

Settling the Wandering Kingdom: The Establishment of the Visigothic Kingship under Ataulf

Drakeford Kennon

Classics Honors Thesis

University of Colorado at Boulder

Advisor: Andy Cain, Department of Classics

Defense Committee:

Scott Bruce, Department of History

Diane Conlin, Department of Classics

In this thesis, I argue that Alaric was not the first king of the Visigoths, at least not in the way in which scholars traditionally have envisaged him as being. This title of first king, I argue, belongs instead to Ataulf who was the one to settle the Visigoths in Hispania and pass on a style of rule that was not based on purely military might. Alaric certainly had a decisive role to play in the formation of the incipient Visigothic kingdom but his role had more to do with laying the groundwork for the development within Visigothic society for the idea of a permanent king and royal succession.

Table of Contents

Succession of Visigothic Kings.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1: Alaric.....	8
Chapter 2: Ataulf.....	32
Chapter 3: Wallia.....	43
Conclusion.....	47

Balthi dynasty of Visigothic kings -

1. Alaric I (395–410)
2. Athaulf (410–415)
3. Sigeric (415)
 - Possibly not a Balthi
4. Wallia (415–419)
5. Theodoric I (419–451)
6. Thorismund (451–453)
7. Theodoric II (453–466)
8. Euric (466–484)
9. Alaric II (484–507)
10. Gesalec (507–511)
11. Theoderic the Great (511–526), regent for Amalaric
12. Amalaric (526–531)

Introduction:

Some figures stand large in history overshadowing and even hiding completely from sight those after their death. Alaric of the Visigoths is one of those character, he stands larger than the Roman Emperor that he contented with. So, it is no surprise that his brother-in-law is all but unknown by the general public and largely ignored by scholars of the period. Alaric is the man who sacked Rome in 410, a date that is often used in discussing the fall of the Roman Empire in the west. There are few barbarian leaders that stand as large in the discussion of this period of history. Because of this, most of this thesis will be forced to focus on the exploits of the Visigothic *reiks*. However, just because Alaric stands so tall does not mean he accomplished all that he set out to do. One thing is missing from his accomplishments that he wanted for his people. He continually was pushing for a region that was set aside for just Visigoths. He wanted a kingdom for his people that was not subject to the Roman Empire. Alaric wanted his people to be their own people again and not subject to the will of the Roman Emperor. When viewed from this perspective the sack of Rome, his greatest achievement according to the primary sources, was a failure of negotiations.

Ataulf, Alaric's brother-in-law, was appointed after Alaric's death by Alaric's own decree. This was something that had never happened in Visigothic history, but it meant that Ataulf had to fulfill Alaric's goals. In doing so Ataulf became the first true king of the Visigoths because not only did he have to create a separate kingdom for the Visigoths but he also had to develop the necessary civil and governmental systems that would allow his title to be inherited even if the heir-apparent was killed along with the king. He also had to negotiate with the remaining Roman aristocracy to allow his power structure to supersede and coexist with their

own. All of this was accomplished in five years before his assassination for either political or personal reasons it is unclear.

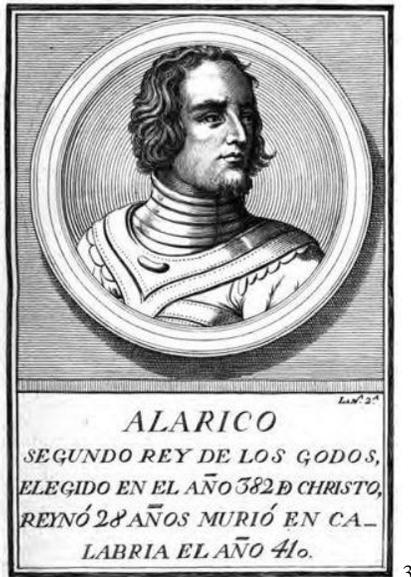
Alaric traditionally has been considered by scholars to be the first true Visigothic king. He was a king, however, of a people forever on the move, who never settled in one place. Is it right to call him a king when he had no geographically stationary kingdom to rule? While the Latin word *rex* is most commonly and elementarily translated as king; scholars have given the word numerous shades of meaning: ruler, tyrant, chief, and leader are all suitable translations. Then are the Visigoths themselves; they have two words to describe their leaders, *thiudans* and *reiks*. Here though both with more specified usages than *rex* is a more specified usage than with *rex*, these two words are clear monikers of changing times. In Ulfila's translation of the Bible into Visigothic, both words occur but their usages announce the difference in these types of leaders that the Visigoths saw.¹ As is discussed in Medieval Kingship, the shades of meaning are as follows; a *thiudans* is a tribal leader, a leader who is granted power because of his own personal charisma not because he had inherited it, and a *reiks* is a leader who was born into power and is granted it because of his family's eminent nature.² Alaric is called both, however he cannot be seen as the first king of the Visigoths but the last *thiudans*. The power he accrued can be called kingly but it was not until it was successfully passed that it became more than a title and the accomplishments of one man. Just as when Henry VIII declared himself head of head of the English Church, it mattered nothing unless others agreed and could survive the changing of hands. If the Visigothic kingship had gone the same way as Akhenaten's failed revolution of Egypt's pharaohs then the Visigoths would just be another lost tribe swept under by the

¹ Visigoths in the time of Ulfila, E.A. Thompson

² Medieval Kingship, Myers, Wolfram

whirlpool of change that was the 5th and 6th centuries. The man who cemented both a kingdom and a kingship for the Visigoths is the man who succeeded Alaric. Though Alaric's successor's rule ended in assassination he had solidified the idea of kingship in the Visigothic culture so that it could survive to keep the Visigoths whole until the 700's when the Umayyad's reversed the path of the Vandals and settled themselves onto what had been for almost three hundred years Alaric's successor's legacy. That man's name was Ataulf and, though he stands in his brother-in-law's shadow, much of Iberian history stands upon his successful reign.

Chapter 1 – Alaric:



Section 1 - Thiudans, reiks:

Under Alaric the Visigoths began to push the boundaries of power that had been placed upon them when they became part of the Roman Empire.⁴ Under Ataulf they finally stepped outside of the Roman system to form their own power base and kingdom. To understand the shift that was Ataulf's reign a few things must be examined. First, what was Alaric if not a king, and secondly, why has Ataulf been cast in Alaric's shadow for so long in the primary sources? What separates Alaric from the tribal kings before him? He seems to have been elected in the same way as his predecessors, though our information about his rise to power among the Visigoths is fragmentary at best. We must intuit his ascension to *reik*-hood from events later in his reign and those surrounding his successors. We know from the election of Wallia to the kingship in 417/18

³ Alarico, accessed March 30, 2017, http://photos.geni.com/p9/3419/305/534448378a5e1295/408px-02-ALARICO_large.jpg.

⁴ 1. Ralph Mathisen, "We Have Met the Enemy and They Are Us" (Lecture, Irish and British Studies Room, University of Colorado at Boulder, March 4, 2017).

that there was some sort of tribal election ceremony still in place among the Visigoths, because, even though Ataulf had chosen his brother to succeed him Wallia was elected after that brother's death.⁵ Whether this changed with the influx of other barbarian princes and nobles who undoubtedly joined the Visigoths after Stilicho's death is not addressed in any of our extant sources. Being elected by a tribal council would explain Alaric's civil powers, but he is always represented in the sources as a successful military leader and from this, it seems, most of his power stemmed. Alaric was the "midway point" between the tribal leaders of his people's past and the warlord kings that would come to dominate the early medieval western Europe. The reason that he was not a full-fledged king in his own standing is because of his reliance on the Roman system, including external power and symbols, to cement his own power and authority. However, he had much more control over his people than Athanaric and Ermanaric, who were tribal leaders who ruled only the military aspects of their people. His military accomplishments were first in the service of Rome as a sort of mercenary-bandit. He ransacked Thrace in 391 when he encountered for the first time on the field of battle his great rival Stilicho. This rivalry would help define Alaric's gathering of power and Stilicho's fall, due to Senatorial machinations. Though in Thrace it is clear Alaric is not yet king or *reiks*, the Visigothic term, of the Visigoths. The force he led into Thrace was a mixed force of Goths and other allied peoples but this shows his abilities in commanding mixed forces which will become more important later in his life.

His next military campaign was against Arbogast, a Frankish usurper. This clash was ironic as Arbogast made his name helping the very same Emperor Theodosius crush the upstart *Augustus* Maximus while Arbogast was *magister peditum* of the West. Arbogast was also

⁵ 1. Jordanes and Mierow, Jordanes The Origin and Deeds of the Goths. pg 51

personally sent to execute Maximus' son Victor the heir to the Western throne. Arbogast was then promoted to *magister militum*, or the general over all of the forces in the West, later *in Praesenti* would be added to his title which made him the supreme general over the West answerable only to Theodosius. He had slowly isolated Valentinian II, Theodosius' son, to the point that all the real power in the West lay in Arbogast's hands both civil and military. Then in mid May 392, after a brief period of attempted individuality, during which he attempted to dismiss Arbogast,⁶ Valentinian II was found hanging in his bedroom and Arbogast claimed it was a suicide. Zosimus claims that "Arbogastes caught him totally unaware, dealt him a death blow"⁷, While Rufinus of Aquileia reports that there were two rumors. First, the one "commonly held by the people" was that Arbogast had killed the boy.⁸ The second was that Valentinian was driven to suicide "because he (Arbogast) had not allowed him (Valentinian) completely free rein in governing".⁹ Debate has raged ever since over whether or not Valentinian was in fact murdered.¹⁰ Whatever the historical truth, what really mattered is that Theodosius believed that his son had been murdered. This, in short, is the twisted chain of events that led to Alaric undergoing his second major test as a military leader at the Battle of Frigidus. He ended up losing about half of his supposed twenty thousand warriors that he brought to the battle but his education in the battles of the age continued.¹¹

Theodosius actually bribed part of Arbogast's army to desert him when they attacked Theodosius' camp. Alaric also learned that Roman emperors were not used to taking barbarians

⁶ I. Zosimus, *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome.*, pg 186

⁷ Zosimus, pg 187

⁸ Eusebius, Rufinus, and Amidon, *History of the Church.* pg 478

⁹ Rufinus of Aquileia pg 478

¹⁰ Brian Croke, "Arbogast and the Death of Valentinian II," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 25, no. 2 (1976): 235–44.

¹¹ Orosius and Deferrari, *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans.* pg. 346

seriously. He had lost a large portion of his army and Theodosius seemed not to care, or at least this is the impression we glean from the fact that Theodosius did not heap favors upon Alaric as he did on his other barbarian general, Stilicho. The other important part of this battle was the reliance on barbarian troops in this battle. Alaric's forces made up a large percentage of the Roman forces and formed the point of the spear that on both days of the battle crashed into the front lines of Arbogast's soldiers. Wolfram hypothesizes that the tactics at the battle of Frigidus were designed so that the main Roman army would not take too many casualties. Resting his argument on his interpretation of Orosius' account, he argues that the Roman army used the Gothic and other *foederati* as a hammer to smash the fortifications and lines of the enemies.¹²

However, it seems better to see Alaric's actions, and those of Theodosius' army into a broader context. Alaric had just sacked Thrace and had fought with one of the generals in charge of organizing the battle a general from whom he was supposed to now take orders. Theodosius was well aware that a rich man could more easily buy an army than lead one and he turned the battle mainly because he was able to do just that. Placing the allies front and center and surrounding them with his hopefully much more loyal Roman troops could hopefully crush any ideas of mutiny on the Gothic *foederati*'s part. The central location probably was more of a problem of loyalty than a genuine desire for them to be destroyed. If Theodosius had truly wished to destroy the Goths or even barbarians more generally then why was Alaric even allowed to walk away or Stilicho, a Frank like Arbogast, allowed to gain so much power? Perhaps the simplest answer is that the line between barbarian and Roman was blurring. For Theodosius, being a Spaniard, himself would have been considered a barbarian when the Empire first crystalized. The difference between the two now was just a problem of titles and whether or

¹² Wolfram, History of the Goths. pg 138

not the senatorial class needed a scapegoat. There would be sporadic “purges” of “barbarians” but after every one there seems to be just as many “barbarians” in positions of power as before. This is shown by the discrimination that Stilicho faces from the Italian Senators, though even after his death the *magister militum* was still a barbarian. This problem would haunt Alaric and his attempts for legitimacy through Roman titles.

Ralph Mathisen, in his lecture “We Have Met the Enemy and They are Us,” argued that barbarians were almost completely integrated into Roman society. His argument is based on the opinion that the barbarian invasions were not the root cause of the fall of the Roman Empire and that instead that barbarians were not seen as the “other” by contemporary Romans. He argues that the sense of “otherness” that we see in later sources is a creation by the elite authors who write them. Contemporary sources show that there was a great deal of integration. The “warrior graves” that were often seen as denoting barbarianism actually originated on the Roman side of the frontier, as did the elaborate *fibulae* that have been so long associated with barbarian warlords.¹³ This reading fills in many of the voids left by other theories, namely the “Invasions” and “Blame God” models that build off of Gibbon’s and earlier studies of the end of the Roman Empire in the West.¹⁴

Mathisen’s model fails to consider the distinctively ethnic tones many of the conflicts take on during especially the invasions of Italy by Alaric. The usurpation of Stilicho is pursued on barbarian lines, and Alaric is denied the station of *magister utriusque militibus* of the West because he is a barbarian.¹⁵ Even Alaric, who as Mathisen points out grew up totally under the

¹³ Ralph Mathisen, “We Have Met the Enemy and They Are Us” (Lecture, Irish and British Studies Room, University of Colorado at Boulder, March 4, 2017).

¹⁴ “Ralph Mathisen, “We Have Met the Enemy and They Are Us”

¹⁵ Zosimus, pg. 169

Roman system, viewed his Visigoths and their other barbarian compatriots as being separate from the core Roman identity. Alaric was throughout the invasion of Italy pushing for a separate land for the Visigoths, as we see from the letter he sent to Honorius right before he sacked Rome.¹⁶ While it is certainly true that barbarian groups were integrated into the Roman imperial system, as shown by numerous generals and affiliates of the imperial family being barbarians. However, it is also clear that at times they could be still singled out. An example of this is Theodosius' niece's execution by the Roman Senate because they believed that Stilicho, Alaric, and she were all in league to turn the rule of the West over to a barbarian leader.¹⁷ The pagan author Zosimus reports that this is actually because she disrespected the vestments of a statue of Rhea. In this episode we see a clear distinction being made by the Roman Senate that somehow all barbarians were in some way a united front against Rome. It also shows how barbarians could be both completely integrated in to the Roman system while at times being viewed as outside of it.

Theodosius died in January of 395 and left his two surviving sons as the two emperors of the now permanently split Roman Empire. Arcadius, the eldest now that Valentinian II was dead, ruled the Eastern Empire from Constantinople. Honorius, the youngest son, nominally ruled in the West. Honorius though was still too young to take real power, so Stilicho was appointed his *magister utriusque militiae*, filling the roles of general, advisor, and regent. Stilicho also laid claim to the generalship in the East, but could not actually exercise any power there. A reasonable explanation for why Alaric turned away from the Roman military after the battle of Frigidus was that he was not recognized for his military achievements. While Stilicho was

¹⁶ Zosimus, pg. 167

¹⁷ Zosimus, pg. 162

promoted to fill Arbogast's place as general over all of Rome's military. Alaric, on the other hand, was left with nothing but a poor warrior people sitting on the outskirts of the now split Roman Empire. However, that poor warrior people honored their great *thuidans* after the battle by raising the victorious war leader to the title of *reiks*.

With the position of *reiks* Alaric assumed responsibilities probably much like his later Germanic counterparts the *cyning* as a "giver of rings". Alaric would have to provide for his new kingdom, settled in the impoverished diocese of Moesia and still recovering from the losses at the Battle of the Frigidus. In Moesia the Visigoths were in excellent position for attacks on either the Western or Eastern Empires. Wolfram argues that it was the fear of the Huns that made the Visigoths choose the locations that they did, though it can be just as easily explained as a exploitation of regions position between the two Roman empires.¹⁸ With a "kingdom" of sorts, a royal title and a military force to back it up it might be argued makes Alaric the first king of the Visigoths.

The role of a *reiks* differed greatly from a more modern conception of kingship. As J.B. Bury says, discussing the council of elder's role in the kingship: "When a king died, the office did not devolve on any particular kinsman... they (the tribal elders) might refuse to elect any successor at all."¹⁹ P. Grierson argues somewhat against this position however in the case of the Visigoths is it obvious from the existence of previous *reiks* in the history of the Goths in general that Alaric being raised to the title was not symbolic of a creation of a new way of governing themselves.²⁰ This elevation of a *thuidans* to a *reiks* was either a political move on Alaric's part or a collective upping of the ante on the part of the Visigoths: if they were not to be taken

¹⁸ Wolfram, pg. 210

¹⁹ J.B. Bury, *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians* (1928) 12- 13.

²⁰ Grierson, "Election and Inheritance in Early Germanic Kingship."

seriously with a simple war lord, then perhaps they would be taken seriously with a king. Alaric certainly seems to have taken this new role seriously and tried to gain some sort of leverage or booty from the slowly fracturing Roman Empire. He marched into Thrace and Greece because of the encouragement of Rufinus the Praetorian Prefect in the Eastern Roman empire.²¹ According to Zosimus, Rufinus wished to usurp Arcadius and to stop Stilicho's desire to hold both empires for himself. The logic in this passage is highly convoluted and the other source material varies widely. Jordanes' chronology simply skips over the battle²², John of Antioch claims that Stilicho intervened and starved out the Visigoths²³, and Claudian just espouses the violence of Stilicho's reprisal against Alaric's forces.²⁴ However, if the Visigoths were truly starved out or slaughtered in the way Claudian describes, how does that explain the effectiveness of Alaric only six years later when he invades Italy for the first time? It also does not explain why Stilicho left before Alaric was defeated militarily. Emma Burrell argues that Stilicho left because of a rebellion in Africa by Gildo and the subsequent disruption of the grain supply to Italy, and most importantly Ravenna and Rome.²⁵ This, however, does not explain why there was no Eastern army that replaced Stilicho after his retreat in 397. Where Alaric goes after his pillaging of Athens, Corinth, and Sparta might provide an answer to the full question. After Alaric fought with Stilicho, who it is important to point out did not have Arcadius' permission to enter his lands, he was appointed *magister militum* of the province of Illyricum by Arcadius. This appointment seems to be a fulfillment of a goal of Alaric ever since he had fought with and against Romans. He had finally achieved a Roman generalship.

²¹ Zosimus, pg. 143

²² Jordanes, pg 45 - 47

²³ John of Antioch Fr. 190

²⁴ Claudian IV Cons. 459 - 83

²⁵ Burrell, Emma. "A Re-Examination of Why Stilicho Abandoned His Pursuit of Alaric in 397." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 53, no. 2 (2004): 251–56.

This is another important point that must count against Alaric as the first king of the Visigoths. While the practice of under-kings was an accepted practice in the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy in that practice there is an understood inequality of power implicit in the relationship.²⁶ Alaric's generalship under the Romans would supersede his position of *reiks* of the Visigoths though it would also give him the necessary territorial power to support his people. This appointment of Alaric to the *magister militum* of Illyricum was an attempt on Arcadius' part to gain some advantage from Alaric's aggressive behavior as well as to take the pressure off of the Eastern Empire. Arcadius and Rufinus had to deal with the ever-expanding army of the Huns and did not have the resources or man power to face Alaric. There were possibly also residual memories of the Goths holding the honor of being one of the few peoples to ever kill a Roman Emperor. In 378 Valens, the Eastern Emperor, faced an army of enraged Goths in open rebellion against the Roman Empire. By 397 the Eastern Empire had not yet found a better way to deal with a successful barbarian incursion than turning that strength into an asset for the Empire by settling them inside of the Empire. Illyricum had always formed and would continue to form a defensive bulwark from invasions from the West into the East.²⁷ Arcadius and Rufinus though do not seem to have complete control over the area and as Zosimus tells us Stilicho was trying to expand the Western Empire in that direction. It stands to reason that Arcadius and Rufinus played on Alaric's clear desire for a Roman military title and their own need for a solid defensive front in that province.

The problem with Alaric's appointment to *magister militum per Illyricum* is that the Romans seem to have forgotten that he and his people, as it is clear from later descriptions that

²⁶ Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1997). pg. 32 - 34

²⁷ Wozniak, Frank E. "East Rome, Ravenna and Western Illyricum: 454-536 A.D." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 30, no. 3 (1981): 351-82.

he moved at least a large portion of his people from Moesia into Illyricum, who still viewed him as a *reiks*. As Wolfram argues, over the next few years Alaric took control, or was given control, of all the weapons depots, tax revenues, and various other pieces of the civil government that were not technically under his jurisdiction.²⁸ Wolfram here is relying on the panegyrist Claudian. Elsewhere Wolfram also points to this period in Visigothic history as clear turning point in kingship under Alaric.²⁹ No longer were they ruled by a council of elders with war leaders appearing from time to time to lead raiding parties or short wars. Those men never held onto power past their community's need for a leader in war and their power was never viewed as being passed down. This changed with Alaric. Though if this period is taken under Mathisen's understanding of the roles of barbarians under Roman domination this is actually not that dramatic of a departure.³⁰ This is because as barbarians are integrated into the imperial system their own internal systems begin to look more and more like an imperial structured society. Therefore, it is not surprising that someone like Alaric did arise in this period. However, the way in which he gained predominance is unique in that Alaric was not staying loyal to one side, such as men like Stilicho, Rufinus, or Aetius, he was instead gaining dominance in the Roman power system by playing both sides against each other. However, Alaric still grew up completely underneath the Roman system of power and was still acting within it. All three of the men earlier mentioned gained predominance over the emperor even at points through military power, just as Alaric did. A clear example of this process can be seen in the fact that the current Roman emperors were not in any way related to the Julio-Claudian dynasty that had founded the Empire. It is clear therefore that Alaric is still operating within the power structures of the system that he

²⁸The History of the Goths, Wolfram, pg 143

²⁹ Henry Allen Myers and Herwig Wolfram, *Medieval Kingship* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982).

³⁰ Ralph Mathisen, *We Have Seen the Enemy and They are Us*

had grown up in. Wolfram is correct in placing special emphasis on the raising of Alaric to *reiks* “the introduction of the new institution “happened” to Alaric’s Goths somewhere and sometime on the march, because no one doubts any longer that Athaulf... was in fact a king.”³¹ This is Wolfram questioning the assumption that Alaric was not a king. He is correct as in calling Alaric a king, but that is not the main source of Alaric’s power or his only title. Alaric had two identities, that of the Roman *magister militum per Illyricum* and that of Visigothic *reiks*. Alaric was still operating within the Roman system and his only his people acknowledging him as a king or *reiks*. It would not be until Ataulf that a Visigothic *reiks* stood on his own without the need for Roman titles. While Roman symbols were still used, as evidenced by Ataulf’s wedding, titles were now granted by the *reiks* and not the emperor. This is a grand departure from the earlier *thiudans* of earlier Visigothic history.

Hermaneric was one such *thiudans* and even after massive conquests and dying “at the age of a hundred and ten, undefeated in battle but overcome by treachery”³² he was still just a tribal leader and owed his power to his military prowess and not by some accident of family heritage. Alaric, on the other hand, had accumulated both civil and military authority, creating a broader power base for his rule and down the line for his family in general. In short, Alaric was setting the stage for a hereditary kingship. He was quickly becoming a sort of rival not so much to the emperors as to the generals who advised them and led their armies and often held more practical power than the emperors. Alaric was gathering the same powers as they did on a much smaller scale in Illyricum. The generals could not allow him to create his own power base between the two empires, even if it was still technical under the Roman power structure. Alaric’s

³¹ The History of the Goths, Wolfram, pg 134

³² Medieval Kingship, Myers, pg. 64

invasions also indicate that he was not satisfied with just Illyricum and Moesia or with being subservient to the Romans. This is the contradiction in Alaric's creation of power. He was simultaneously equal to and subservient to the other major powers of Rome. His power was based on the Roman system of governance while at the same time subverting them by accumulating more power than should have been under his office. Constantine III had done something very similar in Britannia in 407 and had even forced Honorius to acknowledge him as a co-emperor. He had arisen because of the repeated barbarian invasions by the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals and the feeling of uncertainty that this caused in the provinces of Britannia and Gaul.³³ Alaric also had the loyalty of a people behind him which made him far removed from the traditional barbarian generals that Rome had dealt with. Alaric therefore would respond in vastly different ways than a traditional rebel would when challenged.

This is shown in Alaric's invasion of Italy in 401. Some scholars have argued that it was incited by the eastern half of the empire in an effort to stem Stilicho's expansionistic tendencies.³⁴ William N. Bayless points out that this assertion rests on a dubious interpretation of *perfidia* in Claudian's account of this invasion as referencing the eastern Emperor's hand in Alaric's invasion when in fact it makes more sense for Alaric to have initiated the invasion on his own.³⁵ What Bayless does not account for is why Alaric initiated this invasion. The later invasion by Alaric is begun because of a renegeing of a payment by Stilicho. It continued because of the increasing tensions between the Emperor and Alaric after Stilicho's death. This invasion is barely mentioned in sources other than Claudian, but it has an important implication in the creation of Visigothic kingship. Bayless argues that the *perfidia* is in relation to Alaric breaking

³³ J. F. Drinkwater, "The Usurpers Constantine III (407-411) and Jovinus (411-413)," *Britannia* 29 (1998): 269-98, doi:10.2307/526818. Pg. 271

³⁴ Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire / Édition française par Jean-Remy Palanque*

³⁵ William N. Bayless, *The Visigothic Invasion of Italy in 401*, pg. 65

the treaty between the Romans and Alaric, and this insinuation is important for Alaric's views of himself.³⁶ He is a *reiks* and when Claudian denounces him in "Against Eutropius" he says something very telling'

"At last you begin to restore your barbarian life, also till now you caused their fears and they were shocked by your crimes, those who had scorned your piety. Satisfied with your spoils and plunder it will pleasing to you to be Roman."³⁷

The speaker here is Bellona, the Roman war goddess herself, who is dressed like a barbarian and is bemoaning the failing of Roman virtues and that Alaric, "the ravager of Achaea and recent devastator of defenseless Epirus is lord of Illyria".³⁸ The important detail about Alaric and Visigothic kingship is when Bellona accuses Alaric of being a Roman when it pleases him and a barbarian when he wants to terrify people. Now part of this is the fact that Claudian is building up his sponsor's enemies to make Stilicho seem even greater for having defeated them. The line about Alaric switching between Roman and barbarian is telling, for it suggests that Claudian and the Roman court view Alaric as being a part of the Roman system of generals and client kings, and this belief in turn leads them to be baffled and even infuriated by Alaric's disregard for that system.

Wolfram summarizes Alaric's actions like this;

Like all barbarian regna on Roman soil, the Visigothic kingdom grew out of the kingship of a migratory army. But the world into which the Goths sought to integrate themselves was much too complicated for them to survive without roots in the structure of the Roman state.... It is not surprising that he (Alaric) was eager to integrate his barbarian kingdom into the imperium. If he could succeed in gaining the recognition of the imperial government, the

³⁶ William N. Bayless, *The Visigothic Invasion of Italy in 401*, pg. 65

³⁷ I. Claudianus and Platnauer, *Claudian. Against Eutropius II*, ln 226 – 29, this was translated by the author using the Birt Latin text.

³⁸ Claudian, *Against Eutropius II*, ln 214 - 16

ethnogenesis of the “Roman” Goths would be secured. Alaric I’s policy remained unfinished.³⁹

Wolfram does not see Alaric as part of the Roman system, whereas Mathisen argues that the invasions that Alaric launched are better seen as a civil war between a rebellious general and his commander. He argues that the Visigoths were already “integrated” by the time Alaric became a part of political landscape, or else they could not have functioned as *foedus* or auxiliaries.⁴⁰ Despite this, Alaric is clearly pushing the boundaries of this relationship. Wolfram adopts the viewpoint of Claudian, who views the barbarians as a separate entity from the Roman state because of Alaric’s attempts, to as Wolfram puts it, “gain the recognition of the imperial government.”⁴¹ Another key facet of this invasion that Wolfram points out, and that Stein discusses in *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, and Claudian’s *De bello Gothico*⁴², is the fact that the Visigothic women and children accompanied the army⁴³ and we are told that Alaric’s own wife was captured when he had to retreat after the battle of Pollentia.⁴⁴

³⁹ The History of the Goths, Wolfram, pg. 211

⁴⁰ “We Have Met the Enemy and They are Us”, Mathisen

⁴¹ The History of the Goths, Wolfram, pg. 211

⁴² Wolfram cites these works in reference to the idea of kingship of a migratory army and a “people in arms”

⁴³ The History of the Goths, Wolfram, pg. 211

⁴⁴ Claudian. The Gothic War. Trans. Maurice Platnauer. London: W. Heinemann, 1922. Print. Loeb Classical Library. pg. 173

Section 2 – Sacking of Roman courage:

The second invasion did not begin as one; it originated instead as a debt collection. In 407 the relations between the two halves of the Empire had become so contentious that Alaric was paid to invade one of them having been hired by Stilicho to force Honorius' claim to Illyrium. Alaric invaded Epirus, probably in early 408, and began to move his army farther East. Arcadius died in 408, so the promised war did not break out and Alaric was left with no one to fight. He then demanded four thousand pounds of gold in compensation for his invasion. The Senate and the Emperor balked at this immense sum, though Stilicho eventually convinced them to pay it. Alaric then moved his army south to collect his owed debt. Anti-barbarian Senators and other Italians revolted against what they saw as a barbarian helping a barbarian get rich from their wealth, Stilicho was a Frank and evidently had red hair which was a stereotypical feature of contemporary Franks. In early August, Honorius, buckling to pressure from the senate, signed the warrant for Stilicho's arrest and death.⁴⁵ This created a riot of anti-barbarian violence that swept thousands of *foederati*, into Alaric's camp.⁴⁶ Alaric was expecting a payment of gold and instead he received thousands of embittered and angry veterans and a fortified city waiting for his approach. He then strategized a better way to achieve his goals; leading his army over the Julian Alps and sacking and pillaging his way to Rome, the symbolic heart of the Empire. Rome however had not been the capital, or royal residence for centuries. Ravenna, where Emperor

⁴⁵ Orosius, pg 385 – 86

⁴⁶Orosius, pg. 387

Honorius and his new advisor Jovinus resided was the real seat of power.⁴⁷ Nonetheless Rome held a sacrosanct place in the Empire, pagans and Christians alike had powerful ties to the city.

Stilicho had been executed because there was seen to be a huge barbarian conspiracy afoot and the Senators of Rome perceived it clearly in the person of Alaric outside their gates. They too turned their fear and anger inwards and seized Serena, niece of Theodosius, and put her to death for conspiring with the Visigoths.⁴⁸ Of course, this did nothing and Alaric did not leave. The Senate in Rome then quickly came to an understanding with Alaric and Alaric sent his brother-in-law to Rome to continue negotiations with the Emperor and somewhat lifted the siege of Rome; he allowed one gate to be opened a market of sorts to be set up for both Romans and Visigoths. This is one of the first mentions we get of Ataulf, the future king of the Visigoths.⁴⁹ The first mention of him is when he is called from Moesia to bring the Hunnic cavalry he commands to Italy. This little detail shows that Alaric already commanded a diverse army before he came to receive the barbarian *foederati* outside of Ravenna.

Zosimus reports that Alaric issued a series of threats during the negotiations. When warned that all the citizens were armed for war he replied that “The thickest grass is more easy to cut than the thinnest”⁵⁰ or when asked what he would leave for the citizens he replied “Their souls”.⁵¹ The sources argue that these are indicative of Alaric’s bloodthirstiness and genuine desire to destroy Roman power. Orosius describes Rome as “trembling” and describing the coming of Alaric in biblical terms; comparing the Bishop of Rome not being in the city to Lot

⁴⁷ Rome, Ravenna and the Last Western Emperors, pg 131 - 67

⁴⁸ Zosimus, pg. 162

⁴⁹ Zosimus, pg. 163

⁵⁰ Zosimus, pg. 163

⁵¹ Zosimus, pg. 163

escaping Sodom.⁵² The sack of Rome is called “after this great increase of blasphemies without any evidence of repentance, the final, long-impending doom overtook the City” by Orosius.⁵³ Wolfram argues that specifically the introduction of “thousands of barbarian slaves”⁵⁴ and that their lack of “discipline and thirst for vengeance”⁵⁵ created a broader context for these reported words and Alaric’s action.

First, he entered Italy to collect a debt he felt he was owed by the Roman Emperor. Secondly, he does attack any cities until he is told in no uncertain terms that he is not being paid. Thirdly, Alaric’s army was also full of new warriors “it is said that thirty thousand elite non-Romans joined Alaric, among them probably the twelve thousand elite troops Stilicho had taken over from the “assets” of the “bankrupt” Radagasius”⁵⁶. The purges that forced them into Alaric’s army also involved the deaths of their wives and children and the burning and seizing of their property and the slaves that joined him at Rome, were not sympathetic to the Roman plight. Something else to examine is Alaric’s actual treatment of Rome, as sackings of cities goes Alaric’s in 410 was incredibly restrained. It was also after several aborted sieges that were only resumed because Alaric did not get what he wanted, or was promised. The sack of Rome in 1527 by another group of Germanic heretics was far more bloody and destroyed more of the city.⁵⁷ These threats that Alaric was delivering are better understood as threats not for what he wished to do, but what his army wished to do to the Romans. This reading explains Alaric’s actions far

⁵² Orosius, pg. 388

⁵³ Orosius, pg. 387

⁵⁴ *The History of Goths*, Wolfram, pg. 155

⁵⁵ *The History of Goths*, Wolfram, pg. 156

⁵⁶ *The History of Goths*, Wolfram, pg. 154

⁵⁷ *The History of Italy*. Translated and edited by Sidney Alexander, book 18

better than other readings especially if Mathisen's view is taken and this is seen as a form of civil war.⁵⁸

The Senate in Rome reached an agreement with the invading army, that greatly outstripped the original debt Alaric had claimed against Honorius. Even when the Senate had agreed to a ransom for the city, which included a sort of semi-autonomous region between the Danube and the city of Venice to be ruled by Alaric and his descendants as a home for the Visigoths, it still had to be approved by Honorius. Honorius, however, refused to approve it. As Zosimus indicates, he was waiting on reinforcements, in the form of "five regiments of soldiers, who were quartered in Dalmatia, to guard the city of Rome. These regiments consisted of six thousand men, who for strength and discipline were the flower of the whole Roman army."⁵⁹ He ordered "all his troops both horse and foot, which were in the different towns, to march under their own officers to meet him. To Olympius, who was commander of the court guards, he gave the Huns who were in Ravenna, amounting to three hundred further strengthening Ravenna's walls and evidently Honorius' confidence".⁶⁰ The first group was sent against Rome and were thrown back by Alaric, and the second set on Alaric's brother-in-law, Ataulf. Ataulf was commanding the forces that he had brought down from Moesia that were mentioned earlier. Zosimus reports that the battle resulted in eleven-hundred Goths killed while only seventeen Hunnic mercenaries died.⁶¹ These passages are prefaced with Honorius and his general's growing confidence that they could out wait Alaric and Ataulf from within Ravenna's walls. As well by a continued belief in the barbarian conspiracy.

⁵⁸ We Have Seen the Enemy and They are Us, Mathisen

⁵⁹ Zosimus, pg. 167-68

⁶⁰ Zosimus, pg. 169

⁶¹ Zosimus, pg. 169

This conspiracy is not borne out by Alaric's actions. First there is no evidence of a conspiracy between the two men. The only time they seem to have colluded is when Stilicho attempted to use Alaric as a reason to invade the Eastern Empire. The non-cooperation on the part of Stilicho is the very reason that Alaric ended up marching on Ravenna and eventually on Rome. Stilicho when he advocated for Alaric to be paid was simply following through on his side of the bargain for Alaric to invade the Eastern Empire. Peder G. Christiansen argues in his article "Claudian versus the Opposition" that Stilicho's enemies did not just appear at the time that Alaric did. Christiansen argues along with the late Roman historians Demougeot, and Mazarino that this opposition to Stilicho's power arose from a growing dissatisfaction from the senatorial class and did not end in "A great career" coming "to an almost absurdly un- protesting end."⁶² Christiansen uses the panegyrics to argue for an active attempt by Claudian to negate senatorial frustration about the de-facto ruling of the empire by a Vandal born man. The poem in particular that Christiansen uses to argue for this is the *De bello Gothico* which is specifically about the outcome and leadership shown at the battle of Pollentia in 402. In this battle Stilicho according to modern and some ancient scholars⁶³ won but failed to exploit the outcome.⁶⁴ The defensive tone of the poem Christiansen argues shows a growing resistance to Stilicho's rule and that the "barbarian conspiracy" that arose in 408 when Alaric invaded was therefore not just a knee jerk reaction to a situation but both a seeming confirmation of beliefs and a chance for a

⁶² Peder G. Christiansen, "Claudian versus the Opposition," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966): 45–54, doi:10.2307/2936001. pg. 1

⁶³ I Cassiodorus (*Chron. a. 402*) and Jordanes (*i54-55*) consider it a Gothic victory, Claudian and Prudentius (*C. Symm. 2.696-744*) a Roman victory, and Tiro Prosper (*Chron. a. 402*), Orosius (*7.37.2*), and Hieronymus (*Ep. i07.2.3*) a drawn cited in Peder G. Christiansen, "Claudian versus the Opposition," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966): 45–54, doi:10.2307/2936001.

⁶⁴ Demougeot *De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain* (Paris) 276; Jones s, *The Later Roman Empire I* (Norman 1964) 184; Mazarino *Stilicotte* (Rome 1942) 272; Sirago *Galla Placidia* (Louvain 1961) 118; Solari *II Rinnovamento dell'impero Romano I* (Rome 1938) 235; Stein in, *Histoire du Bas-Empire I*, trans. J. R. Palanque (Brussels and Paris 248. Cited in Peder G. Christiansen, "Claudian versus the Opposition," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966): 45–54, doi:10.2307/2936001.

political move on the part of the senatorial class. This theory adds color to Mathisen's view of this event as only a political move⁶⁵, it is motivated by both this ethnic fear that the barbarians are becoming a more powerful force in the Roman Empire. Their fear comes from both ethnic discrimination and the loss of political power.

Alaric also had more base reasons to invade Italy. He had been promised by Stilicho the chance to invade and loot Illyricum and parts of the Eastern Roman Empire, he had organized and raised his army and Stilicho had canceled the plan after Arcadius' death. Alaric was in Italy to collect debts. Alaric was also had duties because of his holding of the "kingship of a migratory army".⁶⁶ With his entire people, and now at least several thousand veteran soldiers, he needed to make sure that he was taken seriously as a leader by other leaders and that meant collecting his debts. Alaric also wanted an autonomous kingdom for his developing kingship and people, this was included in almost every list of demands that he issued to Honorius and the Senate in Rome. This push for an autonomous region under his sole control explains his abandoning of Illyricum, and the power that he had accrued there. These demands that he issues also showed his insistence that the debt be paid and his power acknowledged. That was where Honorius and his advisors faltered, they assumed that if shown strength that Alaric would simply find his plunder elsewhere. This opportunity for an autonomous land holding and payment was too tempting for the developing of a Visigothic king. A kingdom that could handed down along Alaric's family line and to fulfill that final requirement of a kingship.

At the second siege of Rome Alaric tried a new tactic. He had the Senate of Rome proclaim a new Emperor. Attalus, the new emperor, proclaimed "the command to Alaric and

⁶⁵ We Have Seen the Enemy and They are Us, Mathisen

⁶⁶ The History of the Goths, Wolfram, pg. 211

Valens, who formerly commanded the Dalmatian legions”⁶⁷ So Alaric became the *magister militum utriusque militiae* and Ataulf was given the title of *magister equites*. These titles and subordinate emperor gave him another bargaining chip to use against Honorius. Attalus was also a new imperial negotiator.⁶⁸ It is clear however that creating a new Emperor was not his main goal. Part of Alaric must have given up on the idea of negotiation with the clearly anti-barbarian Emperor and he persuaded Attalus to launch an invasion of North Africa. This had been painted in many colors and meanings; punitive mission against the man who actually killed Stilicho; Heraclius⁶⁹, meaningless invasion launched by a power hungry new Emperor, or an overstretching of Alaric’s ambition, or a poorly executed strike on Rome’s grain supply to continue supplying the city.⁷⁰ However, these conclusions are only viewed in the context of the current siege of Rome or Attalus’ refusal to accept joint rule with Honorius. What is not considered is that Alaric after the sack of Rome immediately went south and tried to invade either Sicily or Africa. As Wolfram points out the sack of Rome, while solving his monetary problems, it created a multitude of logistic and political problems for the *reiks*. He could no longer hope to hold Italy, though from his land demands it does not seem like he ever wanted to hold Italy. Alaric was also put into a more precarious place because of the weakening and eventual death of Constantine III in 411 who claimed dominion over Gaul and Britannia. This reversal allowed to a large portion of the Roman forces and Constantius to turn to face the Visigothic threat.⁷¹ We are also told that Attalus refused Alaric’s advice and sent only a paltry force instead of the full-strength army that Alaric had suggested.

⁶⁷ Zosimus, pg. 175

⁶⁸ J. F. Drinkwater, “The Usurpers Constantine III (407-411) and Jovinus (411-413),” *Britannia* 29 (1998): 269–98, pg. 281

⁶⁹ Zosimus, pg. 175

⁷⁰ Stewart Irvin Oost, “The Revolt of Heraclian,” *Classical Philology* 61, no. 4 (1966): 236–42, pg. 236

⁷¹ Wolfram, pg. 211

Alaric had been denied by Honorius and the anti-barbarian Senators, so the view that he was looking for an alternative to negotiations with Honorius makes sense. The failure of the invasion and Attalus' refusal to accept the deal offered by Honorius, which included joint rule of Italy and recognition of his right to be an Emperor, explains Alaric's publicly stripping Attalus of the purple robes and symbols of office. Alaric then had them sent to Honorius as a sign of good faith. Attalus would accompany the Visigoths for several more years until he was captured by the general Constantius and brought before the Emperor Honorius who had him beaten and his hands cut off according to Orosius.⁷² This removal of Attalus ended the second "siege" of Rome. This "siege" was more of a strange occupation mixed with the already strange situation of a civil war phrased as a barbarian invasion. This turning over of the purple robes to Honorius places Alaric in the place of a loyal general pulling down a usurper, even though Alaric was the one who caused Attalus to be raised in the first place. Alaric therefore was still well entrenched in the Roman system of emperors, generals, and usurpers playing the part of at least two of the three.

The third and final siege would be after Alaric was insulted by Honorius saying "that such office was restricted from any of his race"⁷³. The office in question was the office of *magister utriusque militibus* or the general of both soldiers, cavalry and infantry. This was the highest military office in the Roman world. Alaric outraged that the office was closed to "his race". Alaric decided to march to Rome and sacked it with great restraint. The main argument presented by the sources themselves is that of a great catastrophe descending upon Rome, as shown by the earlier quoted lines by Orosius and Jordanes. Claudian above all others played with this image because he wishes above all to make Alaric more terrible to help his by then dead

⁷² Orosius, pg. 394

⁷³ Zosimus, pg. 169

benefactor Stilicho. It plays too easily to the view of the Roman authors of history of Alaric as a towering villain; a Hannibal reborn.⁷⁴ Claudian had been making this allusion since the first-time Alaric had marched into Italy in 401.⁷⁵ Alaric falls too easily into the role of the enemy who was planning to sack the Eternal City all along and just baited the foolish Emperor into it. Even in the last few years there have been articles written with this view. One such article, published in 2002, uses the phrase “Even the rude barbarian, bred on the Danube or amid the forests of Thuringia”⁷⁶ show that the vestiges of this view live on sixteen-hundred years after “the capture of Rome by Alaric.”⁷⁷ This towering villain gives the Roman people a scapegoat, someone to blame for the “destruction” of their city. However, that destruction, as pointed out by Augustine “that savage barbarians showed themselves in so gentle a guise, that the largest churches were chosen and set apart for the purpose of being filled with the people to whom quarter was given, and that in them none were slain”⁷⁸, and in some ways Isodore of Seville, and even Orosius who sees “the storming of the City was due to the wrath of God rather than to the bravery of the enemy”⁷⁹, was incredibly slight for someone whose successor would proclaim that “he had once wished to destroy Roma and create Gothia”⁸⁰.

If in fact Alaric had wished to “destroy Roma”⁸¹ then he had his perfect chance to wipe the city from the map like the ancient city of Carthage and sow the fields with salt. A Carthaginian style sack would have truly broken Honorius’ symbolic power and Alaric could

⁷⁴ Michael Dewar, “Hannibal and Alaric in the Later Poems of Claudian,” *Mnemosyne* 47, no. 3 (1994): 349–72. pg 350

⁷⁵ Michael Dewar, “Hannibal and Alaric in the Later Poems of Claudian,” pg 350

⁷⁶ Samuel Dill, “The Capture of Rome,” *New England Review* (1990-) 23, no. 2 (2002): 196

⁷⁷ Samuel Dill, “The Capture of Rome,” 197

⁷⁸ I. Augustine et al., *The City of God: (De Civitate Dei)*, Everyman’s Library, No. 982-983. Theology (London : New York: J. M. Dent & sons ltd.; E. P. Dutton & co. inc, 1945). pg. 8 - 9

⁷⁹ Orosius, pg 388

⁸⁰ Orosius, pg 396

⁸¹ Orosius, pg 396

have settled his people wherever he wished in Italy or without. As it was the city suffered far more from the starvation that had occurred from the earlier sieges than from the final sack of the city. After only three days in the city, Alaric moved his people once again, this time even further south through the cowed country to the southern tip of the peninsula.⁸² Scholars and sources disagree on what his goal was. Hagith Sivan points to a story told about Gallia Placidia destroying a statue that had shielded Sicily from a barbarian invasion to argue that Alaric wished to invade Sicily and then onto a revenge plot on the part of Alaric against Heraclius, the man who had killed Stilicho.⁸³ While the first is romantic, it seems improbable and more of folktale of Placidia's undying affection for her first husband. The second part relies on a belief in some sort of barbarian conspiracy or at least a deep respect between the two men and that seems to be more of a political move thought up later. The most likely explanation seems considering the massive amount of people that Alaric had to support that he was still looking for a homeland, and where better than the grain basket of the Western Empire? He had already tried to invade it before under the guise of Attalus, who incidentally he kept with him, so it makes sense that his target was the rich farmlands of the North African coast. Alaric would never make it. First the fleet he prepared was wrecked in a storm of the Italian coast, and then he died.

⁸² Jordanes, pg. 49, Orosius, pg 396

⁸³ Hagith Sivan, *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress, Women in Antiquity* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Chapter 2 – Ataulf:



Section 1 – Culture of kingship:

Alaric's death would have normally meant a fragmenting of the tribal society to a series of warlords. However, something changed in Visigothic society then. Their acclaimed leader was dead, yet they did not scatter. They were deep in hostile territory with no way out but to stick together and present a united front. Their greatest *reiks* had also appointed an heir. There also seems to have been an election process, but if this was just an acceptance, or acclamation, or Ataulf had to deal with contenders is uncertain though the main problem with discussing Ataulf's ascension to the kingship of the Visigoths is that he is mainly dismissed by both scholars and the primary sources. In Zosimus' account for example, Alaric occupies the limelight from around the halfway point of Book V into the entirety of Book VI, while Ataulf appears three times in Book

⁸⁴ Ataulfo, accessed March 30, 2017, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/79/Ata%C3%BAlfo_01.jpg/320px-Ata%C3%BAlfo_01.jpg?1490913857477.

V and once in Book VI.⁸⁵ In Jordanes Alaric's life occupies sixty-two lines of the text while Ataulf occupies twenty-three lines.⁸⁶ Turning to modern scholars, we note that Herwig Wolfram, one of the leading scholars on the Visigoths dedicates just thirty-six pages to Ataulf and his rule. While he gives sixty-six pages to discussing Alaric and his reign. This lack of enthusiasm for Ataulf is understandable:⁸ he did not sack Rome though he was present for the second and third siege. He also did not do anything daring as defy the Roman Emperor by marching to the gates of Ravenna or raise a usurper Emperor that was so powerful that he was offered co-rule by the "rightful" Emperor of Rome. Most scholars seem not to know what to do with the second *reiks* of the Visigoths, favoring either Alaric or Wallia and those kings who come after him. In duration, his reign was a blink of an eye compared to Alaric's and his accomplishments seem to pale in comparison to his brother-in-law.

Honorius and his new general Constantius had already proven they could do nothing about the Goths in Italy and they were also still struggling against the Gaulic Empire that had broken off several years before. Constantine, a former British military commander, had taken the barbarian problems plaguing the northern dioceses into his own hands. Constantine had even been recognized by Honorius for several years because he and Stilicho did not have the power to oust him from power. The empire was now run by Jovinus, who had taken power in 411 when Constantine III had died. Returning to the speech, it is obviously meant for the aristocrats as it was given at Ataulf's wedding feast and the man who reports it was a local aristocrat.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Zosimus, *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1967).

⁸⁶ Jordanes and Charles Christopher Mierow, *Jordanes The Origin and Deeds of the Goths: In English Version* (Princeton, 1908).

⁸⁷ Frye, "A Mutual Friend of Athaulf and Jerome." pg. 508

Working together it is probable that Ataulf and Jovinus, the new Gaulic Emperor, could have crushed Honorius between them. Ataulf stopped the Visigoths' advance south and turned them north but did not to march on Ravenna. He took them into Gaul and "allied" with Jovinus. Ataulf then ambushes and kills Sarus, one of Jovinus' and ostensibly Ataulf's own allies. Sarus had switched allegiances several times during the years since 401 when he had joined Stilicho against Alaric. The timing is not exact but it is clear from Orosius that it was before the battle against Radagaisus.⁸⁸ Gaul was not the first time that Sarus and Ataulf had clashed. The first time the sources report them clashing was during the second siege of Rome and Alaric had sent Ataulf as a messenger to Honorius in Ravenna.

Sarus is described as a "captain of a company of Barbarians"⁸⁹ or a leader of the Goths⁹⁰, or noble Goth and Ataulf is said to have a rivalry with Sarus but that seems to under describe the animosity that Ataulf carries towards Sarus. He diverted from his mission to speak to the Emperor to attack this man and his group of warriors, and he violated his agreement with Jovinus to attack and kill Sarus. There are theories that Sarus was part of a rival royal or noble family to the Balthi within the Goths, most likely the Amali though of course that is because it is the only other one we hear of. This family rivalry would explain this particular instance of rivalry between Ataulf and Sarus as individuals. This explanation while being reasonable and logical fails to take broader context of a developing kingship into account. We see a similar distrust of other major families within the Goths when an heir from the Ostrogothic family of Amali came Visigothic kingdom in Hispania under Theodorid. The heir hid his royal lineage "for he knew that those of royal lineage are always distrusted by kings."⁹¹ So it makes more sense to see the

⁸⁸ Orosius, pg. 385

⁸⁹ Zosimus, pg. 156

⁹⁰ Orosius, pg. 385

⁹¹ Jordanes, pg. 54

rivalry as a family thing, something that Ataulf inherited by marrying into the Balthi family. That would shed some light onto why Sarus was so particularly important to Ataulf. Sarus is the only other Gothic leader mentioned by name outside the Visigothic and Ostrogothic royal families. He seems to be a rival in power and probably held the title of *thuidans* just like Alaric used to before he was raised to *reiks*. While there were undoubtedly other powerful families in the Gothic people but Sarus was clearly different. Sarus had not joined the Ostrogothic bands in the Eastern Empire or the Visigothic developing kingdom in the West, but stood on his own with his supporters. He could be viewed as not only a rival to Ataulf personally but possibly a claimant to the title *reiks*. To be secure in his new kingship Ataulf must kill his potential usurper and douse any support that might fall his way. This would be similar to the reasons that Alexander could not let his uncle live after his father was assassinated. His father was the great king who had led the nation out of backwardness and onto the world stage. Alexander on the other hand rose to the crown under dubious circumstances and immediate rebellions occurred after his ascension and after a rumor of his death led Thebes believe that their shackles could be broken. Ataulf was in a similar situation of inheriting the kingship from a great king, a hard thing in an established kingdom and undoubtedly much more difficult in a tribal, wandering kingdom.

Section 2 – Territory:

This view explains Ataulf's seemingly unfathomable march to Gaul when Italy was his for the taking. It also accounts for his almost immediate betrayal of Jovinus to Honorius and Constantius after Sarus was ambushed and killed. Ataulf had inherited Alaric's desire for a permanent homeland for his people; for a kingdom to place his wandering throne. The *foedus* that occurred from his betray of Jovinus and his subsequent death gave Ataulf and the Visigoths governing rights over what is today is southern France and northern Spain. This area that Honorius "conceded" to the Visigoths was, in reality, only half in Roman control anyway. Wallace-Hadrill mentions numerous revolts and that much of Hispania was occupied and controlled by the Vandals.⁹² The southern edge of Gaul was Roman but had been ravaged by the Vandals, and the wars against the Gaulic Empire. It however was a homeland for the Visigoths and Ataulf set up his "capital" of sorts in the city of Narbo in Gaul, modern day Narbonne, France. Once there Ataulf married Gallia Placidia, the Emperor's sister, who had been with the Visigoths since the sack of Rome. During the wedding festivities he is reported by Orosius as saying something along the lines of how he had once wished to destroy *Roma* and in its place create a *Gothia*, but after realizing his people's inherent unlawfulness he had realized the best use for Gothic might was as a shield to Rome.⁹³ This wedding is important for many symbolic reasons. It was a traditional Roman wedding with Ataulf dressing like a triumphant Roman general in purples and a crown. It was also attended by several high ranking Roman aristocrats

⁹² J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "Gothia and Romania," accessed November 30, 2016, <https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:1m2863&datastreamId=POST-PEER-REVIEW-PUBLISHERS-DOCUMENT.PDF>, pg. 213

⁹³ Orosius pg. 396

from the surrounding countryside.⁹⁴ The symbolic importance of this wedding is the single image that Ataulf is crafting from his two worlds. First to the Romans they would see a man who was accepting the dominance of their culture and his embracing of his role as a Roman governor. Their fears would have also been assuaged by his speech at the banquet.

Wallace-Hadrill calls this speech a “curious jest” with “something behind it”.⁹⁵ Frye describes it as “almost too good to be true” as a “unparalleled glimpse into the thing of an unlettered people.”⁹⁶ Both authors acknowledge that there is a great deal of speculation about what Frye calls “one of the most significant quotations of late antique history.”⁹⁷ Frye goes on to argue for its validity while Wallace-Hadrill sees it as an admittance of inferiority. Frye’s argument is founded on a suspected misspelling by the historian through which we get Orosius. Through this he makes the argument that he has identified and corroborated the existence of the man who is supposed to have reported this speech to Orosius. Wallace-Hadrill’s argument is founded on an understanding that Rome was superior to “barbarians”. These two scholars show the various takes on the speech that Ataulf makes. Wallace-Hadrill’s argument contains an interesting view, that once his idea the speech is an admittance of inferiority is removed, is a very logical way of looking at it. He argues that because of the peasant revolts going on at the time that this speech is aimed at the aristocrats.⁹⁸ Therefore it can be viewed as a pandering to aristocratic ego’s in the region.

⁹⁴ David Frye, “A Mutual Friend of Athaulf and Jerome,” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 40, no. 4 (1991): 507–8.

⁹⁵ Wallace-Hadrill, “Gothia and Romania.” pg. 213 - 217

⁹⁶ David Frye, “A Mutual Friend of Athaulf and Jerome,” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 40, no. 4 (1991): 507–8. pg. 508

⁹⁷ David Frye, “A Mutual Friend of Athaulf and Jerome,” pg. 213

⁹⁸ Wallace-Hadrill, “Gothia and Romania.” pg. 217

Antonio Marchetta presents the argument for the veracity of this statement giving Ataulf more agency in his actions than is assumed by both other scholars and Orosius.⁹⁹ His argument though has some flaws. Marchetta argues that Ataulf believed that the future for the Roman Empire “lay with the fusion of Christentum, Romertum and Germanentum”.¹⁰⁰ This though does not explain, as J.F. Drinkwater points out, why Ataulf raised Attalus soon after to the position of a puppet-Emperor again soon after this speech. This instance of seeming to mirror his brother-in-law in raising Attalus to *imperium* is more complicated than this and points to a different interpretation of the last part of his speech to those gathered at his wedding to the Roman royal house. His raising Attalus is in fact him acting as the protector of Roman power, which Drinkwater and Marchetta have gotten confused with the house of Theodosius. Roman power however is something more amorphous than just one family line as is evident if you look at the totality of Roman history. Roman power rested, in the period beginning shortly after Octavian became Augustus, in the title of *princeps* and that person’s *imperium*. In raising Attalus Ataulf creates for himself a claim to Roman power to protect. Ataulf in this move has moved beyond Alaric into the becoming a king in his own right rather than just a king to be wielded by the Roman state. This wedding and acceptance of Roman structures would have calmed the fears of the Visigoths among the aristocracy in the region. Fear of oppression, being turned out of their lands, and of death. With this wedding though Ataulf was reassuring the Romans that he was truly one of them now. He was embracing all the trappings and responsibilities of being Roman. He was also in a way aligning himself with the Emperor with his marriage to the Emperor’s sister.

⁹⁹ J. F. Drinkwater, “Orosius and Ataulf,” ed. Antonio Marchetta, *The Classical Review* 39, no. 1 (1989): 92–93. . The original article is not available in English and so I must work off the English review of the Italian article.

¹⁰⁰ Chapter 5: 'Conclusion. Ataulfo 'Founder' del Medioevo'

The second symbolic meaning was towards his Visigoths. He was marrying the sister of the Emperor, with the cream of the Roman crop paying homage to him at his wedding. This was a major coup for the Visigoths. They had been mocked and used as cannon fodder by these people and now their *reiks* ruled over Roman lands and Romans. But now in the same breath of assuaging the Roman fear of barbarian over-lordship he is actually laying the groundwork for something different and potentially worse for Roman power. “he chose to seek for himself at least the glory of restoring and increasing the renown of the Roman name by the power of the Goths, ...as the restorer of the Roman Empire”¹⁰¹ This was a flipping of the tables from what the Romans had done with Alaric. With Alaric, his power and prestige had mainly come from his ability to get things from the Romans. Ataulf proposes in this statement something vastly different. His prestige would not come from what he could get from the Romans but what he could give. Ataulf would become the king over the Romans, protecting them in their weakened state from the numerous civil wars and usurpers and still reeling from Alaric’s sacking of Rome. Orosius explains this as a clear infatuation with Gallia Placidia¹⁰² but this examination is clearly a result of Orosius’s desire to show the triumph of Christianity over paganism, neverminding that the Goths were Christian.¹⁰³ They were of course the wrong sort of Christian. What was really showed in this statement by Ataulf is a reversal of roles. The Roman Empire now, in theory, depended on Visigothic strength to shelter it rather than the other way around. Ataulf also did not have to subvert the Roman Emperor, with his marriage to Placidia his sons would be, theoretically, in the line of succession for the Emperor-ship. This wedding has also been portrayed as the fulfillment of prophecy; that a King of the North would marry a princess from

¹⁰¹ Orosius, pg. 396

¹⁰² Orosius, pg. 396

¹⁰³ J. F. Drinkwater, “Orosius and Ataulf,” ed. Antonio Marchetta, *The Classical Review* 39, no. 1 (1989): 92–93.

the South.¹⁰⁴ These symbolic gestures were aimed at the local population and Ataulf's new kingdom. The Emperor himself was a target of these symbolic gestures as well and since the quote that displays Ataulf's change in heart comes from someone speaking to St. Jerome in Jerusalem we can be sure that Honorius in Italy heard it and of the Roman wedding of Ataulf.¹⁰⁵

Section 3 – Succession and succession wars:

The Emperor and Constantius though did not seem to take these overtures however very well, and Constantius fell on Narbo and drove Ataulf and his Visigoths from the area. Ataulf retreated and established himself in northern Hispania. Constantius placed a blockade on all the Visigothic held cities to attempt to starve the Visigoths into submission. This attack is most likely instigated by Constantius by himself as he is clearly driven to retrieve Placidia, and to marry into the imperial family. This is shown during Wallia's reign. Constantius is talked out of invading Visigothic Hispania by the return of Placidia. Ataulf had the Vandals on his southern

¹⁰⁴ Hydatius §57; in Richard W. Burgess, *Hydatius: A Late Roman Chronicler in Post-Roman Spain* (Oxford, 1988).;

¹⁰⁵ David Frye, "A Mutual Friend of Athaulf and Jerome," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 40, no. 4 (1991): 507–8.

and western border and a kingdom under a blockade from the Roman navy. Ataulf turned from the Roman fleets and his new brother-in-law and led his armies into Hispania. He was playing on his words at the wedding banquet. He would become the shield of Rome even if Rome did not want it. In this moment, he is a king in truth. The Visigothic people no longer need the support of Rome to be a power, they can even survive in the face of naked Roman hostility. Ataulf had come far from Alaric's schemes and maneuvers before the wavering might of the Roman Empire. Alaric had been declared a *reiks* but he could have never left a situation like Ataulf did, Alaric had to maintain the balance. The balance between the two Empires and himself. He had to maintain a balance of fighting against and with the Romans as to preserve their goodwill and fear in equal measures. Ataulf does not need that balance, partly this is because he is no longer facing two empires but it is also that he has a base of power independent of Rome. He is independent of the system that Alaric had played so successfully, Ataulf does not need to play because he has something that Alaric never did; a kingship and the independent land to support it. This attack into Hispania was not just some sort of punitive or protective measure; it was a kingdom expanding.

This invasion against the Vandals would be the last thing that Ataulf did. He set out from Barcelona, now his capital and where he stored his treasure,¹⁰⁶ and attacked the Vandals. There were a series of attacks and they seem to be relatively successful as Ataulf survives them and has time to have a child in 414, he was named Theodosius in reference to the Emperor who was both Placidia and Honorius' father.¹⁰⁷ This solidifies the attempt by Ataulf to establish some sort of imperial connection between him and Honorius, even though he was currently being blockaded.

¹⁰⁶ Jordanes, pg. 50

¹⁰⁷ Jordanes, pg. 50, Orosius, pg. 396

Nonetheless by the next year both father and son were dead. Ataulf was stabbed to death by a retainer who was in all likelihood was a past retainer of Sarus while he was examining the horses in the stables of Barcelona. Ataulf, like Alaric, did not die immediately and had time to name his successor; an unnamed brother. However Sigeric, another noble Goth launched a coup and killed not only the unnamed brother but also the surviving children of Ataulf. This coup was ultimately unsuccessful as Sigeric was killed just a mere seven days into his reign and another king was elected.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Orosius, pg. 396, Jordanes pg. 50 - 51

Chapter 3 – Wallia



109

The election of Wallia to the kingship of the Visigoths is, as strange as it might seem, the most important Ataulf's reign accomplished. This proves the transition to an established kingship and kingdom. Ataulf had successfully transferred the Visigoths from a tribal semi-nomadic people that they were under Alaric to an established kingdom that would last until the Umayyad invasion in the 700's. This is the same as the successful succession of the first few Princes of Rome. Of course, Augustus could hold power, he held in essence the military force of the Roman state in his hand and was by far the richest citizen. The machinery of state could not function without him. However, those after him did not have the personal history or charisma that Augustus had, they also came into the position without the achievements that Augustus did. Also, that the Principate survived the assassination of Caligula proves the permanence of the position. Just so with the assassination of Ataulf. The kingdom could have fractured or

¹⁰⁹ 1. Wallia Rey Visigotho, accessed March 30, 2017, <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/30/Walia-rey-visigodo.png?1490913701382>.

descended into the squabbling that consumed the kingdom of Northumbria in the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. The Visigothic kingdom in Spain survived that dangerous period of violent transfer of power.

Wallia though still had to ensure that his new kingdom's survival against external threats now that he had defeated the potential of domestic threats. The main threat was the attacks of Constantius who had taken the opportunity that the Visigothic royal struggles and focus on their western and southern borders against the Vandals to launch an attack against them through Gaul and over the Pyrenees. Wallia met this invasion with an army of his own but neither came to blows. It is clear from the sources, and both parties' later actions that the real dispute here was as Constantius saw it, the continued hostage holding of Gallia Placidia by the Visigoths.¹¹⁰ Though it is doubtful from her actions that she saw it this way. Nonetheless, hostages were exchanged by the two parties and Placidia was returned to her brother, and soon after was married to Constantius.¹¹¹ These negotiations between these two men though acknowledged something else that Ataulf had created and Wallia had solidified, that the Visigoths were separate from the Roman Empire. Theirs was not a client kingdom but one which could threaten the Roman Empire. Another fact that the *foedus* between the two showed in the collapsing of Roman power as a part of the treaty granted the Visigoths control of Gallia Aquitania, which is much larger than the modern region of Aquitaine. The Roman diocese occupied most of the southwestern portion of Gaul. This meant that the Visigothic kingdom now extended from the Pillars of Hercules in the south, to the Suevi held west roughly equivalent to modern day Portugal, to the

¹¹⁰ Jordanes, pg. 51

¹¹¹ She would go on to be the mother of the next Emperor Valentinian III and would serve as his regent for years. Making her the first Western Empress and she showed that she had a deft and cunning political mind, outmaneuvering all the men who tried to take power from her and later her son. She also had her son by Ataulf brought back to Italy with her and buried in a silver coffin in the Basilica of St. Peter.

northern border with the Franks near modern day Poitiers and with the Roman Burgundians near Arles and Lyons.¹¹²



113

Wallia would make Toulouse his new capital in the newly granted land. There would be numerous treaties and alliances between the two states but from Ataulf on the Visigothic Kingdom of Hispania was a separate entity from the Roman Empire. Ataulf's speech and

¹¹² Orosius, pg. 397

¹¹³ "Visigothic Kingdom," accessed March 30, 2017, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/Visigothic_Kingdom.png.

precedent paved for the Visigothic state to view, and therefore act, as a separate from the Western Roman Empire from whose corpse they had been born. In the wars against the Huns the Romans would rely on Visigothic strength to throw back the Hunnic invasions. In this conflict, even the great general Aetius recognized that the Visigoths were an allied power and not a group of *federates* to be used as cannon fodder like Theodosius had used them in Alaric's time. The Visigoths would also engage in separate independent wars against the Suevi, Franks, and Burgundians and their kings would even war with Clovis I and eventually be finally conquered by the Umayyad's. Though this war wore them out to such an extent that the Battle of Tours could dissuade the invading Umayyad's to turn back and rest on their laurels.

This kingdom created by Ataulf would last until the Umayyad conquest of Spain in the mid to late 700's and before that would throw off the attempt by Justinian I to reconquer the Roman Empire, several invasions by the Franks, and be the critical support for Aetius' major defeat of Attila at the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains. All of this is because Ataulf could settle the Visigoths, and other federates, and establish a structure by which they could be ruled and that could survive his passing. He gave the Visigoths their kingdom, and his death and the continuation of that structure proved him successful and correct in the Visigoths becoming the shield of *Roma* against other invading peoples and an empire. As well as wrong; the Goths could live under laws and were not too barbaric to create a state.

Conclusion:

Ataulf's reign was highly truncated compared with Alaric's. However, during it he created what Alaric had always pushed for throughout his reign but never achieved. Alaric attempted numerous times, with Illyricum, and with the negotiations with Honorius but he could never create the independent kingdom that he wanted for the Visigoths. Ever since they had been brought into the Empire the Goths had been under the Empire's thumb and Alaric wanted to get out from underneath it. However, even holding Rome itself captive was not enough to force the emperor's hand to grant them their freedom. Ataulf though could create an independent kingdom for the Visigoths separate from the Roman Empire. He could do this because of a deft handling of the political situation where he was instead of the broad policy that Alaric employed in playing the two emperors off each other. It is also clear from Alaric's appointing of Ataulf as his heir that he also wanted to create a more centralized foundation for Visigothic power. That inheritance and settled kingdom are the signs that Ataulf was the Visigoths' first king. Alaric was a great military leader with the power of a king but not the kingdom from which he could rule. Ataulf's kingdom, and kingship even survived his assassination and a usurper attempting to take control of the state and the title. So, while his reign was indeed short it was crucial for the formation of the Visigothic state and the creation of one of the first barbarian kingdoms from the lands of the Roman Empire. His reign did not end perfectly however. Wallia had to deal with the Roman blockade but that was easily dealt with by the return of Placidia to Constantius, and then Wallia could turn his attention to the conquest of Hispania.

Bibliography –

Alarico. Accessed March 30, 2017. http://photos.geni.com/p9/3419/305/5344448378a5e1295/408px-02-ALARICO_large.jpg.

Ataulfo. Accessed March 30, 2017.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/79/Ata%C3%BAlfo_01.jpg/320px-Ata%C3%BAlfo_01.jpg?1490913857477.

Augustine, John Healey, Juan Luis Vives, R. V. G. Tasker, and Ernest Barker. *The City of God: (De Civitate Dei)*. Everyman's Library, No. 982-983. Theology. London : New York: J. M. Dent & sons Ltd.; E. P. Dutton & co. inc, 1945.

Bayless, William N. "The Visigothic Invasion of Italy in 401." *The Classical Journal* 72, no. 1 (1976): 65–67.

Burrell, Emma. "A Re-Examination of Why Stilicho Abandoned His Pursuit of Alaric in 397." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 53, no. 2 (2004): 251–56.

Christiansen, Peder G. "Claudian versus the Opposition." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966): 45–54. doi:10.2307/2936001.

Claudian. *The Gothic War*. Translated by Maurice Platnauer. Loeb Classical Library. London, 1922.

Claudianus, Claudius, Michael Dewar, Claudius Claudianus, and Claudius Claudianus. *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1996.

Claudianus, Claudius, and Maurice Platnauer. *Claudian*. The Loeb Classical Library. London : New York: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1922.

Croke, Brian. "Arbogast and the Death of Valentinian II." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 25, no. 2 (1976): 235–44.

- . “Cassiodorus and the *Getica* of Jordanes.” *Classical Philology* 82, no. 2 (1987): 117–34.
- “Daniel 11:6, Young’s Literal Translation of the Holy Bible (YLT98).” Accessed December 4, 2016.
<https://www.bible.com/bible/821/dan.11.6.ylt98>.
- Dewar, Michael. “Hannibal and Alaric in the Later Poems of Claudian.” *Mnemosyne* 47, no. 3 (1994): 349–72.
- Dill, Samuel. “The Capture of Rome.” *New England Review (1990-)* 23, no. 2 (2002): 196–202.
- Drinkwater, J. F. “Orosius and Ataulf.” Edited by Antonio Marchetta. *The Classical Review* 39, no. 1 (1989): 92–93.
- . “The Usurpers Constantine III (407-411) and Jovinus (411-413).” *Britannia* 29 (1998): 269–98. doi:10.2307/526818.
- Eusebius, Rufinus, and Philip R. Amidon. *History of the Church. The Fathers of the Church, a New Translation*, volume 133. Washington, D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016.
- Frend, W. H. C. “Pagans, Christians, and ‘the Barbarian Conspiracy’ of A. D. 367 in Roman Britain.” *Britannia* 23 (1992): 121–31. doi:10.2307/526106.
- Frye, David. “A Mutual Friend of Athaulf and Jerome.” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 40, no. 4 (1991): 507–8.
- Gillett, Andrew. “Rome, Ravenna and the Last Western Emperors.” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001): 131–67.
- Grierson, P. “Election and Inheritance in Early Germanic Kingship.” *Cambridge Historical Journal* 7, no. 1 (1941): 1–22.
- Heather, P. J. *Goths and Romans, 332-489*. Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1991.

- Idatius, R. W. Burgess, Idatius, and Idatius. *The Chronicle of Hydatius. And the Consularia Constantinopolitana*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Jordanes, and Charles Christopher Mierow. *Jordanes The Origin and Deeds of the Goths: In English Version*. Princeton, 1908.
- Kulikowski, Michael. *Rome's Gothic Wars: From the Third Century to Alaric*. Key Conflicts of Classical Antiquity. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Mathisen, Ralph. "We Have Met the Enemy and They Are Us." Lecture presented at the Irish and British Studies Room, University of Colorado at Boulder, March 4, 2017.
- Myers, Henry Allen, and Herwig Wolfram. *Medieval Kingship*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982.
- Oost, Stewart Irvin. "The Revolt of Heraclian." *Classical Philology* 61, no. 4 (1966): 236–42.
- Orosius, Paulus, and Roy J. Deferrari. *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*. The Fathers of the Church, a New Translation, v. 50. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1964.
- Priscus, and John Given. *The Fragmentary History of Priscus: Attila, the Huns And the Roman Empire, AD 430-476*. Christian Roman Empire Series, vol. 11. Merchantville NJ: Evolution Publishing, 2014.
- Rousseau, Philip. "Visigothic Migration and Settlement, 376-418: Some Excluded Hypotheses." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 41, no. 3 (1992): 345–61.
- Sivan, Hagith. *Galla Placidia: The Last Roman Empress*. Women in Antiquity. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- . "On Foederati, Hospitalitas, and the Settlement of the Goths in A.D. 418." *The American Journal of Philology* 108, no. 4 (1987): 759–72. doi:10.2307/294799.

Søby Christensen, Arne. *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration Myth*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2002.

Thompson, E. A. *The Goths in Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1969.

———. *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila*. 2nd ed. London: Duckworth, 2008.

Tomlin, Roger. “The Date of the ‘Barbarian Conspiracy.’” *Britannia* 5 (1974): 303–9.

doi:10.2307/525734.

“Visigothic Kingdom.” Accessed March 30, 2017.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d7/Visigothic_Kingdom.png.

W. Burgess, Richard. *Hydatius: A Late Roman Chronicler in Post-Roman Spain*. Oxford, 1988.

Walia Rey Visigotho. Accessed March 30, 2017.

<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/30/Walia-rey-visigodo.png?1490913701382>.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. “Gothia and Romania.” Accessed November 30, 2016.

<https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:1m2863&datastreamId=POST-PEER-REVIEW-PUBLISHERS-DOCUMENT.PDF>.

Wolfram, Herwig. *History of the Goths*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Wozniak, Frank E. “East Rome, Ravenna and Western Illyricum: 454-536 A.D.” *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 30, no. 3 (1981): 351–82.

Yorke, Barbara. *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1997.

Zosimus. *Historia Nova: The Decline of Rome*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1967.