Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633

Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633

Rachel L. Stocking

Ann Arbor

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2000
All rights reserved
Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
® Printed on acid-free paper

2003 2002 2001 2000 4 3 2 1

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Stocking, Rachel L.

Bishops, councils, and consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633 / Rachel L. Stocking.

p. cm. — (History, languages, and cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese worlds)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-472-11133-7 (alk. paper)

1. Spain—Church history. 2. Spain—History—Gothic period, 414–711. 3. Church and state—Spain—History—To 1500. 4. Catholic Church. Council of Toledo (3rd: 589) 5. Catholic Church. Council of Toledo (4th: 633) 6. Visigoths—Spain—History. I. Title. II. Series.

BR1024.S79 2000

274.6'02—dc21

To my parents, and to the best part of my life, my son, Evan

Acknowledgments

Over the course of my education and the years it has taken me to produce this book, I have incurred numerous intellectual, economic, and emotional debts. The History Department at San Francisco State University offered professors upon whom I still model my classroom self, including Sally Scully, William Bonds, and Joseph Illick. I owe special thanks to Frank Kidner, whose attention and advice encouraged me to think of graduate school, Visigothic Studies, and an academic future as possibilities rather than sources of terror.

The History Department at Stanford University made graduate school possible, while Gavin Langmuir, Stephen Ferroulo, Amos Funkenstein, and Susan Treggiari made it meaningful by teaching me to see and "do" history with intellectual diligence and imagination. Philippe Buc was, and still is, enormously generous with his time, advice, and helpful and inspiring ideas. From Stanford to the present Sabine MacCormack's guidance has been essential: in navigating the alien worlds of both late antiquity and the modern university, in coping with the obstacles of single motherhood in an unforgiving environment, in researching and writing intelligible, creative, and responsible history, and in making the transition from student to professor and author. Her help and advice have been fundamental in conceiving and producing this book.

The History Department at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale has given me not only a job and travel money but also something quite unusual: a supportive, stimulating, and congenial working environment. Ted Weeks, Kay Carr, Robbie Lieberman, Mrinalini Sinha, Jim Allen, and Marji Morgan have helped me keep my head above water and have put up with a perhaps unreasonable level of ranting and complaints. Kay Carr also read parts of my manuscript, talked with me at length about ancient and modern consensus, and with characteristic generosity donated her time and computer expertise in making the map for this book. Jim Allen read the manuscript and gave me invaluable advice on the publishing process. I thank all my History colleagues for their pedagogical advice and the opportunity to teach and all my students for the inspiration and stimulation that their education has brought to my research and writing.

My gratitude also goes to J. N. Hillgarth for his comments on my dissertation, to Perry Pearson at University of Michigan Press for her ready atten-

tion, and to the press's referees for their careful readings and very useful suggestions on the manuscript.

My friends Debbie Lewites, Nina Feldman, and Bill Compton have never failed to give me the hospitality and conversation that made it imaginable to move so far away from home. I would never have been in a position to do so without Nancy Thompson's companionship and consolation in the world of early medieval studies as well as her many readings of my work and her help on translations. Susan Dever taught me Spanish and still teaches me how to teach, write, think, and exist as both a person and an academic.

In addition to substantial material support, my father, George Stocking, has been generous with his time and energy in reading many versions of this manuscript; his comments on the introduction were particularly helpful in framing the project. He has also provided me a model of meticulous history writing and uncompromising logic as well as a compelling picture of the many benefits offered by the life of the mind. Along with her understanding and affection, my mother, Mina Caulfield, has given me an alternative model of principled pedagogy and research as well as an equally compelling picture of a life committed to social change. I thank all the members of the Stocking and Davis families for teaching me to think critically, gather evidence, frame an argument, and, when necessary, shout the opposition into submission. Carol Stocking, Melissa Robinson, Becky Stocking, Susan Baltrushes, and Thomas Stocking have given me the toleration and love that make it possible to keep on trying. Finally, Evan Smith has been my main reason for living since he was born. His love, patience, inquisitiveness, criticism, and sense of humor will always inspire and sustain me.

Contents

Abbreviations		xi
Introduction		I
	Holy Authority and the Holy Spirit in Sixth-Century Iberia	26
CHAPTER TWO.	Consensus and Conflict at the Third Council of Toledo	59
CHAPTER THREE.	Collaboration, Suspicion, and Innovation in the Provinces	89
CHAPTER FOUR.	Culture, Coercion, and the Corruption of Justice	118
	Exclusive Christian Consensus and the Institutionalization of Difference	145
Conclusion		174
References		193
Index		203
Index to Concilia	ar <i>Acta</i>	215

Abbreviations

EW Epistolae Wisigothicae, edited by Juan Gil, Miscellanea

Wisigothica (Seville, 1972).

HG Isidore of Seville, Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, Suebo-

rum, edited and translated by Cristóbal Rodríguez Alonso, Las historias de los Godos, Vandalos, y Suevos de Isidore de

Seville (León, 1975).

John Bicl. John of Biclar, Chronicle, edited by Theodor Mommsen,

MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, 11, Chronica Minora, 2

(Berlin, 1894).

La colección La colección canónica Hispana, vol. 4, edited by Gonzalo

Martínez Díez and Félix Rodríguez, Monumenta Hispaniae

Sacra, Serie Canónica (Madrid, 1984).

LH Gregory of Tours, Libri Historiarum X, edited by Bruno

Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH, Scriptores rerum

merovingicarum I (Hannover, 1951).

LV Leges Visigothorum, edited by Karl Zeumer, MGH, Legum

Sectio I, Legum Nationum Germanicarum, vol. 1 (Han-

nover, 1902).

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

MW Miscellanea Wisigothica, edited by Juan Gil (Seville, 1972).

PL Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina, edited by J. P.

Migne (Paris, 1844-64).

Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto

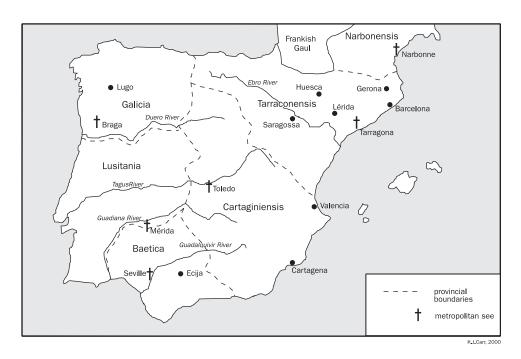
medioevo (Spoleto, 1954ff.).

VPE Vitas patrum sanctorum emeritensium, edited and translated

by Joseph N. Garvin (Washington, D.C., 1946).

Vives Concilios hispano-romanos y visigodos, edited and trans-

lated by José Vives (Barcelona, 1963).



Map 1. Visigothic Iberia, ca. 633