the Gothic conversion as an event that brought a new people to God.[190]

Although Spanish Arianism is most closely associated with the Visigoths, the Arian heresy had in fact been forcibly introduced to Spain by the eastern emperors in the middle of the fourth century. At the third council of Sirmium in 357 the emperor Constantius II compelled the Spanish bishops Ossius of Córdoba[191] (d. 357) and Potamius

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[189]The anathemas of the Third Council of Toledo (589) are thus fully within the traditions of Spanish Catholicism when they explicitly condemn anyone who would rebaptize Arians. III Toledo, anathema 15, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:82. The Arians, of course, had long insisted that *all* converts to their heresy be rebaptized, which degrading condition was not lifted until 580, when at the Arian Synod of Toledo King Leovigild finally recognized the legtitimacy of Catholic baptism, and adopted a policy towards converts that echoed the centuries-old Catholic practice. In noting that III Toledo allowed Arians to enter the Catholic Church without having to undergo rebaptism, Peter Linehan mistakenly assumes that the Catholics had adopted the sacramentology of Leovigild's Arians, and then wrongfully suggests that "it was by virtue of an Arian sacrament that Reccared's subjects had qualified for Spanish citizenship in 589." Linehan, History and the Historians of Medieval Spain (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 24.

[190]"Wherefore we are exalted with even greater joy because we see that the Church has suddenly given birth to new peoples, and we may now be glad over the faith of those same ones whose hardheartedness once caused us grief." Leander of Seville, "Sermon on the Triumph of the Church for the Conversion of the Goths," trans. Barlow, p. 229.

[191]Ossius had been a lifelong champion of Nicene orthodoxy, suffering years of exile under Constantius. Despite imperial pressure Ossius had led the western bishops in their defense of Athanasius and their opposition to neo-Arianism at the synod of Sardica in 343. Ossius himself wrote sixteen of the twenty one canons of the synod of Sardica. Concilius Sardicense, ed. Martinez Diez, in Colección Canónican Hispana, 3:119-134. See also Sozomen,

of Lisbon[192] (d. 360) to concede Christological points to the Arians, to repudiate and forbid the use of the terms ὁμοούσιος and ὁμοιούσιος as unbiblical,[193] and to sign a

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Ecclesiastical History, 3.12 (NPNF2 2:290); Athanasius, History of the Arians, 3.16 (NPNF2 4:274); von Harnack, History of Dogma, vol. 4, p. 68. Like Sir Thomas More some twelve centuries later, Ossius was a prominent and widely respected Christian leader whose support a heretical ruler could not do without.

[192]Potamius is little known. He may have had a hand in composing the canons of Sirmium. Isidore does not refer to him, perhaps for this reason. The New Catholic Encyclopedia also ignores him, but see "Potamius," in The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed., ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 1113. Potamius' surviving works have been edited by A. C. Vega, in Opuscula omnia Potamii Episcopi Olisiponensis, Scriptores Ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini Veteris et Medii Aevi, vol. 2 (Madrid: Typis Augustinianis Monasterii Escurialensis, 1934) Microfilm: University of Notre Dame, # NEH/MI 92-8462-1. Vega offers a brief discussion of Potamius and Ossius' actions at the synod of Sirmium on pp. 1-11, and of Potamius' defense of Athanasius at the synod of Ariminum on pp. 13-14. More recently, Timothy Barnes has reaffirmed the argument that Potamius was one of the authors of the "Blasphemy of Sirmium." Barnes, Constantius and Athanasius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire, p. 139.

[193]Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, 2.30 (NPNF2 2:57-58); Athanasius, De Synodis, 1.28, translated by John Henry Newman and A. Robertson as "The Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia," in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series. vol. 4 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1892), p. 466; Athanasius, History of the Arians, 6.42-45 (NPNF2 4:284-287), which includes a letter of Ossius to Constantius (ch. 44) wherein Ossius defends Athanasius and insists that Constantius has no right to intervene in church affairs. Athanasius says (ch. 45) that Constantius used violence on the famous century old confessor. Athanasius notes (ch. 46) that in the end Ossius "forgot not his duty, for at the approach of death, as it were by his last testament, he bore witness to the force which had been used towards him, and anathematized the Arian heresy, and gave strict charge that no one should receive it." See also Sulpicius Severus, Historia Sacra, 40 (NPNF2 11:116); Sozomen, Ecclesiastical History, 4.6 (NPNF2 2:303), who insists that Ossius was literally beaten into submission;

radical Arian (or Anomoean) creed,[194] thereby producing what Hilary of Poitiers called "the Blasphemy of Sirmium."[195] Constantius exacted further concessions from Spanish bishops at the council of Ariminum in 359, when he compelled western churchmen to sign yet another Arian creed,[196] and once again demanded that they repudiate the term ὁμοούσιος.[197] These capitulations to imperial policy caused a schism in the Spanish church between those churchmen who had compromised with Constantius and the Arians, churchmen such as Potamius of Lisbon, and those "untainted" churchmen who refused all

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Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, 2.31 (NPNF2 2:58-59), who says that Ossius was tortured into submission; Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 1 (Codoñer Merino, pp. 133-135), who says that the aged Ossius repented before his death; Brown, Heresies, pp. 123-124; Chadwick, Priscillian, pp. 5-6; von Harnack, History of Dogma, vol. 4, p. 76.

[194]The Second Creed of Sirmium is sometimes known as the "blasphemy of Potamius," since he was later accused of being a guiding force behind this creed. English translation in Athanasius, De Synodis, 1.28, (NPNF2 4:466); also in Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, 2.30 (NPNF2 2:57-58).

[195]Hilary of Poitiers, De Synodis, 11, in J.P. Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina, vol. 10 (Paris, 1845), 487-490. English translation by E. Watson and L. Pullan in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 9 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1898), pp. 4-29.

[196]This Arian synod was long remembered, and repudiated, by the Catholics of Spain. With the final defeat of Arianism in Spain, some 230 years later in 589, the assembled bishops and churchmen at the Third Council of Toledo anathematized anyone who would not condemn and repudiate the synod of Arminium. "Quicumque Ariminense concilium non ex toto cordo respuerit et damnaverit, anathema sit." III Toledo, anathema 17, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:83).

[197]Sulpicius Severus, Historia Sacra, 43 (NPNF2 11:117); Brown, Heresies, p. 124; von Harnack, History of Dogma, vol. 4, pp. 78-79.

compromise, clergy such as Gregory of Elvira.[198] Having the support of an Arian emperor, the Arianizing bishops of Spain harassed and persecuted those Spanish churchmen who adhered to the Nicene party.[199]

Many Spanish churchmen, such as Gregory of Elvira, ardently supported the Nicene cause, and maintained communion with the Luciferians of Sardinia, who were also ardent homoousians.[200] These beleaguered Spanish and Sardinian bishops, who fervently adhered to the Nicene Christology and who supported the trinitarian positions of Hilary and Athanasius, undoubtedly came to think of themselves as the

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[198]Isidore repeats the story that Gregory of Elvira chastized Ossius for compromising with the Arians rather than suffering martyrdom or remaining in exile. Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 1 (Codoñer Merino, pp. 133-135). Ossius had in fact endured exile for several years before the synod of Sirmium, and had been kept prisoner at Sirmium for a year before the council. Gregory of Elvira had not attended the Council of Sirmium, nor at that time had he felt the wrath of an Arian emperor. Gregory's Opera Omnia are available in S. Gregorii Eliberritani Episcopi, Tractatus in SS. Scripturam, ed. A. C. Vega, in Scriptores Ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini Veteris et Medii Aevii, vols. 12-15, (Madrid: Typis Augustinianis Monasterii Escurialensis, 1944). Microfilm: University of Notre Dame, # NEH/MI 92-8462-1.

[199]Chadwick, Priscillian, p. 6. I don't know whether it is appropriate to call these Arianising bishops Arians themselves. They were willing to concede certain points to the Arians, and to renounce the use of *ομοουσιος* and *ομοιουσιος*, but that does not necessarily mean that they embraced Arian Christology.

[200]Athanasius himself praised Lucifer's faith, calling it "the unimpaired tradition of our fathers; the right rule of the Church's order." Athanasius, Letter 51, translated by A. Robertson as "Second Letter to Lucifer," in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. 4 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1892), p. 562.

last remnant of the faithful, as Catholics who alone preserved the true church amid a stormy sea of Arianism, Priscillianism, and other heresies. The Nicene faction eventually triumphed, both in the empire and in Spain, but the Spanish church long remembered those evil years under Constantius, when the forcibly imposed creed of an heretical emperor[201] divided Spanish bishops into rival camps, and when imperial intervention into Spanish affairs temporarily bruised the spirit even of the great Ossius of Córdoba.[202] When Arianism returned[203] to Spain with the Vandalic, Suevic, and Visigothic conquests, and once again there were churches and counter-churches in Spain, the nightmare began anew. Thus, Arianism, a heresy that had caused dissension and schism among Spanish Christians for centuries, was not a

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[201]Adherents of Priscillianism no doubt remembered that it had been an emperor, Magnus Maximus, who had tried, condemned, and executed Priscillian and his closest followers. All said and done, the emperors had not done particularly well by Spanish Christians, a tradition that was to continue in the sixth century with Justinian and in the seventh century with Heraclius.

[202]Constantius allowed Ossius to return to Spain after he had signed the "Blasphemy of Sirmium," whereupon Ossius repudiated his actions at Sirmium (which capitulation Isidore attributed to the weakness of old age and the severity of imperial pressure) and died in the peace of the church. Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 1 (Codoñer Merino, pp. 133-135).

[203]Did Arian in fact return, or might there still have been Arians in Spain when the various Germanic and Iranian tribes invaded the peninsula in the fifth century?

really "Gothic" problem, but instead an eastern heresy[204] that had been forcibly introduced to Spain by heretical emperors, and then reintroduced (or revived) by the Vandals. Gothic Arianism was but the most recent phase of the eastern pestilence.

When Catholics such as Leander and Isidore of Seville challenged and refuted heresies such as Priscillianism, Arianism, and Acephalitism, it was not enough for them simply to say that a particular heresy was wrong. Instead, they found it necessary and desirable to refute the heresy systematically and convincingly, not only to the heretics themselves, but also (and even especially) to the ordinary Catholic believers. Further, Leander and Isidore were not content that anti-heretical arguments should derive from their own opinions, but instead must come from biblical, patristic, and conciliar teachings.[205] The most effective way to do this was by teaching believers the truthfulness of

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[204]Arianism had begun as the heresy of an Egyptian priest, was spread throughout the eastern empire by the heretical descendants of Constantine, and had been communicated to the Goths by another eastern emperor, Valens.

[205]Perhaps that is why Isidore began the *Hispania* collection: to assemble an authoritative body of Catholic doctrinal pronouncements that traced the refutation of Priscillianism and Arianism to some of the earliest councils of the Church. Moreover, an examination of the canons of these Church councils would demonstrate that Spanish churchmen, particularly Ossius of Córdoba (at the councils of Elvira, Nicaea and Sardica) and Leander of Seville (at III Toledo) had been in the forefront of the struggle against heresy. Spain was thus proved to have been a bastion of the true doctrine even before the conversion of Constantine (by Ossius) and the Council of Nicaea (presided over by Ossius).

orthodoxy and the falsness of heresy, so that if and when believers encountered heretical beliefs they would have sufficient means to resist these false teachings. One of the ways that Isidore attempted to accomplish this was by incorporating into his written works a systematic presentation of theology, Christology, cosmogony and historiography that championed the orthodox Catholic belief, and which included teachings that undermined or vitiated heretical opinions.[206]

Perhaps the most famous instance of Isidore's directly and personally refuting a heretic by making repeated and specific arguments based on orthodox teachings regarding time, eternity, events, and history, a refutation accomplished, as Braulio of Saragossa tells us, with "a flood of eloquence,"[207] occurred at the second Council of Seville, in 619.[208] At that regional synod Isidore encountered a

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[206]Isidore's presentation of a systematic theology, Christology, cosmogony, and historiography that undermined Arian and other heresies will be examined in Chapter Six: "The Narration of Salvation History."

[207]Braulio of Saragossa, List of the Books of Isidore, 17, trans. Barlow p. 142.

[208]There is no modern critical edition of the acta II Seville, although it will undoubtedly appear in volume six or seven of the Diez and Rodriguez edition of Colección Canónica Hispana as that series is eventually completed. The most recent edition of the acta of II Seville is in Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:163-185. This is not a critical edition, but a reprint, with corrections, of the Gonzalez edition of 1821 (also reprinted in PL 84:593-608). The Mansi edition remains useful, particularly for Mansi and Loaisa's notes on the sources of Isidore's biblical and patristic quotations. J. Mansi, ed., Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio. Vol. 10 (Florence,

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Syrian emigré, Gregory,[209] who adhered to the Acephalite heresy.[210] The argumentative method that Isidore used against this heresy is instructive; it consisted of a series of biblical and patristic[211] citations that overwhelmingly refuted the Acephalite heresy and demonstrated that the Acephalites held untenable opinions that were utterly without scriptural, apostolic, or patristic foundations.[212] Faced with such powerful evidence, Gregory admitted that the Acephalite teaching was an heretical innovation that departed from Catholic orthodoxy. Since the Acephalite heresy taught (among other things) that Jesus had a single and timeless nature, twice during the course of his arguments Isidore made explicit statements and offered patristic quotations concerning the relationship of Jesus to time, to eternity,

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n.d.; reprint, Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck- U. Verlagsanstalt, 1960), pp. 555-570. I have used the Vives edition throughout, with frequent reference to Mansi and Loaisa's notes.

[209]Braulio, List of the Books of Isidore, 17, trans. Barlow, p. 142.

[210]II Seville, 12, in Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, pp. 171-172.

[211]Isidore cites by name Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Augustine of Hippo, Leo the Great, and Fulgentius of Ruspe. II Seville, 13, in Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, pp. 180-185.

[212]II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo naturas et una persona, in Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, pp. 172-185. This canon is generally considered to have been written by Isidore himself. I have listed it as such in the bibliography.

and to the ages of the earth.[213] In short, Isidore kept coming back to the issues of time, eternity, events, and history (among many other theological and Christological points) so that he could establish an epistemological and intellectual foundation that would enable Christians to refute heresy, prevent its development, or forestall its recurrence.

Another reason why Isidore devoted so much attention to time, eternity, events and history was that, like many of the earlier Church Fathers, he was determined to demonstrate that the Christian interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures was correct, so that the Christians were the true heirs of the Abrahamic faith, whereas the rabbinic interpretation of Scripture was wrong, and rabbinic Jews had been rightfully deprived of their ancient and privileged status as God's chosen people.[214] That is, the disputations and mutual recriminations between Christians and Jews that had characterized the relationship between these two confessional

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[213]II Seville, 13, Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, pp. 172, 180. In his refutation, Isidore taught that Jesus *as God* is timeless, and begotten *before* all the ages (which Catholic teaching refuted the Arian position that Jesus did not exist from eternity), but that Jesus *as man* was born *in* time, and appeared at the beginning of the last age (which refuted the Acephalite's belief that Jesus had a single, timeless nature and that his humanity did not have a beginning in time). Such questions of time and eternity were central to many heresies, as Isidore himself pointed out in Etymologiae 8.5.69 (Arévalo 3:360-361).

[214]Isidore, Allegoriae, 52, 123-124 (Arévalo 5:126, 134-135); De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.1.1 (Arévalo 6:2), 2.21.1-2.22.2 (Arévalo 6:103-104), 2.28.1-4 (Arévalo 6:113-114).

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faiths from the lifetime of Jesus forward had continued to evolve, and many of Isidore's writings about time, event, and history are extensions of or responses to this ongoing sectarian debate. Like the earlier Church Fathers, Isidore believed that he could demonstrate the validity of Christianity to unbelievers by appealing to history: Christianity was a fulfillment of the Hebrew religious experience.[215]

Isidore's treatment of rabbinic Judaism and his frequent criticism of the Jews as the "earlier people" who had been rightfully deprived of their former privileged status do not seem, however, to have been directed against Jews so much as they were directed towards Christians. That is, these writings were not disputations <u>against</u> Jewish teachings so much as they were testimonials <u>on behalf of</u> Christian teachings: they confirm the apostolic kerygma through Scriptural references, and they reassure Christians that they indeed are the new "chosen people." Considering that he worked from these basic sectarian premises, it is doubtful whether any of Isidore's writings could have been used effectively to evangelize the Jews of Spain. Certainly they do not demonstrate a particularly deep understanding of rabbinic Judaism as it appears to have been practised in the

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[215]Isidore, <u>De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos</u>, 1.62.1-2 (Arévalo 6:64-65).

Visigothic realm.[216] Nevertheless, these writings might well have been used with great effectiveness to strengthen the faith of the Christians of Spain and to offer them scriptural and logical proofs that could prepare individual Christians to refute (or at least to disbelieve) the religious counterclaims of Jews.[217] This, in fact, is how Isidore

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[216]I use the cowardly phrase "appears to have been practised" because we do not, in fact, have a great deal of contemporary information about Judaism in the Visigothic realm. We have Christian legislation, most of it anti-Jewish, from the Spanish Church councils and from the Forum Judicum, but those laws only tell us what the Jews were forbidden to do, not what they believed or practised. We have apologetic or polemical writings from Isidore of Seville, Hildefonse of Toledo, and Julian of Toledo, but, once again, these writings do not tell us about Spanish Judaism as it was practised. There is evidence that at least one Gothic noble, Count Froga, tried to protect the Jews from persecution or dispossession, but not why he did so, or even who was persecuting the Jews. On Count Froga, see Solomon Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul, Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, No. 12 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America; reprint, New York: Kraus, 1970), p. 34.

Jewish sources about the Visigothic period are all very late, and most of them are lamentations concerning the great persecutions under Sisebut and Erwig. Much of what we presume to know about Judaism in the Visigothic realm is actually derived from information about Levantine and Babylonian practices, which information has its own shortcomings. To assume that Spanish Jews held the same doctrines and observed the same practices as Babylonian Jews may be a useful intellectual exercise, but there is not much reason to believe that such inferential information is accurate. Despite our detailed knowledge about the intellectual and legal aspects of Visigothic society, Visigothic Spain is still in many ways *terra incognita*. That is true for the Judaic communities of Spain even more so than it is for the Christian communities.

[217]This makes one wonder: since the Arian heretics downplayed or denied the divinity of Jesus and the Holy Spirit, might there have been a problem in the Visigothic realm with Gothic Christians, former Arians, being more attracted to the radical monotheism of rabbinic Judaism than to the trinitarianism of Catholic Christianity?

describes the intent of his De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos.[218]

What do Christian arguments concerning the teachings of rabbinic Judaism have to do with time, events, and history? More than one might suspect. The basic disagreement between Christianity and rabbinic Judaism, for example, concerns whether Jesus of Nazareth was the Messianic Son of Man, and was therefore the culmination of Jewish history and the fulfillment of Jewish prophecy. Beginning at least as early as the Maccabaean period, in such works as Jubilees and the Qumran text known as the Manual of Discipline, Judaic scholars had begun to speculate on the relationship of time and history, and especially to experiment with various systems of historical periodization.[219] Although their system of periodization did not achieve widespread currency until the twelfth century A.D., by the fourth century A.D. rabbinic chronographers developed a Jewish world era that

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[218]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, Praefatio (Arévalo, 6:1-2). Peter Loeslin, who edited the Venice edition of 1483, believed the work to be a refutation of Talmudic legends about Jesus and Mary. Similarly, Johannes Grial (1599) thought it was written against the sacrilege of the Talmud. Arévalo, Isidoriana, PL 81:429. Solomon Katz believes that De Fide Catholica was a response to the teachings of the Mishna (known to Isidore as the "δευτερώσεις" of the Pharisees (Etymologiae, 8.4.3 [Arévalo, 3:350]). Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms in Spain and Gaul, p. 35.

[219]For a brief but excellent guide to the "Theory of History and Eschatological Doctrines" of the Second Temple period see "Analytical Index E: Past and Future," in The Dead Sea Scriptures, translated by Theodor H. Gaster, 3rd ed. (New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1976), pp. 560-564.

began on October 7th, 3761 B.C., thus establishing a sense of "security for their homeless faith by ascribing to it a duration of more than four thousand years."[220] Many of these Judaic and rabbinic systems of periodization, particularly those developed during the Tannaic and Amoraic periods, taught that the sixth (and final) millennium of world history would begin with the advent of the Messiah.[221]

By Isidore's day, Christians and rabbinic Jews alike had long since agreed that, in the divine scheme of history, the Messiah would appear at the beginning of the Sixth Age. Since Christians believed that in Jesus Christ the Messiah had come, Christian historians such as Isidore held that the world was already well into the Sixth Age. Apart from those Jews who held that the Messiah had already come in the age of Hezekiah and that the Messianic Age had therefore been

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[220]Arno Borst, The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer, trans. Andrew Winnard (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 20, 137, n. 29.

[221]Many of these speculations appear, albeit in a highly condensed form, in Sanhedrin Babli, 97a-98b. These passages preserve various early Tanaic and Amoraic teachings about the advent of the Messianic Age. There was no consensus among the Rabbis regarding exact historical periodization, nor about when precisely the Messiah would come. Most agreed that the Messiah would appear at the beginning of the sixth millennium, but some taught that he would appear at the end of the sixth millennium. Perhaps in response to these wild speculations, some Rabbis taught *against* trying to calculate when the Messianic era would begin. Thus Rabban Jonathan is said to have taught, "Blasted be the bones of those who would calculate the end. For they would say, since the predetermined time has arrived, and yet he is not come, he will never come." Sanhedrin Babli 97b.

completed,[222] most Jews believed that the Messiah had not yet come; thus Jewish chronological speculation commonly held that the world was still in the Fifth Age, and that the Sixth

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[222]It is difficult to ascertain how early the doctrine of a previous (and completed) Messianic Age appeared in rabbinic Judaism, or how long and how widely it persisted. Justin Martyr (d. 165) found it necessary to refute rabbinic claims that many of the messianic passages referred to Hezekiah, in whom they had been fulfilled, so this belief had at least some currency in his day. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, 76-78 (ANF 1:236-238). Tertullian (d. 240) made similar arguments concerning "those Scriptures which the Jews endeavor to deprive us of," with special reference to Jewish arguments that certain messianic passages refer to Hezekiah. Tertullian, Against Marcion, 5.9 (ANF 3:448).

Compiled at Sura, in southern Babylonia, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Babylonian Talmud attributed to Rabban Hillel the Younger (ca. A.D. 80) the teaching that "there will be no [future] Messiah for Israel, since they have already enjoyed him during the reign of Hezekiah." Sanhedrin Babli, 98b. It should be noted that Rabban Hillel's teaching on this topic was mentioned in the Talmud *only* as an alternative to the more widely held belief that the Messiah was yet to come. Nevertheless, if the teaching that Hezekiah had been the Messiah was sufficiently widespread in the Jewish community for Justin Martyr in the second century and Tertullian in the third century to have known of it, and important enough to have been recalled in the fifth and sixth centuries by the compilers of the Babylonian Talmud, then this belief must have enjoyed a considerable dissemination. Later Jewish versions of the Hezekiah/Messiah legends recount that God had originally intended to make Hezekiah the Messiah but determined Hezekiah was unworthy because he did not praise God sufficiently for his great victory over Sennacherib and the Assyrians. Louis Ginzburg, The Legends of the Jews, vol. 4, Bible Times and Characters from Joshua to Esther (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1913), pp. 270-277. For Ginzburg's extensive notes to this section, see The Legends of the Jews, vol. 6, Notes to Volumes III and IV, From Moses in the Wilderness to Esther (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1928), pp. 364-370. Ginzburg terms these legends "medieval," and notes that the earliest Tannaim did not apply these messianic passages to Hezekiah. He wonders whether these interpretations of messianic passages were medieval emendations "prompted by anti-Christian" tendencies of medieval rabbis. Ibid., Vol 6, p. 366.

Age had not yet begun.[223]

Since Christians believed that the Messiah had already appeared, and the Church Fathers taught that the Sixth Age of the world had already begun, it was inevitable that disputes between Christian and rabbinic exegetes would eventually come to focus on the nature of time, events, and history. By the sixth century these patristic and rabbinic understandings of the meaning of time and history had become relatively fixed, the Christian attitudes being reflected in such works as the Eusebius-Jerome Chronicle and Augustine's De Civitate Dei, and the rabbinic attitudes reflected in Talmudic works such as Sanhedrin Babli. Thus when Isidore attempted to refute contemporary Judaic scriptural exegesis, he necessarily included in his writings a systematic attempt to demonstrate the validity of the Christian understanding of time and history and to disprove the rabbinic interpretation.[224]

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[223]Isidore was not alone in addressing these rabbinic assertions, which evidently continued to be an issue of debate in the Visigothic realm. Julian of Toledo (644-690) wrote at least two works designed to refute the Talmudic claim that the Messiah had not yet appeared and that the Sixth Age had not yet begun: Julian of Toledo, Prognosticorum Futuri Saeculi, ed. Joscelyn Hillgarth, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 115 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1976), pp. 10-126; and De Comprobatione Sextae Aetatis, ed. Joscelyn Hillgarth, in Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, vol. 115 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1976), pp. 142-212.

[224]That is, whether Christ was begotten before all ages and before all time, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.2.1-5 (Arévalo 6:5-6); whether Cyrus the Persian was Christ and Lord, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.3.3 (Arévalo 6:7-8); whether Christ was born of the house of David; De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.9.1-13 (Arévalo 6:20-23); whether the prophets foretold that Christ would be born in Bethlehem,

As a response to these Isidorean disputations against rabbinic exegesis and medieval Judaism, one modern scholar has argued that Isidore was an anti-Semite "obsessed with Jews."[225] In fact, this was hardly the case. Although Isidore does take special note of the Jews in Allegoriae Quaedam Sacrae Historiae and in De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, these are the only writings in the Isidorian corpus where Jews are discussed to any extent. In these writings Isidore develops the theme of the "former people," i.e., the Jews, who were sent out into the world as exiles because of their unbelief, and the "later people," i.e., the Christians, who were sent out into the world as evangelists because of their belief in Jesus.[226] Elsewhere the Jews appear in Isidore's writings only incidentally, as a necessary component of Biblical or historical exegesis, and Solomon Katz has noted that even in De Fide Catholica Contra Judaeos Isidore's treatment "is not vituperative."[227] Aside from the above-mentioned "two peoples" theme, Jews are not a constant leitmotif in Isidore's writings, despite Albert's contention that he was the arch anti-Semite of the Middle Ages.[228]

De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.11.1-3 (Arévalo 6:26-27).

[225]Bat-Sheva Albert, "Isidore of Seville: His Attitude Towards Judaism and His Impact on Early Medieval Canon Law," 207-220.

[226]This theme will be developed more fully in Chapter Six.

[227]Katz, Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms, p. 35.

[228]Albert, "Isidore of Seville," p. 210.

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Many of Isidore's remarks, however, particularly in those instances where he referred to the Jews as Christ-killers,[229] as unbelievers,[230] blasphemers[231] and mockers,[232] or as an impious people[233] who were spiritually infirm,[234]

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[229]This may be a response to Jewish attitudes canonized in Sanhedrin Babli, Baraitha 43a, where Tannaitic rabbis openly boast of having hanged Jesus on the eve of the Sabbath, which execution they performed legally and properly, in fulfillment of their laws against blasphemy. Even the Our'ân recalls that Jews openly claimed to have killed Jesus (4.56). There does not appear to have been any attempt on the part of rabbinic Jews during the early Middle Ages to deny the Jewish role in the trial, condemnation, and crucifixion of Jesus, nor was there any widespread attempt on the part of Christians to ascribe *guilt* to the rabbinic Jews in their midst, realizing as they did that Jesus had asked divine forgiveness for his tormentors as he suffered on the cross. Calling the Jews "Christ-killers," as Isidore did, was an affirmation of a mutually recognized Judaic responsibility, but *not* an imposition of guilt. The recurrent modern pattern of denying the Jewish role in the Crucifixion of Jesus (i.e., Bat-Sheva Albert, pp. 210-211) is a revisionist view that has emerged only since 1866. See Raymond E. Brown, The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave, A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels. 2 Vols. The Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 377-378. Brown notes that, "in the three editions of his famous *Geschichte der Juden*, between 1856 and 1878, H. Graetz moved from defending the Jews of Jesus' time for executing him to defending them as not having executed him." Ibid., pp. 377-378.

[230]Isidore, De Fide Catholica 1.18.2; 2.1.13 (Arévalo, 6:34; 6:70).

[231]Isidore, Allegoriae, 247 (Arévalo 5:151); De Fide Catholica, 1.27.2 (Arévalo, 6:40).

[232]Isidore, Allegoriae, 15 (Arévalo, 5:120); Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 8.1-4 (Arévalo, 5:292-293). In each of these examples Isidore compares Ham, who mocked the nudity of Noah, to those Jews of Jerusalem who mocked the crucifixion of Jesus.

[233]Isidore, Allegoriae 25 (Arévalo, 5:122).

[234]Isidore, Allegoriae 30 (Arévalo, 5:122).

can be unsettling to late twentieth-century sensibilities.[235] Nevertheless, these sorts of accusations were the common fare of Christian-Jewish recriminations throughout the Middle Ages.[236] Moreover, unless the Church Fathers were mendacious tale-bearers,[237] unless significant portions of the two Talmuds are modern forgeries,[238] unless the Toledot Jesu does

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[235]They were evidently less unsettling to seventh-century sensibilities. Except for the epithet "Christ-killer," all of these familiar charges are levied in the Our'ân, 4.156. As regards "Christ-killer," this same Sura explicitly *denounces* the Jews for *claiming* to have killed Jesus. Whether one believes that the Our'ân was composed *by* or revealed *to* Muhammad, the text appeared in the early seventh century, and thus records attitudes that were contemporary with Isidore, and which were extremely widespread.

[236]For an introduction to these polemics, see A. Lukyn Williams, Adversus Judaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian *Apologiae* until the Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935). For relations in Isidore's day, see Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms, pp. 10-37, 73-81.

[237]The Martyrdom of Polycarp, 12.2 described the active role of the Jews of Smyrna in the trial and execution of Polycarp. Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, repeatedly mentions the calumnies that rabbinic Jews circulated against Christians, as does Tertullian in his Adversus Judaeos. Jerome, who spent considerable time among the rabbis of Palestine, noted in the fourth century that the liturgy of the synagogue included ritual curses against Jesus and against Christians. Jerome, Commentar. in Isaiam Prophetam, ed. Vallarsi and Maffae, 52.2 (PL 24:516d-517a, Paris, 1854). Even the Our'ân condemned Jewish polemics against Jesus, and called "their utterances against Mary a grievous calumny" (4.156). There are dozens of other patristic references to anti-Christian agitation (as well as deplorable Christian remonstrances against the Jews), but this record of interconfessional intolerance is wearisome in the extreme.

[238]Some of the more offensive sections of the Talmuds include Gittin Babli 56b-57a (the most notorious), 90a-90b; Shabbath Babli 104b, 116a, 116b; Sanhedrin Babli 43a (text and Baraitha), 67a; Barakoth Babli 17a-17b; Abodah Zarah Babli 16b, 17a (text and Baraitha); Midrash Koheleth Rabbah

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not really exist,[239] and unless the texts from the famous

I.8 on Eccles 10.5; Sanhedrin Jerushalmi 25c-25d (or VII 16); Shabbath Jerushalmi 13d (or XII.4); Jebamoth Jerushalmi 15d (or XVI.6); Tosefta Hullin II.29; Tosefta Sanhedrin X.11; Yalkut Makiri to Isaiah XI, p. 84. Although these passages were (and are) understood by many Christians and Jews alike to refer to Jesus, Mary, the Gospels, or Christians, Tosefta Shabbath 104d teaches that several of the above passages do not refer to Jesus. Regardless of the intentions of the rabbis who compiled the two Talmuds, these legends appear in almost identical form in the Toledot Jesu, which was in circulation as early as the fourth century, and continues to be circulated today.

[239]This horrible "life" of Mary and Jesus, which was in circulation as early as the fourth century (and perhaps even the second century), is so obscene and blasphemous that it is rarely translated in full, even by scholars who are hostile to Judaism. Many of the arguments of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Isidore of Seville, Hildefonse of Toledo, and Julian of Toledo appear to be responses to this ancient text. Agobard of Lyon denounced the work in the ninth century. When Christians learned of its presence in the Jewish community during the eleventh century, that discovery precipitated several pogroms in the Holy Roman Empire. Luther prepared a critical edition and Latin translation of the text, which was still circulating in sixteenth century Germany, and it may be one of the underlying reasons for his vituperative anti-Semitism. Hugh J. Schoenfeld (a scholar who is unremittingly hostile to Christianity) offers an analysis and partial translation in his According to the Hebrews: A New Translation of the Jewish Life of Jesus (the Toldoth Jeshu), With an Inquiry into the Nature of its Sources and Special Relationship to the Lost Gospel According to the Hebrews (London: Duckworth, 1937). Schoenfeld discreetly skips over 1.6-11, which are brutal blasphemies against the Virgin Mary. Heinrich Laible (a scholar who is unremittingly hostile to Judaism) offers an analysis and partial translation of this and other Jewish texts in his "Jesus Christ in the Talmud," trans. A. W. Streane, in Jesus Christ in the Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, and the Liturgy of the Synagogue: Texts and Translations, together with an Introductory Essay by Heinrich Laible (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1893; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1973). Joseph Klausner noted that his mother, and many other Jewish mothers, knew the text by heart and would recite it to their children during the nights of Christmas, Jesus of Nazareth: His Life, Times, and Teaching (New York: Macmillan, 1929), p. 48. Some of the harshest critics of the Toledot Jesu have been Jewish scholars, and there have been as many Jewish attempts to suppress the book as there have been Christian

Cairo Geniza are spurious,[240] there were as many anti-Christian blasphemies coming from rabbinic writers as there were anti-Judaic diatribes from the Christian side of the debate.[241]

There is certainly little joy to be had in examining the history of Christian-Jewish relations, but in Isidore at least, despite the polemical nature of some of his remarks, historians encounter one of the few voices of reason. Isidore was, in fact, an outspoken advocate of interconfessional tolerance in the Visigothic realm between Christians and Jews, an attitude that seems to have been extremely unusual anywhere in the seventh century.[242]

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attempts. Like the similarly hateful Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Toledot Jesu continues to spread its venom, poisoning all that it touches.

[240]Texts from the Cairo Geniza not only confirm the existence of several versions the Toledot Jesu in the early Middle Ages, but they also verify that the "Tefilla" prayer called upon God to destroy the Christians. Paul Kahle, The Cairo Geniza (New York: Praeger, 1959), p. 41.

[241]In fact, Jewish literary polemics were often much harsher than Christian polemics. The liturgical poetry of the synagogue prayed for the destruction of Christians and their kingdoms (Kahle, Cairo Geniza, pp. 41-43), for example, whereas the Gallican Missal (PL 78:1215d) prayed for the conversion of the Jews. It should be noted, however, that Christian rulers were in a position to persecute Jews (which they did), whereas rabbinic Jews were not in a position to respond directly to their persecutors.

[242]Did Isidore have any firsthand knowledge of contemporary Jews? Undoubtedly any direct contact between Isidore and Spanish Jews was limited. If Isidore debated any Jews, as he debated the Acephalite heretic in 619, no record has survived. There certainly were many Jews in the larger cities of the Visigothic realm during Isidore's lifetime, and he described the Jewish presence in the Gothic realm as "copious." Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 17.6

Isidore sharply censured Sisebut for his harsh treatment of rabbinic Jews,[243] and the Isidorean inspired "Judaic" canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), whatever their failings, were designed to remedy the excesses of anti-Semitism and offer at least a minimal degree of protection to rabbinic Jews living in the Visigothic realm.[244] Indeed, compared to the harsh anti-Judaic measures of Sisebut that had preceded them[245] (and harsher measures which were to follow under Reccesvinth and Erwig), these controversial canons were almost pro-Judaic. The extent to which Isidore was actively restraining anti-Judaic activities in the

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(Arévalo, 5:310).

Isidore certainly knew of the Mishna, which he called the Pharisaic "δευτερώσεις." Etymologiae, 8.4.3 (Arévalo, 3:350). This passage probably derives from Jerome, Epistola 121, ad Algasiam, "quantae traditiones Pharisaeorum sint, quas hodie vocant δευτερώσεις, et quam aniles fabulae, evolvere nequeo." ed. Vallarsi and Maffae, in J. P. Migne, ed., Patrologia Latina, vol. 22 (Paris, 1854), col. 1033.

Isidore also had at least some access to information contained in the Babylonian Talmud: his description of Jewish traditions regarding the authors of the Old Testament in De Ecclesiasticis Officiis 1.12 derives ultimately from Bâba Bâthra babli, 14b-15a. See A. C. Lawson, "The Sources of the De ecclesiasticis officiis of Saint Isidore of Seville," Revue bénédictine 50 (1938), 26. See also Isidore of Seville, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, ed. Lawson, p. 11, note to XII, 2/17. For the Talmudic passage in question, see Bâba Bâthra, babli, 14b-15a, trans. Maurice Simon and Israel Slotki, in The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nezikin, vol. 2, ed. Isidore Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1935), pp. 72-73.

[243]Isidore, Historia Gothorum, 60 (Alonso, p. 270-272).

[244]IV Toledo, 57-66, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:235-242.

[245]On at least one occasion a contingent of Jews obtained an audience with Sisebut and petitioned the infamously anti-Judaic king for redress of grievances. Katz, Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms, p. 12.

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Visigothic realm becomes immediately evident when one considers the religious oaths[246] that the Visigothic monarchs demanded of Spanish Jews almost immediately after Isidore had passed from the scene: après lui, le déluge.

These, then, are some of the reasons that Isidore wrote as much (and as often) as he did concerning time, eternity, events, and history. Like the Church Fathers who had preceded him, Isidore understood that Christianity was a faith that involved a particular understanding of history. History was meaningful, for it revealed the directing hand of God in the affairs of man. Jesus had appeared when he did, in the fullness of time, as a consummation of all previous history, and as a promise for the future. Further, the historical events since the incarnation, such as the fall of Rome and the Gothic occupation of Spain, were also part of God's plan, and Isidore needed to expand the traditional narrative of universal history to include the history and deeds of such "new peoples" as the Goths, much as had Cassiodorus and Gregory of Tours before him. But Isidore was not concerned merely with historical events, regardless of their higher significances. He was also interested in the

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[246]Professio Judaeorum Civitatis Toletanae, ed. F. Fita, in Felix Dahn, Die Könige der Germanen, vol. 6, Die Verfassung der Westgoten [und] Das Reich der Sueben in Spanien (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1885), pp. 650-653. In these oaths, Jews were required not only to profess Christianity, but to condemn their own faith, and to curse the δευτέρας "sive quas apocryphas nominant," ibid., text C., p. 652.

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nature of time itself, not only to understand somewhat the inner workings of God's creation, but also to refute heresies. Like Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Augustine before him, Isidore understood that many heresies, such as Gnosticism, Arianism, and Priscillianism, not only offered competing Christologies, but also that some of the basic elements in these heretical Christologies were heterodox teachings about the nature of time and eternity. Isidore also looked at time, events, and history to describe the gradual extension of God's loving covenant from an <u>individual</u> man, Abraham, to a <u>particular</u> group, the ancient Hebrews, and finally to a universal extension of the new covenant to all of mankind through the agency of Christ and his Church. As was also the case with the earlier Church Fathers, Isidore found it necessary to refute Jewish counter claims regarding the nature of the covenant, the persons of Jesus and Mary, and even about the periodization of history itself. These were hardly negligible concerns. The final chapter of this dissertation will examine the particular understanding of time, eternity, events, and history that characterize the thought of Isidore of Seville.

CHAPTER 6

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE ON TIME, ETERNITY, EVENTS, AND HISTORY: THE COURSE OF SALVATION HISTORY FROM THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE TO THE TRIUMPH OF THE GOTHS

In the writings of Isidore of Seville all of the various patristic themes discussed in the preceding chapters were brought together: salvation history, typology, heresiology and the integrated world chronicle. His writings on the nature of time, eternity, events, and history were not only composed in the intellectual traditions of the Church Fathers,[1] they also built upon many of the historiographical and literary traditions of the ancient world.[2] Braulio said of Isidore that "our age saw in him an image of antiquity,"[3] and such praise was not simply a reaffirmation of a student's belief in his master. In the Chronicon, for example, Isidore laid out a detailed framework of salvation history and spliced into it an integrated chronology of world history,

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[1]That is, salvation history, typology, and heresiology.

[2]That is, the chronicle, the encyclopedia, and the moral treatise. On this last, see Abraham Malherbe, ed., Moral Exhortation, A Greco-Roman Sourcebook, Library of Early Christianity, Vol. 4 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986).

[3]Braulio, List of the Books of Isidore, trans. Barlow, p. 140.

much as had earlier Church Fathers from Theophilus of Antioch (115-181) through Cassiodorus (490-583).[4] Unlike earlier chroniclers and chronographers, however, Isidore included in his Chronicon an amazingly detailed consideration of the origin and development of laws, letters, and the fine arts among the Greeks and Romans,[5] as well as brief notes concerning the beginnings of pagan belief systems such as magic[6] and astrology.[7] Also unlike earlier Christian chronographers, Isidore devoted a great deal of attention to various heresiarchs, heresies, and heretics.[8] Moreover, he

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[4]Church Fathers who compiled integrated accounts of salvation history and world history include Theophilus of Antioch (115-181), Clement of Alexandria (150-215), Julius Africanus (fl. 220), Lactantius of Nicomedia (240-320), Eusebius (260-340), and Jerome (348-420), whose works are discussed in Chapter Two; Augustine of Hippo (354-430), whose works are discussed in Chapter Three; and Paulus Orosius (fl. 418), Sulpicius Severus (d. 420), and Cassiodorus (490-583), who whose works are discussed in Chapter Four.

[5]A great deal of the material in Isidore's chapters on the third and fourth ages is devoted to the origin and development of laws, letters, and the arts in Greek and Roman civilizations. Isidore, Chronicon, 13-65 (Arévalo, 7:60-75); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.8-18 (Arévalo, 3:234-236).

[6]Magic appeared at the end the second age, when it was invented by Zoroaster. Isidore, Chronicon, 12 (Arévalo, 7:70); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.37.7 (Arévalo, 3:234).

[7]Astrology appears during the third age, when it was invented by Atlas. Isidore, Chronicon, 16 (Arévalo, 7:71); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.9 (Arévalo, 3:235).

[8]In the Chronicon, Isidore mentions over twenty heresiarchs and heresies, including Simon Magus (69, 70), Tatian and the Encratites (78), Arius and Arianism (99), Priscillian (104), and the Acephalite heresy (111). Isidore also notes several heretical emperors and kings, including the emperors Constantine (99), Valens (103), and Justinian (115); the Vandal king Trasamund (113-114); and the Gothic kings Athanagild (115) and Leovigild (116-118). As Hillgarth

incorporated into the Chronicon a record of the major persons and events of Gothic history,[9] not only to recount the deeds of the Goths, but also to illustrate the particular role the Goths played in the divine plan. In the Historia Regibus Gothorum Isidore not only appropriated Gothic history to an Hispano-Roman and Catholic context, but also (as in the Chronicon) demonstrated that the Gothic role in salvation history involved building a Christian commonwealth in Spain and maintaining therein the ancient purity of the Catholic faith.[10] In his Allegoriae and Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum Isidore made extensive use of typology, but these exegetical works were arranged chronologically and offer both

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has noted, "there is a definite, at times overriding, concern with heresy" in Isidore's Chronicon. Joscelyn N. Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," La storiografia altomedievale, Settimani di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 17 (Spoleto, 1970), 310-311.

[9]Isidore refers to the persons and events of Gothic history in nine chapters of his Chronicon, describing such events as the conversion of the Goths to Arianism (103 [Arévalo, 7:99]); their sack of Rome (108 [Arévalo, 7:101]); their conversion to the Catholic faith (118 [Arévalo, 7:104]); and King Sisebut's forced conversion of the Jews (120 [Arévalo, 7:105]).

[10]This is particularly evident in the Historia Regibus Gothorum when Isidore describes the conversion of Recared to Catholicism and the subsequent peace and prosperity of his reign (chs. 52-56, Alonso, pp. 260-266). Isidore's praise of Recared can get a little ridiculous at times, such as when he claims that Recared's many campaigns against the Basques and the Imperial forces were not so much wars as they were Recared's attempt to keep the Goths well-exercised and physically fit (ch. 54, Alonso, pp. 262-264). Isidore's excessive praise of the Goths inspired Hillgarth to comment that in the Historia Regibus Gothorum Isidore wrote a history of "God's newly chosen people." Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," p. 298.

extended treatments of salvation history and polemical characterizations of heresy and heretics.[11] Much the same can be said of the historical and historiographical portions of the Etymologiae, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, Sententiae, and many of his other works.

Isidore's historical writings have often been singled out in particular as examples of the poverty of "Dark Age" history.[12] To insist that these writings fully comply with our notions of what history should be, or even to expect them to comply fully with what Isidore said that history should be is to miss the point. None of these various historical or historiographical writings was composed as history. They were composed as Christian apologetic, and they took a historical approach to apologetics, much like the earlier historical and historiographical writings of the apostolic and patristic age. That is, Isidore sought to describe the direction of history, and to reveal the presence and purpose of God's guiding hand not only in all human events, but also throughout all creation and across all times.

The organization of this chapter follows the basic

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[11]Anti-heretical passages in Allegoriae include chs. 55, 66, 68, 149 (Arévalo, 5:126, 128, 137). Anti-heretical passages permeate Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, including in Genesin 4.6-9; 8.11; 9.3; 20.1-3 (Arévalo. 5:273-274, 294, 295-296, 315-316).

[12]Concerning Isidore's Historia Regibus Gothorum, E. A. Thompson said that Isidore "could hardly have told us less, except by not writing at all... Of the long series of Late Roman chronicles, which was founded and inspired by St. Jerome, this is almost the last and almost the least." Thompson, Goths in Spain, p. 7.

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narrative structure and system of periodization used by Isidore in the Chronicon and the Etymologiae, i.e., eternity, creation, and the six ages of history. In considering Isidore's various writings on time, eternity, events, and history, however, I will not limit myself to the Chronicon and the Etymologiae, but instead will draw upon the greater body of Isidore's written works.[13] This is because many of Isidore's most important and interesting thoughts on the above topics appear in his apologetic, devotional, encyclopedic, lexical, or theological texts rather than in his strictly historical or chronological compositions. To

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[13]Scholars have devoted considerable attention to Isidore's historical writings, particularly his Chronicon and Historia Regibus Gothorum, but most have tended to focus on one or another particular work of Isidore's rather than to consider how Isidore used history and chronology throughout the entire corpus of his writings. Except for a few brief comparisons with Augustine or Eusebius, none has examined Isidore's historical writings within the broader patristic traditions of apologetic, salvation history, or typology. Paul Bassett, "The Use of History in the 'Chronicon' of Isidore of Seville," History and Theory 15 (1976), pp. 278-92, focused almost exclusively on Isidore's sextipartite periodization in the Chronicon, and argued that Isidore used this scheme to present a universal history that progressed through discrete and meaningful stages of development, culminating in a universal Church that embraced the spiritual community of all mankind. Arno Borst, "Das Bild der Geschichte in der Enzyklopädie Isidors von Sevilla," Deutsche Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters 22 (1966), 1-62, focused on the Etymologiae, noted Isidore's ethno-historical approach to the diversity of peoples and cultures, and suggested that Isidore's historical thought was neither wholly ancient nor wholly medieval. Marc Reydellet, "Les intentions idéologiques et politiques dans la Chronique d'Isidore de Seville," Melanges d'archaéologie et d'histoire, 82 (1970), 363-400, noted Isidore's anti-Judaic emphases, and argued that Isidore charted the gradual extension of salvation history from the Hebrews to all peoples, who were united in the universal church.

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Isidore, salvation history, and its related topics of time, eternity, events, and history, were such fundamental aspects of Christian learning that he incorporated them in one way or another into almost all of his writings.

Eternity and the Timeless Beings

For Isidore, the history of the universe began with God, who formed the cosmos and all its creatures in six days.[14] Isidore's explanation of the relationship between God, eternity, creation and time is derived from Augustine of Hippo.[15] For Isidore, as for Augustine, God was a supratemporal being who transcended all creation and all time. God held the imperium to the entire universe;[16] he was Dominus et Deus.[17] To Isidore's God, all things were simultaneous,[18] for he was not only timeless[19] and

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[14]Isidore, Chronicon, 1 (Arévalo, 7:65); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.1 (Arévalo, 3,233); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 1-2 (Arévalo, 5:261-265).

[15]This was noticed by Grial in 1559, whose abundant notes are reprinted in the Arévalo edition of Isidore, as well as in the Migne reprint. Grial's notes point to hundreds of passages in the writings of Augustine that Isidore drew upon. These source notes are so extensive that they have been used as the evidentiary support of at least one modern study: Dunstan Stout, "A Study of the Sententiarum Libri Tres of St. Isidore of Seville," unpublished M. A. Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1937. Stout's reliance on Grial's notes has not gone without criticism, i.e, Hillgarth, "Position of Isidorian Studies," p. 832.

[16]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.18 (Arévalo, 3:296).

[17]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.14 (Arévalo, 3:295).

[18]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.7.4 (Arévalo, 6:127).

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changeless,[20] but also impassible[21] and eternal.[22] These words, moreover, pertain to and are descriptive of God alone, and not to any aspect of creation, which is temporal, changeable, moveable, and mortal. Moreover, God did not exist in eternity, rather eternity was a characteristic of God. Nor was eternity merely endless time,[23] for, unlike time, eternity knew neither an inception nor a fulfillment, nor were past, present nor future characteristic of eternity.[24]

In speaking of God and eternity, Isidore was referring to the three persons of the Trinity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. Isidore devoted considerable attention to the persons of the Trinity,[25] and his trinitology was highly developed. To Isidore, the Father was

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[19]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.39 (Arévalo, 3:299); Sententiae 1.6 (Arévalo, 6:126).

[20]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.22 (Arévalo, 3:297); 7.4.5 (Arévalo, 3:311).

[21]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.24 (Arévalo, 3:297).

[22]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.22 (Arévalo, 3:297). Where Isidore describes God as eternal, immortal, incorruptible, and immutable.

[23]Isidore, Differentiae, 1.496/8 (Codoñer Merino, p. 90). Isidore notes that the difference between eternity and perpetuity is that eternity refers to God, who is without beginning, whereas perpetuity refers only to the endless existence of angels and other spiritual beings, whose existence had a beginning.

[24]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.6 (Arévalo, 6:120).

[25]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.34 (Arévalo, 3:298); 7.4.1-12 (Arévalo, 3:311-312).

that person of the Trinity who existed unto himself without generation,[26] the Son was that person who was generated by the Father,[27] and the Holy Spirit was that person who proceeded[28] from the Father and the Son.[29] By the seventh century, Catholic Christians understood the three persons of the Trinity to be coeternal as well as coequal, which is to say that the generation of the Son and the procession of the Holy Spirit occurred in eternity rather than in time.

As early as Origen the Church Fathers had argued for the eternal generation of the Son,[30] and during the long struggle

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[26]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.3.6 (Arévalo, 3:306); 7.4.2; 7.4.6 (Arévalo, 3:311).

[27]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.34 (Arévalo, 3:298); 7.2.13 (Arévalo, 3:301); 7.4.4, 7.4.6 (Arévalo, 3:311).

[28]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.3.1 (Arévalo, 3:306); 7.3.8 (Arévalo, 3:307); 7.4.4 (Arévalo, 3:311); 7.4.6 (Arévalo, 3:311).

[29]In addition to his insistence on the coeternity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, Isidore was particularly adamant about the dual procession of the Holy Spirit. Following Augustine and other western Fathers, Isidore argued repeatedly that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son. Isidore, Etymologiae 7.3.1-8; 7.4.4 (Arévalo, 3:305-306, 311); Isidore, Differentiae, 2.7-11 (Arévalo, 5:79); Isidore, Sententiae 1.16.2 (Arévalo, 6:115); Isidore, De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis, 2.24.1 (Lawson, p. 99); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 53 (Alonso, p. 262). Isidore's writings on the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, particularly in the Etymologiae and Sententiae, probably contributed to popularizing (and institutionalizing) the filioque clause in the west.

[30]Origen, On First Principles, 1.2.2 (ANF 4.246). "Wherefore we have always held that God is the Father of his only-begotten son, who was born indeed of him and derives from him what he is, but without any beginning, not only such as may be measured by any divisions of time, but even that which the mind alone can contemplate within itself, or behold, so to speak, with the naked powers of the

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against Arian Christology the coeternity of the Son became a firmly established element of Catholic Christology.[31] Isidore was particularly adamant on this point, reasserting at several instances in his writings that the Son of God was coeternal[32] with the Father, existing in principium[33] before all the ages,[34] and that his divinity had neither beginning nor end.[35] Jesus as God was begotten of the father before all time, and his divinity was without beginning, whereas

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understanding. And therefore we must believe that Wisdom was generated before any beginning that can be either comprehended or expressed." Origen continues, ... "His generation is as eternal and everlasting as the brilliancy which is produced from the sun." On First Principles, 1.2.4 (ANF 4.247).

[31]One of the charges that Isidore laid against the Arians was that they taught that the Son was not coeternal with the father.

[32]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.34 (Arévalo, 3:298); 7.2.45 (Arévalo, 3:305); Isidore, Differentiae, 2.13 (Arévalo, 5:81); Isidore, Sententiae, 1.14.1-4 (Arévalo, 6:148-149); Isidore, De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis, 2.24.1 (Lawson, p. 99).

[33]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.2.17 (Arévalo, 3:302).

[34]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.2.17 (Arévalo, 3:302); Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.2.1-5 (Arévalo, 6:5-6); II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo Naturas et una Persona (Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:172, 180); Isidore (attributed), Ysaye Testimonia de Christo Domino, sive De nativitate Christi sempiterna ex Patre et temporali ex Matre, ex Ysaye testimoniis, liber unus, 1, ed. Laureano Castán Lacoma, in Revista España de Teologiá, 20 (1960), 344.

[35]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.1.34 (Arévalo, 3:298); 7.2.45 (Arévalo, 3:305); Isidore, Differentiae, 2.13 (Arévalo, 5:81); Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.58.1-3 (Arévalo, 6:60-61).

Jesus as man was born of the virgin Mary in time.[36] The divinity of Jesus existed before time, but his humanity had begun in time.[37] As God in eternity, Jesus was inviolable and impassible, but when he took upon himself the form of a servant and descended into time, Jesus became passible and mortal.[38] As God, his death was not possible in eternity, but, as man, his death was possible in time.[39] Thus Jesus, as the God-Man, was both eternal and temporal, impassible and passible, supra-historical historical and historical. His existence cut into the very fabric of time itself.

Isidore was equally insistent on the coeternity of the Holy Spirit,[40] but he argued for the Spirit's coeternity less often and with less intensity than he argued for that of the Son. This was probably because, although Spanish Christians had been forced to deal with several Christological

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[36]II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo Naturas et una Persona (Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:172); Isidore, Differentiae, 2.13 (Arévalo, 5:80-81); Isidore, Sententiae, 1.14.5 (Arévalo, 6:149).

[37]II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo Naturas et una Persona, (Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:172); Isidore, Sententiae, 1.14.5 (Arévalo, 6:149).

[38]II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo Naturas et una Persona, (Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:172).

[39]II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo Naturas et una Persona, (Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:172).

[40]Isidore, Differentiae, 2.6 (Arévalo, 5:78); Isidore, Sententiae, 1.14.4 (Arévalo, 5:148-149); Isidore, De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis, 2.24.1 (Lawson, p. 99).

heresies,[41] no major heresies focusing exclusively on the Holy Spirit had as yet taken root in Spain.[42] Arianism, to be sure, had held certain unorthodox opinions of the Holy Spirit, but these were an outgrowth of Arian Christology, and disappeared from Spain with the conversion of 589.

In being so specific about the coeternity of the Trinity, and their supratemporality, but at the same time emphasising Jesus' mortal and temporal nature, and the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, Isidore was not merely explaining Christological and Trinitarian theology in terms of the relationship between time and eternity as some form of a speculative intellectual exercise. He was proactively refuting the Arian and Macedonian heresies. By including Catholic teachings on the nature of time, eternity, and the Trinity in the Etymologiae and the Sententiae, and by incorporating them into the acta of II Seville, Isidore was laying an intellectual and theological foundation that could forestall the reemergence of heresies that had divided the Christians of Spain for centuries.

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[41]Such as Arianism and Acephalism.

[42]The Macedonian heresy that Leovigild tried to impose on Arians and Catholics alike in the 570's never seems to have taken hold. This heresy was repudiated by name at III Toledo, (Regis Professio Fidei, 145, Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:62) and does not seem to have become a serious problem in Spain even during Leovigild's reign. Isidore remarks of the Macedonian heresy that its adherents refused to acknowledge the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Etymologiae 8.5.44 (Arévalo, 3:357); Isidore, De Haeresibus, 18 (Vega, p. 30). Strangely, Isidore does not associate Leovigild with the Macedonian heresy.

Creation, Time, and the Ages of the World

Isidore believed that God created the heavens and the earth from eternity. Moreover, God created time along with the physical universe, as one of its constituent elements; thus, time did not exist before the creation of the world.[43] Isidore did not delve into the nature of time to the degree that Augustine did in Book Eleven of the Confessiones, but he did discuss the fundamental nature of time in Sententiae.[44] To Isidore, time itself was a creature, but it was an incorporeal creature whose characteristic was duration rather than space.[45] Men have assigned measurements to this duration, such as centuries, years, months, days, and hours, but these things are not time; they are only a way of reckoning its passage.[46] Isidore noted that past, present,

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[43]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.7.1, 1.8.3 (Arévalo, 6:127-128).

[44]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.7.1-4 (Arévalo, 6:127).

[45]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.7.2 (Arévalo, 6:127).

[46]Isidore, Sententiae 1.7.2 (Arévalo, 6:127). Although Isidore did not believe that an hour was time, he did recognize that there were legitimate divisions of time, from years, months, days, and hours down to "points" of time that are individual time atoms. He believed that these individual atoms of time were actually points of stillness (whereas Augustine saw them as points of movement), and that it was not possible to divide these time atoms any further. Isidore, Etymologiae, 13.2.2-3 (Arévalo, 4:107-108). Like many aspects of Isidore's thought, his belief in temporal atomicity was paralleled by similar beliefs about matter, number, letters, and sound. He believed that these things also could be divided into individual atoms that retained all of the characteristics of matter, number, sound, etc., but which could not be divided further. On the atomicity of matter and number, see Isidore, Etymologiae, 13.2.1-4 (Arévalo, 4:107-108).

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and future were often thought to be characteristics of time;[47] but, like Augustine, Isidore concluded that past, present, and future were concepts that describe how humans perceive time and measure change; we know the past through reminiscence of that which has occurred, the present through direct apprehension of what is occurring, and anticipate the future through expectation of and hope for that which will occur.[48] God, on the other hand, does not perceive time, his creature, in so limited a fashion; instead, God is simultaneous with all things,[49] perceiving past, present, and future as part of the moving continuum of the created universe.

Time, however, began with creation,[50] and it was in time that mankind existed, that change occurred, and that salvation history proceeded apace.[51] Just as eternity was a characteristic of God, so was existence in time a characteristic of Man. Accordingly, when God wished to have dealings with man, God intervened into time. The narrative

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[47]Isodore, Sententiae 1.7.2-3 (Arévalo, 6:127).

[48]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.7.1-4 (Arévalo, 6:127); Augustine, Confessiones, 11.20.26 (CCSL 27:207), "Praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatia."

[49]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.6.1-2 (Arévalo, 6:126).

[50]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.7.1 (Arévalo, 6:127).

[51]Life in time, for example, was characterized by struggle and work, whereas life in eternity would be characterized by delight in the contemplation of God. Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 25.4 (Arévalo, 5:324).

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account of those salvific interventions, what Pope John Paul II calls "the entrance of the eternal into time,"[52] was salvation history.

Isidore's understanding of Creation was fundamentally Augustinian.[53] Like Augustine, Isidore focused on the six days of creation and the seventh day of rest.[54] These six days of work and one day of rest did not occur accidentally or without meaning. Instead, the divine plan was that the formation of the universe should have temporal duration of six days so that these six intervals in the history of creation could serve as signs to man.

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[52]Pope John Paul II, Mother of the Redeemer: On the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Life of the Pilgrim Church, Encyclical Letter, March 25, 1987, Vatican Translation (Boston: St. Paul Books, n.d.), ch. 1, p. 6.

[53]Isidore even agreed with some of Augustine's more quirky pronouncements. For example, Augustine suggested that there were two creations. The first was the simultaneous and eternal creation of all things in the mind of God (whereby creation was an eternal characteristic of God, and not a "new" idea), and the second was God's actual formation and nurturing of the universe in matter and through time. Augustine, De Genesi ad Litteram, 5.4.11, 5.11.27 (Taylor, pp. 153, 162). Isidore briefly recapitulated this notion of two creations in Differentiae 2.27-29 (Arévalo, 5:83), and Sententiae, 1.7.3-6 (Arévalo, 5:128-129).

[54]Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.38.5, 5.39; Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.1-10, 7.5, 7.29; Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Exodum, 29.7, 35.2; Isidore, Liber Numerorum, 7.29; Isidore, Allegoriae, 1, 214. Like Augustine, Isidore also mentioned a tripartite division of human history into periods before the law (from Abraham to Moses), under the law (from Moses to Christ), and under grace (from Christ onwards). Apart from mentioning this tripartite periodization, Isidore does not develop the theme. Isidore, De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis, 1.22.4-5 (Lawson, p. 36); Isidore, Quaestiones in in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 19.9 (Arévalo, 5:312-313)

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The six days of creation were given as signs for many things,[55] but Isidore and Augustine alike focused on the six days of creation as signs of change and mortality. The six days of creation, for example, paralleled the six stages of human growth and development: infancy, childhood, adolescence, young manhood, maturity, and old age.[56] Unlike Augustine, however, Isidore did not develop the "ages of man" theme to any great extent;[57] he seemed content merely to mention it as part of his discussion on the significance of the number six,[58] and as a method of describing the succession of ages.[59] Instead, Isidore's exegesis of these six days of creation concentrated almost exclusively on their relationship to the six ages of human history.[60]

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[55]Isidore, Liber Numerorum, 7.28-33 (Arévalo, 5:226-228).

[56]Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.38.5 (Arévalo, 3:232; Isidore, Liber Numerorum 7.31 (Arévalo, 5:227).

[57]Unlike Augustine (De Civitate Dei, 16.43 [CCSL 48:550]; De Genesi contra Manichaeos, 1.23-24 [PL 34:190-193]), for example, Isidore does not link the six ages of man with the six ages of history. He does offer a more detailed discussion of the six stages of human life and their particular characteristics in Etymologiae 11.2.1-30 (Arévalo, 4:14-29). On this topic in general (albeit with only passing treatment of Augustine and Isidore), see J. A. Burrow, The Ages of Man: a Study in Medieval Writing and Thought (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 79-83. See also Elizabeth Sears, The Ages of man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[58]Isidore, Liber Numerorum, 7.31 (Arévalo, 5:227).

[59]Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.38.5 (Arévalo, 3:232).

[60]Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.38.5 (Arévalo, 3:232); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 1.1-2.18, 6.2.8, 7.5, 7.29 (Arévalo, 5:261-269, 5:286, 5:291); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Exodum, 29.7, 35.2

Just as the works of the Lord were completed in six days, so did history have its fulfillment in six ages.[61] The first day of creation, during which God created light, corresponded to the first age of the world, which extended from Adam to Noah.[62] The second day of creation, during which God created the firmament, corresponded to the second age of the world, which extended from the Noah to Abraham.[63] The third day of creation, during which God separated the waters from the land, corresponded to the third age of world, which extended from Abraham to David.[64] The fourth day of creation, during which God created the lights of the heavens, corresponded to the fourth age of the world, which extended from David to the beginning of the Babylonian Captivity.[65] The fifth day of creation, during which God created the fish of the sea and the birds of the air, corresponded to the fifth age of the world, which extended from the Babylonian

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(Arévalo, 5:380, 5:384); Isidore, Liber Numerorum, 7.29 (Arévalo, 5:227); Isidore, Allegoriae, 3, 214 (Arévalo, 5:116, 5:146-147).

[61]Isidore, Liber Numerorum, 7.29 (Arévalo, 5:227); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.1 (Arévalo, 5:265-266).

[62]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.1, 2.3 (Arévalo, 5:266).

[63]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin 2.1, 2.4 (Arévalo, 5:266).

[64]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.1, 2.5 (Arévalo, 5:266).

[65]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.1, 2.6 (Arévalo, 5:266).

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Captivity to the advent of Christ.[66] The sixth day of creation, during the course of which God created man, corresponded to the sixth age of the world, which extended from Christ until the end of the world.[67] Since the Bible clearly taught that "with the Lord one day is like a thousand years and a thousand years is like one day,"[68] Isidore believed, as had the Church Fathers before him,[69] that these six ages of history would be accomplished in six thousand years, from creation to the last judgement, at which point history would end, and heaven and earth would be transformed.[70]

God's labors are reckoned in the six days of creation, but Genesis also recounts that the first week was not ended until God rested on the seventh day.[71] Just as Isidore related all of human history to the creative works of the

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[66]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vesut Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.1, 2.7 (Arévalo, 5:266).

[67]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.1-18 (Arévalo, 5:266-270).

[68]II Peter, 3.8. See also Psalms 90.4, "a thousand years in your eyes are merely a yesterday."

[69]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 5.28.3 (ANF 1.527); Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 7.14 (ANF 7.211-212), 7.25 (ANF 7.220).

[70]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.26 (Arévalo, 5:284-285). The creation of a new heaven and a new earth was prophesied in Revelation, 21.1-4.

[71]Genesis, 2.1-2. "Thus the heavens and the earth and all their array were completed. Since on the seventh day God was finished with the work he had been doing, he rested on that seventh day from all the work he had undertaken."

first six days, so (following Augustine) did he relate God's resting on the seventh day to the totality of creation.[72] The world may exist for six ages, but seven was the number of all time.[73] Seven was the number of perfection and sanctification,[74] and just as God rested on the seventh day, so did the number seven signify eternal rest and eternal salvation.[75] It was in the seventh age of time that those whom God called to the perfection of sainthood would enjoy eternal rest,[76] and in the seventh age that the resurrection would occur.[77] In the seventh age the last remnant of unbelieving Jews would convert to Christianity and believe in Christ.[78]

The First Age: From Adam to Noah

Isidore's First Age was sparsely populated, filled

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[72]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.2 (Arévalo, 5:266).

[73]Isidore, Liber Numerorum, 8.36-37 (Arévalo, 5:229).

[74]Isidore, Liber Numerorum 8.37-47 (Arévalo, 5,229-232). Seven graces, seven churches of Asia in the Apocalypse of John, seven churches to which Paul wrote letters, seven liberal arts, seven planets.

[75]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.2 (Arévalo, 5:266).

[76]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin 2.2 (Arévalo, 5:266); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Exodum, 29.6-7, 35.2 (Arévalo, 5:380, 5:384).

[77]Isidore, Allegoriae, 11 (Arévalo, 5:119).

[78]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testementum, in Genesin, 6.16 (Arévalo, 5:281-282).

exclusively with the history of individual men and women; there are no peoples or nations, and no wars. Its inception and culmination witnessed the existence of a single family, that of Adam in the beginning, and that of Noah in the end, each in its turn the ancestor of all mankind. Augustine's narrative of the first age also began with Adam and ended with Noah, but there the similarity ends. Augustine's highly interpretive narration of salvation history submerged all events and actors into his theme of the two cities, the city of God and the city of the world.[79] Isidore, on the other hand, did not divide salvation history into such a stark historiographical dualism, but proceeded instead with a single narrative line:[80] God's gradual extension of his covenant to all of mankind. To be certain, Isidore did return time and time again to one particular theme of duality, that of the two peoples: the "earlier" people of the

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[79]Augustine, De Civitate Dei, chs. 15, 18 (ed Dombart & Kalb, CCSL 48).

[80]This was noted by P. M. Bassett, "The Use of History in the 'Chronicon' of Isidore of Seville," passim. Bassett compares Isidore's single narrative line with Augustine's dual narrative line, arguing that one of Isidore's historiographical innovations was his departure from the Augustinian "two cities" model. In fact, Augustine's "two cities" approach was the innovation, whereas Isidore's single narrative line that integrated Jewish, pagan, and Christian history was more in the traditions of the Church Fathers. See also Paul M. Bassett, "The Concept of Christian Society and Culture in the Writings of Isidore of Seville: His Suggestions Concerning the Philosophical, Historical, and Legal Foundations for Visigothic Spain." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1967.

circumcision who knew God but rejected him,[81] in which category Isidore included heretics and Jews,[82] and the "later" people of the foreskin who did not know God in their earliest history, but who were called to God during the last times,[83] in which category Isidore included Christians and their Church.

Human history began in the first age of the world with the creation of Adam and Eve, the parents of mankind. Salvation history had already begun at that point, and God revealed a sign through Adam that pointed beyond this first man and towards the salvation that was to come. Just as Adam was created in the image of God near the end of the sixth day of creation, so would Jesus take on the form of a servant (and become man) near the end of the sixth age of the world so that he could remake man according to the likeness of God.[84] Mankind was born, and fell, in the First Adam, but

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[81]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.1-19, 8.4, 23.1 (Arévalo, 5:278-282, 293, 318); Isidore, Allegoriae, 47, 50, 71 (Arévalo, 5:126-126, 128); Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.Prooem.1, 2.3.1 (Arévalo, 6:66, 73-76).

[82]For example, in Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Tertium, 4.1-2 (Arévalo, 5:540) Isidore notes that the false woman who came before Solomon claiming another woman's child bore the figure of the Synagogue and of the heretics.

[83]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 7.8.10, 23.13 (Arévalo, 5:294, 5:321); Isidore, Allegoriae, 48, 50, 71 (Arévalo, 5:126-126, 5:128); Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.Prooem.1, 2.1.4, 2.3.1 (Arévalo, 6:66, 6:67, 6:73-76).

[84]Isidore, Allegoriae, 3 (Arévalo, 5:116); Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.2.45 (Arévalo, 3:305).

mankind was offered a rebirth, a redemption, in Jesus, who was the second Adam.[85] In describing this typology, Isidore was not merely following the lead of St. Paul, who described Jesus as the second Adam,[86] but also he was following in the tradition of the Church Fathers, who recognized and expanded upon this primeval typology of Adam and Christ.[87]

Eve, too, played an important role in salvation history. Just as God created woman on the sixth day, to be the spouse of man, so did he reveal the Church in the sixth age of the world, to be the spouse of Christ.[88] Eve was a type of the Church, for, just as she was drawn from the side of Adam, so did the Church, mystically revealed under the sign of blood and water, flow from the side of Jesus at Calvary.[89] Thus did God offer a sign of his redemptive plan — before there was disobedience and sin, before there was death or murder, there was a Church. Eve, the mother of humanity, also foreshadowed Mary, the mother of Jesus, for just as all of mankind fell through the willful disobedience of a woman, so did the woman Mary willingly facilitate the redemption of

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[85]Isidore, Allegoriae, 3 (Arévalo, 5:116); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.8 (Arévalo, 5:267).

[86]I Corinthians 15.45.

[87]Irenaeus, Against Heresies, 3.21.10 (ANF1.454).

[88]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.9 (Arévalo, 5:257).

[89]Isidore, Allegoriae, 4 (Arévalo, 5:116); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 3.8 (Arévalo, 5:270-271).

mankind when she bore Jesus as the fruit of her womb.[90]

Most of the first humans bore types of the subsequent persons, institutions, or events of salvation history. Abel was a type of Jesus, for just as Abel, who was slain, was a pastor of sheep, so was Jesus, who was slain for our sakes, a pastor of men.[91] Cain was a type of the earlier peoples, and just as he murdered Abel, so did the Jews murder Christ at Calvary.[92] Cain was also, in a sense, the founder of civilization, for he established the world's first city,[93] naming it after his son Enoch.[94] Concerning that other ancient Enoch, the son of Jared of the line of Seth, Isidore wrote, he "who was seventh from Adam and who was taken up [into heaven], signifies the seventh day of rest [that will occur] in the future resurrection, when the holy ones will be taken up into a life of everlasting immortality."[95] Thus the men and women of the first age bore signs and types not only

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[90]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 5.6 (Arévalo, 5:276). Isidore does not explore the elaborate typology of Eve/Mary that Irenaeus had begun to develop.

[91]Isidore, Allegoriae, 5 (Arévalo, 5:117).

[92]Isidore, Allegoriae, 6 (Arévalo, 5:117); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.1 (Arévalo, 5:277-278).

[93]Genesis 4.17. Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.20 (Arévalo, 5:282); Isidore, Etymologiae, 15.1.3 (Arévalo, 4:193).

[94]Isidore, Allegoriae, 7 (Arévalo, 5:117); Isidore, Etymologiae, 15.1.3 (Arévalo, 4:193).

[95]Isidore, Allegoriae, 11 (Arévalo, 5:119). See also Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.28 (Arévalo, 5:284).

of subsequent events in salvation history, but also of events and conditions that exist in heaven, beyond all time and history.

Isidore did not, however, offer an elaborate or detailed expansion of the Biblical narrative of the first age, such as was found in The Life of Adam and Eve,[96] The Book of the Cave of Treasures,[97] or the book of Jubilees.[98] These other texts narrated the continuous war of Satan against righteous men and women during the first age, and also described the invention of the various arts and crafts of civilization. Isidore did not narrate these antediluvian events, nor did he trace the civilized arts into the first age. He may have been simply unaware of these various Hebrew and Syriac works, but it is more plausible that he rejected them because they departed so extravagantly from the biblical text.[99] In fact,

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[96]The Life of Adam and Eve, ed. and trans. M.D. Johnson, in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, ed. Charlesworth, vol. 2, Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works, pp. 258-295.

[97]The Book of the Cave of Treasures, ed. and trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1927), pp. 43-110.

[98]Jubilees, 1-5, ed. and trans. O.S. Wintermute, in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, ed. Charlesworth, vol. 2, Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works, pp. 52-56.

[99]In Pseudo-Philo, 2.3, for example, Cain founded not one city (at age fifteen!), but seven cities. Pseudo-Philo, trans. D. J. Harrington, in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, ed. Charlesworth, vol. 2, Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works,

these and similar texts had been rejected as apocryphal or false by many of the Church Fathers,[100] and in the sixth century they were listed as apocryphal in the so-called Decretum Gelasianum, where it was suggested that Catholics avoid them.[101] Given his ardent and lengthy struggle against heresy, it is not surprising that Isidore avoided these controversial works, and neglected the legends of the first age that they contained.[102] Indeed, the only non-biblical text that Isidore drew upon for his narrative of the first age was Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews,[103] and that only in a single instance.

By the end of the first age all of humanity had refused the call (and the warning) of God and had turned instead to wickedness and license, all, that is, except for Noah and his family. Just as Adam and his wife were the parents of all

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p. 305.

[100]i.e., Irenaeus, Tertullian.

[101]Decretum Gelasianum, trans. George Ogg, in New Testament Apocrypha, ed. Hennecke and Schneemelcher, vol. 1, Gospels and Related Writings (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963), pp. 46-49.

[102]Although Isidore did make use of the works of Tertullian, whose writings are similarly condemned in the Decretum Gelasianum (p. 48).

[103]Isidore, Chronicon, 5 (Arévalo, 7:66), where Isidore referred to a legend, also found in Josephus' Antiquities 1.2.70, that before the flood the descendants of Adam carved their discoveries onto a pillar of brick and a pillar of stone, so that human science would survive both fire and flood.

humanity in the first age, so would Noah and his wife[104] (through their sons) be the parents of all humanity in the subsequent history of the world. God had winnowed all of mankind, and found only a single family worthy of his saving grace. Just as God later offered refuge to all of mankind in his Church, so did he give refuge to the ancestors of all mankind in the ark, which was a type of the Church.[105] But Noah, whose name Isidore interpreted as meaning "rest," bore the likeness of the Lord himself, whose Church will offer rest to those who are saved from the final destruction of this world, just as Noah's ark offered safety and rest from the destructive force of the flood.[106] Thus the first age ended as it had begun, with the existence of a single family, chosen by God to populate the earth.

The Second Age: From Noah to Abraham

Isidore's second age began after the flood, with Noah and his children. For the first time in Isidore's history, there appeared persons and nations who were not explicitly mentioned in the Bible. Humanity may have begun in the first

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[104]Although prominent in Gnosticism and in later medieval legend, Noah's wife did not play a major role in patristic writings. The Gnostics called her Namaah, but the Church Fathers do not name her.

[105]Isidore, Allegoriae, 12 (Arévalo, 5:119); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 7.1 (Arévalo, 5:285-286).

[106]Isidore, Allegoriae, 12 (Arévalo, 5:119); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 7.2-5 (Arévalo, 5:286).

age, but the second age was filled with nations, peoples, wars, kings, and cities. Isidore devoted considerable attention to the origin of peoples and cities, and all of Etymologiae 9.2 is concerned with this topic. Believing that all of humanity was ultimately descended from the three sons of Noah, Isidore traced the ancestry of as many peoples as he could back to Shem, Ham, and Japeth. All of the prophets and apostles, for example, were descended from Shem,[107] the ancestor of all Semitic peoples, including the Hebrews, the Assyrians, and the Bactrians.[108] Ham, who mocked the nakedness of his father,[109] was the ancestor of the Ethiopians, the Egyptians, the Carthaginians, and (through Canaan) the Canaanites.[110] But Ham also bore the type of the "earlier people," for just as Ham mocked the nakedness of Noah, so did the people of Jerusalem mock Jesus at Calvary.[111] Japeth was the ancestor of the European peoples, and Isidore traced the ancestry of the Goths to the Getae, to the Scythians, to Magog, son of Japeth,[112] and through Japeth

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[107]Isidore, Allegoriae, 13 (Arévalo, 5:120).

[108]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.2-9.9 (Arévalo, 3:399-401).

[109]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 7.4 (Arévalo, 5:293).

[110]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.2.10-25 (Arévalo, 3:401-402).

[111]Isidore, Allegoriae, 15 (Arévalo, 5:120); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 8.4 (Arévalo, 5:293).

[112]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.2.27, 9.2.89 (Arévalo, 3:402, 3.412). Historia Regibue Gothorum, 1, 66 (Alonso, pp. 172, 282).

back to Noah.[113] The Goths themselves might not have been mentioned in the Bible,[114] but their ancestors Japeth and Magog certainly had been. Although many of the event chronologies in Isidore's Chronicon are derived from the Eusebius/Jerome Chronicle, Eusebius does not mention the Scythians in the second age. For Eusebius, their first appearance is centuries later, during the days of King Josiah (Isidore's fourth age), when a Scythian raid penetrated into Palestine.[115] This extension of the Scythians into extreme antiquity appears to be an Isidorian innovation, perhaps part of his attempt to give the Goths, who he claimed were descended from the Scythians, a more ancient heritage.

In addition to various peoples and nations, Isidore's second age saw the emergence of political institutions. Kingship itself emerged during the second age, appearing among four peoples, the Scythians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Sicyonians. It is noteworthy that Isidore spoke of Scythian kingship in the second age, and even more interesting that in the Etymologiae and in the Chronicon he mentioned Scythian kingship as coming into existence a

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[113]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.2.2; 9.2.27 (Arévalo, 3:399-402).

[114]Unless, as Isidore suggests, they were indirectly referred to as Gog. Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 1 (Alonso, p. 172).

[115]Eusebius, Canon Chronicle, Abraham 1384 (PG 19.457).

generation before Egyptian kingship,[116] and two generations earlier than the beginnings of Assyrian and Sicyonian kingship.[117] This chronological arrangement clearly asserted that Scythian kingship was the oldest of these four ancient monarchies. Neither Eusebius nor Augustine said anything about the antiquity of the Scythian kingship, nor did Orosius, nor did Jordanes; it appears to be another Isidorian innovation. Isidore may have done this as part of his larger attempt to endow the Goths, and Gothic kingship, with an ancient and noble heritage. If, as Isidore argued elsewhere, the Scythians came to be known as the Getae, and the Getae as the Goths, then by implication the Gothic monarchy was not only older than the Roman imperial monarchy, but older than the Hebrew monarchy of David and Solomon, and even older than the pharaohs of Egypt and the emperors of Assyria.

One can press this argument too far. Clearly Isidore argued that kingship first came to the Goths in the fourth century A.D., shortly after they began to receive Catholic Christianity and shortly before the emperor Valens sent Arian priests to them.[118] No one in Spain would have believed that Leovigild or Sisebut were Scythians, or that Gothic kingship was actually Scythian kingship. Nevertheless, by writing the

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[116]Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.6 (Arévalo, 3:234); Isidore, Chronicon, 10 (Arévalo, 7:69).

[117]Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.6-7 (Arévalo, 3:234); Isidore, Chronicon, 10-11 (Arévalo, 7:69).

[118]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 6 (Alonso, p. 180).

ancient and direct ancestors of the Goths into the second age, and by suggesting that these Scythian ancestors of the Goths were the earliest people to be ruled by a monarchy, Isidore might hope that at least a little of this ancient lustre would brighten the popular image of the Gothic monarchy. In fact, Isidore noted that at least one Gothic king, Radagaisus, was "genera Scytha."[119]

It was in Assyria, however, at the end of the second age, that the first world empire emerged when Ninus of Assyria conquered Bactria and killed its king, Zoroaster.[120] As in Eusebius and Augustine's historical narratives, Isidore saw Ninus, Semiramis, and Zoroaster as contemporaries of Abraham.[121] Ninus, of course, was not only the emperor of Assyria but also the inventor of warfare and armaments.[122] Semiramis built the walls of Babylon (although the city itself had been founded by Nimrod).[123] The enigmatic Zoroaster appeared several times in Isidore's writings, usually as a figure of evil portent.[124] He was the inventor

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[119]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 14 (Alonso, p. 192).

[120]Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.9.1 (Arévalo, 3:369); 18.1.1 (Arévalo, 4:371); Isidore, Chronicon, 12 (Arévalo, 7:70).

[121]Isidore, Chronicon, 12 (Arévalo, 7:70).

[122]Isidore, Chronicon, 12 (Arévalo, 7:70).

[123]Isidore, Chronicon, 12 (Arévalo, 7:70); Isidore, Etymologiae, 15.1.4 (Arévalo, 4:193-194).

[124]Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.9.1-9 (Arévalo, 3:369-370), where Zoroaster was the inventor of magic, and derived his powers from evil angels; Etymologiae, 9.2.43 (Arévalo,

of magic,[125] although the magical arts did not avail to save him from death at the hands of Ninus. As a contemporary of Abraham, Zoroaster was in many ways an ancient Simon Magus: Zoroaster was the father of magic and sorcery in the days of Abraham; Simon Magus was the father of heresy in the days of Jesus and the Apostles. Neither Simon nor Zoroaster could save himself with all his learning and magic, and each died a violent death.

In addition to being an age of warfare and empires, Isidore's second age was also an age of sunderings. The most obvious sundering, of course, was the sundering of tongues that occurred during the construction of the tower of Babel. Before that day, all of mankind had spoken the same language: the language of creation. From that day forward the peoples of the earth spoke different languages.[126] Isidore interpreted the division of tongues at Babel as a sign of the division of faith that had occurred in his own age. Just as the one language of mankind was divided through the pride and arrogance of the builders of the tower of Babel, so was the unity of faith divided by the arrogance of heretics, who

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3:404), on Bactria, with Zoroaster as the inventor of magic); Etymologiae 14.3.12 (Arévalo, 4:146), on the origin of magic and sorcery in Persia.

[125]Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.9.1-3 (Arévalo, 3:369); Etymologiae, 9.2.43 (Arévalo, 3:404); Isidore, Chronicon, 12 (Arévalo, 7:70).

[126]Isidore, Chronicon, 9 (Arévalo, 7:68-69); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 9.1-3 (Arévalo, 5:295-296).

conspired against God with their illicit doctrines.[127] After the confusion of Babel, only one household in all of the world continued to speak the original language of creation, the house of Heber,[128] and Heber was a type of the Church, in whose house one could still find the one true faith.[129]

After the sundering of tongues came the sundering of nations, when the various tribes of men traveled far and wide over the face of the earth. It was from this wandering that kingdoms and empires arose, as people carved out for themselves territorial homelands. Thus, too, did warfare develop, as people fought one another for lordship over the earth, building great empires. The succession of world empires began in the second age with the foundation and expansion of the Assyrian Empire, and proceeded apace through the Mede, Persian, Egyptian, and Greek empires.[130] This sundering of peoples, which began in the second age, did not cease until the sixth age, when at last one empire united all the lands of the ancient empires mentioned in the Bible, and one empire imposed its single language on the entire world. To Isidore, as to the earlier Church Fathers, this Empire was

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[127]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 9.1-3 (Arévalo, 5:295-296).

[128]Isidore, Allegoriae, 18 (Arévalo, 5:120-121).

[129]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 9.4 (Arévalo, 5:296).

[130]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.3.2 (Reydellet, p. 119-121).

Rome.[131]

Just as the first age ended with God's winnowing mankind to a select few, so did Isidore's second age end with a winnowing. Out of all mankind God chose to reveal himself openly and directly to one man, Abraham. Just as God chose Adam and Eve to people the earth and as he chose Noah and his family to re-populate the earth, so were Abraham and his descendants singled out as a chosen people who were called to obedience and righteousness.

The Third Age: From Abraham to David

Isidore's third age witnessed the gradual emergence and triumph of the Hebrews as God's chosen people. Following the example of Eusebius and Augustine before him, Isidore kept the Hebrew patriarchs, matriarchs, and judges at the forefront of his history. The lives of these men and women, and the divine interventions that characterized and shaped their lives, were the backbone of history itself.

Nevertheless, and again building upon the traditions of Josephus, Justin Martyr, Julius Africanus, Eusebius and Augustine, Isidore wove many of the defining events of non-Hebrew history into his account of the third age.[132] Like

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[131]Isidore, Chronicon, 66 (Arévalo, 7:85-86).

[132]In fact, these non-Biblical events make up the bulk of each chapter. Isidore starts off each chapter with a series of figures and events from Biblical history, and follows them with a series of political and cultural events from gentile history.

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his predecessors, he was determined to demonstrate the greater antiquity of Hebrew history, particularly over that of Greece and Rome. He noted in passing that the Greek cities of Argos, Corinth, and Athens were founded long after the death of Abraham, when Joseph was taken down into Egypt.[133] When God was handing down law and letters to Moses on Mt. Sinai, the Greeks were building their temple at Delphi.[134] Greek letters did not come into existence for another two generations after Hebrew letters, and they were the invention of the man Cadmus, rather than a gift from God.[135] Latin letters came four generations later still.[136] In fact, all the characteristic elements of Greek and Roman civilization — their cities, their letters, their music, their epic poems — came into existence only after similar institutions and traditions had arisen among the Hebrews. Moses, for example, was the first historian, and he wrote a history of the world from the creation until his own day, whereas the first pagan historian was Dares of Phrygia, whose history only recounted the deeds of the Greeks and

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[133]Isidore, Chronicon, 16 (Arévalo, 7:71-72).

[134]Isidore, Chronicon, 17 (Arévalo, 7:72).

[135]Isidore, Chronicon, 19 (Arévalo, 7:73); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.10 (Arévalo, 3:235). On Cadmus deriving Greek letters from Phoenecian letters, Etymologiae, 1.3.6 (Arévalo, 3:4-5).

[136]First written down by the nymph Carmentia, Isidore, Chronicon, 25 (Arévalo, 7:74-75); Isidore, Etymologiae, 1.4.1 (Arévalo, 3:7); Etymologiae, 5.39.11 (Arévalo, 3:235).

Trojans.[137] Moses was also the first philosopher, writing his five books of history, law, and philosophy long before the Greek philosophers.[138] By the time that Apollo invented the cithara and Mercury invented the lyre, the Hebrew prophetess Deborah had already sung praises to the Lord for her victory over Sisera.[139] The Greeks had fought the Trojan War and pulled down the "topless towers of Ilium" six generations after Joshua had led the Hebrews against Jericho, where God himself had caused the walls of that ancient city to tumble down.[140] Even Homer appeared only at the end of the third age, writing his two books ten generations after Moses had composed his five books.[141] Compared to the antiquity of the Hebrews, the Greeks and Romans were civilizations-come-lately.

Nevertheless, the attention that Isidore devoted to origin and development of Greek and Roman law, letters, mythology,[142] and especially to the arts is amazing. Earlier

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[137]Isidore, Etymologiae, 1.42.1 (Arévalo, 3:73).

[138]Isidore, Etymologiae, 16.25.2 (Arévalo, 4:297).

[139]Judges, 4-5; Isidore, Chronicon, 21 (Arévalo, 7:74); Etymologiae, 5.39.10 (Arévalo, 3:235).

[140]Isidore, Chronicon, 26 (Arévalo, 7:75).

[141]Isidore, Chronicon, 28 (Arévalo, 7:75-76); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.12 (Arévalo, 3:235).

[142]In discussing Isidore's euhemeristic references to the gods and goddesses from Greek and Roman mythology in the Chronicon, Basset suggested that Isidore was "attempting to show that the literature of any given people may have something to say to the history of all people." Bassett, "The Use of History in the Chronicon of Isidore of Seville," 289.

Christian chronographers and chroniclers tended to mention these aspects of Greek and Roman culture only to demonstrate the greater antiquity of Hebrew culture,[143] and perhaps to suggest that all Greek and Roman learning derived from Hebrew learning.[144] Isidore went far beyond that, however, and his Chronicon was as much an account of the origins of Greek and Roman literary culture as it was a narrative of salvation history.[145] The inclusion of these many references to Greek and Roman letters no doubt reflected Isidore's love of learning in general, and his love of books in particular. Although in his Regula Monachorum Isidore cautioned monks to avoid reading books by pagan authors, lest through studying

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I'm much less certain of this. It seems to me that Isidore was merely demonstrating that the gods of Greece and Rome were not gods at all, but simply famous men and women who had been "deified" by later generations.

[143]Exhortation to the Greeks, 9-14 (ANF 1:277-279); Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 31-41 (ANF 2:77-82); Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolycum, 2.30 (ed. Grant, p. 75); Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 1.21, (ANF 2:331); Julius Africanus, Fragment 13.7, (ANF 6:134); Lactantius, Divine Institutes, 4.5 (ANF 7:105);

[144]Justin Martyr, First Apology, 23 (ANF 1:170-171), 44 (ANF 1:177-178), 59-60 (ANF 1:182-183); See also the anonymous Exhortation to the Greeks 33 (ANF 1:287); Tatian, Oration to the Greeks, 1 (ANF 2:65); Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 5.14 (ANF 2:465-476); 6.2-3 (ANF 2:481-488);

[145]Isidore derived most of this information about the early history of Greek and Roman culture from Jewish and Christian writers, such as Josephus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Augustine, but he also relied on pagan authors such as Virgil, Sallust and Cicero. This is certainly not something that I have discovered. Garcia Loasia's excellent notes to the Chronicon, organized chapter by chapter and occasionally line by line, detail some of the more obvious sources that Isidore drew upon.

them they fall into error,[146] he seems personally to have delighted in these writings from pagan antiquity.

Classical letters may have been a major cultural theme in Isidore's treatment of the third age, but the only important religious theme was the relationship between the Hebrews and their God. As the chosen people, the Hebrews were the most important people on all the earth. It was only through Abraham and Moses that God made his covenants with mankind in this era, and only with that small portion of mankind known as the Hebrews. It was only through the events and persons of Hebrew history that God chose to reveal shadows and portents of salvation history through the use of types. Unlike the earlier Church Fathers, however, Isidore did not incorporate much typology into his integrated world chronologies, such as the Chronicon or Etymologiae 5.39. Instead, Isidore's typological and allegorical analysis of salvation history appears in his exegetical works, such as Allegoriae and Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum.[147]

Isidore recounted that Abraham bore the type of God the Father, for just as Abraham was willing to offer his son as

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[146]Isidore, Regula Monachorum, 8.3 (Arévalo, 6:536).

[147]Typological and historical analysis did occasionally appear together in the Etymologiae and in De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, but those were the only works in the Isidorian corpus where they were so integrated, perhaps because the Etymologiae was intended as a sort of general purpose encyclopedia and De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos was intended to refute the religious and historical claims of rabbinic Jews. Isidore's other works were much more narrowly focused on chronological, historical, exegetical, lexicographical or devotional themes.

a sacrifice to the Lord, so did God offer his only begotten son, Jesus, to be sacrificed for the healing of the world.[148] Just as God had revealed types and prefigurations of Jesus Christ in the life and deeds of Abraham and Isaac, so in Isidore's account of salvation history did God reveal and prefigure his eventual rejection of the Jews. The servants whom Abraham ordered to remain behind while he and Isaac went up to Mount Moriah,[149] and who were unable to witness the sacrifice of Isaac, bore the figure of the Jews, who were unable to understand either the humility of Christ or his passion on Calvary.[150] Once again, the persons and events of Isidore's account of salvation history were recursive in their meaning and import: the significance of earlier persons and events pointed towards the subsequent events of salvation history, and those later persons and events in their turn were prefigured by these earlier types and portents. All things have significance beyond themselves, indicative of a higher, salvific reality.

For example, in Abraham's famous encounter with Melchizedek, king of Salem,[151] God revealed several types and figures. Melchizedek himself was a symbol of the kingdom of

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[148]Genesis, 22; Isidore, Allegoriae, 20 (Arévalo, 5:121).

[149]Genesis, 22.4-5.

[150]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 18.6 (Arévalo, 5:312).

[151]Genesis, 14.18-20.

Christ,[152] and his offering of bread and wine was a symbol of the body and blood of Jesus.[153] Melchizedek was also a type of Christ and the eternal priesthood that is of Christ.[154] Melchizedek's title, "king of peace" foreshadowed Jesus's title, "prince of peace."[155] The benediction of Melchizedek symbolized the benediction of Christ.[156] The priesthood of Melchizedek, who was not of the tribe of Abraham, was also a prefiguration of the Church of the Gentiles.[157] In fact, since Abraham received the benediction of Melchizedek before he received the covenant of the Circumcision,[158] the Church, which was founded upon the benediction of Christ, was proven to be superior to the Synagogue, which was founded upon the covenant of Circumcision.[159]

One of the central events of the third age was the

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[152]Isidore, Allegoriae, 19 (Arévalo, 5:121).

[153]Isidore, Allegoriae, 19 (Arévalo, 5:121).

[154]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.27.1 (Arévalo, 6:111); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 11.4-8 (Arévalo, 5:298-299).

[155]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 11.7-8 (Arévalo, 5:299).

[156]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.27.1-2 (Arévalo, 6:111).

[157]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 11.6 (Arévalo, 5:298-299).

[158]The encounter with Melchizedek is in Genesis, 14.18-20, whereas God does not reveal the covenant of the circumcision until Genesis, 17.1-14.

[159]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 11.6 (Arévalo, 5:298-299).

history of Moses and the Exodus. In his Chronicon and Allegoriae Isidore gave Moses only brief notices, but elsewhere in his writings the fuller significance of Moses and the persons and events associated with him was made clear. Moses himself bore the type of Christ, who delivered the people of God from the yoke of serving the devil, just as Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt.[160] Moses was also a type of the baptism, when he was deposited in the water and then drawn out again to a new life.[161] The daughter of Pharaoh who discovered Moses and drew him from the water was herself a type of the Church of the Gentiles, who discovered Christ through the mystery of baptism.[162] The first Paschal meal was a type of the passion and sacrifice of Jesus.[163] Crossing the Red Sea was clearly a type of the baptism, whereby Christians are brought into a new life, and the Egyptian soldiers who pursued the Hebrews represented the sins that were washed away with baptism.[164] Dathan and Abiron, who separated themselves from Moses and Aaron and tried to usurp the sacrifice, were types of the heretics, who

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[160]Isidore, Allegoriae, 59 (Arévalo, 5:126).

[161]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Exodum, 4.1 (Arévalo, 5:361).

[162]Isidore, Allegoriae, 58 (Arévalo, 5:126); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Exodum, 5.2 (Arévalo, 5:361).

[163]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 15.1-3 (Arévalo, 5:370).

[164]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Exodum, 19.1 (Arévalo, 5:372).

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separated themselves from Christ and his Church and who adopted profane sacrifices.[165]

Isidore believed the period of the Judges to be similarly filled with types, signs, and portents. The sons of Aaron, who brought strange fire to the altar of the Lord and who were destroyed for their impiety, bore the type of the heretics, who pollute the Church with an alien doctrine, and who themselves will be destroyed.[166] Rahab the harlot, who was saved from the destruction of Jericho through the sign of scarlet, was a type of the Church, who through the scarlet blood of Jesus will be saved from the destruction of the world.[167] Deborah the prophetess, who raised her voice in praise of the Lord, bore the type of the Church.[168] Delilah, who betrayed Samson, was a sign of the synagogue that betrayed Christ,[169] whereas Ruth, who came faithfully to Boaz from a foreign people, bore the sign of the Church, which came faithfully to Christ from the Gentiles.[170]

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[165]Isidore, Allegoriae, 66 (Arévalo, 5:128).

[166]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Leviticum, 8.1-2 (Arévalo, 5:413).

[167]Isidore, Allegoriae, 73 (Arévalo, 5:129); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Joshue, 7.4 (Arévalo, 5:482).

[168]Isidore, Allegoriae, 78 (Arévalo, 5:130); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Judicum, 2.1-5 (Arévalo, 5:491-492).

[169]Isidore, Allegoriae, 81 (Arévalo, 5:130).

[170]Isidore, Allegoriae, 82 (Arévalo, 5:130); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Judicum, 9.1 (Arévalo, 5:504).

Isidore's third age ended with the story of Saul and David, a tale that had as much to do with the institution of kingship as it did with typology. To Isidore, as with the earlier Church Fathers, Hebrew kingship was an institution handed down by God in answer to the prayers of his chosen people, as described in the Bible.[171] In this as in other ways the Hebrews and their kings were distinct from all other peoples and rulers of the earth at that time. The rulers of the Assyrians, Sicyonians, and Scythians had all become kings through the strength of their own hands rather than by any direct commission from God; but the Hebrew kingship was special. This true kingship came from God, and not from man. It was revealed by prophecy, and it was made public through the king's anointing at the hands of a man of God.[172] The king of the Hebrews was thus God's anointed one, a man set apart from all other men not only because of the privilege accorded him by men or his abilities as a war lord, but also because he had been selected by God as an instrument of justice and order on earth. To Isidore, the Hebrew kingship, particularly as exemplified by King David, was a model of what Christian kingship should be like.[173] Isidore admonished the kings of his own day to be mindful of the

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[171]I Samuel, 9.14-16.

[172]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Primum, 5.2 (Arévalo, 5:513).

[173]Isidore, Sententiae, 3.49.1-4 (Arévalo, 6:340-41); Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.3.1-5 (Reydellet, 3:119-121).

example of David,[174] and much of Isidore's political activism in the Gothic realm was devoted to transforming the kingship of the Goths into a more perfect Davidic kingship.[175]

With the advent of David, the third age ended on a note of promise. The descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had been sifted and winnowed through long years of exile and wandering until a remnant of the faithful was allowed to settle in the promised land. In that land the people periodically kept and broke their covenant with the Lord. He punished them in their rebellion, but was always quick to forgive when they returned to obedience and humility. The lessons of this third age were simple enough, and Isidore does not belabor them. If one obeyed the Lord, and did his will, the Lord would cause him to prosper. Yet throughout this age of testing and winnowing, God continued to reveal his plan for salvation through signs, figures, types, and portents. This third age of the world, like all the ages, looked to the fullness of time. Ending as it did with the advent of David, it looked forward to the promise of a messianic kingdom.

The Fourth Age: From David to the Babylonian Exile

Politically and culturally, Isidore's fourth age is dominated by the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires in the

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[174]Isidore, Sententiae, 3.49.1 (Arévalo, 6:346).

[175]Crouch, "Isidore of Seville and the Evolution of Kingship in Visigothic Spain," pp. 14-16, 25-26.

Near East, including the Hebrew kingdom, and by the continuing development of the young Greek and Roman civilizations in the west. Religiously, the fourth age is dominated by the appearance of prophets in Israel, and by the appearance of sibyls in the west.[176] For the Hebrews, the fourth Age began with a promise and ended with a curse. God raised up David and established him as the anointed king of a great realm, just as he had raised up the Hebrews and caused them to prosper in their newly conquered land. Jerusalem became their capital, and under King Solomon the Hebrews built a temple there.[177] Throughout the fourth age God sent prophets to recall his chosen people to obedience and humility, but the number of the faithful grew smaller and smaller. Isidore's account of the fourth age ended with the destruction of the Hebrew people, their kingdoms shattered, their people carried off to exile, and their temple destroyed.[178] This was the last age in which Isidore marked the passage of years by reckoning the lives of the Hebrew patriarchs, prophets, and kings.

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[176]Isidore noted the Erythrean Sibyl in Chronicon, 31 (Arévalo, 7:36), and the Sibyl of Samnia in Chronicon, 37 (Arévalo, 7:79) and Etymologiae, 5.39.17 (Arévalo, 3:236). In Etymologiae 8.8.1-7 (Arévalo, 3:367-369) Isidore offered a more detailed treatment of the ten Sibyls, describing them as female prophets, and noting that some of their prophecies referred to Christ.

[177]Isidore, Chronicon, 30 (Arévalo, 7:76); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum III, 2.1-8 (Arévalo, 5:537-539).

[178]Isidore, Chronicon, 40 (Arévalo, 7:80); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.18 (Arévalo, 3:236).

This was also the age when Isidore began to reckon the rise of Rome. At the very moment when Sennacherib the Assyrian captured the kingdom of Israel and carried off its people, Romulus founded the city of Rome.[179] When the kingdom of Judah was enjoying a brief respite, under King Hezekiah, Romulus established the Roman Senate.[180] Isidore also noted in this fourth age some of the more prominent synchronisms between Greek and Hebrew history. Lycurgus of Sparta flourished during the lifetime of Eliseus.[181] Thales of Miletus was a contemporary of King Josiah and the prophet Jeremiah.[182] Solon of Athens composed his laws while Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon captured Jerusalem, enslaved its people, and destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem.[183] As the world of the Greeks and Romans entered into the full manhood of its history, the ancient kingdom of the Hebrews was destroyed.

This was a dismal age to reckon, and Isidore counted its years as the shortest of all ages. The persons and events of Isidore's fourth age constituted a cautionary tale that warned its readers of the destructive consequences of holding an illicit doctrine. God continued to reveal types and

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[179]Isidore, Chronicon, 35 (Arévalo, 7:78-79); Isidore, Etymologiae, 15.1.55 (Arévalo, 4:204).

[180]Isidore, Chronicon, 36 (Arévalo, 7:79).

[181]Isidore, Chronicon, 33 (Arévalo, 7:77-78).

[182]Isidore, Chronicon, 39 (Arévalo, 7:79).

[183]Isidore, Chronicon, 40 (Arévalo, 7:80).

figures of Jesus and the Church, but increasingly the Lord revealed ominous types and portents that signified heresy and apostasy. The age began well, with the Davidic kingship of the ancient Hebrews in full flower. David was a type of the Son of God, for just as David endured an unjust persecution under Saul, so did Jesus endure the unjust persecution of the Jews.[184] David's many wives symbolized the many peoples of the earth who would be called to God's true Church, but his many concubines were figures of the churches of the heretics, who were not brides of Christ, but whores who sought to glorify their illicit doctrines by associating themselves with the name of Christ.[185]

Solomon bore the figure of Christ, for just as Solomon built a Temple to the Lord in the earthly Jerusalem, so did Jesus build a temple in the heavenly Jerusalem.[186] The Queen of the South who traveled to hear the wisdom of Solomon was a type of the Church, which was gathered together from the ends of the earth to hear the word of God.[187] When Solomon judged the case of the two women who disputed over an infant, Solomon bore the type of Jesus as judge. The false woman was a figure of the synagogue and of the heretics who were proud

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[184]Isidore, Allegoriae, 89 (Arévalo, 5:131).

[185]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Secundum, 2.8-9 (Arévalo, 5:533).

[186]Isidore, Allegoriae, 91 (Arévalo, 5:131).

[187]Isidore, Allegoriae, 92 (Arévalo, 5:131); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Tertium, 5.1-2 (Arévalo, 5:540-541).

and impious before the Lord, but the true mother was a figure of the Church, which received the teaching of Jesus with reverence and humility.[188]

But after these moments of glory, things began to go badly for the Hebrews. The unified kingdom of David and Solomon was quickly torn asunder into a northern kingdom of Israel and a southern kingdom of Judah.[189] Both kingdoms were commonly ruled by impious men, and the people gradually drifted away from the ways of the Lord. Time and time again God sent prophets to his people throughout these centuries of apostasy,[190] but all to little avail. In their decline, the chosen people of God became the killers of his prophets and the despisers of his word.[191] Whereas in previous ages the patriarchs, judges, and kings of the Hebrews had borne the types and figures of Christ as Lord, in these dark and violent years it was the prophets who bore the type of the suffering Christ or the figure of Jesus as shepherd and redeemer to his people.[192] Eventually a wrathful God used

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[188]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Tertium, 4.1-2 (Arévalo, 5:540).

[189]Isidore, Chronicon, 31 (Arévalo, 7:76).

[190]Isidore, Chronicon, 32-39 (Arévalo, 7:76-79).

[191]Isidore, Allegoriae, 36 (Arévalo, 5:123); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 28.6 (Arévalo, 5:334).

[192]Isidore, Allegoriae, 95, 97, 107, 108-119 (Arévalo, 5:131-134); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Quartum, 1.1-5.1 (Arévalo, 5:544-546); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Esdram, 1.1-2 (Arévalo, 5:550).

Sennacherib of Assyria as his mighty scourge, and destroyed the northern kingdom as an example.[193] Yet few people in Judah heeded this warning.

The last kings of Judah, such as Hezekiah and Josiah, men who tried to bring the people back to the ways of the Lord, were generally unsuccessful.[194] The Lord spared the kingdom of Judah for a time, for the sake of these reforming kings and the few righteous men and women, but the decline of his chosen people into apostasy and idolatry continued almost unabated. While cleansing the temple of idols (and searching for gold) during a period of cultic reform under Josiah, the priests did rediscover a portion of their ancient scriptures, and learned in horror just how far the Hebrews had departed from the laws of Moses; but by that time the Lord had already resolved to destroy most of this small remnant of his chosen people. The Passover that Josiah celebrated[195] was too little and too late to quiet the righteous anger of the God of Abraham.

The friendship that God had shown to the Hebrews in the times of Moses, Deborah, and David was withdrawn. He used Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, who bore the type of the devil,[196]

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[193]Isidore, Chronicon, 35 (Arévalo, 7:78-79).

[194]Isidore, Allegoriae, 104, 105 (Arévalo, 5:133); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Quartum, 6.1 (Arévalo, 5:546-547); Isidore, Chronicon, 36, 39 (Arévalo, 7:79).

[195]Isidore, Allegoriae, 105 (Arévalo, 5:133).

[196]Isidore, Allegoriae, 127 (Arévalo, 5:135).

to smite his former people and to carry them into exile beside the waters of Babylon. The Hebrews of Judah were dispersed as a people because of their sins against God.[197] Thus did the fourth age of the world end in ruin, at least for the Hebrews, after 485 years.[198] Henceforth God would choose new peoples to work his salvific purpose, and history would proceed apace.[199] In the east a bitter smoke rose up from the ashes of Jerusalem; but in the west Solon of Athens was just beginning to write his laws.[200]

The Fifth Age: From the Babylonian Exile to Birth of Jesus

If Isidore's third and fourth ages had focused on the patriarchs, judges, kings, and prophets of the Hebrews, his fifth age focused on the succession of gentile empires, from the Persian and Macedonian empires to the emergence of Rome as the master of the world. Indeed, the histories of Rome and Jerusalem were similar after a fashion. Just as Jerusalem was no longer ruled by Hebrew kings at the beginning of the fifth age, so was Rome no longer under the rule of kings; the Romans had expelled their hereditary

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[197]Isodore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.9.1 (Arévalo, 6:84).

[198]Isidore, Chronicon, 41 (Arévalo, 7:80).

[199]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Regum Quartum, 8.3 (Arévalo, 5:549).

[200]Isidore, Chronicon, 40 (Arévalo, 7:80).

monarchs and replaced them with elected consuls.[201] Thus did the end of the kingdom of Judah coincide with the beginning of the Roman Republic.

Nevertheless, Jerusalem remained an important place in the course of world history. Although it did enjoy a brief respite of independence under the Maccabees,[202] Jerusalem was held by a succession of gentile captors throughout the fifth age: Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians, and Romans, all duly recorded in their turn by Isidore.[203] When Artaxerxes was emperor of Persia, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah,[204] many of the Hebrew exiles returned to Jerusalem, restored its walls, and rebuilt its temple.[205] Alexander of Macedon captured Jerusalem from the Persians, whereupon he went into the temple and offered sacrifice to the Lord, and only then proceeded with the conquest of Asia.[206]

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[201]Isidore, Chronicon, 43 (Arévalo, 7:81).

[202]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, de Machabaeis, 1-3 (Arévalo, 5:552).

[203]Isidore noted that Jerusalem was captured by the Nebuchadnezar and the Babylonians, Chronicon, 40 (Arévalo, 7:80); by Darius and the Persians, Chronicon, 43 (Arévalo, 7:80-81); by the Alexander and the Greeks, Chronicon, 50 (Arévalo, 7:82); by Ptolemy and the Egyptians, Chronicon, 52 (Arévalo, 7:82); By Antiochus and his Syrians, Chronicon, 57 (Arévalo, 7:83); and by Pompey and his Romans, Chronicon, 62 (Arévalo, 7:84).

[204]Isidore, Chronicon, 45 (Arévalo, 7:81); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.20 (Arévalo, 3:236).

[205]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Esdram, 1.1-2, 3.1 (Arévalo, 5:550-551). In the Chronicon, Isidore did not mention the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple.

[206]Isidore, Chronicon, 50 (Arévalo, 7:82).

Even with its kingdom destroyed, and its people dispersed, the ancient city of David continued to attract the attention (and the desire) of world conquerors, from Nebuchadnezzar and Darius through Alexander and Pompey. In fact, Jerusalem continued to be a prize throughout the sixth age as well; it was closely guarded as an imperial possession under Augustus and Tiberius, besieged and conquered by Vespasian and Titus, destroyed by Trajan, restored as a pagan city by Hadrian, beautified with great churches and shrines by Constantine, sacked by Chosroes and the Persians, and liberated by Heraclius.[207] For Isidore, even in its desolation, Jerusalem remained the center of the world.

Yet God raised up many peoples in this fifth age of the world, gradually extending the sways of their empires. During this brief age, the universal empires of the Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Egyptians rose and fell each in its turn.[208] Although Alexander's empire extended from Greece to Asia,[209] his empire was as short-lived and illusory as the other empires of the fifth age. None of these empires compared in power or glory to the first universal empire,

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[207]Shortly after Isidore's death, of course, it would be conquered by the forces of Islam under Umar. This conquest would set the stage for 600 years of struggle between east and west, culminating in the Crusades. With the advent of a European enclave in Palestine beginning in 1917, the ancient struggle over who controls Jerusalem continues unabated to this day.

[208]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.3.2 (Reydellet, 119-121).

[209]Isidore, Chronicon, 51 (Arévalo, 7:82).

that of Assyria, or the last universal empire, that of Rome.[210]

It was in this age of new peoples and new empires that the Goths made their first appearance. Although they did not appear in Isidore's Chronicon until the reign of Valerian in the sixth age,[211] in his Historia Regibus Gothorum Isidore related the deeds of the Goths that were accomplished in the fifth age of the world. Following Orosius,[212] Isidore recalled that Alexander believed that the Goths should be avoided, that Pyrrhus had feared them, and that even Caesar himself had been in horror of their valor, having fought against them in his war against Pompey.[213] From their ancient origins in far off Scythia, the Goths moved into the mainstream of history during Isidore's fifth age, just as all peoples of the earth drew nigh unto Rome and to Jerusalem as the fullness of time approached.

God continued to reveal types and figures throughout the fifth age, but they stood out not as signs of victory among a triumphant people, but instead as signs of hope and promise given to those few persons from the remnant of Judah who held to their ancient faith while enduring exile, deprivation,

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[210]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.3.2 (Reydellet, 119-121).

[211]Isidore, Chronicon, 91 (Arévalo, 7:95).

[212]Orosius, Seven Books Against the Pagans, 1.16 (Deferrari, p. 37).

[213]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 2-3 (Alonso, 172-174).

blasphemy, and humiliation at the hands of their gentile masters.[214] God revealed a prophecy of Jesus through the person of Cyrus the Persian,[215] who had been inspired by God[216] and whose righteousness was celebrated by Isaiah.[217] Haggai and Zachariah bore the type of the saints who preached to the faithful a message of salvation and hope.[218] Judith and Esther, each of whom in her turn delivered her people from destruction, bore the type of the Church, which in its turn delivered the people of God from destruction.[219] Tobit, whose eyes were made blind, bore the image of the earlier law, which was unable to see the light that was brought by the sacraments,[220] but Tobit, his son, bore the type of Jesus Christ, whose virtue restored sight to those who had endured blindness under the old law.[221] Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego bore the figure of the saints and martyrs who offered their bodies to persecution in the name of the

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[214]Isidore, Allegoriae, 119-127 (Arévalo, 5:134-135).

[215]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.3.2-3 (Arévalo, 6:7-8). Isidore noted that Cyrus was an idolater.

[216]2 Chronicles, 36.22-23.

[217]Isaiah, 45.1, "Thus says the Lord to his anointed, Cyrus, whose right hand I grasp, subduing nations before him, and making kings run in his service, opening doors before him and leaving the gates unbarred."

[218]Isidore, Allegoriae, 118 (Arévalo, 5:134).

[219]Isidore, Allegoriae, 122 (Arévalo, 5:134).

[220]Isidore, Allegoriae, 123 (Arévalo, 5:134-135).

[221]Isidore, Allegoriae, 124 (Arévalo, 5:135).

Lord.[222] The seven Maccabees, who endured great torment and persecution under Antiochus, signified the Church, which endured the slaughter of martyrdom from the enemies of Christ.[223] These types and figures, although they all point to a glorious redemption in the fullness of time, also indicate that God's faithful must continue to endure hardship and persecution, until the time of their release was at hand.

The first regnal year that Isidore recounted for the fifth age was that of Darius the Persian, who ruled thirty-four years.[224] From this point onwards, no longer were Isidore's years reckoned according to leaders of the chosen people, but described instead according to the succession of heathen kings and emperors. It was no longer exclusively within a Hebrew context that the events of salvation history occurred, but within the broader context of Jews and gentiles, the earlier people and the later people.[225] From Darius I through Darius III, Isidore reckoned the years

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[222]Isidore, Allegoriae, 125 (Arévalo, 5:135).

[223]Isidore, Allegoriae, 129 (Arévalo, 5:135).

[224]Isidore, Chronicon, 43 (Arévalo, 7:80). But why not Cyrus? In Ezra 1.1-11 it was Cyrus, during the first year of his reign, who issued an edict allowing the Hebrews to return to Babylon, and Cyrus who restored their temple treasures. Perhaps Isidore is only following the narrative line of Daniel 6.1-29, where it is Darius the Mede who conquers Babylon.

[225]In "The Use of History in the Chronicon of Isidore of Seville," p. 286, Bassett commented wryly that "Isidore here sweeps the Jews into the flow of universal history." This comment is consistent with Bassett's thesis that in the Chronicon Isidore was "attempting to give unity and universality to the course of history." Ibid., p. 286.

according to Persian emperors.[226] From Alexander the Great through Cleopatra, he reckoned the years according to the Macedonian rulers of Egypt.[227] The fifth age came to its end with the reckoning of years according to the emperors of Rome: Julius Caesar, who founded Isidore's own city of Hispalis,[228] who triumphed over Pompey, and who established the Roman Empire, reigned afterwards for five years.[229] The fifth age had endured 587 years, from the Babylonian captivity until the birth of Christ.[230] The world was 5150 years old.[231]

The Sixth Age: From the Birth of Jesus to the Eschaton

Isidore devoted more space to the sixth age of the world than he had given to all the ages that preceded it. The sixth age was the consummation of the ages, the fullness of time. It was the age of the incarnation of Christ, his passion, death, and resurrection. It was the age of the desolation of the Jews.[232] It was the age of the Roman empire, the age of the Church, a time of struggle against

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[226]Isidore, Chronicon, 43-50 (Arévalo, 7:80-82).

[227]Isidore, Chronicon, 51-63 (Arévalo, 7:82-84).

[228]Isidore, Etymologiae, 15.1.71 (Arévalo, 4:207).

[229]Isidore, Chronicon, 64 (Arévalo, 7:85).

[230]Isidore, Chronicon, 65 (Arévalo, 7:85).

[231]Isidore, Chronicon, 65 (Arévalo, 7:85).

[232]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.13.1-5 (Arévalo, 5:90-91).

heresy, and the era of the regnum Gothicum. It was the age in which Christians were tested and winnowed with persecution, apostasy, and heresy, just as in previous ages the Hebrews had been tested and winnowed by similar challenges. The sixth age was Isidore's own age.

Isidore reckoned the years of the sixth age according to Roman emperors, Augustus through Heraclius. The age began during the reign of Augustus, who ruled for fifty one years, and who had been given a triumph for his victories in Spain.[233] Augustus ruled the entire world, and brought it peace from Spain to Jerusalem. In Rome, the doors of the temple of Janus were closed, signifying that the entire Roman world was at peace. Daniel's seventy weeks, Isidore believed, had been fulfilled during the reign of Augustus.[234] It was at that moment in time that the Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem in Judah.

With the birth of Jesus, eternity entered into time. Jesus, who was Lord and God, took on the form of a servant and became man.[235] He who was eternally generated of the Father was born into time through a human mother, the Virgin Mary.[236] He who was impassible and immortal came to know

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[233]Isidore, Chronicon, 66 (Arévalo, 7:85-86).

[234]Isidore, Chronicon, 66 (Arévalo, 7:85-86).

[235]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.2.45 (Arévalo, 3:305); Isidore, Allegoriae, 3 (Arévalo, 5:116).

[236]II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo Naturas et una Persona (Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:172); Isidore, Differentiae, 2.13 (Arévalo, 5:80-81);

passion and death.[237] He who created the first Adam in his own image, took the form of man and became a second Adam, in order that he might save man from destruction.[238] He who was sinless took upon himself the sins of the world.[239] Just as God created man and woman on the sixth day of the week, so in the sixth age of the world were Christ and the Church made manifest.[240] This event, the Incarnation of Jesus, was the most important event in all time and all history. All previous ages had foreshadowed this salvific event, and all previous ages, promises, covenants, and prophecies were thereby fulfilled. The fullness of time had come.

This event, and its implications, were at the center of all of Isidore's writings. History and philosophy, even politics, were secondary. They were useful as tools, particularly if (as was the case with history) they helped one to understand the mystery of Christ, but they were only tools. Christ and his Church were the reality. Isidore was first, and foremost, a Christian. As with the Church Fathers

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Isidore, Sententiae, 1.14.1-5 (Arévalo, 6:148-149); Isidore, Ysaye Testimonia de Christo Domino, 1 (Castán Lacoma, p. 344).

[237]II Seville, 13, De Duabus in Christo Naturas et una Persona (Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. Vives, 1:172).

[238]Isidore, Etymologiae, 7.2.45 (Arévalo, 3:305); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.8 (Arévalo, 5:267); Isidore, Allegoriae, 3 (Arévalo, 5:116).

[239]Isidore, Sententiae, 1.14.12 (Arévalo, 6:150).

[240]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 2.9 (Arévalo, 5:267).

before him, the primary purpose of Isidore's writings was to facilitate the cure of souls, that is, to preserve and proclaim the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth; to justify and protect Christians and their Church from a hostile world (which would include Jews and pagans); and to combat the errors that arose from heresies and heretics who tried to misappropriate or subvert Christianity. These tasks were the purpose of his writings, and thus the emphases of Isidore's history were the Church, heresy, and the formation of Christendom, particularly the Catholic Christendom of Spain.

But alongside the formation and growth of Christendom during the sixth age came the desolation of the Jews.[241] Isidore's list of calumnies against the Jews was lengthy.[242] They uttered blasphemies against Jesus and his mother,[243] ridiculed his virgin birth,[244] and refused to believe the truth of his message.[245] They had persecuted him during his lifetime[246] and cried out to the Romans that he should be

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[241]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.8.3, 2.13.1-5 (Arévalo, 6:20, 6.90-91).

[242]Isidore offers a list in De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.1 (Arévalo, 6:2).

[243]Isidore, Allegoriae, 247 (Arévalo, 5:151).

[244]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.10.9-10 (Arévalo, 6:26).

[245]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.19 (Arévalo, 5:282).

[246]Isidore, Allegoriae, 88, 89 (Arévalo, 5:131).

crucified.[247] They became self-cursed when they called blood guilt down upon themselves and upon their children,[248] and finally they mocked and derided Jesus when he was sacrificed on the Cross, just as Ham had mocked and derided Noah.[249] Except for those Jews who formed the earliest church in Jerusalem, upon whom the fires of pentecost descended, the Jews continued in their disbelief and mockery of Jesus even after his resurrection and ascension. They persecuted his disciples, killed his followers, and repudiated the gospel.[250] For these offenses and for their many past sins, Isidore believed that God had punished the Jews and would continue to punish them.

Jesus was crucified during the eighteenth regnal year of the Emperor Tiberius.[251] The reign of Caligula, his successor, had barely begun when Caligula desecrated the temple in Jerusalem by installing there a statue of the pagan god Jupiter.[252] The discontent and outrage of the Jews increased rapidly, and the Jews of Palestine rose in open

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[247]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.27.2 (Arévalo, 6:40).

[248]Isidore, Allegoriae, 16 (Arévalo, 5:120); Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.28.1 (Arévalo, 6:41).

[249]Isidore, Allegoriae, 98 (Arévalo, 5:132); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 8.1-4 (Arévalo, 5:293).

[250]Isidore, De Haeresibus, 1 (Vega, p. 26).

[251]Isidore, Chronicon, 67 (Arévalo, 6:87).

[252]Isidore, Chronicon, 67 (Arévalo, 7:87).

rebellion during the reign of Nero. This rebellion was put down savagely by Vespasian and Titus, Jerusalem was captured, and the Jewish temple destroyed.[253] After another Jewish rebellion in the time of Hadrian, Jerusalem itself was destroyed, and a new pagan city was founded upon its ruins,[254] which Isidore saw as the fulfillment of prophecy.[255] The Jews themselves were dispersed throughout the world,[256] driven into an unwilling and priestless exile like Hagar and Ishmael,[257] and cursed to wander the earth like Cain.[258] The Jewish circumcision, which had been the mark of their covenant with the Lord, became the mark of Cain.[259] Their desolation was irreparable.[260] When Julian the Apostate allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem, the Jews quickly learned that their temple could not be rebuilt: fire, sulphur, and smoke erupted from the earth, destroyed

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[253]Isidore, Chronicon, 71, 72 (Arévalo, 7:89); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.27 (Arévalo, 3:237).

[254]Isidore, Chronicon, 76 (Arévalo, 7:91).

[255]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.10.1-7 (Arévalo, 6:86-88).

[256]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.9.1 (Arévalo, 6:84-85).

[257]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 17.4 (Arévalo, 5:309-310).

[258]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.8 (Arévalo, 5:279-280).

[259]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.17 (Arévalo, 5:282).

[260]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.13.1-5 (Arévalo, 6:91-93).

their work, and drove them from the temple mount.[261] Yet despite these abundant signs of divine wrath, Isidore believed that in the last days of the sixth age the Jews would come to believe in Jesus and convert to the faith of Christians.[262] God would look kindly upon them once more, as he looked kindly upon all of his faithful.

Yet if the unbelieving Jews were dispersed to the ends of the world, so was there a Christian diaspora of Jews who did believe in Jesus. From Jerusalem the apostles and disciples of Christ, all of them Jews, were sent out to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus.[263] In this Christian diaspora, just as the Jews were persecuted among men for their disbelief in Jesus, so were the Christians persecuted by men for their belief in Jesus. Peter and Paul travelled throughout the Greek and Latin west, ultimately arriving in Rome itself, where they suffered martyrdom under Nero as Peter was crucified and Paul beheaded.[264] Other apostles travelled to Egypt, India, and Asia.[265] Paul had originally

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[261]Isidore, Chronicon, 101 (Arévalo, 7:98).

[262]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 2.5.1-8 (Arévalo, 5:77-79); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 30.32 (Arévalo, 5:345).

[263]Isidore, Orto et Obitu Patrum, 80 (Chaparro Gómez, p. 215-217).

[264]Isidore, Chronicon, 70 (Arévalo, 7:88); Orto et Obitu Patrum, 67.1-5, 68.1-5 (Chaparro Gómez, pp. 193-203).

[265]Isidore, Orto et Obitu Patrum, 80 (Chaparro Gómez, 215-217).

planned to travel to Spain,[266] but he suffered martyrdom in Rome before this could be accomplished. This planned mission to Spain was carried out, although not by Paul, and Isidore related that James the son of Zebedee made the long journey to Spain and the west and preached the gospel there.[267] These apostles founded churches wherever they went, and among the Christians the apostles took the place of the prophets, kings, judges, and patriarchs that had ministered to and ruled over the Jews. As the apostles died they were replaced by trained clergy, deacons, priests and bishops who traced their authority and their teachings back to the individual founders of their churches, and who transmitted the true faith of the apostles. The covenant of the law was replaced by the covenant of grace,[268] and the Christian gospels superseded the books of Moses.[269]

In fact, Isidore, described the provenance of the books of the New Testament whenever he could. Matthew's gospel was the first to be written down, originally in Hebrew,[270] and

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[266]Romans, 15.28, "I shall set out by way of you [Romans] to Spain."

[267]Isidore, Orto et Obitu Patrum, 70, 80.1 (Chaparro Gómez, 203-205, 215-217.

[268]Isidore, De Ecclesiasticiis Officiis, 1.22.4-5 (Lawson, p. 36); Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 19.9 (Arévalo, 5:312-313).

[269]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.6.1 (Arévalo, 6:17-18).

[270]Isidore, Prooemia, 91 (Arévalo, 5:215).

this was accomplished in Judaea during the reign of Caligula.[271] Mark's gospel was written during the reign of Claudius,[272] probably in Italy.[273] The Gospel of Luke came next, composed in Greece,[274] followed by the Apocalypse, written by the apostle John on the island of Patmos in the reign of Diocletian.[275] The last New Testament work to be composed was the Gospel of John, composed by the apostle himself while in Ephesus, in Asia Minor, during the reign of Nerva.[276]

Alongside his account of the New Testament authors, Isidore also recorded the continuing attempts by Jews to edit their Scriptures. In the fifth age, shortly after the Judean exiles began to return from Babylon, the Hebrew scribe Esdra had assembled a collection of the Hebrew Scriptures in twenty two books.[277] These Scriptures had been translated into Greek, as the Septuagint, in Egypt in the fifth age under

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[271]Isidore, Chronicon, 68 (Arévalo, 7:87); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.26 (Arévalo, 3:237).

[272]Isidore, Chronicon, 69 (Arévalo, 7:88)1 Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.27 (Arévalo, 3:237).

[273]Isidore, Prooemia, 91 (Arévalo, 5:215).

[274]Isidore, Prooemia, 91 (Arévalo, 5:215).

[275]Isidore, Chronicon, 73 (Arévalo, 7:90).

[276]Isidore, Chronicon, 74 (Arévalo, 7:90); Isidore, Prooemia, 91 (Arévalo, 5:215).

[277]Isidore, Etymologiae, 6.3.2 (Arévalo, 3:249-250); Isidore, Chronicon, 45 (Arévalo, 7:81); abbreviated entry in Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.20 (Arévalo, 3:236).

Ptolemy Philadelphus.[278] The Jew Aquila edited a second Greek version under the Emperor Hadrian,[279] and over the next century three more Jewish versions of the Septuagint were edited and circulated, one of them even by an anonymous author.[280] Finally the Christian scholar Origen assembled an authoritative Greek version of the Scriptures,[281] and St. Jerome produced an authoritative version in Latin.[282] Isidore demonstrated thereby that the Hebrew Scriptures were in a state of editorial flux long after the Christian Scriptures had been composed. Further, he insisted that the Jews did not even understand their own Scriptures,[283] but instead needed to have them interpreted by Christians, thereby continuing the centuries-old Christian appropriation of the Hebrew Bible.

As the Church grew in wisdom and in truth, through the succession of apostles and the writing (or appropriation) of

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[278]Isidore, Chronicon, 53 (Arévalo, 7:82); Isidore, Etymologiae, 6.4.1 (Arévalo, 3:250); abbreviated entry in Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.29 (Arévalo, 3:237).

[279]Isidore, Chronicon, 76 (Arévalo, 7:92); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.29 (Arévalo, 3:237).

[280]The third Greek edition was edited by Theodotion, during the reign of Commodus; the fourth by Symmachus, under Pertinax; the fifth edition was anonymously edited in Jericho under Caracalla. Isidore, Chronicon, 79, 81, 82 (Arévalo, 7:92-93); Isidore, Etymologiae, 6.4.1-3 (Arévalo, 3:250-251).

[281]Isidore, Etymologiae, 6.4.4 (Arévalo, 3:251).

[282]Isidore, Etymologiae, 6.4.5 (Arévalo, 3:251).

[283]Isidore, De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, 1.62.1; 2.21-22 (Arévalo, 6:64-65; 6:103-104).

Scriptures, Isidore noted that it was challenged at every step by an anti-church of untruth, that is, by the actions of heretics and the growth of heresies. The distinction that Isidore made between heresy and orthodoxy was basic enough: heretics were those who chose to teach a perverse dogma, often of their own design, whereas the orthodox were those who accepted from Christ and the apostles the discipline of faith and who taught the true word of God.[284] For Isidore, as for Irenaeus, Simon Magus was the first heretic, a heretic whose actions were narrated in the book of Acts.[285] Simon denied that the world was created by God and asserted instead that it had been created by an inferior being;[286] he also denied the resurrection of the flesh,[287] thus laying the foundation of Gnosticism. Peter disputed Simon during the reign of Claudius,[288] but the heresiarch continued to spread heresy until his falseness was exposed and defeated by both Peter and Paul during the reign of Nero.[289] But heresy did not end with Simon Magus: his pernicious teachings were only the beginning.

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[284]Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.3.1-3 (Arévalo, 3:349).

[285]Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.5.2 (Arévalo, 3:352); Isidore, De Haeresibus, 3 (Vega, p. 26).

[286]Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.5.2 (Arévalo, 3:352); Isidore, De Haeresibus, 3 (Vega, p. 26).

[287]Isidore, De Haeresibus, 3 (Vega, p. 26).

[288]Isidore, Chronicon, 69 (Arévalo, 7:87-88).

[289]Isidore, Chronicon, 70 (Arévalo, 7:88).

One of the things that makes Isidore's account of salvation history unique was the emphasis he placed on heresy. He mentioned twenty two different heresiarchs or heresies in the Chronicon,[290] considering their origin and development alongside the progress of the true Church, and carefully noting that many of these heresies had the active support of Roman emperors.[291] In the Etymologiae and in De Haeresibus, Isidore offered chronologically arranged descriptions of the various heresies and their founders. He chronicled the rise and progress of Arianism,[292] which was to trouble Spain for centuries; described the Acephalite heresy, which Justinian tried to impose in Spain and North Africa; and considered the origins and doctrines of Priscillianism,

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[290]Even in the highly abbreviated version of the Chronicon found in Etymologiae, 5.39 (Arévalo, 3:237-239), where Isidore reduced each item to a minimum, he still mentioned eleven heresies, clearly demonstrating Isidore's belief that heresies were among the most important events of the sixth age.

[291]Constantine was baptized an Arian, Isidore, Chronicon, 99 (Arévalo, 7:96-97). Constantius was a vigorous promoter of Arianism and persecutor of Catholics, Chronicon, 100, (Arévalo, 7:97-98). Valens was an Arian and sent Arian missionaries to the Goths, Chronicon, 105 (Arévalo, 7:99). Anastasius was an Acephalite, Chronicon, 113 (Arévalo, 7:102-103). Justinian embraced the Acephalite heresy and ran roughshod over a Church council Chronicon, 115 (Arévalo, 7:103), and oppressed churchmen both living and dead, De Viris Illustribus, (Codoñer Merino, p. 144). Although Heraclius was a monothelete, Isidore did not report this, Chronicon, 121 (Arévalo, 7:105-106), and he may have been unaware of this emperor's heresy.

[292]Isidore, Chronicon, 99-105 (Arévalo, 7:96-100); Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.5.43 (Arévalo, 3:356-357); Isidore, De Haeresibus, 17 (Vega, p. 29).

the only heresy that was native to Spain.[293] With the unity of Christian faith shattered by the arrogance and confusion of heretics and their heresies, it seemed to Isidore that another confusion of Babel had come upon the world, and the one true faith of Christ continued in purity only within the Catholic Church, just as after Babel the one true language of creation remained pure only within the house of Heber.[294] To Isidore, the Church was besieged on all sides.

Isidore was not content, however, merely to chronicle the advance of heresies; he also chronicled the struggle against heresy. He recorded the heresiological activities of the earlier Church Fathers such as Irenaeus of Lyons[295] and Cyprian of Carthage.[296] He noted especially the activities of Catholic churchmen such as Athanasius,[297] Hilary of Arles,[298] Martin of Dumium,[299] Fulgentius of Ruspe,[300] and

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[293]Isidore, Chronicon, 104, 105 (Arévalo, 7:99-100); Isidore, Etymologiae, 8.5.54; Isidore, De Haeresibus, 28 (Vega, p. 30); Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 2 (Codoñer Merino, p. 135).

[294]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 9.1-4 (Arévalo, 5:295-296); Isidore, Allegoriae, 18 (Arévalo 5:120-121).

[295]Isidore, Chronicon, 79 (Arévalo, 7:92).

[296]Isidore, Chronicon, 90 (Arévalo, 7:95).

[297]Isidore, Chronicon, 100 (Arévalo, 7:97).

[298]Isidore, Chronicon, 100 (Arévalo, 7:97).

[299]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 22 (Codoñer Merino, pp. 145-146).

Leander of Seville,[301] churchmen who for centuries had struggled mightily against the Arian heresy. Isidore also praised the deeds of Facundus of Hermae[302] and Victor of Tununna,[303] African churchmen who contended against the Acephalite and other Justinianic heresies throughout the sixth century. For Isidore, as for the earlier Church Fathers, the history of the struggle against heresy was an important aspect of the history of the Church itself, and the history of the Church was an essential aspect of the history of salvation. Churchmen such as Athanasius, Fulgentius, and Leander were in many ways the Christian equivalents of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zachariah; they proclaimed the word of God, struggled against apostasy and unbelief, and called upon sinners to repent.

In addition to the continuous struggle against the Jews, and against heresy, Christians also had to struggle against persecution. The earlier Church historians had emphasized the struggle against pagan persecution, but Isidore extended his historical account to include a history of the persecution of Catholics by Arian and Acephalite Roman

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[300]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 14 (Codoñer Merino, p. 142); Isidore, Chronicon, 113 (Arévalo, 7:102); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.40 (Arévalo, 3:239).

[301]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 27 (Codoñer Merino, p. 149-150); Isidore, Chronicon, 118 (Arévalo, 7:104).

[302]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 19 (Codoñer Merino, p. 144).

[303]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 25 (Codoñer Merino, p. 147).

emperors, as well as by Arian kings. Isidore listed six separate waves of pagan persecution of Christians in the early Roman Empire, beginning with the persecution under Nero and culminating in the great persecution under Diocletian.[304] During these centuries of martyrdom Christianity continued to grow, but so did Roman persecution, not only in frequency, but also in intensity. Even the first Christian emperor, Philip the Arab,[305] was unable to offer protection to his co-religionists. Nor was any Roman imperial authority consistently able or willing to guarantee peace and security to Christians.

Christians did enjoy a brief respite under Constantine, but he succumbed to heresy at the end of his life, and was baptized into the Arian confession.[306] Isidore lamented bitterly that Constantine had begun his reign with such

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[304]Isidore, Chronicon, 70 (Nero), 73 (Domitian), 86 (Maximianus), 91 (Valerian), 93 (Aurelian), 97 (Diocletian) (Arévalo, 7:88, 90, 94-96).

[305]Isidore followed Eusebius and others in describing Philip the Arab as the first Christian emperor, perhaps because Philip really was a Christian, but perhaps also because his reign coincided with 1000th anniversary of the founding of Rome, and the Christian chroniclers hoped to make a theological point about the destiny of Rome. Isidore, Chronicon, 88 (Arévalo, 94-95); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.33 (Arévalo, 3:238). Philip, of course, was killed by Decius, who then instituted a harsh persecution against Christians. Decius, in turn, was killed by the Goths. Isidore did not mention the particulars of Decius' fate, and so missed an opportunity to describe the Goths as avenging the death of the first Christian emperor.

[306]Isidore, Chronicon, 99 (Arévalo, 7:96-97).

promise, but that he came to such a bad end.[307] Worse yet, with the succession of Constantine's family of heretics and apostates to the imperial power, persecution began anew.[308] Isidore could recount several waves of persecution in the Roman Empire, beginning when Constantius persecuted Catholics throughout the "entire world,"[309] and culminating in the great Acephalite persecution under Justinian.[310] The Church repeatedly tried to maintain (and define) the purity of its faith through the four ecumenical councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon,[311] but heretical emperors such as Constantius II, Anastasius,[312] and Justinian[313] were repeatedly trying to overturn these great councils. By the death of Justinian in 565, after nearly six centuries of Christian growth and development, Christians still did not have a reliable safe haven within the Roman

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[307]"Heu, pro dolor! bono usus principio, et fine malo." Isidore, Chronicon, 99 (Arévalo, 7:96-97).

[308]Isidore, Chronicon, 100 (Arévalo, 7:97).

[309]"Deinde arianus effectus catholicos toto orbe persequitur." Isidore, Chronicon, 100 (Arévalo, 7:97).

[310]Isidore, Chronicon, 115 (Arévalo, 7:103).

[311]Isidore, Etymologiae, 6.16.4-10 (Arévalo, 3:265-266). Isidore argued that just as there were only four gospels, and only four rivers that flowed from paradise, so were there only four true and venerable synods: Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. Isidore thought these four Church Councils important enough to mention in his Chronicon, 99, 105, 109, 110 (Arévalo, 7:97, 100-101).

[312]Isidore, Chronicon, 113 (Arévalo, 7:102-103).

[313]Isidore, Chronicon, 114 (Arévalo, 7:103); De Viris Illustribus, 31 (Arévalo, 7:156).

Empire, nor did they have a protector who was willing and able to guarantee the security and liberty of their Church.

This is where Isidore saw the Goths as fitting into the divinely ordained scheme of history. In the Etymologiae he had described the Goths as an ancient and noble people, of the Scythian race, who were descended from Japeth.[314] Isidore had not, however, offered any detailed treatment of Gothic history in the Etymologiae, nor had he linked the Goths with Rome, or even with Christianity, in anything but a very general way. In his account of the Goths in Historia Regibus Gothorum, on the other hand, Isidore not only offered a more detailed treatment of Gothic history, but also examined their relations with Rome, their religious history, their activities in Spain, and their eventual emergence as the protectors of Catholicism.

In the Historia Regibus Gothorum, Isidore revealed that the Goths had always fought against the tyranny of would-be world empires, and particularly against the Empire of Rome. The Goths had sided with Pompey during the civil war. They had offered to ally themselves with him when he was mustering his forces in Thessaly, and eventually had joined the other nations of the east in going to war against Julius Caesar.[315] Not only had the Goths opposed the Roman imperial rule from

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[314]Isidore, Etymologiae, 9.2.2, 9.2.27, 9.2.89 (Arévalo, 3:399-402, 3.412); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 1, 66 (Alonso, pp. 172, 282).

[315]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 3 (Alonso, 374-376).

its very beginnings, but their martial valor had caused even Caesar himself to dread any confrontation with them.[316] Operating out of their homeland in the Danube basin, the Goths waged fierce wars against Roman emperors from Valerian[317] to Constantine,[318] and Isidore related that Claudius II and Constantine's victories over the Goths had been widely celebrated as the emperors' greatest military triumphs.[319]

By the mid fourth century, however, after the Goths had stretched out their weapons towards Rome in war and destruction for centuries, they extended their hands towards Rome seeking peace and salvation. That is, they asked the Roman Emperor Valens to send teachers into Gothia who would instruct them in Christianity.[320] The Christian faith had already made some inroads among the Goths, albeit not without

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[316]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 2-3 (Alonso, p. 174-176).

[317]On Valerian: Isidore, Chronicon, 91 (Arévalo, 7:95). On Claudius the Second: Isidore, Chronicon, 92 (Arévalo, 7:96); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.34 (Arévalo, 3:238).

[318]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 4-5 (Alonso, 176-178).

[319]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 4-5 (Alonso, pp. 176-178). Isidore did not mention Constantine's triumph against the Goths in Chronicon, 103 (Arévalo, 7:99).

[320]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 6-7 (Alonso, pp. 180-182). Modern scholars believe that it was actually Fritigern who negotiated with Valens, and not Athanaric. Wolfram, History of the Goths, p. 70.

considerable friction,[321] but now their King Athanaric sought improved relations with the Roman Empire. As Isidore described it, Athanaric believed that the acceptance of Christianity by the Goths was crucial to this improved relationship between Romans and Goths, because it would please the Emperor Valens.[322]

Although the Goths had been called to Christianity, and sought instruction in its saving grace from a Christianized Roman Empire, the Emperor Valens was a Christian in name only: in belief he was an Arian heretic.[323] Although the Goths had requested the truth of Christ, Valens delivered to them an heretical Arian priesthood, thus infecting them with

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[321]Athanaric himself had instituted a brutal persecution against Gothic Christians, and ultimately expelled them from the Gothic homeland. Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 6 (Alonso, p. 180).

[322]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 7 (Alonso, pp. 180-182).

[323]Isidore did not consider Arianism to be a legitimate form of Christianity, and he argued that Arians were little more than idolatrous tritheists. Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 8 (Alonso, pp. 182-184). Isidore's charges against the Arians were undoubtedly true. A letter from Ulfila's student (and apologist) Auxentius to the Emperor Theodosius has survived, and Auxentius clearly reports Ulfila as teaching that there were three Gods, with three natures, and three persons. In the Arianism of Ulfila, Christ was neither coeternal nor coequal with the Father, nor was the Holy Spirit coeternal or coequal either with the Father or with the Son. Text in Heather and Matthews, The Goths in the Fourth Century, pp. 146-153. For his part, Ulfila was equally intolerant of the homousian party, calling them "not Christians but Antichrists" (p. 148) and naming their churches the "Synagogues of Satan" (p. 149).

the poison of an illicit doctrine.[324] In describing this unhappy sequence of events, Isidore paused at this point in his narrative and briefly described the essential characteristics of the Arian heresy. He noted that the Arian priests, including Ulfila, who had ministered to the Goths, did not believe in either the coeternity or coequality of the Father and the Son;[325] that is, the Goths were led to believe that the Son had had a beginning in time, and did not exist from eternity. Thus began the 213 year tragedy of Gothic Arianism.[326]

Isidore noted that almost immediately after their conversion to Arianism the Goths were successfully driven from their homeland for the first time in their history.[327] Thus began the long wandering of the Goths, which began in Dacia, passed through Rome, and ended many years later when

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[324]Isidore, Chronicon, 105 (Arévalo, 7:99); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 7 (Alonso, 180-182); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.37 (Arévalo, 3:238). Isidore believed that Valens had sent Arian priests to the Goths out of malice. This is unlikely, but Isidore, following the example of Leander and Recared in 589, wanted to remove as much blame as possible from the Goths and shift the responsibility for Gothic Arianism to their "evil teachers."

[325]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 8 (Alonso, pp. 182-184).

[326]Isidore thought that it was a tragedy. Those Goths who converted to Arianism went to the flames of perdition, and so Isidore thought it fitting that the Goths killed Valens by burning him alive. Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 8 (Alonso, pp. 182-184).

[327]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 9 (Alonso, p. 186).

they first began to settle in Gaul and Spain.[328] The people who for centuries had threatened the empire were now themselves threatened by the Huns, and they had to petition Valens for permission to take refuge inside the imperial boundaries.[329] The desperation of the Goths was such that they submitted to imperial rule, but once inside the empire they rebelled against Roman tyranny, killed Valens, the emperor who had taught them the Arian heresy,[330] ravaged Thrace and Macedonia, and then headed west.

The first Roman emperor to offer true friendship to the Goths was the Spaniard Theodosius.[331] Isidore mentioned not only that Theodosius was from Spain, but also that he was a Catholic who condemned all heresies.[332] Theodosius offered peace to the Goths, and once again the Goths elected to

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[328]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 20-22 (Alonso, pp. 204-208). It is tempting to compare the generation-long wanderings of the Goths with the generation-long wanderings of the Hebrews in the wilds of Arabia, but there is nothing to suggest that Isidore thought of the Gothic exile in those terms. Nor do I believe that Isidore would have compared the Goths to the chosen people.

[329]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 9 (Alonso, p. 186).

[330]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 9 (Alonso, p. 186).

[331]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 11 (Alonso, p. 188).

[332]Isidore, Chronicon, 105 (Arévalo, 7:100). Isidore did not mention the famous showdown between Ambrose of Milan and the Emperor Theodosius. Given his knowledge of Ambrose's writings, Isidore was undoubtedly aware of this struggle between bishop and emperor. Just as he was unmitigatingly hostile to the family of Constantine, so was Isidore unusually celebrative of the Theodosian gens. I suspect that Isidore intentionally neglected any and all stories that might have cast a shadow on this great emperor from Spain.

submit to Roman rule.[333] Theodosius enrolled the Goths in the Roman army, and settled them in Roman territory as foederati.[334]

Accustomed to being the masters of their own freedom, however, the Goths quickly found Roman imperial rule to be unacceptable, and once again they rose in rebellion against the Empire.[335] Choosing to follow their own two kings, Radagaisus and Alaric, rather than to obey the young emperors Honorius and Arcadius, the Goths renewed their ancient struggle against Rome and invaded Italy.[336] Those Goths who followed Radagaisus were trapped in the Alps and destroyed by the Roman general Stilicho,[337] but within a few years Alaric led the remainder of the Goths in wars of vengeance against the Western Empire.[338] It was during these famous wars, of course, that the Goths sacked Rome.[339]

In his description of this historical event, Isidore

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[333]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 11 (Alonso, pp. 188).

[334]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 11 (Alonso, p. 188).

[335]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 12 (Alonso, p. 190).

[336]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 13 (Alonso, p. 190).

[337]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 14 (Alonso, p. 192).

[338]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 14 (Alonso, pp. 192-194).

[339]Isidore, Chronicon, 108 (Arévalo, 7:101), where Isidore offered the laconic notice "Gothi Romam capiunt."

emphasized the pious restraint that the Goths showed to Christians who were living in the imperial city.[340] Although he did not downplay their violence,[341] Isidore stressed that the Goths did not destroy any Christian churches, nor did they harm any person who took refuge in or about these holy places.[342] Despite the fact that Isidore did not consider the Arian Goths to be true Christians, he nonetheless described them as having at least a sense of kinship with Christians, thereby revealing their general willingness to guarantee the security of the Church. In fact, Isidore quoted the Gothic King Alaric as saying that he waged war with Rome, and not with the Apostles.[343] Thus could Isidore demonstrate that the Goths had begun to grow in faith, and show mercy and clemency in the name of Christ, even while they walked in the darkness of heresy.

After describing at length the Gothic sack of Rome, Isidore emphasized that during the next several decades the Gothic relationship with the Roman Empire was extremely ambiguous. Isidore described the events of those years in apocalyptic terms, even suggesting that the deeds of the

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[340]Isidore appropriated his account of the Gothic sack of Rome from Orosius, Seven Books Against the Pagans, 7.39 (Deferrari, pp. 353-355).

[341]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 14 (Alonso, pp. 192-194).

[342]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 15 (Alonso, p. 194).

[343]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 15 (Alonso, p. 198).

Goths fulfilled some of the eschatological prophesies contained in the book of Daniel.[344] Gothic kings such as Theoderic I and Euric continued to make war against Rome.[345] Other Gothic kings, however, such as Wallia, served the Empire faithfully and tried to restore the pax romana (or at least a pax hispania). Isidore tried to emphasize these latter incidents, gradually building up an image of the Goths as the protective arm of Roman government in Spain and Gaul.

When the Roman Empire was no longer able to protect the provinces of Spain, for example, Isidore pointed out that the Roman general Constantius had sent the Goths into the Iberian peninsula to protect Spain on behalf of the Empire.[346] The Gothic presence in Spain from that point forward, therefore, was a legitimate presence, unlike that of the Vandals and Suevi. It was a Gothic army, Isidore noted, under the leadership of King Wallia, that subjugated the barbarian invaders who had disrupted the peace of Spain, and it was a Gothic army that quickly restored Roman rule in the peninsula.[347] Isidore also described the great victory for Christendom that had occurred when Theoderic I and the Goths

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[344]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 19 (Alonso, p. 202).

[345]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 23-24, 34-35 (Alonso, pp. 208-210, 226-228).

[346]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 21-22 (Alonso, pp. 204-208).

[347]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 21-22 (Alonso, pp. 204-208).

abandoned their enmity with Rome and fought alongside the Roman general Aëtius in 451 at the battle of the Catalaunian Plains.[348] Working together, the Goths and Romans defeated the Huns, and the Goths emerged, at least in Isidore's description of the event, as protectors of Christendom. Thus could Isidore demonstrate that, when the Goths sought to defend the peace of Christendom rather than to disrupt it, they could defeat even old enemies such as the Huns, who had driven them from their homeland some fifty years earlier. The Goths had arrived in the west at a time when the Empire could no longer defend itself, and Isidore described Romans such as Constantius and Aëtius as doing what they could to transform the Goths from predators into protectors. By the seventh century the Goths had been sufficiently civilized that Isidore was able to describe them as guardians of Spanish Christendom, a people who had been tamed by the Church, and whose martial valor had unified the long divided provinces of Spain and had restored, at least in a local sense, the pax romana.

But Isidore's history was not entirely encomiastic towards the Goths, it was also cautionary. He demonstrated, for example, that when the Arian Goths opposed Catholic rulers or disrupted the peace of Christendom, the Goths were defeated or diminished. This had occurred when Clovis, the Catholic king of the Franks, went to war against the Arian

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[348]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 25 (Alonso, p. 208).

King Alaric II. Clovis not only defeated Alaric II at Vouillé, but killed him with his own hand; the Goths were driven from Tolouse.[349] From that point onwards the regnum Gothicum was limited to Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, where within the next eighty years the Goths would be brought to Catholicism. Clearly in their long years of wandering across the Empire, in their great victories, and in their greater defeats, the hand of God was upon the Goths.

When the Goths were securely settled in Spain and Gaul, when as agents of Rome they drove back the barbarians, and when civilized institutions finally began to arise among the Goths (such as Euric's codification of their laws),[350] one obstacle continued to interfere with their final incorporation into Christian society: they were heretics. As Arians, the Goths remained a people apart from their Catholic subjects in Spain and Gaul. Spain could never be a unified realm, nor the Goths secure in their rule, nor the Church assured of its protected status, as long as Spain remained divided into Arian and Catholic factions. The history of the Goths after the battle of Vouillé was in many ways a history of their relationship with the Catholic Church, first as religious adversaries, then as persecutors, then as converts, and finally as full partners in Christendom.

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[349]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 36 (Alonso, p. 230).

[350]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 35 (Alonso, p. 228).

Although the Arians had always been adversaries of the Catholics, the Arian Goths were only infrequently disposed towards persecution.[351] In this they differed greatly from the Arian Vandals and Suevi, who frequently interfered in ecclesiastical affairs, and, in the case of the Vandals of North Africa, conducted outright persecution of Catholics. Although he frequently condemned their heresy, Isidore did not charge any Gothic king, from Alaric II (d. 506) through Theudisclus (d. 549), with actively persecuting the Church. In fact, Isidore favorably contrasted the Arian Theudis (d. 548) with his Imperial contemporary, Justinian (d. 565). Although Theudis was a heretic,[352] Isidore wrote, the Arian king granted peace to the Catholic Church and allowed churchmen to hold an ecclesiastical assembly (he did not call

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[351]For a brief discussion, see Thompson, The Goths in Spain, pp. 29-29. While not a balanced presentation (i.e., Thompson's Goths come off as rather good natured and tolerant Anglicans), Thompson does treat adequately with the more important issues in Arian/Catholic relations. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of Thompson's treatment of Imperial Christianity. He continuously refers to the Imperial forces as "Catholic," despite Justinian's opposition to Chalcedonian Christianity, despite Justinian's brutalities against Catholic clergy in Italy and North Africa, and despite Justinian's running roughshod over the Catholic faith at his Acephalite council of Constantinople. Isidore certainly noted these faults of Justinian, and, unlike Thompson, did not consider this heretical Emperor to be a Catholic. Thompson does note that the Imperial magister militum Comitiolus deposed two Catholic bishops, and was chastised for his actions by Pope Gregory. Ibid., p. 330.

[352]Theudis (sometimes known as Theoderic III) was an Ostrogoth, not a Visigoth. Perhaps Isidore is not making a point about Visigothic Arian tolerance at all, but instead praising the only Ostrogothic king of Spain, and thereby implicitly criticizing the Visigothic monarchs.

it a synod or a council) in Toledo.[353] This Arian Goth was in stark contrast to the Emperor Justinian, who was also a heretic, but who oppressed the Catholic Church, who attacked those African churchmen who were defenders of Chalcedon,[354] who desecrated the memory of churchmen who had died in the peace of the Church, and who imposed his heretical views on the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. To Isidore, Arian kings were certainly less desirable than Catholic ones, but even as Arians the Goths were preferable to heretical emperors.

Yet the Gothic yoke was not always easy to bear. There were no Catholic synods in Spain between 549 and 589, probably because the Gothic kings would not allow them. Isidore described King Agila (549-554) as contemptuous of the

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[353]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 41 (Alonso, pp. 238-240). There is no general agreement about this gathering of churchmen in Toledo. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p, 32, believes that it actually occurred. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, p. 99, n. 106, believes that this passage actually refers to the Second Council of Toledo (527), which occurred during the reign of Theudis's predecessor, Amalric (d. 531). Nonetheless, several Spanish councils occurred during the reign of Theudis (also known as Theoderic III), including I Barcelona (540), Lérida (546), and Valencia (546). Collins, Early Medieval Spain, p. 41. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, p. 55, notes that there were at least nine Catholic synods between 506 and 549, which he sees (correctly) as evidence of the interconfessional tolerance that the Arian Goths extended to their Catholic subjects during these years.

[354]Isidore, De Viris Illustribus, 31.46 (Arévalo, 7:156). In this instance, the reading of Arévalo is superior to that of Codoñer Merino, whose editing of this passage generally has not been accepted. To use the Codoñer Merino edition, her chapter 18 (p. 144) must be supplemented by reinserting the excised passage from p. 27.

Catholic faith, and accused him of profaning the church of Acisclus in Cordóba with the bodies of men and horses.[355] The Arian Athanagild not only forbade Catholics to hold church councils, but during his civil war against Agila he sought the aid of Imperial troops, who afterwards refused to leave, thereby exacerbating political fragmentation in Spain,[356] and (indirectly) introducing the Empire-supported Acephalite heresy into the Iberian peninsula. Leovigild (573-586), of course, was infamous for his persecution of Catholics, and Isidore said that the Arian king was "filled with the fury of Arian perfidy."[357] He exiled Catholic churchmen, confiscated Church property, forcibly converted many persons to the Arian heresy, rebaptized Catholics, and even bribed Catholic clergy to become Arians.[358] The Catholics of Spain, having endured fierce Arian persecution

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[355]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 45 (Alonso, pp. 246-248).

[356]Isidore, Chronicon, 115 (Arévalo, 7:103); Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 46 (Alonso, p. 248).

[357]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 50 (Alonso, p. 258). Thompson, who is as much an apologist for the Arian Goths as he is a critic of the Catholic Goths, downplays this great persecution. He discounts the evidence of both Isidore and Gregory of Tours, each of whom testified to the intensity of persecution. Thompson, The Goths in Spain, pp. 72-87. Even when Thompson concedes that Leovigild did rough up the hair of a few Catholics, he argues that Leovigild's anti-Catholic policy was driven by political concerns, and not religious ones.

[358]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 50 (Alonso, p. 258). Isidore had no doubt about the fate of willing apostates, such as Vincent of Saragossa, who converted from Catholicism to Arianism, and who was thus cast from heaven into the inferno.

in the Gothic controlled portions of Spain, having witnessed the growth of apostasy in their midst, and having been threatened by the invasion of Imperial troops who spread the Acephalite heresy in southeastern Spain, undoubtedly came to think of themselves as the last remnant of the faithful, as Catholics who alone preserved the true church, awash in a stormy sea of unfaith and destruction. Like the ancient Hebrews before them, oppressed on all sides, they were in desperate need of a prince and protector to call their own; they needed a Davidic king.

This great persecution, however, was the death song of Gothic Arianism, just as the persecution of Diocletian had been the death song of Roman paganism. Leovigild the Arian was succeeded in kingship by his son Recared, and, under the tutelage of Isidore's elder brother Leander, Recared converted to the Catholic faith almost immediately.[359] Within two years, in 589, Recared convened a Church council in Spain, the Third Council of Toledo.[360] At that epochal council, the first Catholic council in Spain for forty years, the Gothic clergy and nobility followed the example of their king, repudiated Arianism, and confessed the Catholic

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[359]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 53 (Alonso, p. 262); Isidore, Chronicon, 118 (Arévalo, 7:104).

[360]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 53 (Alonso, p. 260).

faith.[361]

For the first time in their history, the Goths reconciled themselves to the four ecumenical councils of the Church, and reaffirmed the creeds of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.[362] To the Catholic faithful of Spain, the long dark night of Arianism, which had begun 280 years earlier during the reign of Constantine,[363] which had been brutally reinforced under Constantius II,[364] and which had been renewed under the Arian Vandals and Goths, was finally at an end. The great creeds and councils of the Church, which heretical emperors and heretical kings had tried to overturn for centuries, were at last vindicated in a Spain that became truly Catholic for the first time in its history. Isidore praised Recared as a most perfect Christian king, and so he must have seemed to his Catholic contemporaries.

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[361]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 53 (Alonso, p. 260). The transition was not as smooth as Isidore indicates. John of Biclaro, Isidore's older contemporary, noted that there were at least two conspiracies among Gothic nobles and Arian clergy. The conspirators, when discovered, were punished with exile, mutilations, and executions. John of Biclaro, Chronicle, 88, 90, 94, trans. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, pp. 76-80.

[362]III Toledo, anathemas 20-22 (Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:84-85).

[363]John of Biclaro, Chronicle, 94 (Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, pp. 78-79).

[364]Constantius II imposed his Arianism on the Catholic Church at the Third Council of Sirmium in 357, and at the Council of Ariminum in 359. The Council of Ariminum was explicitly condemned in III Toledo, anathema 17 (Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:83).

From this point onwards, Isidore's account of the sixth age was pure triumphalism, at least as regards those Gothic rulers of whom he approved.[365] He praised Recared for ruling with wisdom, justice, clemency, generosity, and mercy.[366] Under the Christian leadership of Recared, the Goths began to achieve great military victories over the Franks and began to drive back the Imperial forces.[367] Here, at last, was a king who was properly concerned about the spiritual welfare of his people, and who led them from darkness into light. When death finally came upon him in 601, after a reign of fifteen years, Recared made a final and public confession of penitence, and died in the peace of the Church.[368] Isidore did not relate whether or not Recared ascended immediately to heaven and took his seat at the right hand of the Father.

Isidore quickly glossed over the reigns of the next three kings, Liuva II (601-603), Witteric (603-610), and Gundemar (610-612), offering little more than brief comments

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[365]Isidore was, to a large extent, practicing a seventh-century variety of politically correct advocacy-journalism in his Historia Regibus Gothorum. He did not hesitate to gloss over, or omit entirely, information that might undermine his theme of the latter-day "Visigothic rulers as God's Vicars, new Constantines." Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," p. 280. See also Joscelyn N. Hillgarth, "Coins and Chronicles: Propaganda in Sixth Century Spain." Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte 15 (1966), 483-508.

[366]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 55-56 (Alonso, pp. 264-266).

[367]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 54 (Alonso, 262-264).

[368]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 56 (Alonso, p. 266).

on their equally brief reigns, and, in the case of Witteric, condemning him for personal brutality and military ineptitude.[369] With the reigns of Sisebut (612-621) and Suinthila (621-631), however, Isidore once again could heap fulsome praise on Catholic kings that he believed to be worthy. He did chastise Sisebut for his harsh measures against the Jews,[370] but praised him nonetheless for his devotion to learning, for his many military victories, and for his great mercy.[371] Isidore also praised Suinthila as a perfect Christian king, making special note of his faith, his charity to the poor, his love of justice, and his diligence in government.[372] Suinthila came in for special praise, for

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[369]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 57-59 (Alonso, pp. 268-270).

[370]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 60 (Alonso, pp. 270-272). Isidore's criticisms eventually took on the force of law when in 633 the Fourth Council of Toledo explicitly condemned and forbade forced conversions and other harsh measures against the Jews, offering them at least some minimal protections. IV Toledo, Canons 57-65 (Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:235-241). Isidore's influence in this regard did not last very long. By the end of the seventh century the Jews of Spain had practically been enslaved as a people.

[371]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 60-61 (Alonso, pp. 270-274).

[372]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 62-64 (Alonso, pp. 274-278). Suinthila was deposed in 631, amid accusations that he had ruled irresponsibly, and that he had looted the poor. Isidore presided over the Fourth Council of Toledo, in 633, which formally ratified the deposition of Suinthila. Suinthila may certainly have declined into incompetence and corruption during the last years of his reign, but the Suinthila described in IV Toledo, Canon 77, lines 207-223, (Colección Canónica Hispana, ed. Martinez Diez, 5:257-259), is barely recognizable as the great Christian conqueror of Isidore's historical writings.

during his reign the Goths finally expelled the Byzantines from Spain.[373] For the first time in its history, according to Isidore, one man ruled all of Spain.[374] At long last the Spanish Church could look to Catholic princes who were both willing and able to serve as its protectors. The triumph of the Goths, though long in coming to this great climax, was a fitting crown to Spain's long and glorious history.[375]

Isidore ended his account of the sixth age at this point. In fact, his Chronicle ended with the "fourth year of the most glorious prince Sisebut,"[376] a contemporary of Heraclius, and the last ruler mentioned in his history of the world. The Christians of Spain had held to their ancient faith through a centuries long struggle against paganism and heresy. Spain was securely Catholic, and the Goths were triumphant. The old defeat at Vouillé, when Alaric fell, had been avenged when Recared the Catholic and his general Claudius expelled the invading Franks from Gallia Narbonensis.[377] Despite its destruction of the Goths in

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[373]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 64 (Alonso, p. 278).

[374]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 64 (Alonso, p. 278).

[375]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, De laude Spaniae (Alonso, pp. 168-170).

[376]"quarto gloriosissimi principis Sisibuti," Isidore, Chronicon, 121 (Arévalo, 7:105-106).

[377]Isidore, Historia Regibus Gothorum, 54 (Alonso, pp. 262-264). Isidore was not alone in seeing the divine hand as shaping the destiny of the Goths. John of Biclaro offered praise to God for intervening "in our own times" and granting

Italy and the Vandals in North Africa,[378] Byzantium was an heretical and declining power. The Empire had already lost Italy to the Lombards,[379] Thrace to the Huns,[380] and Greece to the Slavs.[381]

Just as Isidore's Chronicon began with the history of one man, Adam, so did it end with the reign of one Catholic King, Sisebut. From the creation of Adam until the fourth year of Sisebut, five thousand eight hundred and fourteen years had passed.[382] Isidore believed that the world was destined to last for only six thousand years.[383] Its history was almost accomplished, and the remainder of the time of man, unto the consummation of the ages, was known but to God.[384]

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the victory to the Goths, just as he had intervened in the days of Gideon and defeated the Midianites for "attacking the people of God." John of Biclaro, Chronicle, 91, trans. Wolf, Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain, pp. 78-79.

[378]Isidore, Chronicon, 115-116 (Arévalo, 7:103-104).

[379]Isidore, Chronicon, 117 (Arévalo, 7:104).

[380]Isidore, Chronicon, 118 (Arévalo, 7:104).

[381]Isidore, Chronicon, 120 (Arévalo, 7:105).

[382]Isidore, Chronicon, 121 (Arévalo, 7:106).

[383]Isidore, Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, in Genesin, 6.28 (Arévalo, 5:284-285).

[384]Isidore, Chronicon, 122 (Arévalo, 7:105); Isidore, Etymologiae, 5.39.42 (Arévalo, 3:239).

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has sought to demonstrate that Church Fathers such as Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Augustine of Hippo, and Isidore of Seville developed a Christian philosophy of time, events, eternity, and history that was sufficiently universal in scope that it could be used by Christian historians to appropriate much of the history and many of the cultural traditions of Hebrew, Greek and Roman civilizations. Once they had appropriated the history and traditions of various peoples and adapted them to a Christian purpose, Isidore and the Church Fathers then integrated these various elements into unified narratives or chronicles of salvation history, wherein they attempted to demonstrate that God was the lord of time, the overseer of events, and the director of history. Isidore and the Church Fathers did not write history in this peculiar fashion, however, as part of a conscious and determined attempt merely to reinvigorate historiography. Instead, their purposes were to preserve and proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to justify and protect Christians and their church from hostile peoples and governments, to refute the adversaries and critics of Christianity, and to combat the errors that arose from the activities of heretics.

As mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation, and as discussed throughout subsequent chapters, Isidore and the Church Fathers tended to subordinate specific events and actors in history, even the rise and fall of empires, to their own apologetic and theological concerns. It is not that Isidore neglected the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, rather he incorporated these events into a larger vision of history wherein the focus of attention was God's plan for the salvation of mankind. Accordingly, Isidore concentrated on those events and actors of history that advanced or retarded the course of salvation. Heresy, for example, was considered by Isidore and the Church Fathers to be a diabolically inspired force of divisiveness and error that constantly assailed the true Catholic faith, and so heresy was a major theme in Isidore's chronological and historical writings, much as Persia was a theme in Greek history and Carthage was a theme in Roman history.

Further, Isidore and the Church Fathers emphasized a different sort of actor in their writings than had pagan historians such as Thucydides and Livy. Isidore and the Fathers focused on the words and deeds of holy men and women, such as Abraham and Sarah; Christ and the Apostles; the saints, martyrs and confessors of the early Church, and the pastoral and devotional activities of churchmen such as St. Anthony, Cyprian of Carthage, Ossius of Córdoba, Athanasius, and Leander of Seville. Whereas Thucydides might have focused on how the words and deeds of Pericles called the

Athenians to good citizenship, Isidore and the Church Fathers would emphasize how the words and deeds of Leander of Seville called the Goths to the Catholic faith.

Similarly, the enemies and adversaries that one finds in Isidore and the Church Fathers are different from the enemies and adversaries found in the pagan historians. Instead of military enemies such as Xerxes and Hannibal, Isidore and the Church Fathers described the persecutors of the Church, such as Maximin Thrax, Diocletian, and the Trasemund. Instead of focusing on political conspirators such as Alcibiades and Cataline, Isidore and the Church Fathers considered the words and deeds of heretics who attempted to subvert and corrupt the Church from within, such as Arius and Priscillian, and also considered heretical movements such as the Gnostics, the Acephalites, and the Macedonians.

As regards kings and empires, Isidore and the Fathers singled out for praise those rulers who had embraced or championed the true faith, such as Philip the Arab, Theodosius, and Recared, and condemned those who had persecuted the Church, such as Diocletian, Constantius, Euric and Leovigild, or who had fallen into heresy, such as Constantine and Justinian. Kingdoms and empires themselves existed only as a sort of backdrop before which the course of salvation history unfolded: Assyria existed to chastise Israel; Cyrus and Darius to liberate the people of Judah. Rome itself existed only to create a universal empire that would facilitate the growth of the Church, and it was

destined to be the last universal empire to appear on earth before the eschaton.

Although Isidore wrote a great deal about the remote and legendary past, and described the unfolding course of salvation history, he was also concerned with historical topics and religious issues that were important to people in his own time and place: the Catholic faith, the Goths, the Empire, heretics and heresies, and the Jews. Because Isidore lived in the Visigothic kingdom, he singled out the Goths as a people who had an important role to play in history. God had called the Goths to Christianity in the late fourth century, but the Emperor Valens had poisoned them with the Arian heresy. Almost immediately, the Goths began to suffer the consequences of their belief in this illicit doctrine. They were driven from their homeland by the Huns, and were forced to enter the Roman Empire as landless refugees. During their subsequent wanderings across southern and western Europe over the next forty years most of the Goths were destroyed in their many wars against the Roman Empire. Eventually a remnant of the Goths settled in Spain, where they were finally converted to the true Catholic faith, and where their martial valor could serve as a guardian to God's holy and catholic Church.

Although Isidore of Seville's historical and chronographical works were composed to address the religious and social issues of Visigothic Spain, they were also written in a tradition of Christian apologetic and heresiology that

went back to the very beginnings of Christian literature. Moreover, Isidore's three historical works, Historia Regibus Gothorum, De Viris Illustribus, and the Chronicon, as well as the many historical and historiographical passages in his other works, such as the Etymologiae, Sententiae, and De Fide Catholica contra Judaeos, used argumentative techniques and addressed specific historiographical and heresiological themes that were consistent with themes addressed and argumentative techniques developed by the Church Fathers. Thus it is appropriate that Isidore of Seville is often called the last Latin Father of the patristic age.

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