

# *Istae contra omnium religiones*

CHARACTERIZING NORTHERN BARBARIAN RELIGIOSITY  
IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN LITERARY TRADITION  
FROM HELLENISM TO THE LATER EMPIRE

Antti Lampinen

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
ABBREVIATIONS.....	iv
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. OUTLINE OF THE WORK.....	1
2. METHODS AND TERMINOLOGY.....	6
3. PROBLEMS.....	21
<b>PART I—RELIGIOUS ‘BOREALISM’ FROM THE HYPERBOREANS TO THE CIMBRI.....</b>	<b>29</b>
1. EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGION IN THE GREEK MORAL AND MENTAL GEOGRAPHY.....	29
A. THE BEGINNINGS.....	29
B. Οὐκέτι μούνον ἀκουῆ : (RE)INVENTING THE NORTHERN BARBARIAN.....	51
C. FIRST IMPRESSIONS, GREEK <i>MYTHOPOEIA</i> AND TRACES OF ‘EMOTIONAL BARBAROGRAPHY’.....	62
2. FROM GREEK TO ROMAN LITERATURE.....	89
A. EARLIEST ROMAN CONTACTS WITH THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS.....	89
B. GREEK INFLUENCE ON REPUBLICAN ROMAN DEPICTIONS OF NORTHERNERS.....	99
3. THE CIMBRI AND THE TEUTONES.....	115
4. SCIONS OF HERACLES, ENEMIES OF THE GODS: EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGIOSITY DOWN TO THE CIMBRIC WARS.....	128
A. EPISTEMIC FOUNDATION OF RELIGIOUS ‘BOREALISM’.....	128
B. HERACLES-HERCULES AND THE EUROPEAN BARBARIANS.....	136
C. RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA AND GALATOMACHIC TRIUMPHALISM.....	146
D. THEANDRIC IMBALANCE, DIVINE EPIPHANY AND TALISMANIC SANCTUARIES.....	156
<b>PART II—NEW FRONTIERS, THE SAME OLD BARBARIANS? RELIGIOUS ‘BOREALISM’ FROM THE LATE REPUBLIC TO THE HIGH EMPIRE.....</b>	<b>167</b>
1. BEGINNINGS OF NORTHERN RELIGIOUS ETHNOGRAPHY.....	167
A. THE GREEK THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	167
B. WIDENING HORIZONS IN LATE REPUBLICAN ROME.....	172
C. ‘HOME IS WHERE THE HEADS ARE’—POSIDONIUS AND HIS ETHNOGRAPHY.....	177
D. THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS.....	189
2. THE EXPANDING MIDDLE GROUND OF THE LATE REPUBLICAN WORLD.....	200
A. THE GAULS IN THE ERA OF CICERO, CAESAR, AND LIVY.....	200
B. GERMANS AND BRITONS IN CAESAR.....	222
3. TRANSFERRING BARBARISM: GAUL AND GERMANIA DURING THE HIGH EMPIRE.....	227
A. THE RHINE FRONTIER: GERMANIA AS <i>ALTER ORBIS</i> .....	227
B. DEPICTING THE GERMANS’ RELATIONSHIP TO RELIGION.....	232
C. <i>FANATICA MULTITUDO</i> : GALIC DISTURBANCES OF THE FIRST CENTURY CE.....	243

<b>4.</b>	<b>BRITAIN AND OTHER ISLANDS .....</b>	<b>253</b>
A.	THE OCEAN AND THE STRANGENESS OF ITS ISLANDS.....	253
B.	THE BRITISH IN THE IMPERIAL LITERATURE .....	261
C.	ON STRANGER TIDES: IRELAND AND THE IRISH .....	267
<b>5.</b>	<b>HEGEMONY OF THE TOPOI: EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGIOSITY FROM POSIDONIUS TO THE HIGH EMPIRE ...</b>	<b>271</b>
A.	THE SAMENESS OF THE NORTHERN DIFFERENCE.....	271
B.	THE 'BARBARIZED RELIGION' OF THE NORTH.....	281
C.	THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING PIOUS.....	291
<b>PART III –THE NORTHERNERS' RELIGIOSITY IN LATER IMPERIAL LITERATURE .....</b>		<b>297</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>CLASSICIZING IDEALS AND ETHNOGRAPHIC CONSERVATISM .....</b>	<b>297</b>
A.	'THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF NEW BARBARIANS'.....	297
B.	<i>EXEMPLA</i> .....	302
C.	INNOVATIONS AND IDEALIZATIONS.....	305
D.	THE <i>NACHLEBEN</i> OF DRUIDS AND OTHER NORTHERN SAGES .....	310
<b>2.</b>	<b>GALLIC DISTURBANCES: LOSS OF TRUST, 'RE-BARBARIZATION' AND REHABILITATION.....</b>	<b>317</b>
A.	USURPERS AND OUTCASTS FROM THE GALLIC EMPERORS TO THE 'BACAUDIC' <i>IMITATIO BARBARIAE</i> .....	317
B.	THE CASE OF AMMIANUS: GAULS AS 'ETERNAL ALLIES'.....	324
C.	'THE GREAT CONSPIRACY' AND OTHER DISTURBANCES IN BRITAIN .....	327
<b>3.</b>	<b>WHO ARE WE BEING ROMANS AGAINST?—BARBARIANS IN <i>ROMANIA</i>.....</b>	<b>331</b>
A.	COMPLICATIONS IN THE EXTERNAL-INTERNAL DICHOTOMY .....	331
B.	ANTI-BARBARIAN SENTIMENTS AND ELITE WORLDVIEW.....	334
<b>4.</b>	<b>THE HIGH AND LATE IMPERIAL IMAGE OF EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGIOSITY .....</b>	<b>346</b>
A.	<i>IMPERATORES SEMPER HERCULI</i> : THE BARBAROMACHIC EMPEROR .....	346
B.	THE SANCTUARIES, CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN .....	352
C.	CHRISTIAN BARBAROGRAPHY? TOPICAL ADAPTATIONS AND EPISTEMIC REDEFINITIONS .....	355
<b>CONCLUSIONS.....</b>		<b>363</b>
<b>1.</b>	<b>SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>363</b>
A.	FROM THE CLASSICAL ERA TO THE CIMBRIC WARS .....	363
B.	FROM POSIDONIUS TO EARLY EMPIRE .....	366
C.	HIGH AND LATE EMPIRE .....	368
<b>2.</b>	<b>CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>371</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>		<b>381</b>

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
ALG	<i>Anthologia Lyrica Graeca</i>
ASS	H.-J. Uther, <i>The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography. Based on the system of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson</i>
BNJ	<i>Brill's New Jacoby Online</i>
BNP	<i>Brill's New Pauly Online</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
CGL	<i>Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>Coll. Alex.</i>	<i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i>
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
FGE	<i>Further Greek Epigrams</i>
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
FS	<i>Fasti Sacerdotum</i>
HRRel	<i>Historiarum Romanorum Reliquiae</i>
<i>I.Aeg.Thrace</i>	Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου ( <i>Inscriptions of Aegean Thrace</i> )
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>IDidyma</i>	<i>Didyma II: Die Inschriften</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGBulg</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i>
IGM	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Metricae</i>
<i>IK Kyme</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i>
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>IMT Kaikos</i>	<i>Inschriften Mysia &amp; Troas, 'Kaikos' (nos. 801-965)</i>
IOSPE	<i>Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini</i>
Ist. Arch. Mus.	Istanbul Archaeological Museums / İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri
<i>IvP</i>	<i>Inschriften von Priene</i>
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>Milet</i>	<i>Inschriften von Milet</i>
MRR	<i>Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i>
Mus. Ashm.	Ashmolean Museum
NP	<i>Neue Pauly</i>
OGIS	<i>Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
PCG	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PS	<i>Patrologia Syriaca</i>
PLRE	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i>
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
RIG	<i>Recueil des Inscriptions Gauloises</i>
ROL	<i>Remains of Old Latin</i>
SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SH	<i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i>
SIG <sup>3</sup>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.
SSH	<i>Supplementum Supplementi Hellenistici</i>
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris V: Tituli Lydiae</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i>
TRF	<i>Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta</i>



## INTRODUCTION

### 1. OUTLINE OF THE WORK

‘The very ink with which history is written is merely fluid prejudice’.

Mark Twain, *Following the Equator* (1897), Ch. 69.

In this thesis, I examine the tradition and relationships of references to the religiosity and morality of northern peoples in Greek and Latin literary sources, from the pre-Hellenistic period until the end of the fourth century CE. I will argue that in ancient literature, recurring stock motifs and topoi constitute the most prevalent manifestation of a culturally shared and stereotypical set of associations about the religious culture and the moral character of the ‘northern barbarians’, a rather hazily differentiated assemblage of variously named groups to the north of the Mediterranean basin. In short, when the ancient educated elite thought about the religiosity of the northerners, it was through a certain limited set of tropes that they related to the subject. As such, these motifs not only conditioned how the ‘reality’ of those groups was perceived and written about in antiquity, but as a whole, have formed a serious obstacle to all subsequent search for ‘factual’ information on northern barbarian religions.<sup>1</sup>

The sources used in the course of this thesis will represent most types of literary remains available. Although epigraphic sources and numismatic evidence will occasionally be utilized—while acknowledging the limited contact with literary tradition that these texts exhibit—most ‘genres’ or modes of Greek and Latin literature do contain references to the religious or moral character of the barbarian groups of Europe. Texts in the historiographical-geographical mode as broadly understood—including many passages often labelled ‘ethnographic’—feature extensively, but the question of the usefulness of generic definitions will be taken up on a number of occasions. The tracking of cross-generic allusions will

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<sup>1</sup> This is the ‘impossibility of new barbarians’ commented upon by WOLFRAM 1997, 37, but applied in particular to the static nature that the textual sources lend to the religious ethnographies of northerners. Cf. MURPHY 2004, 82: “Once set, an observation about a given people was hard to supplant, no matter how misinformed. When certain expectations about human development became established, observations were adjusted to fit theories [...]”. Many of the adverse heuristic effects of these topoi for scholarship seeking to uncover an ‘Iron Age European religion’ have been detailed in FITZPATRICK 1991. The established myths about the interaction of barbarians and Romans—and particularly the Late Antique so-called ‘migration period’ (despite such forceful critics as GOFFART 2006, e.g. 4-12)—are slow to dispel, as evidenced by the broadly sourced, attractive, but almost wholly conventional exhibition *Roma e i barbari* at the Venetian Palazzo Grassi in 2008; the accompanying publication (AILLAGON & AL. 2008), while similarly broad in outlook and visually attractive, is largely unwilling to question the old approach of maps filled with arrows, showing apparently cohesive groups of outsiders from distinct, separate barbarian ‘homelands’ reaching their separate *regna*, anticipating the medieval kingdoms.

## INTRODUCTION

demonstrate the way that ancient writing about barbarians ('barbarography') exhibits strong similarities across ostensibly separate literary forms. Rhetoric and oratory, I will argue, constitute another promising category of evidence, with many stereotypes about barbarians surfacing in polemics, whereas the panegyric register is deeply involved with expressions of providential triumphalism.<sup>2</sup> Yet another, and quite crucial, role of rhetorical modes and set pieces, I will argue is manifested in the way that the elite's schooling perpetuated literary stereotypes about the northerners' morality. Epistolography presents a promising register in which the elite could reasonably be expected to parade their shared preconceptions, and it certainly had much in common with rhetorical exercises through which modes of discourse—'speech about barbarians' among many others—were learned. Finally, such genres as poetry, technical literature, and philosophy will be seen to contain many intriguing passages connected with stereotypes of northern religiosity.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the chronologically extensive Part I, the epistemic and literary basis for the subsequent religious 'ethnography' of the northerners will be interrogated in relation to both historical developments and thematic elements. The beginnings of septentriography will be examined through Herodotus' portrayal of Thracian and Scythian religiosity, including the literary precursors for motifs he chose to use. Some components, even when lacking explicit religious/moral content, are nonetheless relevant in demonstrating the perception of northerners as a commonality, and the borrowing of motifs from one group to another within this commonality. The discussion will include an extensive treatment of the impact of the encounter between the Celts/Galatae and the Greeks, which seems to be the most prominent example of a pre-Roman sudden rise in salience of the northern barbarians in Greek thinking.<sup>4</sup> The end-point of the resulting 'first stage' of intensified religious septentriography is placed around the time of the Cimbric wars, but it must be stressed that many other divisions would have been equally plausible.<sup>5</sup> I will maintain, however, that since the Cimbric war may have accentuated, or perhaps rekindled, Roman unease about the northerners and their menace, what follows that period at the turn of the first century BCE may constitute something of a

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<sup>2</sup> 'Triumphalism' in this thesis denotes a set of interconnected notions ranging from the imagery of Roman exceptionalism, divine favour, and deserved success when engaged in warlike confrontations, to the close association between the ideals of rulership and the ability to maintain and augment the honour of Roman arms. The practical religio-political displays of triumphal celebrations constitute only a minor, though no doubt symbolically potent, aspect of this ideological complex. The standard study on Roman and post-Roman triumphalism is MCCORMICK 1986.

<sup>3</sup> For the wide range of literary sources and 'genres' that must be made use of in studying historical outgroup perceptions, see the concise summing-up by LEERSSEN *s.n.* 'Literature' in BELLER & LEERSSEN 2007, 353.

<sup>4</sup> On the concept of psychological salience: SCHNEIDER 2004, 143, 150, 234, 372. An introduction to the scholarly use of 'stereotype' in classical studies can be found in HALL 1989, 102-13.

<sup>5</sup> For the term 'septentriography' for 'writing about the north and northerners', see below (p. 14f.).

## INTRODUCTION

break with the past. Yet clear links with the past will also emerge; the shift from Part I to Part II stems from this re-intensified Graeco-Roman need to use inherited narrative motifs to epistemically situate the northerners, with immediate connections to the age of Cicero and Caesar. Furthermore, what is often claimed as one of the most significant Greek contributions to the ‘ethnography’ of European barbarians, namely Posidonius’ references to the Celts, dates from the period immediately following the Cimbric wars, and—as I will argue—was certainly affected by their impact.

Part II, examining sources covering the era from the Late Republic down to the second and early third centuries CE, will cover a crucial stage in the development of conceptions of northerners’ religiosity and morality. It might be expected from what is known about the character of negative stereotypes that the subjugation of the vast Gallic area and the subsequent development of those prosperous provinces, together with the creation of the *limes* against Germania and the partial incorporation of the southern part of Britain would have resulted in the gradual obsolescence of the most negative elements in conceptions of barbarian religiosity. If, on the other hand, the power of literary traditionalism triumphed in such a context, this constitutes a powerful argument in support of the view that a conjunction between epistemic aptness and literary traditionalism created a static religious ethnography of the northerners, a situation in which the stereotypical images adopted by the elite through their literary education can only tell us about the Roman literary iconosphere and its ideological manifestations, not the anthropology of the European barbarians. As we shall see, in encountering the cultures of later barbarians, most ancient writers first asked themselves whether they could model their description along the lines of some venerable literary predecessor; their second question was what else they could do to pique the interest of their audience—along with their expectations. Possible ‘anthropological’ considerations were in third place at the very best.

A hypothesis as to the possible transference of narrative motifs seems justified, as well: since it is a recognized characteristic of hostile images of other groups to be reapplied to a newly emerging salient group rather than abandoned, we can expect the Greek and Roman imagery of barbarian religiosity to show signs of the transference of motifs from Gauls to ‘free Germans’ and other groups.<sup>6</sup> The traditionalism of classical literature, and the haziness of the

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<sup>6</sup> From the psychological point of view, SCHNEIDER 2004, 195: “people may use these presumed similarities to transfer stereotypes across groups”. GOODYEAR 1970, aptly in the context of Tacitus’ *Germania*, describes this tendency (9): “The work shows traces of a curious feature of ancient ethnography, namely the phenomenon of ‘transference’. Physical or sociological characteristics which one writer ascribes to a remote people are borrowed by a later writer and transferred to another people altogether, and this may happen many times, until there grows

category of northerners—which will be noted throughout this study—can only have reinforced this tendency. The end-point of Part II is somewhat of a hazy border itself. But in a study dealing with the continuity of literary topoi the clearest indicator of a change in emphasis might be sought in the increasing tendency to classicize throughout the literary field from the Second Sophistic onwards; chronologically bringing the study to its last part.

Part III examines the Late Imperial period of writing about northerners' religiosity down to an end-point around the year 400. The greatest possible impetus for any change in the received iconosphere during this period might be thought to stem from the Christianization of Roman society.<sup>7</sup> But together with the potential for change offered by such ideas as the universalistic tendencies of some Christian thinkers, there were also other and perhaps counterproductive developments taking place.<sup>8</sup> As the earlier imperial confidence, enjoying relatively stable interaction with barbarian societies across the borders, gave way to more adversarial perceptions of Romano-barbaric relations, a certain exacerbation in the literary reflection of northern barbarity could be expected. Yet it is also clear that in times of increased interaction—which certainly applies to the increased presence of barbarians in most sections of Late Imperial society—previous hostile images tend to encounter formative pressures, mitigating their ability to stigmatize individuals and groups. A factor that could have complicated this, I will suggest, is the polemic friction between different strands of Christianity, opening up a channel for the re-use of previous imagery of 'substandard religiosity' in connection with 'Arian' northerners.<sup>9</sup> Since the rhetorical blame game directed at 'heretics' was politicized from its very outset, such imagery would have counteracted possible Christian universalism.

From such developments, it would appear that the Late Imperial era was particularly rich in its interplay of positive and negative pressures as regards the inherited package of literary stereotypes. But beyond the epistemic needs and pressures influencing the negotiation of barbarographic imagery, influences stemming directly from the literary culture itself remained prominent. Indeed, what is surprising is the position of barbarians in the elite literature of the age, which despite their widespread presence seems to have attempted to still

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up a stock of commonplaces, descriptive and characterizing traits which may be applied indifferently to any people which is being described".

<sup>7</sup> For Christianization, the view adopted in this thesis is close to ANDO 2008, 149ff.; CAMERON 2011, 173-87; and BROWN 2012, 102-9. If Christianization was a largely open-ended process, now obscured by later linear narratives of conversion, there is in fact little reason to expect dramatic changes in the use of literary conventions and the inherited tropes (see footnotes 9-10 below).

<sup>8</sup> On Christian universalism, see e.g. OLSTER 1996, 95f.; BUELL 2005, 138-65.

<sup>9</sup> A good summary of what changed and what did not in the reapplication of grammatical *paideia* in a Christian context: HEATHER 1999, 236ff.

## INTRODUCTION

fit them into traditional stereotypes. One of the fundamental hypotheses of this study, buttressed by several previous studies of Late Antique classicizing ideals, is that even in the increasingly Christianized and interconnected Late Imperial Romano-barbarian societies, the received literary motifs imbibed by the learned elite through their education lent some life to the established stereotypes of barbarian religiosity.<sup>10</sup> The precise nature of the relationship between literary tropes and the mental stereotypes subscribed to by the readers and producers of that literature will occupy a prominent place in the last section of this thesis. Nonetheless, despite the complexity of Late Imperial *Romanitas*, religious elements inherited from the previous barbarographic tradition remained important both as tropes of antiquarianizing literary posturing, and as a vehicle of genuine cultural critique and stereotyping.

The last part of this thesis, ‘Conclusions’, reflects the double focus of the preceding parts, rearticulating their findings both through diachronic and thematic framings. The section titled ‘Summary’ (p. 363) reiterates the main findings in the chronological study of the septentriographic tradition; this is followed by ‘Conclusions’ (p. 371), reflecting upon the thematic, narratological and topical findings. It is to be hoped that this twofold approach will enrich our understanding of the ways in which the religiosity of the northern barbarians was described in the Graeco-Roman tradition, and will lead to insights not provided by previous scholarship.

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<sup>10</sup> Among the fundamental studies of classicizing tendencies even among Christian writers is CAMERON & CAMERON 1964. More recently, it has been perceptively formulated e.g. by MARINCOLA 1997, 12. Naturally, AUERBACH 1953 remains the fundamental study of mimesis, the ultimate technique of classicizing literature. Indeed, if the grammarians and the elite that had been schooled by the traditional *paideia* felt a certain almost sacred type of moral uplifting connected with their education (as KASTER 1988, 15 writes), the polar opposite presented by the barbarians in terms of both *paideia* and moral standards would have provided attractive notional support in identity-building.

## 2. METHODS AND TERMINOLOGY

“The ‘factual’ reportage or narration of events is never entirely devoid of textual conventions. [...] Mundane experience is itself socially constructed through discursive practices.”

ATKINSON 1990, 40.

The effort of collecting Greek and Roman references to the religions of certain northern groups into a single source book has been attempted many times. SCHMIDT in 1834 and DINAN in 1911 put together selections of mainly historical source passages, some of which were thought to cast light upon the religion of the Celtic invaders into Greece. Even earlier, Jacques Martin had published his *La religion des Gaulois tirée des plus pures sources de l'Antiquité* in two volumes (1727, Paris). The first comprehensive collection appeared in the series *Fontes Historiae Religionum*, when ZWICKER put together three volumes of *Fontes Historiae Religionis Celticae* (1934-36). The same series had already witnessed *Fontes Historiae Religionis Germanicae* in 1928, edited by CLEMEN. The particular benefit of Zwicker's selection is the *longue durée* achieved by his inclusion of late sources, both Merovingian and Insular. While his motives for this inclusivity may have had more to do with a wish to demonstrate some factual continuity in the belief systems of the ‘Celts’, his source book can still act as a convenient starting point even as the continuity is nowadays better understood to be a property of the literary, instead of religious, tradition.

The most recent of such source books is the remarkable contribution by HOFENEDER, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen*, in three parts, which follows the expansive chronological framework advocated by Zwicker. While extremely meticulous and competent, some decisions on the part of the collector have less than fortunate corollaries, such as his reliance on the reconstruction of Posidonius' fragments as edited by THEILER 1982 and applied by MALITZ 1983 and certain other scholars. The inclusiveness of Theiler's posthumously published edition has resulted in a number of dubious attributions which continue the ‘over-Posidonizing’ tendencies of much of older scholarship on ancient ethnography and philosophy. Aside from such individual cases, Hofeneder's massive collection represents a most valuable tool for scholars of those northern groups that can with some justification be labelled ‘Celtic’. The problem is that projecting the term ‘Celtic’ into the

past, with the associated ethnic presuppositions, blinds the student to certain common aspects of Graeco-Roman septentriography.<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, the same common handicap affects all the collections referred to.<sup>12</sup> It is one thing to perceive ancient testimonies referring to groups called *Galli*, Γαλάται or Κελτοί as pertaining to a largely shared form of European Iron Age culture. But to compartmentalize such references as though presenting an exact historical reflection of a cultural or ethnic entity, with any meaningful connection to groups constructed through modern nomenclature, risks reading ancient sources as though they were written for the benefit of the modern scholar of ‘Celtic’ or ‘Germanic’ prehistory. As already noted, the aim of this thesis is something else. Firstly, the Greeks and Romans would not necessarily have used the relevant ethnonyms in an exclusive, definitive, or unambiguous way.<sup>13</sup> Next, rather than providing a straightforwardly chronological exposition of sources covered to a large extent in earlier contributions, I will attempt on the one hand to pinpoint the appearance of certain narrative motifs in the literary tradition of describing northerners’ religiosity, and on the other to explain the epistemic and literary appeal of these motifs that led to their perpetuation.

No discussion of Graeco-Roman barbarography can avoid the impact of HALL’s *Inventing the Barbarian* (1989), which examines reflections of the Persian Wars in Athenian drama. Her findings have subsequently been refined and reapplied, mostly confirming her conclusion that the warlike contact with Persia did change something fundamental in the ways

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<sup>11</sup> Of particular relevance to this technique are the editorial decisions to exclude certain passages that the scholarly consensus formulated in many cases during the nineteenth century has associated with ‘Germans’, while including others which Celtic scholarship has found more useful (based upon their already formed preconceptions as to what can be expected with regard to ‘Celtic’ religions), as well as including passages pertaining to ancient Britain (e.g. Procop. *Bell.* 8.20.47: HOFENEDER 2011, 473-38), apparently because of the force of a modern interpretative tradition that has tended to accommodate references to Britons despite the contrast with the ancient nomenclature. Hofeneder’s editorial decision to omit late ecclesiastical sources, which carry Zwicker’s source book far into the Middle Ages, slightly hampers the view offered of the later stages of the literary descent of many motifs. This is discussed in the context of Gallic ecclesiastical writing (p. 343ff.).

<sup>12</sup> As well as the sourcebook of translated texts by KOCH & CAREY 2003, targeted at an audience largely within Celtic studies. TOMASCHITZ 2002 is another example of sampling through ahistorical categories, though otherwise valuable. MARTIN 2011, though compartmentalizing the elements in ‘Posidonian ethnography’ under several thematic chapters, nonetheless falls victim to the lure of anachronistic comparison: generally, first a purported reconstruction of Posidonius’ eyewitness testimony is reviewed, then other (often chronologically earlier) classical sources for similar practices among barbarians are brought into play, and the whole is fleshed out with parallels from mediaeval Irish narratives (e.g. 153-77 on the motif of ritual suicide in a festive context).

<sup>13</sup> In this study the ethnonyms of source texts will be followed closely, even in transliteration: ‘Gauls’ is used for *Galli*, ‘Celts’ solely for Κελτοί, and ‘Galatae’ or ‘Galatians’ for Γαλάται. In referring to the physical reality of European Iron Age peoples that many in the Celtic Studies treat as a relatively meaningful and/or unitary grouping, the term ‘Celts’ will be marked with inverted commas. ‘Germans’ is used to render both Greek and Latin, but with the understanding that the relation of this ethnonym to the early modern and modern use is not straightforward. Other ethnonyms, with less problematic *Nachleben*, will be given a regular transliteration.

the Greeks related to foreign societies.<sup>14</sup> But this was not a uniform change. The Greeks had already been surrounded by barbarians in the pre-Persian Wars mental geography, as attested by the Homeric use of the word, and the turn towards negative stereotyping in the aftermath of Persian Wars may have mostly affected images of developed urban societies to the east of Greece. The northern barbarians were left largely unaffected by this first rise in salience of the hostile barbarian. That said, due to its focus on the literary tradition, in this thesis I necessarily have to deal with pre-280s portrayals of northerners' religiosity, especially in the immensely influential historical work of Herodotus. Here, a crucial study is the *Mirror of Herodotus* by HARTOG (1988, original French edition 1980), which highlights the literary, intentional aspects of Herodotus' ethnographic passages. In Hartog's view, barbarians were at least from Herodotus onwards a template upon which tales of Greek exceptionality could be fixed. Other noteworthy contributions concerning the image of northern nomads are SHAW 1982 and the interpretation of early climatological influences upon Scythian descriptions by CHIASSON 2001. Moral assessments were present already in this earliest stage, as were the two types of northern religiosity: the primitive, cruel blood sacrifices of 'hard' primitivism, and the pious, wood-dwelling Hyperboreans representing 'soft' primitivism.<sup>15</sup>

In this early stage of Greek barbarography, the more westerly barbarians of Europe are treated with broad and light brushstrokes. The few and sparse references to Κελτοί have consequently been twisted to serve a wide range of studies and claims, only some of which have much bearing upon perceptions of the religiosity of these groups.<sup>16</sup> If there was a group of northern barbarians—in addition to the Scythians—whose religion was seen as symptomatic of the Greek conception of barbarity, such a group would no doubt have been the Thracians. Much of the relevant research is rather intimately involved with nationalist policies, which in the Balkans have continued until very recently, but ASHERI 1990, ΚIROV

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<sup>14</sup> A prominent contribution is BRIDGES & AL. 2007 (especially RHODES 2007), and SHAPIRO 2009; but other extensive treatments have been included in ISAAC 2004, 257-303, and the corrective administered in GRUEN 2011A, 9-75 (also pointing out the danger of reductionism in the dichotomy of 'Orientalism': p. 2); see also the several contributions in GRUEN 2011B, Part 2 (67-182); SKINNER 2012, 233-57. A contribution predating HALL 1989 is JOUANNA 1981, still quite useful. A path less trodden is elucidated in much of the work of WIESEHÖFER, for example in his 2005 article.

<sup>15</sup> The dichotomy is the one articulated already in LOVEJOY & BOAS 1935, 9ff., but to an extent these two types are made use of as heuristic devices even in recent and influential studies, such as ROMM 1989 (on Hyperboreans in particular) and 1992 (a magisterial examination of the 'edges of the Earth' in Greek mental geography). On the moral repertoire of Greek barbarography, also VLASSOPOULOS 2013, 190-200.

<sup>16</sup> The now somewhat dated but still valuable contribution by RANKIN 1987, presents a solid if occasionally credulous account of ancient testimonies; problematically, his method of constantly mingling classical and Insular attestations demonstrates the heuristic risks that have only recently been recognized: see FITZPATRICK 1991, 127f. The early sections of COLLIS 2003 present a clear-headed assessment and basic contextualization of the ancient sources for Celts, with a measured critique of the aforementioned comparative method, whereas FREEMAN 1996 and 2006 paint in broad strokes and with remarkable confidence. The debate between TIERNEY 1960 and NASH 1976 is well-known and will be referred to below.



## INTRODUCTION

2007, XYDOPOULOS 2007, and THOMSON DE GRUMMOND 2011 are all dependable. Contributions relevant to both Classical and Hellenistic perceptions of Greek identity include CARTLEDGE 1993, the two influential monographs by HALL (1997A and 2002), and the wealth of articles edited in HARRISON 2002.

A great part of my treatment of Hellenistic changes in the field of religious barbarography will be taken up by the new centrality of the Celts/Galatae for the Greek—and in due time, Roman—conception as to the crucial propensities of northerners' religiosity. No defining study has attempted to place the whole of this period's writing about the Celts in a comprehensive perspective, although several noteworthy contributions have already been made. Among the foremost is the seminal study by NACHTERGAEL 1977 on both the Celtic attack and its literary commemorations—something that was easy to build on by such important studies as STROBEL 1994, CHAMPION 1995 and 1996, and MARSZAL 2000—the last of which is the most significant iconographic contribution to the topic, together with STEWART 2004. The study of Galatians after their settlement in Central Anatolia is well served by the insights of MITCHELL 1993, *ibid.* 2003 and by the volume edited by SCHWERHEIM 1994, containing the useful contribution by STROBEL 1994. In his later publications STROBEL has become more firmly committed to the 'ethnogenesis' school of thought (1996, 2009; see below p. 26f.). Most of the Greek reactions to encounters at this stage must be teased out from poetic fragments and other difficult brief references, necessitating recourse to a large number of specific studies.<sup>17</sup> Fear, an emotion much in evidence throughout Graeco-Roman encounters with northerners, will form a recurring theme in this study, and possibly helps to explain the strong currents of providentiality that frequently surface in celebrations of resistance against the barbarians.

The transference of motifs from Hellenistic Greek literature (and mental geography) to Rome was first examined primarily by Italian scholars aligned with SORDI.<sup>18</sup> Many of the connections suggested in these contributions seem forced, serving to highlight the value of the monograph by WILLIAMS 2001 for students of early Roman traditions concerning northern barbarians. Although religion is far from his primary focus, among the most relevant conclusions obtained in Williams' treatment are the early Roman senatorial connections with Delphi, as well as the tendentiousness of the Roman perception—canonized in Late Republican historiography—of the North Italian *Galli*; since they originated from outside

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<sup>17</sup> Among which the foremost and generally recommended are RICHTER 1963; PEEK 1963; BARIGAZZI 1974; RICHTER 1987; ROBERT 1983; KOSMETATOU 2000; BARBANTANI 2001; FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004.

<sup>18</sup> Such as SORDI 1960 and 1990 herself; and subsequently BRACCESI 1991; NENCI 1990; but on the other hand already earlier SEGRÈ 1928 and especially 1934.

Italy, they were perceived as invaders. Later Republican exchanges between Greek and Roman historiographies have been treated largely in connection with individual authors, so in what follows the relevant studies will be discussed as needed. Even so, particular mention should be made of CLARKE 1999 and WOOLF 2011A, delving into the dynamics of Greek mythological and aetiological narratives being applied to and adopted by non-Greek communities.<sup>19</sup>

One important stage in the study of Greek barbarography conducted under the influence of Rome is the assessment of the significance of Posidonius. Here, this thesis offers a critical and minimalistic appraisal of previous scholarship, with all necessary contextualization for the author himself. I will refer to a range of studies, although I do not necessarily agree wholeheartedly with any of them; generally, studies based upon the cautious joint edition by EDELSTEIN & KIDD (1972) will have the least to lose in stripping the ‘Gallic ethnography of Posidonius’.<sup>20</sup> Only slightly before Posidonius’ stay in Rome, the wars against Cimbri and Teutones, I will argue, had rekindled both oral narratives about northerners and Roman literary interest in European barbarians. The valuable study by KREMER 1994 is structured around a detailed examination of Livy, Cicero, and Caesar, with a comparatively less extensive section on contemporaneous Greek authors. The only major handicap of Kremer’s study stems from his use of THEILER’s reconstruction of Posidonius’ Gallic sections; this leads him to over-interpret many elements for instance from Diodorus that cannot securely be considered Posidonian.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Kremer does not focus in particular on the depictions of barbarian religiosity, but rather examines the image complex as a whole. Occasionally he is lured, like a substantial number of modern scholars, into an over-rigorous compartmentalization of Roman barbarography.<sup>22</sup> This can also be argued to be the case with the meticulous and much-cited study of Late Republican and Early Imperial Roman images of Germans by TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991; she does not focus on descriptions of religiosity in particular, instead choosing to examine the ‘Vorstellung’ of Cimbri, Teutones, and Bastarnae.

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<sup>19</sup> The Greek use of mythological aetiologies or heroic itineraries in relating to outsiders is emphasized by VLASSOPOULOS 2013, 165-86, particularly strong about the ‘textualization’ of the Greek ethnocentrism. Among recent contributions on Greek perceptions of western groups in particular, mention should be made of KEYSER 2011 and MARINCOLA 2011. Cf. also the review of WOOLF 2011A by LAMPINEN in *Antos* 45, 243-45.

<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, many recent and otherwise valuable contributions either affect or truly display ignorance of the problems posed by Posidonius: such as RUGGERI 2000, or to a much lesser extent FREEMAN 2006.

<sup>21</sup> This, as already mentioned, is a problem even in more recent treatments of Posidonius’ writings on Gauls, e.g. HOFENEDER 2005, 113; as well as MARTIN 2011, 31, casting his preference of THEILER in a positive light.

<sup>22</sup> Though this tendency is relatively often encountered in German scholarship (see e.g. the analytical structures in BELLEN 1985; TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991; JANTZ 1995; GÜNNEWIG 1998) it is not exclusively typical of it (cf. DAUGE 1981). Even so, it is slightly ironic that so many German studies still seem to negotiate with the Caesarian *ad hoc* creation of a fundamental division between Gauls and Germans; cf. O’GORMAN 1993; DRINKWATER 1996; also GOFFART 2006, esp. 1-11. This preoccupation with the ethnic portraits of a given scholar’s own culture is identified as a problem by BOHAK 2005, 207.

She considers these and other groups to be somehow essentially ‘Germanic’; this may lead to valuable insights, but it is also a prime example of compartmentalization along ethnolinguistic groupings whose entitativity in the source texts is not readily apparent.<sup>23</sup>

In studying Caesar one certainly need not travel alone. In this thesis I rely on the many perceptive and valuable studies dealing with different aspects of his Gallic war commentaries, since there has apparently been no recent study of his references to northerners’ religiosity. Valuable observations have been made by a great number of scholars, especially those demonstrating the literariness of Caesar’s ethnography in Book 6, and the well-established tendentiousness of his ethnic division along the Rhine.<sup>24</sup> These two features of Caesar’s galatography are the main drive for any new insights possibly proffered in this thesis. With the post-Caesarian establishment of the Gallic provinces (regarding which the old but reliable DRINKWATER 1983 will be followed, augmented by WOOLF 1998), the plentiful studies on Strabo and the sadly rather less plentiful studies on the intriguing figures of Timagenes and Alexander Polyhistor are of central significance.<sup>25</sup> Pompeius Trogus has lately been well served by YARDLEY 2003 and LEVENE 2010.

The Imperial Era source texts have been extensively studied, and even the religious aspects of northern barbarographies have received some specialist attention (for instance prominently in HOFENEDER 2008 and 2011, though in a fashion compartmentalized along ethnic lines). Another matter is that much of that attention has stemmed from the positivist notion that historical facts of a broadly anthropological nature could be unearthed by closely combing the classical texts.<sup>26</sup> As has been demonstrated by O’GORMAN 1993, however, by

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<sup>23</sup> For instance, though it may be potentially fruitful to seek for changes in Roman attitudes (if not a ‘Germanenbild’) after such defeats as that at Arausio or the *clades Lolliana* and *Variana*, it may be doubted whether there is much to be said about ‘images’ on the basis of the actions of generals such as Papirius Carbo, Iunius Silanus, or Cassius Longinus (TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 52-66, 78f.; although it is commendable that she refers to these image assemblages as ‘Nordvölkerbild’). Moreover, she subscribes to an ahistorical exclusion and inclusion of groups deemed ‘Germanic’, for instance by starting off with the contact between Romans and Bastarnae (claimed to be Germanic; 36-47, the significance recapitulated in *ead.* 234) after a brief preliminary survey of the earlier septentriographic tradition. On entitativity, see SCHNEIDER 2004, 72, 77-79.

<sup>24</sup> The classic study by ADCOCK 1956 sets the tone, with the deliberate literariness of Caesar also highlighted by RIGGSBY 2006, as well as OSGOOD 2009; GARDNER 1983 crucially focuses on the scaremongering involved in justifying the Gallic wars; BELL 1995 casts some light on Caesar’s relationship with ethnography; BERTRAND 1997 reflects upon Caesar’s modes of enquiry into the geography of Gaul; BARLOW 1998 contributes observations about Caesar’s technique of relating to Gauls; KREBS 2006 enlarges upon the geographical divisions and conceptions in Caesar (with *ibid.* 2011 containing some additional points); while the tendentiousness of his reordering of northern ethnography is demonstrated by SCHADEE 2008.

<sup>25</sup> Regarding Strabo, most frequent mention is made of THOLLARD 1987; CLARKE 1999; ALMAGOR 2005. Timagenes, however, is still much conceived in terms of SORDI 1979 and 1982, with the convenient label of ‘philobarbarism’—and as with the similarly fragmentary writer Posidonius, much facile speculation and too convenient claims is found.

<sup>26</sup> A typical attempt to salvage at least something from the ancient literary sources can be found in the otherwise critical and still often referred-to NASH 1976: “[i]f we are to treat the early Celts as a subject of historical enquiry,

combing for instance Tacitus closely, one unearths Roman realities, not Germanic ones.<sup>27</sup> Along these lines, the paradigm of colonial discourse has been successfully applied to the Roman discourse about northern barbarian religiosity in the studies of WEBSTER (particularly 1995A and 1995B). Beyond Germans and Britons (for whose image on a general level the orderly study of GÜNNEWIG 1998 should be consulted), studying the Trajanic salience of Dacians benefits from YAVETZ 1998, while KIROV 2007 deals with the Roman reception of the previous tradition regarding the Thracians. THOMAS 1982 focuses on Roman poetic tradition. Given such a wide variety of registers, modes and states of preservation, numerous other contributions provide necessary insights for the contextualization of the relevant ancient passages about northerners.

Among the most frequently cited sources for the Late and Christian literature, of particular worth have been the still relevant MACMULLEN 1966 on social unrest in the Late Empire, the instant classic by MCCORMICK 1986, the monograph by CAMERON & LONG 1993, and several individual insights from TREADGOLD 2007. The complex interplay between ethnic and religious identities in the Later Imperial era cannot be studied without having recourse to BUELL 2005, while AMORY 1997 is impossible to sidestep regarding ‘Gothic’ identities. The two monographs by LIEBESCHUETZ (1990 and 2006) on barbarians and religious politics in Late Antiquity are likewise quite crucial. For Ammianus there is nowadays a wealth of scholarship available, among which the most useful have been RIKE 1987, BARNES 1990 and 1998, DEN BOEFT 1999 and KELLY 2008.

### ‘BARBARIANS’

The term ‘barbarians’, as a denominator of particular human groups, is as is well known, something of a Pandora’s box. While the term has occasionally been out of favour (partly on account of post-colonial sensibilities, as may have been the case with MOMIGLIANO 1975), it has recently been rehabilitated as a convenient shorthand in discussing the ways in which Mediterranean civilizations thought and wrote about their neighbouring groups.<sup>28</sup> The use of the word *barbarus*/βάρβαρος, widespread in both Greek and Latin during most

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it is essential to take seriously the few remaining texts on them” (120). This sort of scholarly acquiescence cannot be retained in this study.

<sup>27</sup> Studies of Tacitus are extremely numerous, all the way from NORDEN 1922 onwards. Of particular value have been—in addition to O’GORMAN 1993—e.g. SCHEID 1985; LUND 1991, 1858-1956; TIMPE 1992; ASH 2006. The classic work by SYME 1958 is still of value. A new and ambitious look at the reception of Tacitus’ *Germania* is provided by KREBS 2011A.

<sup>28</sup> Throughout this thesis, I recognize that speaking of Iron Age European groups as ‘barbarians’ in exploring the Graeco-Roman point of view is much less tendentious than speaking of them as ‘Celts’, ‘Germans’ or using other terms with a long-standing history of appropriation by nationalist rhetoric (see GEARY 2002, GOFFART 2006).

periods, does not seem to have been related in any straightforward manner to the amount of discrimination faced by foreign groups. Moreover, it interacts with several other technical or at least not strongly judgemental (though usually mildly externalizing and distancing) terms.<sup>29</sup> Among early studies of classical representations of foreign groups, mention should be made of BICKERMANN 1952, followed first by SHERWIN-WHITE 1967 and then by the remarkable *Alien Wisdom* of MOMIGLIANO (1975), one of the most fundamental contributions to the study of Greek and Roman writing about barbarians—and the ideologies behind the writing.<sup>30</sup>

It need not be seriously doubted that the pattern of preferential treatment for members of a speaker's ingroup in contrast to outgroups is a universal pattern in human cognition.<sup>31</sup> Stemming from the human mental processes of stereotyping and preference for ingroup members, this pattern can be observed in most well-documented ancient societies, as shown in recent comparative studies by POO 2005 and KIM 2009. Indeed, the universality of manifestations of social stereotyping, together with such influential theories, originating in the field of comparative literature, as SAID's *Orientalism* (1978), gave rise to a trend that made it too easy to read all discriminatory writing as expressions of 'Otherness'. In short, the paradigm of explanation came to be so widely applicable that it lost most of its explanatory power. In order to bring nuance to the discourse and craft a toolkit optimized for the study of literary representations, a number of concepts have been introduced by various scholars, ranging from 'xenology' to 'imagology'.<sup>32</sup> It is debatable, however, what benefit can be drawn from rehearsing new terminological innovations when the cognitive structure in question is a very

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<sup>29</sup> Such as *nationes*, *gentes externae*, *alienigenae*, *hostes*, *peregrini*, and the Greek ἔθνη, ἐπήλυδες, ἀλλότριοι, μέτοικοι, ξένοι. For the historical use of the term *barbarus* see RUGULLIS 1992; for the semantics of the Latin terminology, NDIAYE 2005. In addition, of course, these terms could be further characterized by adjectival constructions, and many neutral nouns could, with certain adjectives, take on senses close to *barbarus*, such as *homines feri*, *vir immanus*, etc. Certain combinations of an ethnonym and a derogatory adjective can be regarded as 'ethnophaulisms', disparaging labels for ethnic groups (see SCHNEIDER 2004, 519f.); examples would include ἡλίθιος Κελτὸς in Lucian *Alex.* 27, *Germana feritas* in Vell. 2.106, 119, and certainly *Punica fides* (e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 108.3, Cic. *Inv.* 1.71 etc.).

<sup>30</sup> Among recent contributions, WOOLF 2011A gives a conscious nod towards Momigliano, while the positive attitude of Momigliano towards the interaction and cross-perception of ancient cultures is carried on by GRUEN 2011A in a purposeful counterargument to ISAAC 2004. Incidentally, already SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 1-32 used the 'northern barbarians' as a meaningful category within Roman prejudice; also TODD 1987; recently e.g. GÜNNEWIG 2000 does much the same.

<sup>31</sup> For an approachable, solid treatment of ingroup-outgroup –dynamics: SCHNEIDER 2004, 72, 79, 144, 229-61.

<sup>32</sup> Regarding the concept of 'otherness'/alterity: HALL 1997B, 234-37; NIPPEL 2002; CURRIE 2004, 85-99; its potential problems as a heuristic tool: MAAS 1992A, 279f.; WOOLF 2009, 211. 'Xenology' is found in HARBSMEIER 2010, while 'imagology' has been offered in such contributions as BELLER & LEERSSEN 2007; the basic methodologies involved are reiterated in OKTAŞ 2001, proposing that rather than attempting to study the 'image' in the minds of historical persons, the historical image research method (used to a large part as a more cumbersome synonym for 'imagology') should aim at studying the "reconstruction of the image put forward by its creator in his actions" (201). In the field of Classical studies, this essentially brings the methodology back to the well-established way of studying ancient texts, and makes it difficult to justify the maintenance of a particular methodological label in that particular context. Indeed, to study 'the image' (*ibid. loc. cit.*) seems an impossibly particularistic heuristic aim even as an ideal, and should perhaps give way to the study of 'episteme' or some variation thereof (see fn. 33 below).

basic one, and when the methodology applied to it is one that comes quite naturally to Classical studies. On the other hand, while the psychology behind these literary manifestations is relatively clear, difficulties arise when we attempt to approach narrative elements that are caught somewhere between shared mental representations and literary affectation (for more on this, see below).

For this reason, and for the sake of conciseness, in this thesis I apply certain concepts which I consider useful as shorthands. Writing about barbarians will be called ‘barbarography’ in a technical sense, mostly because ‘xenology’, much like ‘Otherness’, is an unhelpfully broad category. The mental assemblage of culturally shared imagery pertaining to a broadly understood category of referents—in this case northern barbarians—can most easily be described as an ‘iconosphere’.<sup>33</sup> Writing about northern barbarian groups in particular could perhaps be called ‘septentriography’, although recently the term ‘borealism’ has been used in the context of classical literature by KREBS 2011B.<sup>34</sup> There might be some sense to retaining the use of both of these terms, with semantic fields that interact to a certain extent. ‘Septentriography’ would then denote classical writing about the North in any form, with geographical, ethnographical, mythological and historical registers all included. ‘Borealism’, on the other hand, would refer to the set of stereotypical beliefs regarding the northerners themselves—a regime of knowledge, or iconosphere, in which the ‘northernness’ of the peoples in question acted as a heuristic device, triggering certain stereotypes in the minds of the audience without the need for explicit spelling out. Thus ‘borealism’ motivated and informed septentriography. One purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the validity of this distinction.

While culturally shared iconospheres informed and directed septentriographic writing, the writing in turn lent the force of authority to already existing prejudices; especially when it referred to what could be seen as the cutting-edge science of antiquity: climatic theories,

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<sup>33</sup> In this, the concept ‘iconosphere’ approaches what FOUCAULT 1980, 197 meant with his ‘episteme’: a matrix or field of ‘scientificity’ in a given context, except perhaps not at all falsifiable from within the society subscribing to it. Also, an ‘iconosphere’ would in addition embrace the associative, emotional, and intuitive aspects of any ‘regime of truth’ (for which see BHABHA 1994, 96-101, although he uses the term in such a colonialist context that it is difficult to use as a term describing the knowledge regime adopted by a social class—in this case the literary elite—of its own volition).

<sup>34</sup> I am less certain about the applicability of KREBS’ other big concept, the ‘Image’, with which he claims to avoid the socio-psychological aspects evoked by the term ‘stereotype’ (2005, 26). This is unnecessary, and perhaps even undesirable: to speak of ‘images’ may generate too close a resemblance to the ‘Wandermotive’ of NORDEN 1922, erasing the human carriers and social matrix of these elements, which are absolutely central for understanding their appeal and transmission. ‘Borealism’ must serve instead of the otherwise attractive ‘Occidentalism’, which despite the admirable symmetry with ‘Orientalism’ in its broadest chronological guise has apparently been appropriated for a comparatively modern set of ‘images of the West’: CARRIER 1995.

astrological explanations, and physiognomics.<sup>35</sup> Expectations of what might be encountered in the remote lands to the north directed the literary exposition, and vice versa; borealism was affirmed by septentriography. The terms ‘northern barbarians’ or ‘European barbarians’, then, can be used in the sense of a broadly understood assemblage of peoples in the thinking of the ancient Mediterranean peoples. As we shall see, theoretical structures then emerged which could be used to explain the character of barbarian peoples by their areas of habitation; in their mature Imperial Roman form, these theories would involve a relatively complex interplay of climatic, astronomical and cultural theories.

In the light of the use of theoretical structures in antiquity to explain the characteristics of outgroups, we have to assume that stereotypical characterization of barbarians in antiquity was for the most part (to use a recently salient term) not simple hate speech. Certainly, it seems likely that we will encounter cases where even religio-moral discrimination is expressed through writing in a way that lends itself to comparison with modern and post-modern hate speech, but this could result in reiterating the arguments of ISAAC (mainly 2004 and 2009).<sup>36</sup> While his claim of the ‘invention of racism’ in antiquity is justly famous—partly for the debate it engendered—the epistemic allure of the barbarian stereotypes is perhaps better characterized through the title of his latter contribution. What ISAAC calls ‘rationalization of prejudice’ could basically be argued to represent the use by Greeks and Romans of various theoretical structures that allowed them to justify and explain their received stereotypes. It is debatable, however, to what extent this ‘racism’ or ‘prejudice’ was a matter of genuine discrimination, and to what extent its manifestations in the literary sources are first and foremost literary.<sup>37</sup> No doubt this was subject to fluctuation depending on context.

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<sup>35</sup> Physiognomic writing has not been extensively studied since EVANS 1969, although the landmark study of Greek anthropology, SASSI 2001, contains several insights. ISAAC 2004 includes some pertinent remarks on the potential of physiognomic ‘information’ to give theoretical backing to prejudiced stereotypes: 149-62. Climatic explanations have long been a subject of study: of particular relevance to this thesis have been DICKS 1956; JOHNSON 1960; CHIASSON 2001; again SASSI 2001; and ROMM 2010. Astrological theories have been examined mostly through the commentaries of the relevant texts, especially Ptolemy and Bardesanes.

<sup>36</sup> ISAAC 2004 has achieved an enduring place in scholarship, partly through the vigorous debate his work has engendered: most recently the contributions in ELIAV-FELDON & AL. 2009. The almost point-by-point response to Isaac’s argument by GRUEN 2011A, with several pertinent chapters, exhibits a certain penchant to replace a perceived *leyenda negra* with equally insistent whitewashing. As I have suggested in another instance (review of GRUEN 2011A in *Arctos* 45, 235-37), the truth lies in all likelihood somewhere between the goalposts set by these two contributions.

<sup>37</sup> It must be stressed that my thesis does not attempt to whitewash ancient discrimination against population groups. Rather, the focus is on the tradition of literary references to northern barbarians’ religiosity, whether positive or negative. There are clear examples of arguments lifted from classical literature being used to justify discriminatory speech, for instance in early modern Europe: see HADFIELD 1993 for a case from the British Isles, also examined in SHUGER 1997. Another noteworthy case of reception (at least at the level of general structural allusiveness) is the *Nona Gigantomachia in Claro Monte Czeszochowiensi*, written in 1658 by Augustyn Kordecki, the prior of the revered monastery of Jasna Góra in Czeszochowa, Poland; the author narrates in mythologizing

**‘RELIGIOSITY’**

Writing about the religion, religiosity, or mythology of a given population group, on the other hand, cannot easily, it seems, be reduced to convenient ‘isms’. The term ‘religiosity’, as used in this thesis, encompasses both the perceptions of the northerners’ relationship with their own cults, and their portrayal in interacting with the cults, sanctuaries and religions of the Greeks and Romans. Quite naturally, ‘religiosity’ was only one tool among several in ancient writing about foreign outgroups, while the concept of ‘religion’ in antiquity is itself a challenging subject.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, I have deemed it better to avoid a very narrow definition of ‘religion’ or ‘religiosity’, opting instead for an inclusive approach focusing on proven or potential associations and impressions within the ancient perceptions. Hence many source passages in this thesis do not seem to say much about barbarian religion *sensu stricto*, or even their religiosity, but instead constitute evidence as to the Graeco-Roman perceptions of the northerners’ morality.<sup>39</sup> It is not the purpose of this thesis to advance any sort of particularistic claim that religious themes would have assumed a more pronounced role in connection with northern barbarism when compared to Graeco-Roman depictions of other barbarian societies. On the contrary: references to moral character, details of religious life, and the human relationship with the supernatural appear to have constituted a very widespread element in characterizing outgroup religiosities in a wide array of ancient and pre-modern polities.<sup>40</sup>

CRACCO RUGGINI suggested, in her 1987 article, that in terms of Graeco-Roman intolerance, racial prejudice preceded the cultural and religious differences both chronologically and conceptually.<sup>41</sup> This seems to have been the case particularly in the context of religious intolerance. One would be hard pressed to find statements of religiously

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tones the tale of the defence of the holy mountain of the Virgin against new gigantic barbarians from the north (with substandard religion), the Protestant Swedes.

<sup>38</sup> This has led to many recent scholars to adopt an ‘open textured’ approach in defining ancient religion: POOLE 1986; BEARD & AL. 1998, xi; this seems very judicious, and has influenced my decision to include texts dealing not only with ‘religiosity’, but also the more loosely (yet suggestively) associated notions of ‘morality’. The notion of religion as a social construct or a ‘cultural system’ (GEERTZ 1973, 87-125) is of course a fundamental component for this approach.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Morality’ in this sense would have incorporated a range of impressions dependent upon the Greek and Roman ideologies of providentiality and theodicy, hubris and its punishment, primitivism and civilization, the capabilities of different individuals and peoples to correctly gauge what the human relationship with the supernatural demanded, and the epideictic rhetorics of praise and blame (for a very large range of purposes). Understandably, most manifestations of such conception of ‘morality’ were intensely political, both in the context of the ‘pagan’ antiquity and its Christian continuation.

<sup>40</sup> General points: SMITH 1971; GEERTZ 1973, 90 (religion clothes conceptions in an ‘aura of factuality’); SCHNEIDER 2004, 22 (generally), 237-241 (ingroups and outgroups), 371 (internalizing group beliefs and lending them the force of a social reality); SMITH 1994, 716 (religion as an ethnic *mythomoteur*, though in general Smith is recognized as being more interested in nationalism *as* religion); LENSKI 2009, 2 (“power governs the collectivity, religion in some senses defines it”).

<sup>41</sup> CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 190.



motivated discrimination in sources predating the Persian Wars. Northerners' religiosity was referred to even before that formative period (see below p. 29, 51f.), but these remarks seem rather abstracted and easily comparable to the nearly universal alignments of such mythical geographies. As noted by FRENCH 1994, 303, complex philosophies or religions usually cross cultural boundaries only in order to end up in written testimonies. Selective and suggestive 'interviewing' of native informants (for which cf. WOOLF 2011A) by inquisitive members of the educated classes may have been the case occasionally, but most of the time the literary reflections of 'foreign' moral and religious stances cannot be demonstrated to have been even that. Rather, this was one component in the dynamic of cultural criticism, firmly lodged in the gaze of the producers of written testimonies upon their own society.

The crux of the negative imagery directed at barbarian outgroups by Greeks and Romans, as noted by DAUGE, seems to have been the lack of an appropriate relationship between humans and the supernatural ('theandric balance').<sup>42</sup> But to describe the religion of an outgroup may be structurally different from describing a 'religious outgroup'. Scholars have tended to see the bad press of both Druids and Jews as rare cases of Roman discrimination along religious lines, and this may well be true. But it may also be asked whether these groups were 'religious outgroups' in a similar sense as for instance the category of 'heretics' came to be in Christian polemics.<sup>43</sup> Rather, it would seem that while moral judgements are present in the case of both groups with an intensity that is rare in Greek or Roman thinking, the Druids in particular were not a 'religious outgroup' as such, but merely a particularly harmful form of a 'religion of an outgroup'—partly because of the perceived excitability of the northerners.<sup>44</sup> Extreme religious movements, emotionally charged or otherwise, and their effects in history have been studied by ARBEL 2009. Joined to the Roman unease over a possible religiously motivated movement in Gaul, the exacerbated use of 'magic' as a polemical category during the Imperial Age is in all likelihood relevant.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, 'religiosity' can also function as a shorthand reference to certain stories in the mythohistorical register, in which the European barbarians are frequently brought into contact with mythical Greek heroes and divinities. Though superficially operating on rather

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<sup>42</sup> DAUGE 1981, 426, 429, 540f. on the 'theandric (in)balance'. In general, his massive study is painstaking and true to his chosen methods, but he sticks so rigorously to the typology created for the purpose that many of the nuances in our ancient evidence are left unexplained. His bipartition is still occasionally used as a template (e.g. NDIAYE 2007), with varied results.

<sup>43</sup> Something demonstrated in recent scholarship on such polemic labels as 'Arians': WILES 1996; GWYNN 2007.

<sup>44</sup> On the *mobilitas animi* or *levitas* of the European barbarians, e.g. Caes. *B Gall.* 2.1.3, 3.8.3, 19.6, Tac. *Germ.* 29.4.

<sup>45</sup> For the Imperial, more negative assessment of magic, and the relegation of the term *superstitio* more firmly to the category of substandard praxis, see BEARD & AL. 1998, I 214-21, 233; DICKIE 2001, 142-250; COLLINS 2008, 148ff.; MARTIN 2004, 125-39.

different planes of epistemic and semiological information—on the one hand, mythological stories constructing connections between Greek or Roman divine or semi-divine figures and barbarian peoples, on the other, the more clearly ethnographic descriptions of religious practices and preoccupations of foreign groups close to a given author’s own time-frame—we shall see that these two relational modes to be linked.<sup>46</sup> Thus mythological stories constitute another facet of Mediterranean societies’ interpretation—sometimes aetiological in nature—of the northerners’ religious attitudes. The cruelty of their religiosity could be stressed in stories about hardships and threats encountered by travelling heroes (or characters in novels), or their attacks on Mediterranean societies could be narrated immediately after explaining their name as deriving from an eponymic Heraclid. On the other hand, their reverence towards Cronus, the Dioscuri or Heracles could be made to insert their cults and lands into the orbit of Graeco-Roman mythohistorical geography—on however spurious grounds of *interpretatio* (about which WEBSTER 1995A). The western travels and exploits of Heracles, for instance, have been treated in the series of conference papers edited by BONNET & JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN (1992, 1996, 1998), and the application of heroic origin stories to European population groups is also a major strand in WOOLF 2011A.

As with the rest of the characteristics that came to form part of the iconosphere of northern barbarism, once the idea of substandard religiosity had become entrenched, it would have been more easily ‘primed’ (SCHNEIDER 2004, 131-34, 171). Ultimately, the insight that I hope to substantiate in this thesis is connected both with the perceptions of the barbarians’ religious attitude and innate faculties (or lack thereof), and the literary tradition of representing these perceptions. As HARBSMEIER has pointed out, it would be impossible to study ‘comparative xenology’ without plentiful background information about the culture of the society producing the xenologies in question.<sup>47</sup> This certainly applies to the cultural critique of past literate societies directed at the religiosity of other past societies; fortunately, however, the religious moralities of at least the elite sections of Greek and Roman societies for most of their duration can be (and have been) reconstructed in remarkable detail. The religious barbarography of ancient literature operated on several levels, and its conceptual connections to history were built upon a mixture of mythical aetiologies, historical *exempla* and pseudo-ethnography.

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<sup>46</sup> Most crucially, both were seen as suitable contents for ethnographical excursus on foreign groups: mythological stories via their *origo*-function (see BICKERMANN 1952), and descriptions of religiosity for both their symbolic and its interest-sustaining potential (see e.g. RUDHARDT 2002, 173 on religious points in Herodotean descriptions of foreign groups being intermeshed with other stock subjects of ethnography).

<sup>47</sup> HARBSMEIER 2010, 281.

## STUDYING TOPOI

The psychology of stereotyping is presumably related to the fact that human beings find conventional and culturally shared shorthand concepts ‘good to think with’.<sup>48</sup> The appeal of literary stereotypes, however, is less straightforward to explain; running through much of this thesis is just one of many possible perspectives, attempting to explain the propagation of literary stereotypes in terms of both cognitive and socio-cultural factors. While stereotypes and tropes are undoubtedly ‘good to think with’, this alone would for the most part be insufficient to explain their popularity in ancient literature. The epistemic advantages of received imagery were strongly reinforced by cultural standards of inclusion and exclusion. At the very least, the motifs perpetuated had to lack any glaring epistemic discrepancies with the observable world of the social classes (mostly elevated ones) using them.<sup>49</sup> Even so, considering the generic demands that formed such an important aspect in determining the form of literary expression in most periods of antiquity, many ancient expressions of ethno-religious stereotypes must predominantly depend upon the literary tradition itself. And few indicators of the tradition-bound nature of ancient literature are more ubiquitous and observable than topoi.

The concept of the topos, as articulated by CURTIUS 1953, 70, has been variably applied to the study of literary representations; but while Curtius used the term somewhat rhetorically—in effect, closer to the original meaning of the word (and the Latin *locus communis*)—other early writers applied related concepts in ways remarkably similar to the most common present-day understanding of ‘topos’. One of the most influential of these was the *Wandermotiv*, contributed by NORDEN’s well-known study.<sup>50</sup> But a much more crucial question than the relatively unanimous acceptance of the existence of such conventional elements has to do with the ways in which they were propagated in the ancient literature, and their effect on the thinking of the literary elite. It would be one-dimensional to simply see these elements as

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<sup>48</sup> Originally, it was LÉVI-STRAUSS 1963, 89 who in connection with his study of totemism noted that animals were ‘bonnes à penser’, and the formulation has been applied to barbarians by WOOLF 2011A, 23. To a certain extent the epistemic usefulness of outgroup stereotypes underlies most of the ancient passages examined in this thesis. Even in making stylistic choices, or when producing a polemical piece, an ancient author was selecting his material, not acting as an unreflective conduit for the prejudices of his society. Indeed, WOOLF notes that the ancient authors were masters of their tropes, not slaves to them (2011B, 255); cf. a similar sentiment in JOHNSON 1987, 11 fn. 3 (cited on p. 271 below).

<sup>49</sup> Regarding the reassessment of stereotypes in encountering facts which contradict them: SCHNEIDER 2004, 71f., 83f., 174-78, 367. Generally about ethnographical *imaginaire*, see SKINNER 2012, 111, pointing out the necessity not to get hampered by the epistemic distinctions between ‘fact’ and ‘fiction’. For the particular case of Late Antique realities and inherited rhetorical models see HEATHER 1999, 240f., and 242f.

<sup>50</sup> NORDEN 1922; after him, topical elements in the image of the Germans have been examined e.g. by BRINGMANN 1989; LUND 1990; *ibid.* 1991. For an application of the *Wandermotive*-paradigm to ancient testimonies about Ireland and the Irish, see KILLEEN 1976. STEWART 1995 has studied topical elements in the Roman image of Britain.

exclusively literary set-pieces or antiquarian ornaments—though this certainly was one of their uses. They were transmitted mostly through the elite education, within which such conventional forms of expression acted as both a mnemonic help and a code of cultural inclusion, and acted within the written register as a shared dimension of the *δείξις* of erudition.<sup>51</sup> Not quite narrative motifs, but with broadly similar uses, *topoi* were fundamental in priming the elite’s expectations, triggering stereotypes, and making certain image assemblages ‘good to think with’.

The effects of this joint mental and literary traditionalism had a powerful impact on the ostensibly ‘ethnographic’ information from antiquity.<sup>52</sup> It will be demonstrated that for the Greeks and Romans both the geography and the ethnography of the North were particularly hazy in their broad outlines, and interchangeable in their components.<sup>53</sup> The boundaries of *Gallia*, *Germania* and *Scythia* were debated but not settled, and the ethnic affiliations of most barbarian groups were equally negotiable. This ambivalence of the iconosphere is of fundamental importance to the ways that elements of moral and religious ethnography were applied in literature to groups which to the modern mind appear distinct. Ancient representations of northern religiosity cannot be examined without recognizing at the same time how little was needed for the Greeks and Romans to be content with their iconosphere. The overall effect was created by the forceful conditioning of mental iconospheres by previous literary imagery; these iconospheres in turn gave rise to literary expressions of themselves, in a context where there were no strong interest or incentive to check literary motifs against contemporary realities. In such a system, new information about barbarian religiosity—whether or not reflecting an ‘anthropological truth’ is largely irrelevant—would

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<sup>51</sup> KASTER 1988, *passim*, but e.g. 26ff. (social mobility and schooling), 80 (schooling as a status marker). In condensed form on the basis of Kaster, e.g. in HEATHER 1999, 214. For a good examination of the ‘Second Sophistic’ and the relation of its identity politics to the geographical expansiveness of the empire, see NASRALLAH 2005. That elite education easily allowed motifs and conventional tropes to be translated and transmitted from Greek to Latin (and to a smaller extent in the opposite direction): e.g. KAIMIO 1979, 195-271, 316-31. WOODMAN 1988, 100 observes that the form of literary education encouraged the cross-fertilization of ‘genres’, with orators, historians and poets “reared in the same system”. Indeed, such deep interconnections in the form of literary schooling itself would argue against the use of generic classifications.

<sup>52</sup> Aptly described by WOLFRAM 1997, 37: “[the Romans] thought they knew that new barbarians did not and could not exist: they had always been the same”. On the other hand, this recognition did not prevent Wolfram from confidently using the label ‘Germanic’ as if it had a meaning independent of modern scholarship: for criticism see GOFFART 2006, 3-6.

<sup>53</sup> As noted by LUND 1990, 75 in the context of the use of the generalized ethnonym ‘Celts’ for a wide assemblage of northern groups. Lund wishes, quite naturally when we consider his contribution as a commentator on ethnographical works, to emphasize that this generalized nomenclature did not effectively reflect the differing population groups. The point taken up in much of this thesis, however, is that for most Greeks and Romans it could just as well have reflected the very hazily distinguished northern commonality of barbarian groups. Modern expressions of surprise at the blurred mental boundaries between different northern groups—see, for example, YAVETZ 1998, 90 on Dacians and Sarmatians—are quite common. The strong continuity in the field of ethnonyms—basic components in the creation of perceived continuity in other fields of barbarography—has been recognized since CAMERON & CAMERON 1964.

enter circulation only under strong formative pressures, and even then could be transferred, shaped, or ‘classicized’ according to combined literary and mental expectations.

### 3. PROBLEMS

While literary traditionalism has been readily perceived by some classical scholars examining the descriptions of northerners (NORDEN 1922 is an obvious early example), the seemingly detailed ethnographies of different northern groups have been seductive for those studying the ‘indigenous’ European cultures of the Iron Age.<sup>54</sup> COLLIS 2003, otherwise a refreshingly critical examination of the scholarly tradition of Celtic studies, reflects somewhat vestigially this suspension of disbelief in declaring that our information of the Celts derives “essentially from three major sources who had direct contact with the Celts, and travelled in the territory of the Celts: Polybius, Poseidonius and Julius Caesar” (25). One purpose of this thesis is to clarify the formative and fairly compelling assemblage of ‘knowledge’ that each of these authors (beside many others whose influence may have been obscured by the trio, as well as the general, non-literary ‘common knowledge’ of the time) received before they ever started their inquiries into the Celts. Both the content and the form of their ethnographies support the recognition of an overriding traditionalism.

That literature is apt to propagate and conserve stereotypes has been demonstrated in many contexts and beyond all reasonable doubt.<sup>55</sup> Only by appreciating the conventionally classicizing tendencies that shaped much of what usually pass for (and are used as) ‘historical’ sources can we develop a reasoned assessment of what kind of claims those sources can actually support. Many of the ostensibly realistic details in the written accounts can be explained as literary tropes and allusions—to the extent that the metaphor of our sources as ‘mere stars in a constellation’ might be toned down even further: rather than constellations, made up of securely identified stars, many past readings have taken advantage of elements which actually were far from fixed—passing comets or man-made satellites, as it were.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> A valuable critique of these tendencies has been mounted by FITZPATRICK 1991.

<sup>55</sup> Some illustrative examples include DARYAEE 2002, 99-100 (citing several texts in Avestan); POO 2005, 24-7, 35-6 (Egyptian and Han Chinese), 39 (Sumerian); KIM 2009, 67, 165 n. 166 (the Chinese classic *Liji* and the works of Xunzi), 90-2 (the *Shanhaijing*, or ‘Classic of the Mountains and Seas’). In the context of twelfth-century Paris and the students there: WEEDA 2010, esp. 124-27.

<sup>56</sup> The metaphor of stars and constellations: FRASER 2009, 9.

**ETHNOGRAPHY?**

Much of the information about ancient barbarians included in literary sources is conveniently labelled as ‘ethnographical’. While this generic concept must remain rather central in terms of explaining why so many of the narrative motifs examined in this thesis are encountered in close proximity to each other and often in self-contained passages, both ‘ethnography’ and the wider concept of ‘genre’ have to be liberated from some of their epistemic burden. In a study dealing with a given set of ideas, narrative motifs and structural patterns repeated across a wide range of texts, speaking of genres is less useful than recognizing the existence of certain registers of writing, with distinct preoccupations, techniques, and models.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, I use ‘register’ and ‘mode’ with somewhat more confidence than ‘genre’, even though some ambiguity in the two terms is unavoidable. It may even be useful to distinguish, at least notionally, a register of writing that instead of fixed generic definitions can be called an ‘ethnographic mode’ (the term used by WOOLF 2011A, 16).

Indeed, since we meet with detailed descriptions of foreign groups in a wide range of different ‘genres’, such as poetry or historical writing, ‘ethnography’ can hardly be counted as a genre of its own. To speak of ‘ethnogeography’ (as AMORY 1997 does, without explicitly explaining the benefits of combining these generic labels) does little to resolve the fundamental problem. In one of the foremost studies of Greek writing about ‘ethnographical’ matters, CLARKE 1999 has examined many aspects of the complicated relationship between historiography and geography, arguing that many of the current problems of interpretation stem from overly fixed modern notions of what a ‘history’ or ‘geography’ entails (1-76). If a flexible framework of ‘barbarographic/ethnographic register’ is adopted instead of a rigidly generic definition, we may be able to better explain why ‘ethnographic’ passages clearly framed by introductions and closures but with comparable or even directly allusive contents can be included in texts of widely divergent nature.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> See CLARKE 1999, 72f., 175 with remarks on the limited value of ‘genre’. On genre, literary registers, and modes of writing in ancient ethnography, see e.g. WOOLF 2011A, 12-17, who notes that most ancient ethnography actually stems from ‘intricately plotted diversions’ included in literature (cf. *ibid.* 2011B, 255 on the integrated nature of most ‘excursus’ or ‘digressions’), though arguing for some reconstructible correspondence between literary ethnographic form and known information regarding barbarians. See also e.g. BRAUND 2001, 140, who observes that in order to be able to retain the use of ‘genre’, authors and audiences need to be brought back into discussion; and BARCHIESI 2001 on the richness of interpretation when genres are not treated as hermetic entities. HINDS 1998 examines intertextual references and allusive techniques that in many ‘genres’ contribute to the cohesiveness of the whole. ATKINSON 1990 discusses the problems inherent in constructing ethnographical texts within the modern tradition, but many of the dynamics can be applied to ancient ‘ethnographical’ writing, too; the latest contribution on ancient ethnography is ALMAGOR & SKINNER 2013.

<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, it might be possible to postulate—from the cognitive-studies point of view—that speaking of the religiosity of an outgroup is a distinct mode of speech; but this would mostly lead to the same basic

Among the tricks of the trade of an ancient writer, ethnography was also a tool for retaining the audience's attention. Tacitus, probably speaking with particular relation to historical prose, recognized that descriptions of foreign peoples—along with battle descriptions and the personal fates of famous figures—refreshed and caught the attention of readers (*Ann.* 4.33.3). So it would seem that ethnographical *excursus* could apparently serve an entertaining function in a literary composition, and there is no compelling reason to see this aspect as solely characterizing Roman Imperial literature. But it would be faulty to understand the barbarographic register in a narrow sense as simply highlighting the foreignness of foreign groups and juxtaposing them in a polarizing fashion with the normative centre, represented in our sources by Greece and Rome. It all smacks of generalizing talk about 'alterity' that could be applied to practically anything.<sup>59</sup> To speak of 'Gesamtbarbarenspektrum' (KREMER 1994, 46 in the context of Livy's portrayal of the Gauls) is to a certain extent more helpful, as this at least enables the appreciation of the way peoples and individuals could be situated on a wide continuum between the notional poles of civility and barbarism.<sup>60</sup> A broad array of motivations all recommended the perpetuation of stereotypes about barbarians, including those relating to their religiosity and while these literary images would have needed to fit the iconosphere of their audience, most of the time the cognitive dissonance was evidently low enough to be ignored.

### TOPOI AND SOCIAL REALITIES

The transmission of *topoi* is a subject firmly within the portfolio of literary scholarship, whereas the circumstances for their formation and possible formative pressures later on are quite explicitly a subject for the study of ancient history. Circumstances would have prompted authors to pick and highlight some *topoi* over others, to reinterpret others, and occasionally to refute some. The danger of viewing *topoi* simply as isolated literary fossils has been aptly described by RHODES 1994 (157f.) as the 'topos-fallacy'—the mistaken idea that a *topos* is 'merely' a *topos*. This type of dismissive argument is encountered quite often in studies and commentaries whose proclaimed aim is to uncover 'truths' or 'real circumstances'

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assumption as talking about 'registers'—that a recognizable set of expectations and primed categories was triggered in the audience's minds whenever the subject of barbarian religiosity was raised.

<sup>59</sup> The sheer 'négativité' as an essential characteristic of the barbarians (DAUGE 1981, 426-7) is a fitting example of the lack of explanatory value—or rather, the elimination of any such value by the broadness of the definition. The same can be said of the 'omniprésence' of barbarity: *ibid.* 521-3, and Dauge's apparently personal coinage, 'hyperbarbares': *ibid.* 491.

<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, to expect a wholehearted 'Gesamtbarbarenspektrum' from depictions of 'barbarian otherness', and upon absence of total condemnation to proceed and declare the Roman view of foreign societies more positive than is often claimed (the mode of argumentation in GRUEN 2011A) demonstrates that neither should this approach be taken too far.

behind the source text—by using the argument, the scholar or commentator in question is usually signalling that the value of the element has in their view been somehow impaired. That a ‘cultural fossil’ (to use the expression in WOOLF 2011A, 114) is nonetheless in use despite its potential to cause epistemic dissonance, is a remarkable phenomenon. They cannot be used as a window onto the reality prevailing among the barbarians, but they are an ample source for Graeco-Roman self-perceptions.

These self-perceptions were to a crucial extent a property of the literate echelon of ancient societies.<sup>61</sup> The teaching of rhetoric is the likeliest source for the continuity of literary images; entering the educational canon, stock elements such as *topoi* were imbibed by future members of the elite, who were then much more likely to use them in their own writing, and—one might venture—their thinking as well. Several chapters in the great compendium edited by PORTER 1997 have been of great help, while MORGAN 1998 and WHITMARSH 2001 (especially section 1.2) provide concise explanations of the educational structures that propagated the inherited package of tropes.<sup>62</sup> The classicizing tendencies that arose during the Imperial Era—would perhaps have emphasized the well-established traditionalism of barbarian descriptions.<sup>63</sup>

Learning about the past through the rehearsal of past speeches, set piece episodes and literary works opened the way to relating the historical to the contemporary by way of exemplary narratives. The *exempla* are a crucial subject, on which CHAPLIN’s study of Livian usage (2000) is among the most notable recent treatments; her warning, for instance, about too rigorously distinguishing between mythological and historical *exempla* (6 fn. 16) is probably quite right, and should be borne in mind. In addition to the constant re-iteration through rhetoric and the reapplication of historical *exempla*, the stability of the ethnographic register was derived in part from the ancient theoretical framework, forming a bridge between the literary and mental spheres dealing with barbarians by explaining why these peoples were

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<sup>61</sup> Naturally, in the light of our extant sources it would be difficult to attempt to answer the question of the extent the elite discriminatory stereotypes were shared by the less educated social classes. The equestrian class addressed, for instance, in Cicero’s *Pro Fonteio* is not demotic enough not to be affected by literary education, while it is impossible to know the social class of the person who carved the *BRITTO VICTVS* –inscription (McCORMICK 1986, 34). It is difficult to see, however, why imagery held by the common folk would have been much more positive, even if they were less rooted in literature.

<sup>62</sup> See MORGAN 1998, 240-70 for the effect of schooling on the cognitive and associative priming of those benefiting from the education. For the basic educational framework of stereotypical scenarios, the progymnastic exercises (προγυμνάσματα), see e.g. MARROU 1956, 172f., 198 (cf. also p. 217 fn. 200, below).

<sup>63</sup> As CAMERON & CAMERON 1964 demonstrated on the level of ethnonyms, and as has since been part of the argument in MARINCOLA 1997, *passim*; LEE 1993, 101f. (through the discrepancies from reality created by classicizing literature); HEATHER 1999.



the way they were.<sup>64</sup> As such, it may have made it even easier for members of the educated elite to accept things written about barbarian groups; the *topoi* were used by the most respected literary figures, they made interesting reading, they were both convenient and ‘good to think with’, and they made sense in the light of the most advanced theoretical explanations of the age.

### BARBARIANS?

It has already been noted that a major handicap in a number of modern studies of both the ‘barbarian’ and the classical dimensions of what can be said about Iron-Age European religions is that the enquiry has been delineated according to the ethnonyms used by the Greeks and Romans, as if those ethnonyms bore the same distinctiveness as they do nowadays. The use of the ethnonym ‘Celts’ presents perhaps the best-known case of the modern, politicized use of an ancient ethnonym.<sup>65</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, it is largely irrelevant whether the various terms used in ancient writings refer to an actual cultural commonality of European peoples; what is crucial is that the Greek and Roman users of this nomenclature thought they were talking about an assemblage of such peoples. The term ‘Germans’ is no less difficult. The *Germani* of the Romans were decidedly not Germans in any modern sense of the word, and it is debatable whether the ethnonym was even a fixed denominator at all.<sup>66</sup>

Compartmentalization according to ethnonyms, which in modern studies has occasionally limited our understanding of what was common to all Graeco-Roman septentriography, has naturally been applied in the study to Iron-Age European religions. Terms such as ‘Celtic religion’, ‘Germanic religion’, among others, have been used for a very long time with varying degrees of problematization.<sup>67</sup> It is, however, quite possible that even

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<sup>64</sup> See, for instance, SASSI 2001, 134f., WOOLF 2011B, 255.

<sup>65</sup> See COLLIS 2003, presupposing reliability as an inherent quality of written accounts vis-à-vis some notional reality among the barbarians; though at the same time noting that “much of the writing [in ancient sources] is retrospective” (*ibid.* 26). But not even the most observational ancient writing about barbarians, or those with the most acute sense of immediacy or genuine reaction, had as their object a ‘pure’ contemporary referent group; rather, they reflect the needs of the author in question, which led him to create his own concoction from an inherited body of commonplaces and stereotypes that are ‘ethnographical’ only in the narrow sense of referring to population groups. Changes over time feature in these samplings only occasionally, such as in Strabo.

<sup>66</sup> Some modern scholars, such as ASH 2006, 39, have recognized that part of the Roman interest in Germans was precisely their obfuscating identity; thus, while the Caesarian creation of a common label *Germani* was purely one of convenience, in the Roman mind it would probably have appeared to bring some order to the pullulating world of northern barbarians.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the ‘Celtic ritualism’ of MARCO SIMÓN 2007. ‘Germanic religion’ as a meaningful interpretative entity was presupposed as a matter of course e.g. by NORDEN 1922 (though overall a remarkable and influential achievement with a great impact on our understanding of the literary *topoi* of many ‘ethnographical’ descriptions); later, more problematizing approach is evidenced by the contributions collected in BECK & AL.

elements considered distinctive in the religious praxis of the northern groups, such as the often-cited closeness to nature, the relative ubiquity of human sacrifice, and the lack of religious structures, are conditioned by Greek and Roman notions of what kind of practices the barbarians of the North might engage in.<sup>68</sup>

In short, the ‘Celtic’ or ‘Germanic’ religions of antiquity are a construct more or less like the ‘Gnosticism’ of antiquity: a potentially fallacious modern category which largely stems from the oppositional rhetoric of unilaterally preserved sources.<sup>69</sup> For the Greeks and Romans, the concepts would have been nonsensical. They can be used (with care) in talking about literary tradition and the rhetorics of identity, but only if we bear constantly in mind that even in an ancient context the existence of any empirical referent denoted by such terms should be regarded as suspect. Even in ostensibly describing, say, the ‘religion of the Celts’, ancient literary accounts are actually constructing an *ad hoc* mirage of a coherent conceptual assemblage from a wide range of non-ethnospecific topoi. For this to work, it was practical to use ethnographical labelling to narrow the referent groups down to something meaningful for a given writer’s audience and for the discussion at hand.<sup>70</sup> The real mirage only manifests itself when a modern scholar overinterprets these topoi.

Finally, a few words regarding so-called ‘ethnogenesis’.<sup>71</sup> In this study I will decisively avoid the question of the extent—and, indeed, the existence—of processes of ethnogenesis

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1992. The problematic premises of earlier scholarship have been well expressed in BUCHHOLZ 1968, 112f.: firstly, that there were ‘Teutons’ (used as an ironic synonym for ‘ancient Germans’), secondly that there was a ‘Germanic religion’, and thirdly, that this religion as a whole was affected by historical stages of development. Yet in his answers to these claims, particularly the second one, Buchholz exhibits the characteristically old-fashioned readiness to accept Roman generalities as having anthropological validity (e.g. 113).

<sup>68</sup> Even the normative characteristics that are seen as typical of ‘Mediterranean’ religion should more properly be seen as delineating the paradigm of the civic religion of a mostly urban setting as it was conceived by the literary elite; the more information is found concerning the popular cults and folk religiosities of antiquity, the more variable hues start to emerge from around and beneath this regime of truth; regarding the Occident, LE GLAY 1984, *passim*; more broadly GORDON 1990B (stressing the impact of official religion in the provinces, 240-45). Conversely, in propagating the literary image of the religion of northerners, ancient writers would probably have presented as ‘regular cults’ ritual observations which would have been exceptional in the societies concerned: MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 184.

<sup>69</sup> For Gnosticism, see the famous revisionist contribution, WILLIAMS 1999. For the category of ‘Celtic’ religion, see the short but valuable treatment by FITZPATRICK 1991.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 177 on the ‘religion of the Celts’ as an image. In this sense, his interpretation has developed since *ibid.* 1999, which (5-6) seemed to read the variation of sacrificial customs met with in ancient sources at its face value. Naturally, the ancient narrowing-down did not always stop at the level of ‘Celts’, ‘Germans’ or ‘Celtiberians’ but could be further zoomed at the ‘tribal’ groups with barely any modulation in the conventional contents of such pseudo-ethnography.

<sup>71</sup> It is unnecessary to delve deeply into the question of ethnogenesis, with arguments both for and against. Suffice it to say that in this thesis I locate the creation of population groups (named assemblages of people perceived to share certain commonalities) within the Graeco-Roman literary discourse on foreign societies (as expressed in varied contexts, modes, and registers), and examine the properties of the resulting artefact, which necessarily must bear some relation to the ‘realities in the field’, but which much more crucially enjoyed a life of its own within the shared mental geography of ancient society. The ethnogenesis model was developed by

## INTRODUCTION

among the barbarian groups of antiquity, whether these are the Galatians,<sup>72</sup> certain groups of *Gallia Belgica*,<sup>73</sup> or the barbarian *regna* of Late Antiquity.<sup>74</sup> While quite important to scholars who seek to substantiate their claims regarding the identities of the barbarians themselves, and certainly bearing some relevance to the study of appropriations of Graeco-Roman literary narratives in processes of acculturation,<sup>75</sup> ethnogenesis and its applications bear little or no relevance to the study of ancient literary representations of the barbarians' moral attitude and their religious thought and practice.

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WENSKUS 1977, and even more importantly by his students and interpreters: for summaries and critical voices see GILLET 2002, within which MURRAY, KULIKOWSKI and BOWLUS are particularly relevant; RETSÖ 2006; also the rather impatient GOFFART 2006.

<sup>72</sup> Galatian ethnogenesis in Anatolia is a thesis of STROBEL (1994 and more crucially 1996; in English 2009).

<sup>73</sup> E.g. BAZELMANS 2009; DERKS 2009; ROYMANS 2009. Of interest for the sake of comparison will also be the outsider's take (always a good vantage point when dealing with processes of ethnogenesis—if not ancient, then perhaps modern: cf. the 'suigenerisity' created by the modern gaze that BOHAK 2005, 207f. comments upon) of Julius Civilis' role for the Dutch in ASH 2006, 99-116.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. GEARY 1983; POHL 2003; HEATHER 1991, 46f., 51-61 and AMORY 1997 both seem to seek a middle path.

<sup>75</sup> WOOLF 2009, and 2011A, 41f. with notes.

## INTRODUCTION

## **PART I—RELIGIOUS 'BOREALISM' FROM THE HYPERBOREANS TO THE CIMBRI**

### **1. EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGION IN THE GREEK MORAL AND MENTAL GEOGRAPHY**

#### **a. THE BEGINNINGS**

While it will be argued below that the encounter with the 'Celts' played a particularly formative role in shaping Greek conceptions of northern barbarians' religiosity, it was obviously far from being the only such encounter.<sup>1</sup> Nor was it the first one. The earliest Greek reflections upon the religiosity of northern groups derive from a wide variety of registers of writing, but the overall number of passages elucidating the northerners' religious or moral associations for Greek audiences is rather meagre. Already these early instances demonstrate certain tendencies with great import for the subject of this thesis. Firstly, from the earliest examples of northern barbarology onwards, the ease with which bits of information or narrative motifs were transferred from one barbarian group to another is quite evident. Secondly, these elements, and the barbarian attributes themselves, remain remarkably stable through different modes of writing and long expanses of time. I comment on both of these tendencies in interpreting the sources, while highlighting particular motifs that were emphasised in the context of certain foreign groups. The image that emerges is not one of simple continuity. While the Thracians were certainly among the first non-Greek groups extensively encountered during the period covered by written sources, their role as typical barbarians developed into an increasingly literary one on account of their close links with Greece proper.<sup>2</sup> The Scythians, on the other hand, came to form a strikingly enduring reference group in our sources, and under Herodotean influence the ethnonym itself was to

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<sup>1</sup> For the Greek 'ethnography before ethnography' (from Homer to Herodotus), now see SKINNER 2012.

<sup>2</sup> This obviously did not stop antiquarian recirculation of earlier information; in the course of this thesis, I will return frequently to the extent to which such rhetorical or literary perpetuation of old modes of discourse influenced the elite thinking. For Thracians (or specifically the Triballi) as typical barbarians in Aristophanean comedy: MARAZOV 2011, 132. On the other hand, the close relations between Thrace and Greece may have led to a lack of outright characterizations of Thracians as βάρβαροι: XYDOPOULOS 2007, 697. This effect may partly stem from the genuine exacerbation of the Hellenes-barbarians dichotomy dating from after the Persian wars and the relative lessening in the salience of the Thracians.

constitute an influential classicizing marker in Late Imperial literary ethnography.<sup>3</sup> The role later acquired by the *Κελτοί* and *Γαλάται* belies their vague first attestations, and the change stems from a rise in their salience that was due entirely on historical developments.<sup>4</sup>

### Hyperboreans

Maintaining a distinction between 'mythical' and 'real' non-Greek groups in examining Greek testimonies regarding northerners' religiosity is neither easily justifiable nor feasible; this is clear from the textual references to Hyperboreans, which we meet with in a wide range of textual registers. One entirely possible and meaningful distinction, for instance, might treat Hyperboreans, Thrace-connected myths, and some parts of the Pontic 'ethnography' as an associative narratological ensemble.<sup>5</sup> For most early authors the Hyperboreans appeared as plausible a subject as Thracians, or the very Scythians who were imagined as relaying information as to the Hyperboreans' far-off land. A more pertinent question than any possible distinctions between groups of northerners is whether the Hyperboreans of Greek thought can be at all seen as representatives of the category 'barbarian'. On the contrary, they seem to resemble and embody everything that the Greeks aspired to be—their piety is impeccable, their land blessed beyond the lot of mortals. Similar to the Aethiopes, they should more properly be classed as predominantly reflecting the theme of the Golden Age.<sup>6</sup> As I shall argue later on, their piety and mode of life could have inspired certain Hellenistic departures in northern barbarography.

The first mention of the Hyperboreans links them with horses, and in the subsequent tradition they strongly resemble the 'mare-milking and milk-drinking' Abioi of Homer (*Il.* 13.5-6), who are called the most just of men.<sup>7</sup> Such northern groups of high moral virtue act

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<sup>3</sup> That the Scythian iconosphere was part of the toolkit of Late Republican and Early Imperial writers, is demonstrated in THOMAS 1982, 51-5. For the Late Antique, classicizing use of the ethnonym 'Scythian', see below p. 298, with fn. 5 providing examples.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 191, "[a] foreign people that repeatedly constitutes a threat arouses superstitious terror."

<sup>5</sup> See below p. 36, 137f.

<sup>6</sup> See ROMM 1992, 60-67; THOMAS 1982, 41. In their devotion to Apollo, and in the light of the legend of the Hyperborean gifts to Delos, they also represent the technique of highlighting the universal accord of Greek centrality—rather in the same way as in the later tradition the 'barbarian wise men' came to be confirming proof that the ideals of Greek philosophy were common to all mankind and thus 'natural' (see below p. 202 fn. 143, 287). Also SKINNER 2012, 62ff.

<sup>7</sup> [Hes.] *Cat.* F 150.22 MERKELBACH-WEST: *εὐίππων*. It should be noted, however, that Hesiod seems to have distinguished the G(a)laktophagi from the Hyperboreans in *P.Oxy.* 1358 F 2 (F 151 MERKELBACH-WEST), where they are said to use wagons as houses. The Hesiodic fragment 150 (*supra*) also mentions the 'horse-milking' Scyths, along with the Aethiopes and the Libyans, as people whose intelligence surpasses (or guards) their speech. Both CHIASSON 2001, 36 n. 8 and WEST 2002, 444 suggest that the fragment may be connected with the praise accorded to Lacedaemonian reticence by Anacharsis the Scythian in *Hdt.* 4.77, or a similar notion of Scythians being more prone to listen than to talk. See LÉVY 1981, 59 on the debate as to whether the Homeric

effectively as a mirror image to the southern Aethiopians in their Homeric incarnation.<sup>8</sup> Pindar, perhaps partly due to his genre of writing, continues along the same lines. In *Pyth.* 10.30-46 he narrates the visit of Perseus to the Hyperboreans, to whom no earthly journey is normally possible. Here, most of the elements of the subsequent tradition are already present: hecatombs of donkeys, Apollo's benevolence, music, joyful revels, and the absence of old age.<sup>9</sup> In *Ol.* 3.13-16 Heracles is declared to have reached the 'shadowy sources of the Istros'; here, among the Hyperboreans, he obtained the first olive branches, which he then brought to Olympia. Aeschylus mentions the fortunate and peaceful existence of the Hyperboreans in *Choephoroi*, and his *Prometheus Solutus* is cited regarding the Istros arising in the land of the Hyperboreans. He also echoes Homer's Abioi under the name Gabioi.<sup>10</sup>

Herodotus was not particularly receptive to the theme of the Hyperboreans.<sup>11</sup> He does, however, give a relatively full account of the famous 'Hyperborean gifts' to Apollo, arriving at Delos from some remote locale up north (4.33). Nor does he deny the past existence of the Hyperborean maidens whose graves at Delos were propitiated (4.34-5).<sup>12</sup> In terms of narrative motifs, the theme of justice initiated by the Homeric passage is not lost in the Hyperboreo-sceptic Herodotus: he simply transfers the element to the Argippaei and the Issedones, both of whom are remarked to be particularly just.<sup>13</sup> Finally, while Herodotus' worldview primarily imagined the furthest north as mirroring the furthest south of the οἰκουμένη, and while he does not seem prepared to logically postulate the existence of Hypernotians to mirror the Hyperboreans, it is nonetheless telling that he chose not to repeat the more fantastic elements

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verse refers to 'mare-milking, milk-drinking, noble Abioi', or to the northern groups of Hippemolgoi, Galaktophagoi, Abioi, and even Agauoi. The ancient commentators were of two minds, and obviously there was never any real reason to prefer only one explanation. The Abioi, according to Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄβιοι, were later mentioned by Alexander Polyhistor and the otherwise poorly known Diophantus—said to have written *Pontic Histories*, and testified to by Agatharch. *De m. rubr.* 64 (FGrH 805 T 1) as an acknowledged authority on the north along with Demetrius of Callatis (for whose *On Europe and Asia* see e.g. ZECCHINI 1990, 218-20).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. LÉVY 1981, 60. On Aethiopians' special relationship with the gods, Hom. *Il.* 1.424-5, *Od.* 1.22-3, and later e.g. Hdt. 3.23-4; Diod. 3.2.1-4; Lucian *Sacr.* 2, *Iupp. Trag.* 37; Stat. *Theb.* 5.426-8; Helioid. *Aeth.* 10.4, 6. On north/south mirroring, e.g. REDFIELD 1985, 103-10; HARTOG 1988, 15-19; ROMM 1992, 54, 60f.; DILLERY 1998, esp. 260-74 on Hecataeus of Abdera's parallelism of Hyperboreans and Egyptians. See also CHIASSON 2001, 58, and 46 fn. 32 on the difficulties encountered by the Hippocratic author of *De aera* in harmonizing the 'marginal comparison' between Scythians and Egyptians/Libyans, and the 'continental determinism' (term used by THOMAS 2000, 86-98) for Europe vs. Asia; cf. also HALL 1989, 114.

<sup>9</sup> Later, e.g. Bacchyl. 3.58-62; Hecat. *Abd. ap.* Diod. 2.47; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.614; Plin. *HN* 4.89-90.

<sup>10</sup> Aesch. *Cho.* 372-4, *PS F* 330 *ap. Schol. Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 4.282-91B. Later the Istros became associated with 'Celts' (see p. 44f.), probably helping in the transfer of associations originally linked to the mythical northerners. Aesch. *PS F* 329 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄβιοι; see also REECE 2001. Stephanus also relays the information that Didymus (presumably the Didymus 'Chalcenteros' of Alexandria) had considered the Abioi to be Thracians.

<sup>11</sup> Hdt. 4.32 records that the Scythians say nothing concerning Hyperboreans, and only know the things that the Issedones tell about them. Hdt. 3.116 had already doubted the existence of the one-eyed Arimaspians; cf. SKINNER 2012, 64-68.

<sup>12</sup> On the 'Hyperborean Maidens' and 'gifts' on Delos: SKINNER 2012, 228-31.

<sup>13</sup> Argippaei: Hdt. 4.23, Issedones: 4.26. On the reception of Herodotus' 'just Scythians' see MOTTA 1999; also below p. 34.

of Pindar without modification.<sup>14</sup> Utopian elements are more prominent among references to the fourth-century BCE Hecataeus of Abdera.<sup>15</sup> Diodorus Siculus cites him and “certain others”, according to whom to the north of the Κελτική there lies a fertile island of similar size to Sicily which is the home of the Hyperboreans.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the information in Stephanus’ *Ethnica* concerning the island of Ἐλίξιοι is said to come from Hecataeus.<sup>17</sup> Aelian too cites Hecataeus in his description of a Hyperborean rite at the local temple of Apollo, which involves music, hymns, and singing swans from the Rhipaeon mountains.<sup>18</sup>

Attempts to connect the Hyperboreans with ‘real’ barbarian peoples quickly run into problems.<sup>19</sup> Attempts to prove any close associations between Hyperboreans and other northern groups in Greek thought should be restricted to the general level of the borrowing and reapplication of narrative motifs. While many elements connected with the Hyperboreans, such as the theme of a just way of life, clung persistently to the more idealized forms of northern ethnographies, the group itself, with its Golden Age trappings, may have appeared to most writers as too incongruous to be treated within the ethnographic mode. If the Hyperboreans remained in the Greek imagination a mostly mythical group without true contemporary salience, the ‘ethnographical’ elements in their descriptions could have been even easier to transpose onto other far-off groups. This is exactly what we find in Hdt. 4.23 on the just and peaceful Argippaei. One of the principal discrepancies between the sedentary Hyperboreans and the nomadic barbarians to their south is their peacefulness compared to the

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<sup>14</sup> As argued by HARTOG 1988, 15; ROMM 1989, 103 (though not commenting on the parallelism between Herodotus’ Argippaei and the earlier Hyperboreans), and see 112-3 for the north-south symmetry in Herodotus’ geographical thought.

<sup>15</sup> Discussed by DILLERY 1998; for piety in particular 263-69 (suggesting a purposeful parallelism between Egypt and Hyperborea, reminiscent of Herodotus’ comparable axial symmetry, for which see ROMM 1989, 112-3).

<sup>16</sup> Hecat. Abd. F 7 *ap.* Diod. 2.47. Whether Hecataeus’ original object of description was either one of the major British Isles is not relevant here; in any case Diodorus gives no suggestion of this, and the name (H)elixioia itself is otherwise unattested. At any rate, Ireland’s fertility later came to be mentioned regularly in the Latin tradition (Mela 3.53; Solin. 22.2; Avien. *Oru* 108-19; see below p. 43f.), though whether through any association with Hecataeus/Diodorus is uncertain. However, as several geographies regarded Ireland as situated on the utmost northern boundary of the habitable zones, it could well be imagined to lie “beyond the point whence the Boreas blows” (Diod. 2.47.1), and thus its inhabitants would have been Hyperboreans. Diodorus’ fascination with islands is discussed by VERNIÈRE 1988.

<sup>17</sup> Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἐλίξιοι. As the comparison with the size of Sicily is repeated under this entry too, it seems likely that Hecataeus is the (only) source for this northern island and its name. From some (possibly Hellenistic) aetiology comes the derivation of the Sicilian prophetic family of Galeotae from a Hyperborean prince, preserved in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γαλεῶται. Cf. BRACCESI 1991, 92f., though his interpretation of a necessary connection between this genealogy, Dionysius I of Syracuse, and his contacts with the Celts, should be regarded as tentative.

<sup>18</sup> Hecat. Abder. *FGH* 264 F 12 *ap.* Ael. *NA* 11.1.

<sup>19</sup> A telling example of such an approach, BRIDGMAN 2005A, gets tangled up with parallels between what he expects to be a ‘real’ referent group of European Celts, and the Hyperborean idealized society. He is somewhat anticipated by COPPOLA 1991, who likewise sees the literary identification between Celts and Hyperboreans as remarkably unproblematic, while drawing on circumstantial evidence. MARCO SIMÓN 2000 presents the most cautious and nuanced treatment of the corresponding motifs between what was written about Hyperboreans and ‘Celts’, and for the most part focuses on structural and narratological similarities rather than arguing for a real-life referent group behind both representational ensembles.



prevalent *topoi* of the northerners' savage existence.<sup>20</sup> This legendary Hyperborean pacifism, carrying a moral evaluation, does appear to have been challenged at times. Heraclides Ponticus seems not to have felt it incongruous to identify Rome's sackers as Hyperboreans—unless he is using the word, in a highly technical sense, for a group from the utmost north, and one that the Greeks would have recognized as such instead of a mythographical association.<sup>21</sup> The established warlikeness of Thracian and Scythian northerners—in effect, perceiving Scythia as what has been elegantly called “the heartland of inexplicable hostility”—would no doubt have made this a plausible connection.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, in the probably Alexandrian *Scholia vetera* to Pindar an aetiology assigned to the Hyperboreans by Pherenicus of Heraclea Pontica is preserved, whereby they originated from the blood of the Titans.<sup>23</sup> This seems to reflect the Hellenistic tendency to connect certain northern groups to the legendary enemies of the gods. I look at this issue more closely in connection with the Κελτοί of Callimachus (below).<sup>24</sup>

The most influential motif in the ancient literature that had a firm connection with Hyperboreans is arguably that of their proverbial piety, particularly towards Apollo. Their pious and idealized life, beneath the trees that gave them their livelihood, may well have helped to introduce and familiarize the theme of northern groups practicing a ritual life associated with woods, and certainly was discussed at length by Pliny the Elder (4.89, cf. 6.35). While conceptions of the Hyperboreans continued to develop and be refined throughout antiquity, vestiges of their characteristics seem to crop up particularly in connection with the

<sup>20</sup> LÉVY 1981; SHAW 1982, 11; cf. ROMM 1992, 45f.; CHIASSON 2001, 35f.

<sup>21</sup> Plut. *Cam.* 22 says Aristotle (F 610 ROSE) spoke ‘accurately’ about the taking of the city by Κελτοί, though Plutarch observes that he had got Camillus’ first name wrong (Lucius *pro* Marcus). The reference could easily be to a pseudepigraphical work. The other of Plutarch’s sources is Heraclid. Pont. F 102 WEHRLI *ap.* Plut. *loc. cit.*: ὡς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθὼν ἔξωθεν ἠρήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην, ἐκεῖ που συνωκμημένην περὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. Heraclides’ work Περὶ ψυχῆς is affirmed by Diog. Laert. 5.87. There are studies which have treated this identification with the utmost seriousness: BRACCESI 1996, 188 (referring to ZECCHINI 1984, 21); BRIDGMAN 2005A, 65, 119. Heraclides could have presented his information in the process of offering a ‘real-life’ identity for the mythical Hyperboreans, much like the later identification (see p. 180f. below) between the Helvetii and the Hyperboreans possibly attempted by Posidonius. BRIDGMAN 2005A, 160 is thus incorrect in judging that “the identification of the Hyperboreans with Celts broke down” with Heraclides’ testimony; there was no fixed ‘identification’ to break down. On the contrary Heraclides may have wished to form another bridge between mythistory and ethnography. The equation should probably not be regarded as anything but an *ad hoc* creation, and certainly not indicative of a fixed element in Greek mythogeography.

<sup>22</sup> MERRILLS 2005, 56.

<sup>23</sup> *Schol. in Pind. Ol.* 3.28A. Pherenicus, of possible Hellenistic date, is mentioned in Tzetz. *Chil.* 7.144, line 651, where the discussion treats things hard to believe; apparently he wrote of fabulous creatures or mythological subjects. Though the Hyperboreans seem never to have been imagined as nomadic, their Scythian neighbours certainly were; parallels between the Cyclopes of the *Odyssey* and the image of the nomad are discussed in SHAW 1982, 21-24. It would be tempting to link this descent from Titanic blood with the graphic expressions of blood seeping from the wounds of dying Galatians in the Pergamene sculpture; classical Greek battle scenes are devoid of such effects, as noted by STEWART 2004, 229.

<sup>24</sup> While no explicit connection between northern barbarians and the Titans of myth is found in surviving sources, it may be suggested that the northerners could have served as a rationalization for the received mythology; cf. the admission of Cyclopes as “marvellous and poetic lies” by Early Imperial writers as discussed by KLEIN 2009, 202-3. See also below p. 293-96.

'Celts'—aligning mythical and 'real' ethnography in a way possibly exemplified by Heraclides.<sup>25</sup> In what follows, the Hyperboreans will feature only in cases where their religiosity is depicted in a way possibly linked to similar or derived elements in other northern ethnographies or pseudo-ethnographies.

### Scythians

As attested in the early sources on Hyperboreans and other groups north of the Pontic, the northern ethnography of the nomadic peoples developed from early on as an interconnected ensemble of ideas.<sup>26</sup> Homer and Hesiod provided some early ethnonyms, but—apart from the theme of justice along with the horse-related imagery—the later authors were relatively free to act as the occasion demanded.<sup>27</sup> Herodotus' Scythians, in particular, are often cited as one of the most formative influences on Greek barbarian iconosphere, and they have consequently received plenty of attention.<sup>28</sup> Because of the recognized importance not only of the Scythian ethnonym but also of the contents of the northern nomadic iconosphere, and the prolonged influence of both, the development of Greek religion-related ideas of Scythian society and culture will necessarily form part of the groundwork for tracking narrative motifs of northern barbarian religiosity in the ancient literature.

Aeschylus' pre-Herodotean conception of the Scythians focuses on their warlike culture, and besides the mildly negative moral assessment does not comment upon their perceived theandric relations.<sup>29</sup> In a characteristic sign of the ambiguity of barbarian

<sup>25</sup> GRILLI 1986, 141 envisions the same overall replacement in terms of Hyperboreans fading as a distinct group in mythical geography, allowing the areas of the 'Celts' to be extended all the way to the Arctic Circle. TIERNEY 1960, 195 suggested a similar substitution for the joint role of Scythians and Celts in *Comm. in Arist. Gr.* 21.2.

<sup>26</sup> These are discussed in CHIASSON 2001, 35-7. A good example of the iconosphere leading to a reworking of antiquarian material is found in Pseudo-Scymnus' lines 854-5, where it is the Scythians who are called by the Homeric epithets of 'milk-drinking' and 'mare-milking'. See also SKINNER 2012, 68-78, also calling usefully into question the overly-essentialistic scholarly readings of the Greek image of Scythians (72); on the 'ethnographic' use of epithets (*ibid.* 112-15).

<sup>27</sup> Str. 7.3.7 devotes some attention to discussing the absence of Scythians in Homer: he counters what he claims are accusations by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus concerning Homer's ignorance, and considers Homer's adjectives (or ethnonyms, depending on the interpretation) to accurately reflect the Scythian reality.

<sup>28</sup> Only a summary of the Scythian imagery will be given here. Influential studies on the Scythian in the Greek imagination in general include ROLLE 1980; LÉVY 1981; SHAW 1982; CHIASSON 2001, 38-45; BOHAK 2005, 217-22; as well as Herodotus' Σκυθικός λόγος in particular: HARTOG 1988, 3-206; and MOTTA 1999 on its reception.

<sup>29</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 727-30, 816-17; *PV* 714-6 placing the Scythians in the vicinity of Chalybes, the inventors of ironworking (and eponyms for the Greek word χάλυξ; for the location cf. Hdt. 1.28; Str. 12.3.19), while *ibid.* 301 calls the lands where Prometheus is held to be the 'mother of iron'—on the other hand *PV* 502 envisions Prometheus as the one who taught mankind to work iron, so this is hardly surprising. The first evidence linking Κελτοί with iron is a mid-fourth-century inscription IG II<sup>2</sup> 1438B 33 from the Athenian Acropolis: [σιδ]ηρᾶ Κελτικά; cf. FREEMAN 1996, 23-4. Later, the motif of Celts wearing iron at all times (usually interpreted as referring to weapons) is circulated by Nic. Dam. F 105 *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.2.25; since σιδήρεος had connotations of mercilessness already in *Il.* 12.357 and *Od.* 5.191, 23.172, such imagery was not far removed from a moral evaluation. The Stoics seem to have vacillated as to whether the invention of iron was a good or a bad thing: Pos. F 284B 4 *ap.* Sen. *Ep.* 90.11ff. (cf. Plin. *HN* 34.138). Tacitus' use of metal symbolism in *Germania* is even more

characterizations, however, a fragment from Aeschylus recognizes the Scythians as well-governed (εὐνομοί).<sup>30</sup> The two themes need not have been perceived as mutually exclusive. Furthermore, Aeschylus' references to the Scythian iron are entirely in accord with the general tendency of the later literature to assign iron-related epithets to the northerners, and in the later reception would inevitably have facilitated equivalences between differently named northern groups.<sup>31</sup> Thucydides may be echoing this wariness towards the Scythians in 2.97.6, where he comments on their great power: no nation either in Europe or in Asia would be able to withstand them, should they act in union.<sup>32</sup> Although not a comment on their religiosity, the perception of a teeming, elemental northern mass of barbarians assumed a moral tone (see p. 245, 260). CHIASSON 2001 (38-39) notes that Herodotus is clearly engaged in an attempt to define the Scythian infiniteness through more accurate distinctions in both ethnography and topography than those of his predecessors. At the same time he relegated idealizing elements

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complex: see EVANS 2008, 150-53. Later, Herodian or his source applied this old motif of 'iron and barbarians' to the Britons, describing them as wearing iron as their only ornament besides their bodypaint/tattoos (which they show off by not wearing clothes), and valuing it as other people value gold: Hdn. 3.14.7.

<sup>30</sup> Aesch. *PS F* 328 *ap.* Str. 7.3.7, connected with the geographer's aim (cf. fn. 27 above) of demonstrating early authors' knowledge of the group. Cf. HALL 1989, 114. Essentially, behind the twofold image of Scythians stand the Homeric Abioi, who further affected Herodotus' conception of the Hyperboreans, and perhaps made it necessary for Ephorus to choose between hard and soft primitivism (*F* 42 *ap.* Str. 7.3.9): ROMM 1992, 45.

<sup>31</sup> There may have been some notional connection between the cruel and merciless attitude of the northerners, and the metaphorical use of σιδήρεος, attested already in Hom. *Il.* 12.357, *Od.* 5.191, 23.172. Likewise the symbolism of iron is poignant in Hes. *Op.* 175-200 on the ages of mankind. Essentially, the Age of Iron encapsulates most characteristics that came to be linked with barbarian northerners: violence, unscrupulousness, and a disregard for justice and oaths. Hdt. 1.68.4 is famously critical of the role of iron in human affairs. On the other hand, for an early indication pointing to the association between Κελτοί and iron in the Greek experience, and one that probably stems from actual circumstances, see fn. 29 above for σιδηρὰ Κελτικά, probably referring to objects dedicated to the temple that housed the inscription. Whether or not the swords mentioned were obtained as war booty (cf. FREEMAN 2006, 27), the contemporary warlike associations of the Celts (cf. Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon) were obviously reinforced by such material evidence.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Hdt. 5.3.1 which says much the same about Thracians—this has been noted to imply some Herodotean unease about the potential of the northerners: ASHERI 1990, 137f.; cf. also ISAAC 2004, 265-68. Tac. *Germ.* 33.2 may well be a Herodoteanizing touch. These may be among the earliest attestations of the topos of the numberlessness of the northern barbarians. For later instances, cf. Callim. *Hymn* 4.175-6 (which may also be a structural parallel to the attack of the Cimmerians against Ephesus in Callim. *Hymn* 3.251-58, as suggested by BARBANTANI 2001, 193, or even more likely an allusion to Eur. *Bacch.* 1335, where barbarian invaders similarly come in ἀναριθμῶι στρατεύματι, as suggested by BING 2008, 130 fn. 67); Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.674-5 (connected with Hyperboreans: BRIDGMAN 2005A, 77 discusses this in terms of a Celtic identification and Apollonius' studies under Callimachus, though rather than seeing the snowflake-motif of Callimachus as a direct reference to the Hyperboreans, as he does, they can more plausibly be interpreted as a Herodotean allusion, possibly combined with a nod towards the Delphic tradition stressing the 'White Maidens' prophecy; the suggestion in MINEUR 1984, 170 is likewise implausible and depends on Diod. 5.28). Cf. also Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.646 with regard to Celts and Ligurians: cf. [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 1.134; Cic. *Prov. cons.* 33; Simyl. *De Tarpeia* 724 *SH ap.* Plut. *Rom.* 17.7; Just. 24.4.1 (*Galli abundante multitudine*), 25.2.9 (*Gallorum ea tempestate tantae fecunditatis iuventus fuit ut Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo implerent*); Diod. 14.113.1 (Κελτοί τὰ στενὰ διελθόντες μεγάλας δυνάμεισι); Livy 7.32.2, 10.10.6, 21.14, 38.16.1 (*Galli, magna hominum vis, seu inopia agri seu praedae spe, nullam gentem, per quam ituri essent, parem armis rati*), 13; Vell. Pat. 2.106 on the Chauci; *Pan. Lat.* 6.6.4; Oros. 7.37.4; *Chron. Gall.* 452, 61; Soz. 2.6.2. See also p. 75 fn. 217, 260 fn. 380. While the connection between the notion of the spontaneous abundance or autogeneration of nature and that of the Golden Age and utopian societies has been well demonstrated (e.g. THOMAS 1982, 22-3), the idea of northern fecundity is not quite identical with this.

to groups beyond the Scythians—as well as beyond the limits of reliable enquiry.<sup>33</sup> This technique foreshadows the frequent Hellenistic relocations of received mythological episodes, scenes, and characters to the more currently relevant fringes of the *οἰκουμένη*, as we shall see below in many instances regarding northern geography. On the other hand, Herodotus' inconsistencies within his own scheme are evident, especially in the area of the Danubian delta where the Scythians, Thracians and Getae seem to commingle.<sup>34</sup>

Herodotus' Argippaei are corroborated by Scythian informants (Hdt. 4.23), yet they seem to incorporate many elements from the Hyperboreans in Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar. They possess no weapons, are revered as holy by their neighbours (whose disputes they arbitrate), and they live on a diet of fruit and milk. Their habitations beneath the trees (called 'Pontic' by Herodotus) from which they obtain their livelihood, as well as their unisex baldness from birth, both seem to be new innovations.<sup>35</sup> Just as Herodotus' Scythian 'ethnography' influenced subsequent 'hard primitivism', so too did his Argippaei propagate 'soft primitivistic' elements, which went on to enjoy a long *Nachleben* within the septentriographic tradition.<sup>36</sup> A lack of gendered roles seems to characterize the Issedones as well; they are described as practicing total gender equality.<sup>37</sup> They also exhibit a rather more equal mix of 'soft' and 'hard' primitivism; according to Hdt. 4.26.2, they gild the skulls of their fathers. But why, one might ask, only the fathers, if both sexes are reported to be equal? This discrepancy hints at the separateness of such transgressive components. Otherwise "they are said to live justly", the historian concludes the passage. At the other extreme of the primitivist spectrum among the peoples of Scythia are the Androphagi—whose name itself stigmatizes

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<sup>33</sup> The idea of Herodotus attempting to complicate Scythian spatial and ethnographic homogeneity is itself an older one, proposed perhaps most influentially by HARTOG 1988, Ch. 1.

<sup>34</sup> So WEST 2002, 439; although it should be noted that most of the time Herodotus treats the Getae themselves as a sort of Scythicized subgroup of the Thracians—howsoever representative of the latter they at times may be. See ASHERI 1990, 162f. on the role of the Thracians in Herodotus as intermediaries between the somewhat familiar and the truly exotic. The same may be the case with the Getae in Thucydides' work (see below p. 41).

<sup>35</sup> The blue-eyed, pale Budinoi subsist on pine-cones from the abundant trees of their land: Hdt. 4.109.1.

<sup>36</sup> The Scythians in their already conventional guise probably acted as a literary model for the Κελτοί of Polybius: cf. RANKIN 1987, 52; BERGER 1992, 122; KEYSER 2011, 50. The view that Polybius wrote his history following a Herodotean model is discussed e.g. in CLARKE 1999, 84f., 99; see also the recent contribution by MCGING 2012, who notes that while many of the motifs or elements used by Polybius had by his time become commonplace, they originate in Herodotus—a fact of which Polybius would have been aware (48-9). Additionally, it seems quite likely that Posidonius wrote as a conscious continuator of Polybius (MARINCOLA 1997, 239; KIDD 1999, 25; CLARKE 1999, 77, 162 is slightly sceptical, but on page 130 writes aptly of the applicability of a 'Herodotean model' of historiography in a "newly expanded world").

<sup>37</sup> Hdt. 4.26.2. This theme is later connected to different northern groups by e.g. Caes. *BGall.* 5.14.4; Str. 4.5.4 (famously on the Irish); Cass. Dio 62.6.3 (interestingly, Boudicca herself on Britons), 76.12.1-3 *ap.* Xiph. 321.24 (among the Maeatae and the Caledonii); Bard. *LLR* (*ap.* [Clem. Rom.] *Recogn.* 9.23-4) *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 6.10.27-8; Solin. 22.12-15 on the *Ebudes insulae*; Jer. *Ep.* 69 *ad Ocean.* 3.6 (on *Scotti* and *Aticotti*). I do not claim that the widespread theme is particular to northerners, but that the possibility exists of a literary influence or allusion.

them; Herodotus calls them “the most savage of all men”, devoid of all righteousness.<sup>38</sup> Among the groups treated only in passing Herodotus also mentions the Agathyrsi, who love luxury and wear abundant gold ornaments and practice a form of communal promiscuity, but otherwise resemble the Thracians.<sup>39</sup> The role of gold in moralizing septentriography will be further examined below (p. 180f., 184).

Herodotus' Scythians themselves exhibit several traits which could be seen as pertaining to religious sentiments—and most of these appear to have had an impact on the ways northern peoples were conceived of subsequently. While Ares is the last god in the list of divinities propitiated by the Scythians, he is the only one to whom the otherwise aniconically worshipping inhabitants of the land make ‘images, altars and temples’.<sup>40</sup> This seems to accord with the already established reputation of the northerners as generally warlike, and was subsequently to have a formidable reception.<sup>41</sup> The temples of Ares are described in 4.62 as huge piles of wood topped by the sacred symbol of Ares, an iron sword. The association of Scythians with iron is maintained. The sword is also the recipient for the blood sacrifice of the captives of war, whose corpses are left unburied.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Hdt. 4.106. Cf. LÉVY 1981, 64. The Androphagi are called the only man-eaters among the Scythians—though Herodotus does describe the ritual cannibalism of the Massagetae, whom he distinguishes from the Scythians. It should be noted that the ‘otherwise righteous’ Issedones practice the ritual devouring of their fathers: 4.26.1.

<sup>39</sup> Hdt. 4.104. Communal promiscuity is also attributed by Herodotus to Thracians in general (1.93.4; cf. their polygamy: 5.5.1) and to the Massagetae (1.216.1). Later these themes are connected among the northern barbarians particularly to the inhabitants of the British Isles: cf. 225f., 270. The Agathyrsi came to have a surprising role in early medieval aetiologies for the peoples of the British Isles: CALISE 2002, 286; MILES 2011, 29, 43. They were descendants of Heracles: Hdt. 4.8-10 (from the brothers Agathyrsus and Gelonus), and the Geloni are originally called Greeks, living among the Budinoi in the city of Gelonus: 4.108. The connection between northerners and gold is encountered in a number of instances in the subsequent tradition, although it should also be noted that at least since Herodotus there was a tendency to see the edges of the known world at all cardinal points as rich in gold: KEYSER 2011, 42f. In the European sphere, the metal-rich Tartessus (Hdt. 4.152) and the famous Scythian gold guarded by griffins (3.116, noting that nowhere in the world is there more gold than in the ‘north of Europe’; 4.27) long continued to affect pseudo-ethnographic expectations.

<sup>40</sup> Hdt. 4.50.2, 59.1. The list begins with Hestia, Zeus, and Gē. The divine pairing of the last two may have appeared to the author (or his audience) as erroneous: HARTOG 1988, 174; also 188-92, on the Scythian ritual to Ares. SMITH 1971, 74 notes that of the thirteen peoples whose religion is discussed by Herodotus, the Scythians are the only one whose religion is first approached by describing their gods, and only secondly by way of their cults. When Procopius declares that the inhabitants of Thule sacrifice captured enemies to Ares (*Bell.* 6.15.23-26), he is probably being Herodotean.

<sup>41</sup> For the topical nature of the ‘warlike northerners’-imagery as well as its epistemic base, see e.g. WEBSTER 1996, 114ff., 120; GÜNNEWIG 1998, 129f., 172; CHIASSON 2001, 45; EVANS 2008, 77f.; ROMM 2010, 224; for partial subscription to these stereotypes in the Late Antique *regna*, see LIEBESCHUETZ 1993, 274f.; esp. by Ostrogoths AMORY 1997, 45, 48f., 328, 338.

<sup>42</sup> Hdt. 4.62.2-4. The expressions ‘Celtic Ares’ and ‘barbarian sword’ of Callimachus’ *Hymn* 4.172-3 may well have been influenced by Herodotus’ Σκυθικός λόγος. Callimachus’ comparison of the onslaught of northerners to the numberlessness of snowflakes could also be an allusion to Hdt. 4.7.3, 31 on the continuous and thick snowfall in the lands north of Scythia (the chilliness of which is also attested by [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 19.2-4, though the work as a whole unfortunately gives scant attention to the cultural or religious aspects of Scythian existence), or perhaps to the ‘White Maidens’ –prophecy reported regarding the Delphic attack by Diod. 22.9.5. The theme of European barbarians leaving the dead unburied is likewise occasionally met with: Celts in Paus. 10.21.6; Celtiberians in Sil. *Pun.* 3.341-3; Ael. *NA* 10.22; cf. MARCO SIMÓN 1999, 5 fn. 35 with parallel passages; and *ibid.*

Scythians drink the blood of their first kills in battle, and those who have slain enemies gather together to celebrate by drinking wine, presumably from cups made of the skulls of their enemies.<sup>43</sup> The motif of head-hunting is potentially noteworthy, as it came to be strongly associated in the ancient literature with northern groups—in particular the Gauls. Especially striking is the description of the Taurians' habits in this matter: they set up on stakes both the heads sacrificed to their goddess, called Παρθένος and identified by the Taurians themselves with Iphigenia, and those of their enemies captured in war (4.103.2f.). The heads of vanquished enemies are cut off, carried off to the Taurians' dwellings, and impaled on a long stake above the house as an apotropaic ward.<sup>44</sup> HARTOG 1988 (158) noted that the only real decapitators in Herodotus are the two northern groups. In discussing the numerous diviners among the Scythians, Herodotus also mentions the androgynous Enarees, with an already earlier reference to the divine source of their affliction.<sup>45</sup> The motif of temple-robbing and the ensuing divine punishment is noteworthy, in that it will be encountered time and again in connection with the northern barbarians.

The motif of the Scythian sage is highly relevant to the development of Greek high regard for constructions of other peoples' own traditions of wisdom and piety, a theme that has received its deserved share of attention ever since MOMIGLIANO 1975. The figure of Anacharsis is of obvious importance here; as argued by HARTOG, he should be read as a deliberate counterpart to the hapless figure of Scyles.<sup>46</sup> In 4.46, Herodotus remarks that

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2007, 164 with one possible explanation for the habit (also in BRUNAU 1993, 60). Instead of a realistic depiction of what had taken place, at least in Pausanias we are rather faced with a paired indication of the irreligiosity of the invaders, who neither make propitiatory sacrifices (10.21.7) nor bury their dead—the two sacral acts partly acting to contain the potentially polluting scene of battle (cf. CURCHIN 1995; also MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 164f.)

<sup>43</sup> Hdt. 4.64ff. *Parad. Vat.* 47 repeats this about Scythians, though the suggestion of the editor GIANNINI 1967 as to Isigonus of Nicaea as the source need not mean anything beyond simple transmission of the material. Herodotus is a more plausible source. Cf. the Scordisci in the later tradition: Fest. *Brev.* 9.1; Amm. 27.4.4; Oros. 5.23.18; *Hist. misc.* 6.3. HARTOG 1988 devotes considerable space to both the motif of head-hunting and the drinking of blood (157-92).

<sup>44</sup> In contrast to the Scythians, who take the heads to the king (4.61.1; cf. Str. 15.2.14 on Carmanians). Cf. the Taurians with Diod. 5.29.5 on the triumphal display of heads among the Celts, which repeats the motif of exhibiting the heads at private houses. While this episode is attributed to Posidonius' autopsy by Str. 4.4.5, it should be noted that the motif itself was applied to a broad assemblage of northerners, and was known to Romans before Posidonius; see below p. 111, 186. The actual practice was probably relatively widespread among the peoples of antiquity (see KNAUER 2001, though mostly iconographical), which makes it redundant to try and tie the origin of its literary expression to any particular context.

<sup>45</sup> Hdt. 1.105.2-4, 4.67.2. The reason is Aphrodite's wrath at the sacking of her temple at Ascalon. This curious piece of Scythian ethnography is discussed at length by CHIASSON 2001, 41-68, where he compares it to other Herodotean passages and the Hippocratic *De aera*; thus it need not be revisited at length here.

<sup>46</sup> HARTOG 1988, 62-84. The episode of the Hellenophile king Scyles combines the scenario of the Helleno-barbarian cultural encounter with religious themes (cf. Zalmoxis, p. 41f.). Scyles, half-Greek by descent, is interested in the Hellenic way of worship (4.78.5), and wishes to be initiated into the Dionysian mysteries (4.79.1). His disgruntled subjects end up killing him (4.80.4). Herodotus observes that the Scythians carefully guard their own observances, and frown on foreign customs (cf. also 4.76.1). In Diog. Laert. 1.102 Anacharsis is said to have been slain while being engaged in a Hellenic-style rites, which seems to reinforce the notion of

Anacharsis is the only man of learning he has come across as hailing from the Scythian lands; and in 4.76 he tells his story (ending, like that of Scyles, in a murder), using the Scythians' ignorance concerning Anacharsis as proof of a *damnatio memoriae*. Strabo does not give full credence to what Ephorus had written about Anacharsis, including inventions that to him seemed pre-Homeric (Str. 7.3.9). This tendency to emphasize Scythian contributions seems to have been Ephorus' specific purpose, as claimed in Strabo's further discussion—but his treatment of the overall motif of the barbarian sage was certainly not unique.<sup>47</sup> As noted by ROMM 1992 (47f.), distance itself conferred authority upon the figure of the barbarian sage, which could then be used to evaluate elements of the author's own society. The spatial distance acted much like the temporal one, investing legendary wise men with unimpeachable pedigrees.<sup>48</sup> In such cases, the 'hardness' or 'softness' of the primitivism of the sage's original society was not particularly relevant.

The twofold strands of 'soft' and 'hard' primitivism associated with the Scythians, along with motif of respected sages coming from their land (and sometimes visiting the Hyperboreans) seem to have struck even the Greeks themselves as confusing. From Strabo we have a mention that Ephorus had commented on the differing modes of life of the northern nomadic groups: some commit the cruelty of cannibalism, while others slay no creature for their food (Str. 7.3.9). Strabo reports that Ephorus accused other writers of emphasizing the marvellous and astonishing in their reports, and that Ephorus himself sought to compensate for this bias by portraying the Scythians as 'most just'.<sup>49</sup>

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pairing him with Scyles (cf. Hdt. 4.76.3-5); see also ARMSTRONG 1948, 19f. The wisdom tradition of Anacharsis manifested itself further in the ten so-called *Letters of Anacharsis* of the Hellenistic period; the sources mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (1.101-5) are likewise mostly Hellenistic, such as Sosicrates and Hermippus. Hermippus (*ap.* Diog. Laert. 8.41) told of Pythagoras constructing an underground house upon arriving in Italy, and using it to spread belief in his divinity (reminiscent of Zalmoxis in Hdt. 4.95); cf. DELATTE 1922, 245; HARTOG 1988, 101.

<sup>47</sup> JOHNSON 1959, 252 suggested that the theme of idealizing the Scythians owes its wide currency to Strabo. Not so: the idealization of the marginal groups was present already in the earliest Greek literature, and Scythians simply became one of the northern groups portrayed through such themes. The epistemic appeal of Anacharsis' Scythian wisdom may have had something to do with Athens' close ties to the Bosporan Kingdom, particularly under its Spartocid rulers: e.g. *IG II<sup>2</sup> 653*, *SIG<sup>3</sup> 206*; see also BRAUND 2003. For Ephorus' interpretation of the just Scythians, expressly connected with the righteous Abioi in Homer, see ARMSTRONG 1948, 21f.

<sup>48</sup> Of which, in connection with northerners, cf. Orig. *C. Cels.* 1.16, chiding Celsus for having called the Galactophagi, the Druids and the Getae most wise and ancient ἔθνη; or Lucian *Dea Syr.* 33, where the far-off provenance of the precious stones decorating the goddess' statue imply the corroboration of her value by the marginal nations of sages. The value of Brahmins derives even more overtly from this same factor (cf. ELSNER 1997, esp. 28-34; CLARK 1999, 123; BROZE & AL. 2006, 135-38; GRUEN 2011A, 312f.; and NAKASSIS 2004 on the oldest projections into the 'horizons'), while the Aethiopians have already been mentioned (see p. 30f. above). The same broad epistemic foundation applies to Plut. *De def. or.* 2.410A, although here the Delphic centrality is demonstrated through two Greek characters said to be returning to their respective homes from their far-off travels, the one in Britain, the other in the land of the Troglodytes: see BOWERSOCK 2005, 170f. on the subtle interplay in Plutarch's section between the two perceptual geographical axes, the south-north and the east-west.

<sup>49</sup> In the preceding paragraph (7.3.7) Strabo uses the proverbial straightforwardness and justness of the traditional Scythian descriptions as proof of the corruption of foreign groups by Greek luxury and the consequent greed

## Thracians

Another northern group which was involved in generating enduring notions of the northerners' moral character, and perhaps the one with closest (and earliest) links to the Greeks, was the Thracians.<sup>50</sup> They were regularly featured as a foreign group throughout Greek literary history; potentially, notions as to their characteristics would thus carry great relevance in the formation of the Graeco-Roman northern iconosphere. In the Hellenistic period, when the Thracian macroregion was subject to barbarian upheavals attributed by the Greeks to 'Celtic' peoples, the association between these two barbarian groups that were prominent in literature gave rise to some powerful imagery, such as those connected to the Scordisci.<sup>51</sup> Thracian literary descriptions, especially those relating to the Γέται of the Black Sea coast, gained further prominence in the Late Imperial period when groups perceived as Goths had to be incorporated into the existing ethnographical consciousness.<sup>52</sup>

Mythical exemplars of Thracians were treated quite extensively; they included such figures as the greedy Polymestor in Euripides' *Hecuba* and the violent king Tereus, son of Ares, whom HALL considers to have been 'barbarized' into a Thracian by Sophocles.<sup>53</sup> Though hardly unique among northern barbarian groups, violence is one of the primary stereotypes connected with the Thracians.<sup>54</sup> Of the other mythological characters connected with Thrace, Orpheus is undoubtedly the one most written about. While his genealogical connections with other Greek figures is seldom stressed and his grave was situated not in Thrace proper but in Pieria, his violent death at the hands of maenads may have been felt to be particularly apt in the archaic, disconcertingly violent world that Thrace was sometimes constructed as.<sup>55</sup> The

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into the nasty habits described by most writers. Essentially, the Scythians serve Strabo in a similar moralizing role that the Germans were later to play in Tacitus' *Germania*, but with an attempt to explain the perceived duality of earlier sources in terms of corruption.

<sup>50</sup> For the earliest stages of the Thracian iconosphere: SKINNER 2012, 83-86.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 154ff., 184, 304f. Ancient sources on the intrusion of Κελτοί or Γαλάται into Thrace have mostly been seen in the modern scholarship as initiating a 'Celtic' phase in the culture of Thrace (HODDINOTT 1981, 90; cf. CUNLIFFE 1997, 172-5), with the Thracians themselves seeking to expel the 'Celts' (Polyb. 4.46.4).

<sup>52</sup> As put by Jer. *QH* 10 (Goths as Getae), also cf. SHA *M. Ant.* 10.6; Oros. 1.6.2 (though obviously depending on Jerome); further e.g. Jord. *Get.* 40-2, 58; *ICUR DE ROSSI* II.13 p. 100, 49 p. 106; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σκύθαι.

<sup>53</sup> On Polymestor, HALL 1989, 109f.; on Tereus *ead.*, 104 (cf. also FITZPATRICK 2001, 90-1). Tereus as son of Ares: Hyg. *Fab.* 45 (for a female scion Tereine, see Anton. Lib. *Met.* 21), an early chapter in the long-standing trope of northerners having a particularly intimate connection with the god of war. Another violent northern son of Ares was Diomedes of the carnivorous horses: [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.96. Although Thuc. 2.29.3-4 expressly identifies Teres, father of Sitalces the king of Thracians, as an entirely different person from the (to us mythical) Tereus, husband to the Athenian Procne (Ov. *Met.* 6.424-674), the need for this clarification may itself indicate that Sophocles' relocation of Tereus could have had something to do with contemporary Athenian perceptions of the Thracians. Later, Athenian politics definitely influenced the choice of portraying certain Thracian groups either favourably or negatively: regarding Herodotus, see ASHERI 1990, 139.

<sup>54</sup> About Thracians: ASHERI 1990, 144; KIROV 2007, 305; for other instances, see above p. 35 and below p. 46.

<sup>55</sup> The killing of Orpheus by Thracian women (sometimes more narrowly of maenads), e.g. Isoc. *Bus.* 39; Pl. *Symp.* 179D; Conon *Narr.* 45; Aesch. *Bass.* F 83A *ap.* [Eratosth.] *Cat.* 24; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.7.1, 3; Paus. 9.30.5; the



Thracians have been observed to feature in part as an imagined reflection of the Greeks' own remote past, which could have made them attractive for use within the mythical or primeval register of writing.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, their geographical proximity and long-standing interaction with the Greeks may have made creative mythologizing aetiologies, of the kind we find for western and northern barbarians, less necessary in incorporating the Thracians to the Greek mental geography.<sup>57</sup>

Herodotus probably reflects the standard Greek notions of his time concerning the Thracians.<sup>58</sup> His account of the beliefs of at least some Thracians can probably be taken as broadly indicative of what was considered plausible as to their religious practices; at any rate his notion of the Getae, the bravest and most just of Thracians, believing themselves immortal became very influential.<sup>59</sup> The same can be said of his famous description of the clever miracle engineered by the former slave of Pythagoras, Zalmoxis, whereby he came to be worshipped in Thrace.<sup>60</sup> It is possible that the Greeks considered Thracians to be particularly credulous, as

variants are treated *in extenso* by HEATH 1994. Phanocles F 1 POWELL *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.20B 47 intriguingly weaves together themes which came to be connected with some frequency with northern barbarian groups: Calais, son of Boreas brings the mythical associations of the North Wind; the prevalence of homoerotic bonds between northern barbarians (or more specifically, Celts) is referred to quite frequently: *infra* 47 fn. 89, 122, 275f.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. KIROV 2007, 305; XYDOPOULOS 2007, 697, referring to Arist. *Pol.* 1268B 40. An obvious addition would be Thucydides' *Archaeologia* in Book 1 (cf. the lack of cooperation among the first Greeks: 1.3). An indication of the disparagement of the Thracians' civilizational level at Athens is Androt. *FGrH* 324 F 54A *ap.* Ael. *VH* 8.6: αἰσχιστον εἶναι πάντες οἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι χρῆσθαι γράμμασιν. This may recall or parallel Hdt. 4.46, where no group in the Pontic area exhibits much intellectual acumen; Hdt. 4.95.2 calls Thracians ὑπαφρονεστέροι and κακοβίοι. Cf. much later in Caes. *BGall.* 6.14. In a way, Herodotus' Greeks are to the Thracians what his Egyptians are to the Greeks in terms of mastery of knowledge; this gradient also involves climatic factors. On perceiving Thracians as culturally primitive: ROSIVACH 1999, 152 (Athens).

<sup>57</sup> The enduring imagery of the Thracians during the Late Empire, largely conditioned by the demands of the classicizing style and traditional tropes, is examined in GANDEVA 1984, 105-11.

<sup>58</sup> XYDOPOULOS 2007, 694. CARLEDGE 1993, 138-40 gives the example of servitude, observing that all three of Herodotus' non-Greek slaves are Thracians—probably reflecting the perception of Thracians as typical slaves.

<sup>59</sup> Hdt. 4.93.1 Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας; cf. Pl. *Chrm.* 156D; Diod. 1.94; Arr. *Anab.* 1.3.2; Lucian *Syth.* 1.860, *Conc. deor.* 9.533; Julian. *Caes.* 28; *Suda s.v.* Ζάμολιξι; *EtMag s.v.* Ζάμολιξι, *s.v.* Δεισιδαιμονία. The point of HARTOG 1988, 91-2, as to the implied connection between the Getic bravery (ἀνδρεία) and their belief in immortality, is probably correct (cf. ASHERI 1990, 132); it is reinforced by the later appearance of a similar logic connecting Gallic bravery with their belief in immortality in Caes. *BGall.* 6.14; and subsequently Mela 3.19 (cf. 2.2 on the Getae); Val. Max. 2.6.10 (on the Gallic belief in immortality: *dicerem stultos, nisi idem bracati sensissent quod palliatus Pythagoras credidit*; the motif of ensuing bravery is slightly separated in the text and attributed to Gauls, Cimbri, and Celtiberians alike: 2.6.11); *Comm. Bern. in Luc. ad 1.447: Bardi Germaniae gens, quae dixit viros fortes post interitum fieri immortales*. Over-interpreting the minor divergences among ancient sources (as in GREEN 1997, 51, who contrasts Caesar and Lucan with Mela, Diodorus and Valerius Flaccus) is not fruitful: the ancient authors probably were not very interested in speculating about the nuances of such a barbarian ideology. On the whole, the emphasis on the ensuing warlike fervour of Gauls is closer to the Late Republican and Early Imperial Roman preoccupations. In App. *Celt.* 4 the Germans of Ariovistus believe in ἀναβίωσις and thus are free of all fear.

<sup>60</sup> Hdt. 4.95f. This he reportedly learnt from Greeks living in the Hellenistic and Pontic area: 4.95.1. On the other hand, the general tendency to link credulousness with peoples who are prone to be seen as slaves is not unusual; in any case the success of Zalmoxis' scheme seems to depend on the well-known Thracian lack of intelligence: ASHERI 1990, 148. The Herodotean narrative concerning Zalmoxis is sufficiently treated by HARTOG 1988, 84-109; particularly his point connecting the three elements of bravery, belief in immortality, and communal meals can be singled out in this context (93-5), although he does not remark on their wide application to a variety of northern groups after Herodotus.

in the case of later descriptions of northerners.<sup>61</sup> Before narrating Zalmoxis' rise to authority, Herodotus has noted that the Getae consider their immortality to take the form of going to join the δαίμων thus named but also known as Gebeleizis (4.94.1). At four-year intervals the Getae sent a messenger to their god by sacrificing a person elected by lot, relaying messages to the divinity by apparently telling them to the messenger/victim orally.<sup>62</sup> Herodotus also reports that these same Thracians (in all probability the Getae) shoot arrows at the thundering skies, uttering threats against the god causing it, for they do not believe in the existence of any other god save their own.<sup>63</sup> The whole narrative of Zalmoxis is rounded up with Herodotus refusing, as so often in the *Histories*, to commit himself as to its truthfulness; he also remarks that he considers Zalmoxis to have lived a long time before Pythagoras.<sup>64</sup> Despite this reservation, the Pythagorean connection, as we shall see, would gain new applications (191ff.).

Later, in Book 5, Herodotus observes further that all the Thracians observe much the same customs, except for the Getae, Trausi, and those neighbouring the Chrestonaei.<sup>65</sup> He goes on to give an account of the custom of the Trausi, to lament when a child is born and

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Lucian *Alex.* 27, calling M. Sedatius Severianus a 'credulous/foolish Celt' because of his devotion to Alexander and Glycon, and his belief in their prophesied victory in the invasion of Armenia. This commonplace slur endured: cf. Firm. Mat. *Math.* 1.2.3, *Galli stolidi*. If Lucian was not directly influenced by Antonius Diogenes (see MORGAN 1985, at least rejecting possible connections between the *Apista* and Lucian's *Verae historiae*), the expression should be seen as almost proverbial around the time (cf. Ant. Diog. *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 166.109B: περιπεπτώκασσι τοῖς Κελτοῖς, ἔθνει ὠμῶ καὶ ἡλιθίῳ).

<sup>62</sup> Hdt. 4.94.1ff. The human sacrifice of the Apsinthians is described in 6.34.1, 36.2, 37.1, 9.119.1: the group was on the whole portrayed negatively on the basis of Athenian interests, as ASHERI 1990, 139 notes.

<sup>63</sup> Hdt. 4.94.4: ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον. The intentional ambiguities with the word θεός in this passage and the preceding one are noted by HARTOG 1988, 87: Zalmoxis is not stated unambiguously to be a θεός even though the messenger is dispatched to him, while the Thracians, who do not believe in any other θεός than their own, still threaten with arrows the heavenly θεός (cf. *ibid.* 106). It is difficult to demonstrate any clear connection, to the religious relativism of Xenophan. *Silli* DIELS-KRANZ 21 F 16 *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 7.4.22.1 beyond a vague admission that northerners had non-Greek ideas about the divinities. Herodotus, interestingly, abandons in his Thracian ethnography his usual habit of providing some indications of a foreign group's physical appearance, but he does attribute blue eyes and fair skin to the Budinoi of Scythia (4.108.1); Xenophanes and Herodotus are early testimonies of what came to be an enduring topos (cf. GÜNNEWIG 1998, 172; SKINNER 2012, 85).

<sup>64</sup> Hdt. 4.96. Judging by the entries *s.v.* Ζάμολξις in both *Suda* and Photius' *Lexicon*, Hellanicus of Lesbos seems to have given largely the same information as Herodotus did, although with the interesting addition (also later met with in connection with the Gauls) that the Thracians thought the souls of the dead were meant to return. The *lexica* identify the tribes who believe themselves immortal as the Τερέτιζοι and the Κρόβυζοι, probably derived from either Hellanicus or Mnaseas, his two sources cited in addition to Herodotus. Certainly Mnaseas is the source for an interesting snippet glossing 'Zamolxis' as the Getic name for Cronus (*ap. Suda/Phot. Lex. s.v. Ζάμολξις*). Mnaseas, as a Hellenistic figure, could already belong to the dynamics of a later Greek mythical reapplication (see p. 71-5). Unlike in Herodotus, who presents Zalmoxis as using his general knowledge obtained in serving Pythagoras to trick his fellow Thracians, Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 73 *ap. Suda/Phot. Lex.*) adds that Zalmoxis was of Greek stock, and revealed mysteries about eternal life to the Thracian Γέται. The mysteries, however, are not explicitly called Pythagorean; but cf. BURKERT 1972, 156 n. 202 identifying Zalmoxis as a god who teaches religious rites. From this, the transformation into a figure teaching Pythagorean practices to the Thracians would be a short step, although it is unclear at what stage of the tradition this connection was made.

<sup>65</sup> Hdt. 5.3. This did not prevent later writers from using his information on the Getae as pertaining to all Thracians. This has much to do with the technique of generalizing the practices of one particular subgroup to wider groupings of barbarians, a particularly easy thing to accomplish given the haziness of the iconospheres.

rejoice when a person dies.<sup>66</sup> While such inversions are to be found also elsewhere in the *Histories*, this motif later came to be one of those applied to other northern groups as well.<sup>67</sup> The Thracians living towards the mountains/inland from the Chrestonaei (τῶν κατύπερθε Κρηστωναίων οἰκεόντων) consider it a disgrace for a wife not to be sacrificed at his husband's funeral (5.5). The Thracians' religion is again briefly referred to: only Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis are worshipped among them, but the royalty reveres Hermes more than other gods, for he is seen as their ancestor.<sup>68</sup>

Thucydides, who had personal ties to the Thracian area (4.105), provides a rather lengthy treatment of the Odrysian kingdom in Thrace. Among the elements that later were to gain momentum in descriptions of the northern barbarian groups are the Thracians' hope for plunder and their constant striving for material gain (contrasted with the practice of the Persian king), as well as the extremely large number of their soldiers.<sup>69</sup> In a passage that was probably read by most subsequent learned authors of antiquity at some stage of their education, Thucydides describes the Thracian mercenaries, decommissioned by the Athenians, who opportunistically storm and loot Mycalessus, sacking temples and killing every living creature they see; the historian observes that the Thracians are like the worst barbarian tribes, and even worse when they have nothing to fear.<sup>70</sup>

## Celts

The earliest references to the Κελτοί are noticeably generalized in nature—much closer to simple toponymy than to ethno- or even geography. Information in the *Ora Maritima* of the fourth-century CE poet Rufius Festus Avienus has been argued to derive from a Massaliote periplus of the sixth century BCE; the claim is perhaps supported by the vagueness

<sup>66</sup> Hdt. 5.4.1; cf. Theogn. 425-28; [Hes.] F 377 MERKELBACH-WEST *ap.* Jer. *Ep.* 60.14.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. Cic. *Tus.* 2.65 with the closely echoing Val. Max. 2.6.11 on Celtiberi (cf. Ael. *VH* 12.23 on Celts; Philostr. *VA* 5.4 on Celtiberians). For the dynamics involved, see MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 152, 174ff. (though 'topsy-turvy standards' are also an enduring element in describing foreign societies, and consequently an 'anthropological' explanation is not always needed).

<sup>68</sup> Hdt. 5.7; thus it is possible that Caes. *BGall.* 6.17.1 is an allusion to Herodotus, which would make Tac. *Germ.* 9 either topical, or a multivalent allusion.

<sup>69</sup> Odrysii: Thuc. 2.95.101; avarice and hope for plunder 2.97.4, 98.3; innumerable soldiers 2.28.4 (cf. Hdt. 5.3.1).

<sup>70</sup> Thuc. 7.29.3f. on the sack of Mycalessus came to influence the form and propagation of the *urbs capta* topos, found frequently in the later tradition in connection with the northerners' incursions: Quint. *Inst.* 8.67-70 demonstrates that the set piece description was well known rhetorically, and could be customized in intensely emotional form. Judgment and arousing the audience's emotions, however, are largely absent even in the Mycalessus narrative, as noted by QUINN 1995, 572—though he concludes that the inclusion of the episode is itself an indication of the historian's revulsion (*ibid.* 573); cf. CARTLEDGE 1993, 53. Neither point diminishes the episode's potential as an *exemplum* for later writers.

of the content and its lack of moral judgment.<sup>71</sup> A *civitas Pyrene* is mentioned (552), the *Celtae* are said to have fought against the *Ligures* (132ff.), and the *gens Hiernorum* inhabits a *sacra insula* close to the *insula Albionum* (107-11).<sup>72</sup> Even so, apart from the ethnonyms *Hierni* and *Celtae*, which are comparatively rare in Latin, the elements used are so conventional within the tradition that it is impossible to either refute or prove an early date.<sup>73</sup> The first unambiguous Greek use of the ethnonym Κελτοί is as devoid of religious comments as the testimony of Avienus, and comes from the fifth-century BCE Hecataeus of Miletus.<sup>74</sup>

Some generations later, Herodotus was scarcely more informed about the Κελτοί: he mentions them in passing in discussing the Nile, locating them not only around the source of the Istros, but also ἔξω Ἡρακλέων Σπηλέων; this seems to constitute the first firm link between the Κελτοί and the Atlantic. He also considers them the westernmost people in Europe.<sup>75</sup> His source is unnamed, but it is entirely plausible that it could have been Hecataeus.

<sup>71</sup> More or less confidently assumed to represent a Massaliote periplus, and thereby the earliest 'information' on Celts by RANKIN 1987, 2f.; SCHMIDT 1992, 44; ANTONELLI 1999, 35ff.; and on Ireland by FREEMAN 2001, 28-35.

<sup>72</sup> For *civitas Pyrene* cf. Hdt. 2.33, 4.49 (see FISCHER 1972, 112); Arist. *Meteor.* 1.13.350B. HIND 1972, 51f. has suggested that Avienus had conflated Herodotus' mention of Pyrene with information from Hellenistic writers: hence there is no need to postulate 'an unprecedentedly early' Massalian treatise. The Herodotean view of the Danube arising from among the Celts gained currency, and it is subscribed to by Arrian's sources (1.3.1). Although Pind. *Ol.* 3.14 and Aesch. *PS* F 330 *ap. Schol. Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 4.282-91B placing the sources of the Danube among the Hyperboreans could be used to associate Κελτοί with Hyperboreans (cf. BRIDGMAN 2005A, 45), the fact remains that Hyperboreans are constantly being relocated, and a firmly consolidated association with the Κελτοί seems unlikely—at least before the 280s and outside the mythical-poetic register. The vague character of the mythical connection between Heracles and the sources of the Istros is better summed up by MASTROCINQUE 1993, 55. If the *Sacra Insula* is genuinely pre-Hellenistic, it would be among the earliest attestations of the notion of a sacred island in the North Atlantic—an abiding motif probably connected with the idea of the 'Islands of the Blessed' (already in Hes. *Op.* 167-73, with a further connection to the Elysium of Hom. *Od.* 4.561ff.; further in Pind. *Ol.* 2.68-80; Hdt. 3.2, Ar. *Vesp.* 640; with later, southern localizations by Diod. 5.19f.; Juba *FGrH* 275 F 44 *ap. Plin. HN* 6.202), at least with regard to its early manifestations. On the islands of the Atlantic, cf. ROLLER 2006, 44-56.

<sup>73</sup> *Celtae* is comparatively rare, with the exception of Silius Italicus, who uses it quite often: e.g. *Pun.* 8.17; for late Latin instances perhaps better comparable with Avienus' use, see Prob. *In Verg. Georg.* 2.84; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 1.179 (probably derived from Probus, with its identical *Celtarum regem*); Auson. *Ordo* 20.169-70: *salve urbis genius, medico potabilis haustu / Divona Celtarum lingua, fons addite divis*; Philast. *Heres.* 10.2 *s.v. Deinvictiaci*, concerning the worship of Sol Invictus, *qui [...] ad Celtarum provinciam perrexisset*. In some cases, such as Anon. *De phys.* 9 ANDRÉ *Celto id est Germano similis* the derivation is clearly from Greek (in this case, from Polemo: REPATH 2007, 561 fn. 10 in SWAIN & AL. 2007). The comparable Greek use of the ethnonym Γάλλοι (after the Latin word) has to wait until App. *Iber.* 1.1, explicitly giving all current synonyms for the relevant peoples. On *Hierni* see FREEMAN 2001, 29.

<sup>74</sup> *FGrH* 1 F 54 *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάρβων*, F 55 *s.v. Μασσαλία*, F 56 *s.v. Νύραξ*. The scepticism of PEARSON 1975, 34 as to the authenticity of these names may be justified: they may postdate Hecataeus and are simply attributed to him by Stephanus or his source. For the locales see e.g. BRAUN 2004, 315-17; on Hecataeus in general MÜLLER 1972, 94-101.

<sup>75</sup> Hdt. 2.33: οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκεῖται τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων. Cf. the first-century BCE *Periegesis* of Pseudo-Scymnus connecting the τόπους Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἔσχατοι (*Perieg.* 191-2) with the Pillars of Hercules; in 162-6 introduces the element of precious metals in Tartessus carried by a river flowing from Κελτική. The theme of the Κελτοί as the westernmost folk also underlies the ludicrous image of the Middle Comedy poet Ephippus of Athens (4th c. BCE), where a huge fish spanning the whole of the Mediterranean is cooked by chefs of all nations surrounding the sea; a Celt is told to lower the flames in his part so as not to overcook the fish (*Eph. ap. Ath.* 8.346F-347E).

In any case, his information does not differ from that of Hecataeus in terms of generality.<sup>76</sup> Though Thucydides does not refer to the Κελτοί, his remark about the custom of constantly carrying arms as typical of the ancient Greeks and of the barbarians of the current time has much to do with Greek ideas as to barbarian social structure and its relationship to the Hellenic way of life in terms of cultural evolution.<sup>77</sup> As noted by CARTLEDGE 1993, 52, the readiness to have a weapon at hand in all times was a potent indicator of the less-than-full civilizational level of certain marginal, warlike Greek groups, such as the Aetolians and Acarnanians.

Moral judgments about this group of European barbarians emerge with Plato and Aristotle, who occasionally include the Κελτοί among stereotypically foreign groups.<sup>78</sup> In *Leges* 637D-E Plato's speaker mentions Scythians, Persians, Carthaginians, Celts, Iberians and Thracians as warlike peoples, all of whom are prone to intoxication when drinking: the Scythians and Thracians are considered the most irresponsible in this, while the Persians are said to be more moderate.<sup>79</sup> The Scythian proneness to drink unmixed wine heavily was already used by Herodotus and others with the apparent force of a proverb.<sup>80</sup> Aristotle refers in a few instances the Celts.<sup>81</sup> The *Eudemian* and *Nicomachean Ethics* are largely similar in content: the *Eudemian Ethics* speaks of the false bravery of the Celts, which stems from sheer ignorance and leads them to take up arms against the waves. The *Nicomachean Ethics* adduces them as an example of how those fearing nothing, not even the earth's movements nor the waves, are like madmen.<sup>82</sup> *On the Generation of Animals* describes the 'Celts beyond Iberia' as

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<sup>76</sup> The sparseness of the occidental barbarography in Herodotus: NENCI 1990, 306. See the suggestion by CAMPBELL 2009, 50-1 that the name Κελτοί itself originally belonged to some coastal group in the west, perhaps in Spain, and that the ethnonym would thence have been appropriated to designate an ever-growing assemblage of European barbarians; *ibid.* 119-21 leans heavily on POWELL 1958, 16 and HAMMOND 1966, 241 to propose the Celtici of western Iberia as a possible candidate. However, Campbell's proposition (117) that Hdt. 4.49 may have either equated the Hyperboreans with the Celts or substituted for them a "valid reported people" appears unlikely. Herodotus discusses the possibility of Hyperboreans in connection with his Σκυθικός λόγος and the North, whereas his Issedones and Argippaei seem to absorb many elements traditionally linked to Hyperboreans.

<sup>77</sup> Thuc. 1.5.3-6.1. Cf. Isoc. *Paneg.* 50 with an emergent view that barbarians can overcome their non-Greek birth.

<sup>78</sup> To call Plato's reference "a specifically anthropological observation" as RANKIN does (1987, 45), is too unreflective. The claim of BRIDGMAN 2005B, 157 as to Aristotle introducing the ethnonym Γαλάται, is difficult: stemming from Diog. Laert. 1.1, it is almost certain that the expression is not that of the philosopher himself, but of the doxographer.

<sup>79</sup> It may be relevant to the passage's significance that these warlike and hard-drinking barbarians are contrasted with the entirely abstinent Lacedaemonian countrymen of the speaker's interlocutor, Megillos.

<sup>80</sup> Well-known examples of this theme are given in HARTOG 1988, 169-70.

<sup>81</sup> Although, as noted by CAMPBELL 2009, 134, Aristotle uses the derivatives of Κελτ- as a generic term for an ill-defined area of European spatial expanse—much like the roughly contemporary division of the world by Ephorus.

<sup>82</sup> *Eth. Nic.* 1115B, *Eth. Eud.* 1229B. Ephorus is named as the source of this kind of information by Str. 7.2.1 (with some author implied who had connected the same topos with the Cimbri), and is quite likely behind the information in Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 109 *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 7.40 and Ael. *VH* 12.23. There has been some debate as to whether the motif of fighting against the waves derives from Aristotle or Ephorus, with MARCO SIMÓN 2007,

living in a cold country like the Scythians, in a passage that is climatological in nature, although the subject is the breeding of asses, not humans.<sup>83</sup> In the *Politics*, Aristotle notes that unlike most warlike races, who often are dominated by their wives (γυναικοκρατούμενοι), the Celts and certain other nations approve of homosexual relationships (1269B). *Pol.* 1324B is again a conventional assemblage of peoples known as warlike: Scythians, Persians, Thracians and Celts; a few lines later Carthaginians, Macedonians, and Iberians. Finally, Aristotle introduces a detail which subsequently turned into a surprisingly vigorous narrative motif (see p. 86, 231f.). Speaking of the 'hardening' of children to bear a cold climate and military service, he mentions that 'many barbarians' habitually plunge their newborn infants into a stream, while other barbarians, such as the Κελτοί, wrap the baby in nothing but a light wrapper.<sup>84</sup>

Even if the increasing interaction between the Greeks and the 'Celts' brought some visibility to the barbarian group in question, references among the historians of the late Classical and early Hellenistic age remain generalized and almost proverbial in nature, such as in Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, it may be that among Athenian writers of the first half of the fourth century the Κελτοί featured disproportionately in stereotypical assemblages of barbarian peoples, especially among the philosophers. At the very least, it has been observed that the mental climate in Athens may have been more derogatory towards barbarians than elsewhere in Greece on account of the city's large slave population of mostly barbarian origin.<sup>85</sup> For such writers, the warlikeness of barbarians would have carried condemnatory overtones, though probably not genuine moral judgment. On the other hand, Xenophon, as a former mercenary who had served Sparta, exhibits no inclination to disparage the Κελτοί helping the Lacedaemonians as an auxiliary force of mercenaries. In *Hell.* 7.1.20 the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse sent aid to the Spartans in 369 in the form of a contingent of Celts, Iberians and some horsemen. The barbarians saw action against the Thebans and Sicyonians, and captured the fortress at Deras before sailing back to Sicily. When Dionysius' expeditionary

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165 conjecturing that Aristotle obtained the 'mytheme' from his approximate contemporary Ephorus, whereas FREEMAN 2006, 28f. considers that Ephorus took the motif from Aristotle. Both may in fact reflect a third party or wide-spread notions of the time. The idea of inundations causing the migrations of northern barbarians is also found in *Flor.* 1.38.1 (3.3.1); further in *Amm.* 15.9.4 (see p. 311).

<sup>83</sup> *Arist. Gen. an.* 748A; cf. *Hist. an.* 696B. This classical expression 'Celts beyond Iberia' might be the reason why, centuries later, Theoph. Sim. *Hist.* 6.3.6 glosses the Frankish envoys as οἱ τῆς Κελτικῆς Ἰβηρίας πρέσβεις.

<sup>84</sup> *Arist. Pol.* 1336A. For the reception and later moralizing elaboration of this detail, see below p. 86, 231f.

<sup>85</sup> For the case of the Thracians, see above p. 41 fn. 58. HALL 1989, 2; CARTLEDGE 1993, 41; ROSIVACH 1999, 143. See also HALL 2002, 188 with the observation that both historical circumstances and potential gains could have made post-Persian-Wars Athens a particularly fertile context for the negative stereotyping of barbarians. HALL 1992, 191ff. also demonstrates that the Athenians were quite eager to assert their own autochthony against the alleged barbarian origins of their rival πόλεις.

force returns in the following year, many Arcadians and Argives are killed by the Κελτοί.<sup>86</sup> Dionysius' policy towards barbarian mercenaries has at times been described as 'filoceltica', but though Justin does report a *societas* between the Gauls and the tyrant, the purported connection has led to some unlikely conjectures.<sup>87</sup>

In addition to Xenophon, Ephorus of Cyme and Theopompus of Chios represent the same phase in the process of increasing interaction providing more information about the 'Celts'. Both were trained as fellow pupils in Athens by Isocrates, and accordingly both became known as rhetorical historians of great repute.<sup>88</sup> They provide some of the most varied and least stereotypical expressions of Greek knowledge concerning the Celts. Ephorus in particular demonstrates the twin channels of enquiry into Celts: trade and mercenaries; forms of interaction which in addition to giving salience to the group also inevitably influenced the kind of notions that emerged.<sup>89</sup> Nor does it seem that the influence of Isocrates, occasionally interpreted as comparatively hostile toward barbarians peoples, coloured Ephorus' surviving references to the Κελτοί.<sup>90</sup> Ephorus' universal history appears to have devoted more attention to the Celts than anyone before him, judging by the surviving fragments: indeed, his division

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<sup>86</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.28-31. The poorly substantiated interpretation by CAMPBELL 2009, 131 that these mercenaries of Dionysius came from "Iberia and southern France" (cf. also *ibid.* 134) stems from his desire to demonstrate that 'Celts' or 'Galatians' used as mercenaries later in the Hellenistic wars (for instance by Agathocles of Syracuse in Diod. 20.64.2—itsself probably stemming from Timaeus' Σικελικὰ ἱστορία (cf. SCHMIDT 1836, 33)—or indeed the ones turning on Ptolemy II in Egypt in Callimachus' time—cf. *infra*) could have been recruited from the West. Diodorus does not indicate the provenance of the Κελτοί, but since they are paired with Samnians and Etruscans, they are in all probability from Italy. Ptolemy II's Κελτοί, on the other hand, have traditionally been dated to after the Delphic attack, while CAMPBELL 2009, 231 would require it to take place before or very close to 279 in order to carry his argument that Callimachus "considered the Celts as coming from the west" rather than the Balkans. Ever since Herodotus it should cause no wonder that authors considered the Κελτοί a typically western group (particularly when combined with Ephorus' fourfold division); but this need not mean that Callimachus was being literal in his choice of direction. After all, no-one would claim Callim. F 379 PFEIFFER to attest to a 'genuine' western origin of Brennus; what we have here is a poetically used ethnogeographic topos.

<sup>87</sup> Just. 20.5.4-6. 'Filoceltica' in e.g. BRACCESI 1991, preferring the reading *Diomedes cum Gallis pro Graiis* in Siculus Flaccus about immigrants to Apulia (137 LACHMANN); see *ibid.* 91 on the 'philoceltic' policies of Dionysius. Cf. 73 fn. 210 below.

<sup>88</sup> Duris *FGrH* 76 F 1; Polyb. 12.28.8-28A.2; Cic. *Orat.* 2.94. For the rhetorical predilection of Theopompus: SHRIMPSON 1991, 25ff.; for that of Ephorus: PARMEGGIANI 2011, 34-66 in great detail. On Ephorus' relationship with Isocrates' philosophy (a panhellenist interested in peoples coming into contact with the Hellenes), ALONSO-NÚÑEZ 2002, 37f.

<sup>89</sup> It is notable that these groups—traders in the Celtic lands and Celtic mercenaries in areas of Greek settlement—reflect quite accurately the twofold interests of Ephorus, who according to CORNELL 2010, 102, combined nearly uniquely the universal and the parochial outlook in historiography. The appearance in Aristotle and (possibly) Ephorus of the theme of Celtic fondness for homosexual relations may have originated from among their predominant group of informants, namely the mercenary bands of Celts, who no doubt were also able to reinforce the stereotype of hard-drinking barbarians. Cf. ELLIS 1997, 54, though he restricts himself to commenting upon their drinking habits and warlikeness. On the other hand the combined themes of bibulousness and lax sexual morals were also linked to western barbarians in the famous description of Etruscans by Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 204 *ap.* Ath. 12.517D-18B): see SHRIMPSON 1991, 104f., 106.

<sup>90</sup> ISAAC 2004, 113, 129; but cf. the more nuanced opinion of GRUEN 2011A, 104-5, 237-8, consciously revisionist towards Isaac, Hall, and others. As later with Cicero's imagery, Isocrates would probably been rather opportunistic as a rhetorician.

of the world into four cardinal directions each populated by one major group of people became quite influential, and featured the Κελτοί as the generic people of the West.<sup>91</sup> In the Hellenistic era, Ephorus' approach to historiography and ethnography was continued, with variations of their own, by Posidonius, Diodorus, Timagenes, and Nicolaus of Damascus. Polybius, though a fierce critic of Ephorus, nonetheless aspired to the universal nature of his predecessors' work.<sup>92</sup>

A morally judgmental reference by Ephorus to the Celts is preserved via Strabo, who in a well-known passage criticizes his predecessor for over-estimating the size of ἡ Κελτική.<sup>93</sup> He adds that Ephorus had claimed the inhabitants of that land to be philhellenes, and had "said many other such things of them that were no longer correct."<sup>94</sup> Ephorus' report of philhellenism had probably been reinforced by the archaeologically demonstrable trade in wine with the Gallic area, but had since then become incongruent with the later Hellenistic realities of Celtic-Greek encounter.<sup>95</sup> Strabo's comments reflect a feeling of unrepresentativeness, making Ephorus' otherwise respected work seem deficient concerning the Celts—and indeed Ephorus' opinion on Celtic philhellenism seems to be adopted only by Pseudo-Scymnus.<sup>96</sup> His *Periegesis* mentions that the Celts live according to Greek customs because of their familiarity with Greek immigrants, and that they accompany their gatherings

<sup>91</sup> Eph. *FGrH* 70 F 30A *ap. Str.* 1.2.28. Strabo reports that in his book *περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης* Ephorus had envisioned Indians as the inhabitants of the East, Ethiopians of the South, Celts of the West, and Scythians of the north, with Ethiopia and Scythia symmetrically the largest landmasses. Such information is cited as late as by the sixth-century Cosmas Indicopleustes (2.148). On Ephorus as the precursor of universal historiography: ALONSO-NÚÑEZ 2002, 37-41. Four cardinal directions are also the basis of ethnogeography in some Chinese texts (see POO 2005, 36, 46-8), Akkadian epithets of royal dominance (*ibid.* 2005, 42), and certain Avestan testimonies of old Persian mental mythogeography (DARYAEE 2002, 99-100).

<sup>92</sup> CORNELL 2010, 109; on Polybius' universalism CLARKE 1999, 114-28; and MCGING 2012, 49.

<sup>93</sup> Eph. *FGrH* 70 F 131A *ap. Str.* 4.4.6; the criticism is connected with the homogenizing effect of Ephorus' four-fold division, which is possibly quoted in its original wording by Cosmas Indicopleustes' *TC* 2.148 (Eph. *FGrH* 70 F 30B). See e.g. PARMEGGIANI 2011, 233f., esp. fn. 405.

<sup>94</sup> Str. 4.4.6: φιλέλληνας τε ἀποφαίνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίως λέγει περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ εἰκότα τοῖς νῦν. ἴδιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἄσκεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μὴ παχεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ προγάστορας, τὸν δ' ὑπερβαλλόμενον τῶν νέων τὸ τῆς ζώνης μέτρον ζημιούσθαι. Interestingly, the Herodotean narrative of king Scyles likewise has the link (though probably merely incidental) between barbarian Hellenophilia and wine consumption: Hdt. 4.78-9. KREMER 1994, 304-15 suggests that Strabo follows Posidonius in his criticism of Ephorus' outdated Gallic ethnography.

<sup>95</sup> The 'philhellenizing' effect of the trade in wine and other goods: HATT 1984, 79f.

<sup>96</sup> Pseudo-Scymnus' *Periegesis* seems also to have taken Ephorus as its authority in a digression concerning the extreme zones of the οἰκουμένη and its fourfold division (lines 167-82)—it resembles the one in Cosmas Indicopl. *TC* 2.148 (Eph. *FGrH* 70 F 30B); and cf. Str. 1.2.28. The passages referring to Κελτοί in Pseudo-Scymnus are discussed in detail by BRAVO 2009, 63-79, and Pseudo-Scymnus' dependence on Ephorus is noted on p. 65. The old suggestion by REINACH 1891, 163 that Pseudo-Scymnus' remark on Hellenic mores depends on Hecataeus of Abdera may be noted here; in particular the friendly disposition of the Hyperboreans towards the Greeks is a recurring element witnessed e.g. in Diod. 2.47.4 (who earlier credits Hecataeus on information about the Hyperborean island homeland).



with music.<sup>97</sup> As a further indication of Ephorus' reception, it should be noted that in the preceding sentence Strabo mentioned two other things that he says are often repeated concerning the Celts: that they are fond of pleasures, and that their young men tend to offer themselves freely for sexual relations.<sup>98</sup> While Strabo is usually considered to have derived most of his Celtic ethnography from Posidonius (see p. 123ff.), it is not inconceivable that here he is actually using Ephorus.<sup>99</sup>

Theopompus' most substantial reference to Celts provides a characteristically moralizing story of their using a stratagem to poison the pleasure-loving dependants of the Ἀρδιαῖοι.<sup>100</sup> If, as seems likely from the preceding chapter in Athenaeus, this refers to the Illyrian community of that name, it may be connected with Trogus' Book 24 and in particular with the Hellenistic ideas of 'Celts' as a wandering people.<sup>101</sup> The plan to use the uncontrolled gluttony of the Ardiaean helotes is, on the other hand, something new.<sup>102</sup> It may also be the first mention of the Celtic proneness to give lavish banquets, which later emerges as a full-

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<sup>97</sup> [Scymn.] *Perieg.* 183-6; cf. PARMEGGIANI 2011, 87 fn. 24. Interpreting the mention of music as an indication of Celtic influence on the Massaliots, as RANKIN 1987, 43 does (with a reference to bards), is unnecessary and perhaps romanticized. Rather, music could occasionally be a motif meant to familiarize barbarian groups by bringing them closer to Greek values—cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 237A (though in a punning register) on the Ligyians; Str. 7.5.7 on the Dardaniū, who make music all the time even though they are so primitive as to live in pits dug into dunghills. Cf. the role of wine in Herodotus: HARTOG 1988, 166f. In relation to Massalia, another such device is the passing mention in Ath. 13.36 (attributed to Aristotle's *Constitution of the Massaliots*) that Phocaeans visitors to king Nanos' feast were served wine mixed with water. The opposite was the rather better known stereotype concerning the Celts and Gauls: Diod. 5.26.3; Ath. 4.36; note that in Cass. Dio 62.6.1-4 the accusation of drinking unmixed wine is turned by the historian's Boudicca upon the Romans themselves. Drinking wine unmixed is linked to Scythians and Thracians in Pl. *Leg.* 637E.

<sup>98</sup> Str. 4.4.6: πάντες Κελτοὶ ἠδόνικοί τε εἰσι καὶ οὐ νομίζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰσχρὸν τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀφειδεῖν τοὺς νέους. Cf. also Diod. 5.32.7; Ath. 13.603A. It is not impossible that Strabo's final note on the Celts—that they strive to stay slim and punish youths whose waist exceeds a given measure—may have originated in Ephorus within this sexualized context.

<sup>99</sup> The fact that Diod. 5.32.7 also refers to the "extraordinary lust of the Celts towards male embraces" need not refute the Ephorean origin of the motif, as Diodorus' extensive use of Ephorus has been demonstrated (e.g. DREWS 1962). At the very least, this emphasizes the care that should be taken when faced with passages easily lumped together as 'Posidonian'. Since Posidonius almost certainly would have commented on the most substantial Celtic ethnography preceding his own, Ephorean elements may plausibly have reached Strabo and Diodorus either directly or by way of Posidonius.

<sup>100</sup> Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 40 *ap.* Ath. 10.443B-C. The fragment is both punning and moralizing in form: SHRIMPTON 1991, 119, 137. The narrative has some resemblance to the stratagem of Cyrus against the Massagetae in Hdt. 1.207-12, where the word φάρμακον characterizes the wine that the milk-drinking nomads are unaccustomed to. Other possibly topical elements (in the light of the later tradition) which Theopompus seems to have used include the violent rage of the drunken Thracian king Cotys when he attempted to consummate a blasphemous marriage to the goddess Athena (*FGrH* 115 F 31 *ap.* Ath. 531E-532A), and his description of the drinking habits of the Illyrians, including the active role of women and the use of the wide Illyrian belts, which are tightened as the drinking-bout progresses (F 39 *ap.* Ath. 443A-B): see SHRIMPTON 1991, 106f., 155. Both resemble motifs which came to be associated with 'Celts' (see fn. 98 above, p. 64, 81ff.).

<sup>101</sup> Just. 24.4.3: *et portio Illyricos sinus [...] per strages barbarorum penetravit.* For the motif of wandering and invasion: p. 74 fn. 214, 105 fn. 336, 125f. The interpretation of Ἀρδιαῖοι as referring to the Illyrian community of Ardiaei: RANKIN 1987, 46f., SHRIMPTON 1991, 108f.

<sup>102</sup> As noted by FREEMAN 1996, 39, although the underlying notion of barbarians as gluttonous was quite common: SHRIMPTON 1991, 108f. (*ibid.* 101-9 on Theopompus' relationship to the ethnographical register).

blown topos, though not always associated with notions of religiosity.<sup>103</sup> In its vagueness, Theopompus' information occasionally resembles that of Hecataeus and Herodotus.<sup>104</sup> It is also worth noting that Theopompus, along with Aristotle and Heraclides Ponticus, was one of the Greeks known to have mentioned the Sack of Rome by the Celts.<sup>105</sup>

Early evidence for the motif of superstitious northerners comes from Ptolemy I, who along with Aristobulus of Cassandria was the main source for Arrian's *Anabasis*. Arrian's two aphorisms concerning the Celts are probably retellings of either historian's version. The context of the first passage (*Anab.* 1.4.6) is the famous encounter of Alexander with the Κελτοί from around the Adriatic, where the barbarian envoys, seeing that the Macedonian is about to head east rather than west, and inhabiting lands far away from his power, disappoint the king's expectations by declaring themselves to be afraid of only one thing: the possibility of the sky falling. Depending on the faithfulness of the passage to the original, this may well be the first attestation of the moralizing theme of Celts being haughty braggarts.<sup>106</sup> The other reference is not connected with moral judgment but testifies to the prestige-bringing effects of far-away barbarians: it tells of barbarian emissaries investing the victorious Alexander with the right to arbitrate in their disputes. Mentioned together, as peoples never previously encountered by the Greeks and Macedonians, are Carthaginians, Ethiopians, Scythians, Gauls, and Iberians (7.15.4)—an assemblage of the most remote peoples, remarkably similar to those found in Plato and Aristotle. The blatantly triumphalistic hue of this later passage may mean that Arrian derived it from Aristobulus, who was criticized in antiquity for his flattery and marvel-mongering.<sup>107</sup>

From the hypothetical early sources of Avienus to the soldierly stereotypes of Xenophon and Aristotle, it is safe to draw the conclusion that before the 280s BCE the Κελτοί were conceived through a vague assemblage of general impressions that were conventionally

<sup>103</sup> Later in Phylarchus of Naucratis *FGrH* 81 F 2 *ap.* Ath. 4.150D-F; Diod. 5.28; Tac. *Germ.* 21.2; Ath. 4.40; Cass. Dio 62.7.3.

<sup>104</sup> Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δριλῶνιος preserving a snippet from Theopompus' Book 43 of *Philippic Histories* concerning the great city of Drilonios, the most distant one in the Celtic lands (πόλις μεγάλη, ἐσχάτη τῶν Κελτικῶν).

<sup>105</sup> Theop. *FGrH* 115 F 317 *ap.* Plin. *HN* 3.5.57; cf. Arist. F 568 ROSE *ap.* Plut. *Cam.* 22.3; Heraclid. Pont. F 102 WEHRLI *ap.* Plut. *Cam.* 22.2-3. For the reference to Rome, see SHRIMPTON 1991, 99.

<sup>106</sup> Later used e.g. by Diod. 5.29.3, 31.1. The sky-fall motif seems to be behind Livy 40.58.7. BOSWORTH 1980, 65 *ad loc.* may be in the right track in relating this to the Ephorean and Aristotelian motif of Celts fighting the elements. A hypothesis as to a possible *interpretatio Hellenica* of 'Taranis-Ouranos' between the Celts and Alexander is entertained by HATT 1984, 81.

<sup>107</sup> By Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 12; Polyb. 12.23.4; and apparently by Eratosth. *ap.* Arr. *Anab.* 5.3, though not giving any names (or rather with Arrian erasing them); cf. Str. 11.5.5, 6.4, 15.1.9, 17.1.43. Str. 16.1.11 quotes Aristobulus concerning Alexander's reported plans against the Arabs, who were the only not to send him emissaries (of the kind reported in Arr. *Anab.* 7.15.4).

applied to a wide variety of barbarian peoples, not all of them western or northern.<sup>108</sup> While the fragmentary accounts of the early Hellenistic historians seem to provide evidence for the slightly increased salience and concurrently accumulating information through intensified contacts, there is very little that can be interpreted as specifically addressing the religiosity or morals of the Κελτοί. Moralizing themes are present, but that is the case with most barbarian groups. The notions that depended most crucially on from cultural encounters were also those that received the most moralizing treatment (apart from Aristotle's denigrating but general observations)—including the subsequently influential motifs of boastfulness, homosexuality, and wine-drinking. As a recurring and consistent association, the concept of ἔσχατη with its derivatives crops up in connection with the Celts: they were imagined as the western counterpart of the Scythians, Indians and Ethiopians. At this stage, however, Persia formed the most apt reflective surface for the Greek self-construction, as has been recognized.<sup>109</sup> The budding Orientalist iconosphere, however, did gradually acquire a western—or western/northern, 'Occidental-Borealist'—counterpart from the 280s BCE onwards.

#### b. Οὐκέτι μῶνον ἀκουῆ : (RE)INVENTING THE NORTHERN BARBARIAN

Ephorus had considered the Celts to be philhellenes, but developments following the first half of the third century BCE were soon to introduce serious discrepancies between his description and the assessment of the northerners' attitude. This eclipse stemmed from the attacks on Macedonia, Greece, Thrace and Asia Minor by the Γαλάται, beginning around the 280s.<sup>110</sup> The actual historical events need not command much space here; they have already

<sup>108</sup> This vagueness is noted by FREEMAN 2006, 3; for early Greek geographers perceiving Western peoples as all of one kind: KEYSER 2011, 45. NESSELRATH 2005 notes the enduring Greek fascination with the West, and the consequent novelistic twists that many literary registers came to exhibit in connection with that area: 168, 170f.

<sup>109</sup> On the Persian iconosphere e.g. MOMIGLIANO 1975, 123-50; HALL 1989, esp. 56-100; GOLDHILL 1988; BRIANT 2002; ISAAC 2004, 257-303, 371-80; BRIDGES & AL. 2007, esp. RHODES 2007, 31-45; SHAPIRO 2009; GRUEN 2011B, 67-182.

<sup>110</sup> It seems quite certain that the ethnonym Γαλάται appeared in Greek during this time, and within a rather short time (i.e. Callimachus, p. 57 fn. 136) came to be connected to Κελτοί. This is to be expected in an 'epistemic crisis', where the identity of a hostile population with heightened salience needs to be defined in relation to what is already known. The first attestation of Γαλάται, however, been variously attributed. DINAN 1911, 93 (cf. COLLIS 2003, 18) suggested Hieronymus, but while Pausanias and Diodorus (both suggested to depend from Hieronymus; for the distribution of the ethnonyms in their works, see CAMPBELL 2009, 125 fg. 4.2) prefer Γαλάται to Κελτοί, the same distribution seems to appear among the fragments of Timaeus (7 to 4, respectively, according to TLG). For Hieronymus, HORNBLLOWER 1981 should be consulted; for the point that at least some of Hieronymus in Pausanias was filtered through Timaeus, see *ead.* 72; cf. HORNBLLOWER 1981, 72, referring to SEGRÈ 1928. A first attestation in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* is suggested by CAHEN 1930, 187 (cf. CAMPBELL 2009, 128-32), while JULLIAN 1908, 319 n. 1 proposed [Anyte] *Anth. Gr.* 7.492. If, however, Cydias'

been related by many scholars.<sup>111</sup> The literary sources relating to the attacks, on the other hand, merit close examination, particularly as they reveal a change in the prominence of religious themes in connection with the Celts, mostly on account of the centrality of Delphi as a symbol of Greek religious identity. After the invaders were beaten off from Greece, it did not take long for the Greeks to find a parallel between this more recent barbarian threat, and the fundamental struggle of their past, the Persian Wars.<sup>112</sup> The Delphic sanctuary had already come to be perceived as crucial to the great success of the Hellenes against the Persians, and Herodotus (7.132.2) reports that those Greeks who had submitted voluntarily to the Persians had to pay a tithe to the Delphic Apollo: the sanctuary was assuming the role of both symbol and guarantor of Hellenic liberty. In the context of the attack this mentality is most immediately demonstrated by the decree at Cos (*SIG*<sup>4</sup> 398), to be discussed below.

While extant literary sources referring to whatever took place in Northern and Central Greece in the late 280s are all relatively late, the accounts of Diodorus, Pompeius Trogus (via Justin) and Pausanias have all been noted to relay earlier information partly contemporary with the events themselves. Hieronymus of Cardia and Timaeus in particular are historians who would undoubtedly have covered the attack on Delphi in a contemporary account.<sup>113</sup> As the

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epitaph (see below, 58) in Paus. 10.21.5 is genuine, it would predate both of these, as was argued by NACHTERGAEL 1977, 13f. n. 17.

<sup>111</sup> E.g. by NACHTERGAEL 1977, 126-205; RANKIN 1987, 82-102; CUNLIFFE 1997, 80-5; MITCHELL 2003, 280-84; and lately in the doctoral thesis of CAMPBELL 2009, 170-281, with a welcome critique of the established historical narrative, as well as scepticism towards notions of a 'Celtic migration' which still influences modern scholarship (17-18, and a minimalistic summary of what may have happened in 260-1): his work is generally a valuable contribution, though occasionally handicapped by an over-optimistic search for a 'reality' behind the extant accounts, deploring the literary analogies as distortions. His argument that there was at the time no substantial incursion into Asia Minor, and hence no 'Celtic' Galatia, needs more evidence (272-80), and is besides undermined by the testimony of Diogenes Laertius about the 13-book historical work of Demetrius of Byzantium concerning τὴν Γαλατῶν διάβασιν ἐξ Εὐρώπης εἰς Ἀσίαν: *FGrH* 162 T 1 *ap.* Diog. Laert. 5.83. At the very least, the ancients believed such a migration had taken place. With his sojourn at the Lagid court and his interest in Gauls, it seems quite possible that Demetrius treated the revolt of Ptolemy II's Celtic mercenaries at length (BARBANTANI 2001, 155). As pointed out by CECCARELLI, *BNJ* *s.v.* 'Demetrius (162)', the earlier view (e.g. SCHMIDT 1834, 13-14; JACOBY *FGrH* 2D *Kommentar*, 594), that later historians would not use such specialized works as sources can no longer be upheld; the same was already proposed with regard to Trogus by NACHTERGAEL 1977, 52.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. PARKE & WORMELL 1956, 255; NACHTERGAEL 1977, 141-2; STROBEL 1994, 77f.; MITCHELL 2003, 281-2; POTTER 2003, 414; STEWART 2004, 200; CAMPBELL 2009, 214-32, 243-61; GIUSEPPETTI 2012, 487. Examples of this pairing include *SH* 958; Polyb. 2.35.7 (cf. Plut. *Cim.* 1.1); Paus. 1.4, 10.19-23 (of whom e.g. ALCOCK 1996, 256-8 with a list of the motifs, though also noting that Pausanias' mental landscape is particularly afflicted by memories of the Persian Wars: 251). Examples in the context of the defence of Thermopylae are reviewed in NACHTERGAEL 1977, 147-8. The Κελτοί were not the only western parallels that could be found for the great battles of the Persian Wars—even if they were conceived as 'western' at the time; in Pind. *Pyth.* 1.72-80 the Syracusan naval victory over the Etruscans off Cumae is likened to Salamis and Plataea (cf. Hdt. 7.166 on the battle of Himera in Sicily, as well as Diod. 11.24).

<sup>113</sup> Diod. 22.3-5, 22.9; Just. 24.3.10-8.16; Paus. 1.4, 10.19-23. Contemporary sources were already suggested by DINAN 1911, 92. Hieronymus was a strong contender to SEGRÈ 1927, 29; but largely dismissed by NACHTERGAEL 1977, 45-7, 57-62; again accepted on account of the high quality of Pausanias' source by HABICHT 1985, 95-117. There is little reason to assume any direct influence by Hieronymus in such a late author as Pausanias: cf. NACHTERGAEL 1977, 85 with bibliography. HORNBLOWER 1981, 72 suggests that the periegete

court historian of Antigonus Gonatas, Hieronymus probably had a ready access to Macedonian archives.<sup>114</sup> Timaeus, for his part, would as a Sicilian probably had some interest in describing barbarians widely recognized as originating in the Far West, although it is not certain whether he actually devoted a sustained narrative to the Delphic attack.<sup>115</sup> Timaeus was probably at Athens during the Celtic invasion, however; this increases the likelihood that his writings dealt both with the events themselves and possibly with the ethnography behind them.<sup>116</sup> Here the narratives of Diodorus, Justin, and Pausanias are selectively recapitulated while noting established fragments from earlier literary sources. The immediate Greek reaction to the invasion, however, cannot be reconstructed by purely literary means; what is needed is a combination of epigraphy, papyrology, and numismatics (see pp. 62-71, 146-56).

Diodorus' account is preserved only in part, primarily in quotations in the Porphyrogenetan *Excerpta*, but its earliest fragments remark on Ptolemy Ceraunus' foolish rashness in confronting the invaders; he was cut down together with the whole of his army.<sup>117</sup> The bulk of the invasion narrative in Diod. 22.9.1-5 apparently contained most of the elements present in better preserved accounts. Brennus' Γαλάται have the explicit purpose of plundering Delphi. Having lost tens of thousands of warriors, and himself thrice wounded and approaching death, Brennus advised his men to kill their wounded, after which he drank a great amount of unmixed wine and killed himself.<sup>118</sup> In keeping with narrative conventions, not a single man returned home (22.9.3). Elements connected with northerners' religiosity are evident in Diodorus' account. Notably, Brennus is implied to be standing within a temple—not specified as that of Apollo, but probably notionally at Delphi—as he derides the

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would have obtained his information on Hieronymus from Timaeus; cf. *ead.* 247 in commenting upon Hieron. Card. *FGrH* 154 F 9 *ap.* Paus. 1.9.7 and F 15 *ap.* 1.13.7. Hieronymus, however, seems to have been known to such Imperial writers as Plutarch and Appian: BOWIE 1996A, 212 fn. 11.

<sup>114</sup> The Macedonian viewpoint would probably not have fundamentally shaped Hieronymus' description of the barbarian invasions; on the whole, for Thucydidean or Xenophontic influence on Hieronymus' ἀρχαιολογία see HORNBLOWER 1981, 152f., fn. 206.

<sup>115</sup> Regarding Timaeus, we have *FGrH* 566 F 7 *ap.* Polyb. 12.28A.3 about the great pains he had taken to collect material about the Tyrians, Ligurians, Celts, and Iberians; moreover his authority on the West is recognized by Agatharch. *De m. rubr.* 64. The fact that he did treat the western barbarians extensively does not, strictly speaking, lend much force to the widely accepted view that he was also one of the sources for the Galatian invasion; a problem that is examined in NACHTERGAEL 1977, 70-76 with a noncommittal stance (“un excursus relatif à l'irruption des Barbares en Grèce n'est pas impossible”).

<sup>116</sup> On Timaeus' presence in Athens at the time: RANKIN 1995, 22.

<sup>117</sup> Diod. 22.3 *ap. Ecl. legat.* HOESCHEL 495; cf. Just. 24.3, 5 on Ptolemy's rash personality and hybris.

<sup>118</sup> Diod. 22.9.2 *ap. Ecl. legat.* HOESCHEL 495-7: ἄκρατον πολὺν ἐμφορησάμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε. The wording makes it difficult to judge whether the drinking of unmixed wine was the method of the suicide or an inducement to it, but cf. MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 166ff. for some contextualization of this narrative motif. NACHTERGAEL 1977, 18 notes that this summary of the whole incursion is relatively free of the any references to the traditional impiety of the barbarians, the oracular pronouncement, or epiphanies; he implies that this is the result of the compiler's garbled methods.

anthropomorphic images of stone and wood.<sup>119</sup> Diodorus also reports an oracular response in which Apollo promised the panicked Delphians that no removal of the sacred treasures was needed, as he and the 'White Maidens' would protect all. The population assumed the divinity to mean Athena Pronaia and Artemis, both of whom had ancient temples within the precinct.<sup>120</sup> In 22.11.2 Diodorus makes a seemingly unconnected mention of Pyrrhus' noted dedication of Gallic shields to the shrine of Athena Itonis after his defeat of Antigonos Gonatas and his mercenaries.<sup>121</sup> Finally, Diodorus cites the impiety of the Galatae (ἡσεβηκόσι τηλικαῦτα) in describing an incident at Aegae, where Pyrrhus' own Galatians plunder the Macedonian royal tombs, but the king avoids punishing such useful mercenaries.<sup>122</sup>

Justin, whose *Epitome* is considered to be a fairly faithful collection of extracts from the lost *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus, provides the only substantial Latin narrative of the Delphic events. The sources of the Gaulish-born Trogus, to the extent that they can be reconstructed, were predominantly Greek: Ephorus, Theopompus, Timaeus, Duris of Samos, Polybius, Posidonius and Timagenes have all been proposed.<sup>123</sup> Further, Hieronymus' account

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<sup>119</sup> Diod. 22.9.4 *ap. Exc. de sent.* 250, a passage invoked to support arguments about Delphi's actual plundering by the invaders (a theory dealt with by NACHTERGAEEL 1977, 93-101 who found it to be an over-simplification). If a historical event is sought, the outlying sanctuary of Athena Pronaia could have enabled Brennus' reaction (possibly cf. Callim. F 592 PFEIFFER *ap. Schol. in Aesch. Eum.* 21), however unnecessary such an attempt at localization may be. Rather, what we are dealing with here is a dramatic elaboration of the invasion theme, similar to that found in Callim. *Hymn* 4, 181-5, presenting the barbarians already *by* the temple (ἤδη παρὰ νηῶν) and *by* the tripods (ἤδη δὲ παρὰ τριπόδεσσιν). These, admittedly, would belong to Apollo rather than Athene, but this may be explained as simple poetic licence). What is another matter entirely is the endorsement of the idea of Delphi's despoliation by Gauls by the Republican Romans (Diod. 5.32.5; Livy 38.48; Timag. *FGrH* 88 F 11 *ap. Str.* 4.1.13; Val. Max. 1.1.9; Cass. Dio F 90; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 1.73; Oros. 5.15) eager to act as the belated avengers of such impiety. For another politicized reading of Caepio's demise cf. NACHTERGAEEL 1977, 106.

<sup>120</sup> Diod. 22.9.5 *ap. Exc. de sent.* 251. Cf. Hdt. 8.36 during the Persian threat. On the White Maidens, see also PARKE & WORMELL 1956, 133. Cic. *Div.* 1.81 tries to have it both ways, with virgins fighting against the Gauls as well as the enemy army being overwhelmed by snow (*ex quo factum, ut videretur virgines ferre arma contra et nive Gallorum obrueretur exercitus*).

<sup>121</sup> A passage that has been proposed with some confidence to stem from Hieronymus, along with the passage on the plunder of Aegae and the tyranny of Apollodorus at Cassandrea: HORNBLOWER 1981, 50 fn. 104. It cannot be denied that such information could have been most readily available to Hieronymus. The glorificatory dedication of the Celtic shields is used as a metonym for the Gauls in the poetic register by Callim. *Hymn* 4.184-6, with a similarly contemporary parallel in the Coan decree, *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 398, 9-10, referring to the Aetolian dedication. On the Hellenistic fascination with Celtic shields, cf. FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004, 357. Paus. 10.19.4, 20.8, 21.2, 23.8 refer to the shields, possibly as an 'authenticating' element.

<sup>122</sup> Diod. 22.12 *ap. Exc. de virt. et vit.* 1.200. On the usefulness of the Galatian mercenaries for the Hellenistic kings: Just. 25.2.9-10. Another, entirely contemporary evidence of mercenary Γαλάται is the epitaph from Maronea commemorating Bricco, son of Ateuristos, who originated from Apamea in Syria (*SEG* 24.637; *L.Aeg. Thrace* 215), and probably served as an officer in a mercenary company serving the Seleucids. He expresses his confidence that his martial virtues have earned him a good afterlife: CHAMOIX 1988, 499f. A similar contemporary group of Gauls in Ptolemaic service are the Alexandrian grave stelae discussed by MARSZAL 2000, 198, with two of the seven Gauls having Greek names.

<sup>123</sup> On Trogus' sources, cf. for instance FORNI & ANGELI BERTINELLI 1982 and RICHTER 1987, e.g. 120-25, 126-28 and handily in tabulated form pp. 209-13. Timagenes has been favoured since GUTSCHMIDT 1882, for instance by DINAN 1911, 93 (but noting that Timagenes would probably have drawn much from Hieronymus; cf. JACOBY *FGrH* IIC 220f.) and SORDI 1982, 786f., 795ff. It might be better to avoid over-confident claims

of the Diadochi is agreed to have been a relatively influential source for 'Trogus' work.<sup>124</sup> Justin's narrative brings the Gauls up in divine revenge upon the ruthless Ptolemy Ceraunus, but he begins with an account of their earlier wanderings.<sup>125</sup> When the Gauls attack Macedonia from their new abodes, the hybridic king Ptolemy marches against them without proper preparation; it is implied that he acts when *parricidiorum furii agitatus*.<sup>126</sup> In a similar frame of mind he spurns an offer of truce by the Gauls (24.4.1-4); this resembles the beginning of Diodorus' narration. In defeat, Ptolemy is treated in a way that by 'Trogus' time is stereotypically northern: *caput eius amputatum et lancea fixum tota acie ad terrorem hostium circumfertur* (24.4.5f.). The shock and anguish of the Macedonian people is described as they pray for the *nomina sicuti numina* of Alexander and Philip to deliver them from danger.<sup>127</sup> The Gauls push onward towards Delphi under Brennus, who is stressed to have been moved more by greed than religiosity; the gold is more important to him than avoiding offence against the immortals: he jokes that the gods hardly need riches as they have grown used to being benefactors to humans.<sup>128</sup>

Arriving at the plain of Crisa, the *Galli* abandon themselves to looting (24.7.1-4). The oracular pronouncement of Apollo is reported by Justin in slightly different form: while in Diodorus the talk is about τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον τῶν θεῶν

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regarding sources—modern proclamations as to the 'Posidonian' contents of extant authors are a case in point. Obviously, 'over-Timagenism' should be avoided, as well.

<sup>124</sup> HORNBLOWER 1981, 65ff.

<sup>125</sup> The homeland of the *Galli* was unable to sustain their population growth, so they sent 300 000 of their number to seek new lands *velut ver sacrum* (24.4.1). Some of these took and burnt Rome, while others penetrated into Illyricum, following directions obtained by augury—for the Gauls excel at that art (24.4.3). The achievement of the Gauls, a *gens aspera, audax, bellicosa*, is highlighted by their being the first ones since Hercules—for whom this feat earned admiration and a belief in his immortality—to cross the Alps with their unconquerable heights and frozen wastes (24.4.4). For the motif of crossing the Alps, see below p. 106, 125, 141f. fn. 486f., 174f. In 'Trogus' version the barbarian hybris and impiety are subdued, and the *Galli* act as a divine punishment rather along the lines of Livy's Book 5, though they end up defeated nonetheless—partly because of the Gauls' obviously barbarian greed, stressed e.g. in 24.6.4, though modified by Brennus' apparent jocularity: *animum ad deorum immortalium templa convertit, scurriliter iocatus locupletes deos largiri hominibus oportere*.

<sup>126</sup> Just. 24.4.8-9. This is just one example of what has been described as "l'influence de la rhétorique moralisante" in Trogus-Justin (NACHTERGAEEL 1977, 18 and fn. 11), but it may be useful to keep in mind that the predominance of moral judgement may partly stem—or at least be heightened—by the anthologizing of Justin, which he himself admits to: *Praef.*4. YARDLEY 2003, 199 accepts *parricidiorum furii* as a poetic element, and one with several attestations coeval with Trogus.

<sup>127</sup> Just. 24.4.9; the striking alliteration picks up a detail acting as a moralizing *exemplum* of good rulership.

<sup>128</sup> Just. 24.6.5. Interestingly, the subsequent description of Delphi combines the unsurprising emphasis on the importance and wealth of the sanctuary with certain word choices which may be read as expressing religious scepticism: 24.6.7f. While Hieronymus has been noted (HORNBLOWER 1981, 107-53) to be minimally sensationalistic and quite clear-headed as a historian (cf. *ead.* 37), such ambivalences may just as likely have been introduced by Trogus, who had no particular reason to be in awe of the Delphic establishment, and may have wanted to preserve some of the integrity of his ancestral *Galli* (see above fn. 125). The moralizing debate on the intense barbarian craving for gold was apparently salient at the time of Trogus: cf. Posidonius (p. 184 below), Timagenes (121, 125) and Livy (102 fn. 323, 164). While the arguments of DAUGE 1981 are for the most part overly simplistic (recognized, e.g. by SHAW 2000, 374 fn. 46), formulations such as 'Trogus' venal Gauls attacking temples without much thought for the morality of their act stem from a shared sentiment that the barbarians were fundamentally prone to pervert and drag down the human-divine ('theandric') relationship (426, 429, 540f.).

ἀνήκοντα and their possible evacuation, Justin's Apollo forbids the inhabitants of the plain from saving their harvest, which in the end helps to buy the sanctuary a respite during which reinforcements arrive from their neighbours.<sup>129</sup> The Gauls embrace their acquired wine as though it were genuine plunder; the next day Brennus tries to heighten the natural greed of his disorderly and hung-over warriors by emphasizing the value of the gilded statues of the sanctuary.<sup>130</sup> The first rush of the *Galli* is confused but fearless, whereas the defenders put their faith in the deity rather than in their own strength.<sup>131</sup> During the *melée*, the *antistites* of the temples and the *ipsae vates* rush among Greeks proclaiming the epiphany of Apollo, whom they have seen leap into his temple through the opening in the ceiling in response to their imprecations. From the neighbouring temples of Diana and Minerva two armed virgins join them. The sacred personnel assure the defenders of the clear divine favour and exhort them to share in the victory of their supernatural *socii* (24.8.3-7). Soon after this the divine presence manifests itself when part of the mountain collapses onto the dense mass of the Gallic host. This is followed by a hailstorm, finishing off the enemy wounded.<sup>132</sup> Brennus himself cannot bear his wounds and kills himself with a dagger (24.8.11). The retreating *Galli* are assaulted by rain, snow, lack of sleep, famine, fatigue, and attacks by the peoples they pass through; the army that *qui paulo ante fiducia virium etiam deos contemnebat*, was destroyed to the last man.<sup>133</sup>

Pausanias starts his account in Book 1 with a passage rather reminiscent of the pre-Delphic conception of Κελτοί and their location in the οἰκουμένη: they are the inhabitants of the furthest part of Europe, near the ebbing and flowing ocean.<sup>134</sup> This may mirror the introduction of either Timaeus or Hieronymus, both of whom could have begun to acquaint

<sup>129</sup> Just. 24.7.6-8; cf. Diod. 22.9.5; cf. Paus. 10.22.12. The Roman tradition of the Vestals transferring the *sacra* to Veii may have been influenced by this Delphic tradition: for the Livian form, see p. 159 fn. 569.

<sup>130</sup> Just. 24.7.10.-8.1; cf. Polyæn. *Str.* 7.35.2.

<sup>131</sup> Just. 24.8.2. Essentially the opposing sides manifest on a larger scale the qualities that had become wholly conventional in descriptions of Romano-Gallic duels: see p. 94f.

<sup>132</sup> It should be noted, however, that in Justin the Gauls do not kill their own wounded—an element which may have been too damning for the Gallic-born Trogus to narrate.

<sup>133</sup> Just. 24.8.13-16. This moralizing motif of a destroyed barbarian invader may have later influenced Statilius Crito of Heraclea Salbace, judging by the F 2 B<sub>NJ</sub> of his *Getika* in *Schol. in Lucian. Icarom.* 16 RABE 104. Later see Agath. *Hist.* 2.3.4.

<sup>134</sup> Paus. 1.4.1; cf. 10.20.3. Timaeus was ostensibly interested in the Western seaboard: Tim. B<sub>NJ</sub> 566 F 75A *ap.* Plin. *HN* 4.94f., F 74 *ap.* *HN* 4.104, F 75B *ap.* *HN* 37.36; F 73 *ap.* Aet. *De plac. reliq.* 3.17.6.383 DIELS specifically about the tides; see also PEARSON 1987, 70. In particular it may be a reflection of Timaeus having included the story of Eridanus and Phaethon in his histories, as attested by Polyb. 2.16.13-15 (F<sub>GrH</sub> 566 F 68). Cf. [Ar.] *Mir. ausc.* 82, which could be Timaeus as well. To localize the Celts with a reference to the river Eridanus, the daughters of Helios and their hapless brother Phaethon could predate the more elaborate aetiologies of Alexandrian Hellenism, although it should be noted that Timaeus was generally quite popular among the Alexandrian scholars (cf. BROWN 1958, 14), and was extensively used by Istrus 'the Callimachean' (F<sub>GrH</sub> 334), Agatharchides, Callimachus, Lycophron, Eratosthenes and Fabius Pictor (MEISTER *s.v.* 'Timaeus' B<sub>NJ</sub>). The attacks by Istrus, Polemon, and Polybius did little to dent his reputation: *ibid.* 23. Pausanias, for his part, certainly went to the Hellenistic writers (even poets) for his myth variants: BOWIE 1996A, 211.



his readers with the Celts from such a conventional point.<sup>135</sup> Pausanias' further remark about the nomenclature of the northerners, noting that Γαλάται was a recent introduction superseding Κελτοί, is difficult to contextualize.<sup>136</sup> Pausanias' brief summary continues with the determination of the Athenians to repel the barbarians at Thermopylae, and the Celts circumventing the defenders by the path of Ephialtes (1.4.2). The outcome of the battle is passed over by Pausanias, but he emphasizes the eagerness of the Γαλάται to seize the treasures at Delphi (1.4.3-4). There, the invaders are opposed by Delphians, Phocians, and Aetolians, by forces of nature (thunderbolts and rocks falling from Parnassus), and by the ghosts of past Hyperborean and Homeric heroes.<sup>137</sup> The defeat of the Gauls is not described in this instance; Pausanias turns his attention to the great number of Gauls who crossed over to Asia and plundered its coasts until brought to heel by the Pergamenes (1.4.5).

In 10.19.4 Pausanias returns to the Gallic invasion in describing the architraves of the Delphic temple of Apollo, after noting the dedication of the supposedly Gallic shields by the Aetolians. The repulsion of the Gauls from Delphi is called the greatest of Greek exploits against the barbarians (10.19.5). The origin of the war is sketched: Gallic veterans returning from Cambaules' campaign inflame the barbarian love of plunder, and Brennus further stokes the Gallic greed already during the planning stage, enlarging upon the Greek wealth, particularly that of the sanctuaries, and elaborating on their current weakness.<sup>138</sup> The Persian wars are brought up in comparison: the Gallic cavalry practice of τριμαρκισία is surmised to have a Persian origin, and both the size of the invading army and the defeatist mood of the

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<sup>135</sup> Of the two, Timaeus' geography seems to have been the more conventional: HORNBLLOWER 1981, 86f. Information from Hieronymus could hardly have been directly accessed by Pausanias, and may instead be cited via compilations or abstracts: *ead.* 1981, 72. However, since *ead. loc. cit.* also grants that some of Pausanias' sketches in Book 1 derive ultimately from Hieronymus, there is no compelling reason to read 1.4 as a largely new formulation; although it is "his own summary" (HORNBLLOWER 1981, 73) its ethnogeographical content is entirely conventional. With regard to the enduring Timaeus-Hieronymus problem, BROWN 1958, 31 considers Dioid. 4.56.3-6 (on the Western sojourn of the Argonauts, including references to the Celts) to be Timaeian in its entirety, and 4.56.4 likewise speaks of Celts living by the Ocean (τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν κατοικοῦντας Κελτοῦς), which by this time seems to have become a cliché.

<sup>136</sup> Although there is some evidence for the ethnonym Γαλάται gaining currency only after the attacks, the note may rather reflect the currency of the ethnonym up until the time of Pausanias himself, not that of the first decades after the events. See CAMPBELL 2009, 130 (though erroneously postulating Callimachus as the initiator of this), and *ibid.* 163f. on inscriptions. Diodorus, too, seeks to define the ethnonyms used of the Κελτοί/Γαλάται, but it is not easy to judge where his opinion is derived from: his distinction between Κελτοί and Γαλάται is not chronological but geographical—with a further note on Romans calling all of the relevant nations Γαλάται (i.e. *Galli*): 5.32.1. Cf. Caes. *BGall.* 1.1 and Str. 4.1.1, 14.

<sup>137</sup> The defensive aid provided by Pyrrhus/Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, led according to Pausanias to a new-found appreciation of his cult among the Delphians, who no longer regarded his tomb as that of an enemy: 1.4.4. This re-evaluation of the hero may well represent an aspect of Pergamene propaganda, where the Attalids promoted a special genealogical connection with this mythical figure: SCHEER 2003, 223. For Delphi's threefold defenders, see *infra* p. 76f..

<sup>138</sup> Paus. 10.19.8. Cf. Polyæn. *Str.* 7.35.1: Brennus dresses a few haggard Greek prisoners in rags, and by showing these feeble enemies persuades his stout Gauls to follow him to Greece. Polyænus as a Macedonian would doubtlessly have been interested in all trivia having to do with the Galatian invasions of 280-78.

Greeks is emphasized.<sup>139</sup> Perhaps through Herodoteanism, Pausanias is the only one of the principal sources who includes a Greek defence at Thermopylae in his account of the invasion.<sup>140</sup> In the run-up to the battle, Brennus is described as being rather clever for a barbarian and experienced in formulating stratagems (10.20.6). Notably, Pausanias mentions that before the battle Brennus uses neither a Greek soothsayer nor any of his own native rites to propitiate the divinities: Pausanias suspects that the Κελτοί may even lack any art of divination (in contrast to what Justin says).<sup>141</sup> Such speculation would most naturally stem from an early source.<sup>142</sup> In another element contrary to the stereotypical perceptions of his time, the Κελτοί of Pausanias (and perhaps already of Hieronymus) attack at Thermopylae silently and in good order.<sup>143</sup> Next, Pausanias notes the brave death of the young Athenian Cydias, whose shield is dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios, and whose epitaph at the Stoa of Zeus in Athens is quoted in full (10.21.5). The peculiar indifference of the Γαλάται to the fate of their fallen comrades is noted with a disapproval, and Pausanias offers two explanations of his own for this: that the barbarians wished to unnerve (ἐκπληξαι) their enemies, and that they habitually (δι' ἔθους) had no feelings for their fallen.<sup>144</sup>

The Γαλάται take a narrow path across Mount Oeta, partly because they want to plunder the Trachians' sanctuary of Athena which is situated there (10.22.1). The Phocians

<sup>139</sup> Paus. 10.19.9-12. Already in introducing the dedicatory shields Pausanias (10.19.4) likens them in shape to the Persian wicker shields. Material culture sustains the comparison together with the narrative elements.

<sup>140</sup> As noted in CAMPBELL 2009, 257. This is not surprising, considering what ALCOCK 1996, 251 says of the strength of the Persian Wars in Pausanias' spatio-historical imagination: Paus. 10.20.1-5 constitutes a comparison between the Herodotean numbers of Persians and the strength of the Gallic attack. The Herodotean *exemplum* (7.210-12, 223-25, 8.35-9) seems to condition Pausanias' description strongly: NACHTERGAEL 1977, 21, with p. 92 warning of the implications of this for the writer's value as a source. HORNBLLOWER 1981, 73 comments that the Herodotean parallelism is probably an addition by Pausanias or his immediate source; although she presents no suggestions as to who such an 'immediate source' might be, we should note her point that much of Pausanias' account cannot come from Hieronymus; cf. *ead.* 144 fn. 167.

<sup>141</sup> Paus. 10.21.1; cf. Just. 24.4.3. MOMIGLIANO 1975, 63-4 interprets this as Pausanias' dig at previous scholars such as Posidonius, who had argued for the existence of Celtic learned men and diviners, since his own source gave him no account of such figures being involved with the action. However, as we have no knowledge of the extent of Pausanias' acquaintance with the works of Posidonius and his kind, this interpretation must remain speculative; besides, Pausanias' irony need not have been directed at Posidonius, or indeed at any particular writer at all. Either Pausanias relays the speculation of the early Hellenistic sources close in time to the invasion itself, or he is commenting upon clichés current during his own era.

<sup>142</sup> For the Middle to Late Hellenistic recognition of religious specialists among the Γαλάται: see p. 190-99.

<sup>143</sup> Paus. 10.21.1. This, however, seems to be contradicted in 10.21.3, where the invaders attack with mindless rage and fury in the manner of beasts, in an entirely conventional way of describing the northerners' methods at war in Pausanias' own time: οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ θυμῷ μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ καθάπερ τὰ θηρία ἐχώρου. Similarly the Celtic retreat to their camp is disorderly and panicky (10.21.4).

<sup>144</sup> Paus. 10.21.6f. The connection (if any) of this latter point to the motif of some northerners not fearing death on account of their belief in rebirth (see p. 194f.) is one way of interpreting Pausanias' statement; another is that the northerners' ethos is simply as indifferent to corpses as that of beasts. Both ancient and modern explanations for the element (or behaviour, if a factual basis is sought) are examined briefly by CURCHIN 1995. If literary exemplars are sought, Persian 'air burial' in Herodotus 1.140, the Scythian indifference towards their dead Hdt. (4.62.4: cf. CHIASSON 2001, 40) and possible authorial strategies of Pausanias' sources could all have contributed.

beat back the invaders from the heights, but Brennus devises another stratagem, sending a detachment of his warriors to Aetolia to draw the Aetolians back to defend their abodes (10.22.2-3). This group, under Combutis and Orestorius, attacks the town of Callion and commits “crimes without parallel”—in the pathos-engendering description of which Pausanias seems to be influenced by Thucydides’ narrative of the outrages perpetrated by the Thracians at Mycalessus.<sup>145</sup> Every male inhabitant of the town is slaughtered; the plumpest infants are killed, their flesh eaten, their blood drunk. The women can only hope to find swords in order to kill themselves before being raped by the invaders; those less fortunate are ravaged to death by the incontinent barbarians.<sup>146</sup> This outrage compels the Aetolians to hasten back home, but also galvanizes their will to fight—even the women join in, seeking vengeance against the Gauls through guerrilla war (10.22.5-6). The fate of the Callians is compared in 10.22.7 to the cruelties perpetrated by the Homeric Laestrygones and Cyclopes, highlighting the literary quality of this exercise in evoking pity; but it might certainly also incorporate elements of Aetolian propaganda in the immediate aftermath of the invasion.<sup>147</sup>

Meanwhile, having outflanked the Greeks at Thermopylae, Brennus hastens immediately towards Delphi—where the inhabitants receive a reassuring oracle from the divinity. Arriving at the sanctuary, the barbarians are confronted with clear and unfavourable omens: the earth shakes for a prolonged period, with continuous thunder and lightning. This prevents the terrified invaders from hearing orders, as well as incinerating those hit by thunderbolts. The ghosts of the heroes Hyperochus, Laodocus, Pyrrhus and Phylacus are seen.<sup>148</sup> After an unsettling day, night brings no rest for the barbarians: they are plagued by a severe snowfall, and rocks tumbling from the heights crush whole groups at a time (10.23.4).

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<sup>145</sup> For Thucydides, see QUINN 1995; also above p. 43. BOWIE 1996A, 212 remarks on Pausanias’ ‘Herodoto-Thucydidean mode’, and the value for him of the Mycalessus *exemplum* would stem in part from something similar. Not even attempting to compete with Thucydides’ narrative in referring to the fate of Mycalessus (1.23.3, 9.19.4), Pausanias was content to construct the episode at Callion as an allusive passage. It is also possible that this was done by an earlier source whom Pausanias is following, perhaps spurred on by his recognition of a Thucydidean reference. While the Greek reaction to the Galatian invasion has sometimes been seen as characterized by “nostalgia and reverence for tradition” (HANNESTAD 1993, 29), this mainly reflects the transmission of contemporary sources via Pausanias’ work, which certainly does exhibit these traits.

<sup>146</sup> Paus. 10.22.3-4. Such a motif admittedly comes across as a pathos-inducing cliché, but several references to female suicides in the face of rape will be noted below when they exhibit a connection with northerners’ morality: p. 71, 78, 80f. (a narrative inversion of what is expected from a virtuous woman), 354 below.

<sup>147</sup> E.g. a Timaeian aetiology deriving the Celts, Galatians, and Illyrians from Polyphemus: Tim. *FGrH* 566 F 69 *ap. EtMag s.v. Γαλατία* (cf. p. 73 fn. 210 *infra*). The accusation of cannibalism was particularly easy to affix on peoples conceived as nomadic, and hence living on meat as a matter of cultural preference: on the epistemic base see SHAW 1982; ISAAC 2004, 207f.

<sup>148</sup> Paus. 10.22.8-23.2. This is the closest Pausanias comes to including a divine epiphany—although supernatural action is also credited for the nightly terrors that attack the Gauls in their camp. This is a major deviation from the versions of Diodorus and Justin, though it should be noted that the preserved fragments of Diodorus do not include any description of an active epiphany. His reported oracular response (Diod. 22.9.5), however, does imply the later appearance of the ‘White Maidens’. The epiphany of local heroes: PLATT 2011, 155, 219.

At dawn the Greeks sally forth from the sanctuary at the same time that the Phocians attack from Parnassus; after Brennus himself is wounded, the barbarians slay their wounded and retreat.<sup>149</sup> When at nightfall the withdrawing invaders try to set up camp, Pausanias brings up a theme found in connection with other barbarian armies, as well: the Gauls are gripped by a Panic fear. At first only a few are maddened, imagining they hear the sound of galloping horses and of enemies advancing, but after a while the divinely sent madness spreads further, and the Celts fall upon themselves, mistaking each other for Greeks.<sup>150</sup> Next, the pro-Athenian bias of either Pausanias or his source leads to the introduction of an Athenian-Boeotian task force which joins in the harrying of the Celts.<sup>151</sup> At Heraclea, Brennus, both because of his fear of his own soldiers and his belated remorse for his depredation of Greece, commits suicide apparently by drinking unmixed wine.<sup>152</sup> After this, the Gallic retreat is thwarted by constant battles and ambushes, so that none of them return home.<sup>153</sup>

The role of victories over the Κελτοί, as a source of glory and authority for leaders, will be examined somewhat later, but some less personified celebrations may be discussed in the context of the epigraphic testimony. Several elements linked to perceptions of the northerners' religiosity, and with a potentially far-reaching impact, first emerge in the epigraphy of the immediate post-invasion period. Among the earliest politically motivated reflections of the attack on Delphi was the new-found prominence of the Aetolians within the Amphictyony.<sup>154</sup> The epigraphic evidence for the Aetolian-initiated penteteric Σωτηρία at Delphi constitute the back-bone of NACHTERGAEL's voluminous study (1977), and the subject of CHAMPION's article of 1995. All in all, inscriptions constitute a relatively early and occasionally very telling category of evidence. The most pertinent element of these documents

<sup>149</sup> Paus. 10.23.5-6. The Greek attack at dawn may euhemerize the timely arrival of Phoebus used in Justin.

<sup>150</sup> Paus. 10.23.7f: ἐν δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ φόβος σφίσις ἐμπίπτει Πανικός [...] ἢ τε ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μανία. For Pan in Antigonid galatomachy, see p. 148.

<sup>151</sup> Paus. 10.23.11. On Pausanias' pro-Athenian sentiments (or at least rhetoric), see SEGRÈ 1927, 202-34; NACHTERGAEL 1977, 21, 32. Moreover, it is virtually certain that Hieronymus, the Antigonid historian, would not have bequeathed such a legacy to those using him; cf. already SCHMIDT 1834, 32. The same could be the case with the Aetolians, who seldom enjoyed very cordial relations with Macedon.

<sup>152</sup> Paus. 10.23.12: ἐκουσίως ἀφεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀκράτου πίνοντα τοῦ οἴνου. MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 167 is probably correct in relating this detail to Str. 3.4.7, a passage demonstrating well the interpretative flexibility in connection with the northerners' twin afflictions of drunkenness and aggression: the geographer compares a drunken suicide of Cantabrians to the shared features of Celts, Thracians and Scythians.

<sup>153</sup> Paus. 10.23.13; yet Paus. 1.4.5 states that most of the Celts crossed over to Asia (as Polyb. 4.46, too, attests).

<sup>154</sup> First discussed in FLACELIÈRE 1937. On the Aetolian ascendancy cf. HALL 2002, 136-7, fg. 5.1 (Aeschines, Androtion, Theopompus and fourth-century inscriptions attest no mention of Aetolians as members of the Amphictyony), but cf. to this NACHTERGAEL 1977, 196 n. 299; and CHAMPION 1995 *in toto*.

in this instance is the frequent emphasis that they give to divine intervention—a motif that is also found in the literary narratives of Delphic deliverance.<sup>155</sup>

The inscription with the most explicit religious content is the one found at Cos, which is dated to the first half of the year 278 BCE and is thus close to the events themselves.<sup>156</sup> More importantly, as it predates the Aetolian institution of the Σωτηρία, it might be argued to reflect the Greek reaction in a less propaganda-influenced way. The decree has been prompted by the report of barbarians having mounted an expedition “against the Greeks and the temple at Delphi” (lines 2-4: ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς), and the subsequent news that the aggressors have been chastised by the god and by humans flocking to the defence of the temple (5-8). Moreover, the temple has been saved and apparently a dedication of spoils made soon after (8-10: τὸ δὲ ἱερόν διαπεφυλάχθαι τε καὶ ἐπικεκοσμηθῆναι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὄπλοις). Further on, the people of Cos are declared to be thankful to the god for his ἐπιφανεία amidst the danger threatening the sanctuary (ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν κινδύνοις) and for the salvation (σωτηρία) of the Greeks (14-20). The θεωροί are sent to Delphi, where the προστάται are told to offer sacrifice to the Pythian Apollo, Zeus Soter, and Nike, with the victim to Apollo (offered ὑπὲρ τᾶς τῶν Ἑλλάνων σωτηρίας) described as a bull with gilded horns (24, 31-3).

Some elements emerge prominently in the Coan inscription. The invaders themselves are not named—they are simply βάρβαροι (lines 1-2, 8)—while the Hellenes are mentioned time and again (lines 3, 13, 16, 19-20, 25, 29, 40). As noted by CHAMPION (1995, 215), Apollo’s epiphany is mentioned (lines 16-18), and he is given more prominence than either Zeus Soter or Nike, the other divinities mentioned. As a comparison for things possibly introduced by the subsequent Aetolian propaganda, the later decree at Smyrna (dated by CHAMPION to around 241) replaces the epiphany of Apollo by a more inclusive τῶν θεῶν (line 6).<sup>157</sup> The emphasis on Aetolian piety exhibited by the Smyrna decree is common to the

<sup>155</sup> CHAMPION 1995, 214f., though also noting that the role played by divine assistance seems to have been downplayed by the Aetolians in order to emphasize their own role (such as in the inscription from Smyrna, NACHTERGAEL 1977, 443-5 n. 25). In Paus. 10.22.2-7 the Aetolians are portrayed as avengers of the impious murder of the people of Callion, but the subsequent encounter at Delphi is portrayed in decisively epiphanic terms in both Paus. 10.23.1-4, Just. 24.8 and Diod. 22.9.5. The notion of barbarian invaders being defeated according to the divine will or through divine intervention is present at least from the *Persae* of Aeschylus onwards (see e.g. 513ff.); for this early phase, see JOUANNA 1981, 5f., 8f. (on the divinity evening out the discrepancy in Persian vs. Greek manpower), 12; HALL 1989, 70 n. 54; GOLDHILL 1988, 57f.; GRUEN 2011A, 16.

<sup>156</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 398; NACHTERGAEL 1977, no. 1 p. 401-3. According to MOMIGLIANO 1975, 61, the ‘spontaneous enthusiasm’ of the people of Cos is evident on such an occasion of hearing from a Greek victory. The inscription is analysed in NACHTERGAEL 1977, 39-44, 94-99, and 295-6.

<sup>157</sup> CHAMPION 1995, 216-17 notes that these non-distinguished ‘gods’ may be compared in the literary tradition either to the heroes of Paus. 10.23.2, Apollo and the ‘White Maidens’ of Diod. 22.9.5, or to Apollo, Artemis and

Athenian and Coan decrees, as well; all three are responses to the Aetolian invitation to their newly created festival. CHAMPION also suggests on the basis of the epigraphic material that the Aetolian version not only de-emphasized the divine element in saving Delphi, but also constructed a single, massive invasion (repulsed by themselves) not supported either by Pausanias or by the Coan decree, both of which refer to a series of attacks.<sup>158</sup> Due to the obvious political advantage and epistemic comfort inherent in the motif of a triumph over barbarians, however, the impact of the Γαλάται came to be avidly exploited in the wider literary world of the Hellenistic Era.

c. FIRST IMPRESSIONS, GREEK MYTHOPOEIA AND TRACES OF 'EMOTIONAL BARBAROGRAPHY'

**Callimachus**

While Callimachus belongs chronologically among the source authors of the preceding section, the themes and motives that characterize his famous reference to the Celts make it perhaps more enlightening to treat him among Greek emotional reactions to the encounter.<sup>159</sup> He certainly lived in a time that witnessed the first shock of the Greek world to the reports of the attack of 279, and incorporated allusions to the threat into his poetic works. One such reference is a fragment (among very few securely attributed) from the learned Alexandrian's hexameter epyllion *Galatea* (Γαλάτεια), which mentions Brennus raising a group from near

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Athena in Justin 24.8.5, and goes on to remark that Justin's version would incorporate two Aetolian deities into the Delphic epiphany (a possibility already implied in WOODHOUSE 1897, 126 and fn. 3, but opposed by NACHTERGAEL 1977, 48); similarly, Paus. 10.15.2 mentions an Aetolian dedication at Delphi of statues of Apollo, Artemis and Athena, but this of course is a conventional assemblage of divinities at Delphi. PLATT 2011, 156 notes that the non-distinguished and accommodating expressions of divine help in the early σωτηρία documents may already be designed to promote the Pan-Hellenic appeal of the epiphany at Delphi, the "lasting moment of glory" of the sanctuary (GRAF 2009, 59). Perhaps this was indeed a sign of accommodation, or an attempt to gloss over immediate divergences of attribution.

<sup>158</sup> CHAMPION 1995, 218; cf. NACHTERGAEL 1977, 126-75 on the overall probability of two invasions (but cf. 39-44 with a critical appraisal the 'Delphic' and 'Aetolian' versions of the events in the form proposed by TARN 1913, 22-27, though in the end granting (p. 44) that Tarn was undoubtedly correct in turning attention towards the politicized narratives of the Delphic defence. The idea of 'Pausanian-Delphic' and 'Aetolian-Diodoran/Trogan' versions was also defended by SEGRÈ 1927 and FLACELIÈRE 1937, summarized in NACHTERGAEL 1977, 44-9 and 41-2, respectively.

<sup>159</sup> To cite FANTUZZI AND HUNTER 2004, 357: "The language of Callimachus' Apollo [in *Hymn to Delos*] thus gestures towards the prosaic, though emotionally charged, language of public documents, but is also utterly transformed from it." The particularly emotional nature of the Greek reactions to Celtic incursions was noted already by MOMIGLIANO 1975, 61.

the western sea against the Greeks.<sup>160</sup> CAMERON (1995, 66, 281-2) suggests that this composition, with its mythological name, was performed at the Delphic Σωτηρία, which is an intriguing possibility. In terms of content, the Callimachus fragment corresponds to Pausanias' record in including the stock motif of the western sea as a location close to the Gallic homeland.<sup>161</sup> The motif of the far west as the Celtic home is very general and inconclusive; moreover, it is again used by Callimachus in the *Hymn to Delos*. CAMERON's case of a Σωτηρία-composition is nevertheless somewhat strengthened by the possibility that Callimachus' F 621 PFEIFFER comes from *Galatea*, as well.<sup>162</sup> It is then possible to imagine Callimachus composing a mythologically rooted *Galatea* to celebrate the Aetolian victory over the original invaders (whether or not—more likely not—the piece was ever performed at Delphi), and subsequently using the same imagery to bring galatomachy home to Egypt in praise of the quelling of the Galatian uprising by Ptolemy II Philadelphus.<sup>163</sup> In pictorial depictions, it is possible that the Gallic monumental head found in the Faiyum area is related to this early victory over the barbarians, thus predating the better-known Pergamene iconography.<sup>164</sup>

By far the most famous Callimachean allusion to the Galatians at Delphi comes from his *Hymn to Delos*, where the as yet unborn Apollo prophesies from the womb of Leto; he instructs his mother not to give birth on the island of Cos, for another divinity, from the exalted family of the Saviours (i.e. Ptolemy II, the son of Ptolemy I Soter), is meant to be born on that isle; this monarch will rule over both Asia and Africa, as well as the islands between them (162-70).<sup>165</sup> Moreover, Apollo foresees a joint ἄθλον for himself and the promised god-

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<sup>160</sup> Callim. F 379 PFEIFFER *ap. Schol. Dionys. Per.* 74: οὓς Βρέννος ἀφ' ἑσπερίοιο θαλάσσης ἤγαγεν Ἑλλήνων ἐπ' ἀνάστασιν; on the dating: FRASER 1972, I 659 with n. 352 in II B 925; RANKIN 1987, 81-2, following the idea expressed by Pfeiffer himself in his commentary (1949, 206). PFEIFFER's identification of Callim. F 592 *ap. Schol. in Aesch. Eum.* 21 with the defence of Delphi by Athena Pronaia, and its inclusion in the *Galatea* is quite possible, though largely conjectural.

<sup>161</sup> Though the idea was already conventional and a common source is hardly necessary, see p. 56 on Timaeus.

<sup>162</sup> CAMERON 1995, 282, though also implying that a disjointed Hellenistic line quoted by Serv. *Ad Aen.* 12.691 might point to an Antigonid dedication of Callimachus' piece, widening the possible narrative range of *Galatea*. The Αἰτωλῶν Ἄρηα in F 621 could recall or prefigure the Κελτῶν ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα of *Hymn* 4, or be an allusion to Eur. *Phoen.* 134. Then of course there is the ἀνάστασιν in F 379 (see above).

<sup>163</sup> It is also quite possible that Callimachus' *Galatea* (the length of which is not known) was a work commissioned by someone with contacts to the Aetolian League, as is suggested by FRASER 1972, 582 regarding the *Anth. Gr.* 13.25, which seems to be composed for Timodemus of Naucratis, who set it up at the temple of Demeter Pylaea at Thermopylae, a shrine at the time connected with Aetolians. In any case, the Aetolians were certainly the most eager politicizers of the Galatian incident (cf. PLATT 2011, 155).

<sup>164</sup> Discussed in MARSZAL 2000, 198.

<sup>165</sup> The connection of Cos with both the Delphic Σωτηρία and the Ptolemaic propagandistic posturing has been noted in FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004, 356; see also GIUSEPPETTI 2012, 471f., 478, 486-89. However, a direct link with the cult of Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί is denied by BING 2009, 92 fn. 3; *ibid.* 132-5 and esp. fn. 75 notes the intriguing possibility that the close identification of Philadelphus with Apollo may also have something to do with earlier Egyptian models of pharaohs operating as incarnations of Horus; STROBEL 1994, 79f. also refers to possible

king: there shall come a day when the Titans of a latter age will lift against the Hellenes their barbarian sword and a Celtic war (μάχαιραν βαρβαρικήν καὶ Κελτὸν ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα), rushing from the furthest west in numbers equal to the thickest snowfall (171-76). Two seriously lacunose lines follow, after which these invaders are envisioned as thronging the Crisaeian plain, while outlying communities will witness the havoc that previously they had only heard of. With an oracular immediacy and employing a paralleled synecdoche, the invaders' unseemly shields and girdles are described as being 'already' by the Apolline tripods; this is predicted to cause the foolish tribe of the Γαλάται an ill-omened journey (178-85): αἱ Γαλάτῃσι κακὴν ὁδὸν ἄφροσι φύλῳ στήσονται. Of these shields some will be the awards of Apollo himself, whereas others will be set up by the Nile as a prize for a king of many battles, after their previous owners have perished amidst flames. The prophecy ends with Apollo's foreknowledge of the great reverence that Ptolemy will bear towards him (185-90).

The poetic reference is written in an elevated style appropriate for the future god of divination; the mythical past is crucially linked with the present through the barbaromachic prophecy of Apollo, and the even more remotely primeval apotropaic act of killing the monstrous snake Python.<sup>166</sup> In his contemporary context, Callimachus' 'barbarian sword and Celtic Ares' do not explicitly refer to the Delphic attack alone, but rather allude to both the earlier attack of northerners against Apollo, and the later rebellion of the Γαλάται mercenaries in Egypt.<sup>167</sup> The ambiguity and double (if not triple) reference is carefully wrought to highlight the partnership between the epiphanic divinity and the Ptolemaic king in vanquishing the impious disturbers of the Hellenic order. The 'evil journey' predicted for the barbarians for their sacrilege, poetically symbolized by the juxtaposition of their warlike arms with the holy tripods of the divinity, must refer to the motif of their disastrous return north.

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Egyptian native traditions that might have influenced the forms of Ptolemaic galatomachy. Moreover, STEPHENS 2012 (esp. 147) demonstrates the many mythological connections that Callimachus brings up between Egypt and Greece, which in its original form could present Philadelphus quite clearly as the defender of Greece itself from invaders who had famously slain his traitorous half-brother Ceraunus.

<sup>166</sup> On the present in *Hymn to Delos*: BING 2008, 128f.; on the link with the past mythical act of vanquishing Python: *ibid.* 130f., especially fn. 67, noting an interesting parallel in Eur. *Bacch.* 1330ff. The killing of Python and the repulsing of the Gauls is likewise linked by Limenius' *Delphic Paean* (lines 23-33): FANTUZZI 2010, 193.

<sup>167</sup> The only literary references to the mercenary uprising are Callim. *Hymn* 4.175-187; *Schol. vet. ad loc.*; Paus. 1.7.2. The date of ca. 275 is well-founded: see NACHTERGAEL 1977, 170f.; BING 2008, 91f. fn. 3 with ample references, and *ibid.* 92f. on the *terminus ante quem*. Concerning the motivation of the rebellion, BARBANTANI 2001, 191 is surely correct in regarding Pausanias' claim that the mercenaries had designs to become the rulers of Egypt as unfounded and possibly motivated by an Alexandrian interpretation of the events. It seems that the scholiast (*Schol. vet. in Callim. Hymn.* 4.175-187) may be echoing the current notions of the Hellenistic period (or, indeed, much of Imperial age as well) when he makes the assumption that the Celts attempted to seize the royal treasure—which is just as likely to come close to the 'real' reason as any other educated guess (e.g. REINACH 1911A). The idea of DUVAL 1957, 11-12 that the 'Celtic Ares' refers to a Celtic war deity—and hence would be something like an early representative of *interpretatio Graeca*—is improbable and outmoded.



Several narrative motifs which have already been encountered in connection with the northerners appear again in Callimachus' *Hymn* 4, while some elements which appear here for the first time go on to have a long life in descriptions (particularly triumphalistic ones) in a barbaromachic vein. His treatment of the Gallic attack has been noted to fall easily into a mythopoetic pattern of barbarian invasions against Delphi—a narrative motif or mytheme that proceeded to influence diverse narratives of barbarian invasions against other sacred nodes as well.<sup>168</sup> Just as important as the sacred dimension, however, were the political implications of such narratives of impiety and epiphany. From the first attestations onwards, the thanksgivings of the poets—in part no doubt genuinely grateful, in part fawning and adulatory—for being saved from the Galatians linked the salvatory qualities of the elite, their religious duty to defend the Hellenes, and the impious designs of the venal barbarians.<sup>169</sup> The Gauls became “the new universal barbarian” serving as the ideal adversary for all victories in defence of civilization.<sup>170</sup>

### Other Hellenistic poets

A remarkable amount of mythopoiesis grew up around the narrative of the Galatians' repulse from Greek lands.<sup>171</sup> The 'Celtic Ares', first met with in the epitaph of Cydias as reported by Pausanias, along with the *Hymn to Delos*, was to become—with its parallels—something of a conventional cliché in sacral choral lyrics as well.<sup>172</sup> But while the Callimachean literary hymns were not meant to be performed at any sanctuary (nor, probably, and as we have seen, was his elusive *Galatea*), there are the famous Delphic Paeans—complete with the ancient Greek notation—which display much more attestable connections with the ritual of Σωτηρία. Both apparently date from the year 128/7 BCE, and were inscribed together on the southern wall of the Athenian treasury at Delphi.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>168</sup> BING 2008, 130 fn. 67. See also the discussion of GIUSEPPETTI 2012 with several previous literary *exempla* suggested (486-89), with some support for the compliance of the oracular establishment at Delphi in their propagation. For the Delphic influence in a context not covered by this study, see PLATT 2011, 154 about the case of Chersonesus and Magnesia developing epiphanic narratives of their own.

<sup>169</sup> MOMIGLIANO 1975, 61 '[...] patriotism and religion combined to what must surely be one of the most emotional reactions of the Greeks to the impact of an alien society.' And cf. FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004, 356. On the concept of kingship at the heart of the *Hymn to Delos*: BING 2008, 128.

<sup>170</sup> MARSZAL 2000, 222, but cf. p. 23 above for the danger of such generalizations. Besides, it is debatable to what extent there were any 'universal barbarians' predating the Κελτοί. The earlier barbaromachic paradigm of resisting Persians was a difficult medium for dynastic propaganda; the dynastic aspect itself was connected with notions of 'Eastern' monarchy and autocracy. The anarchic, rude northerners made a much easier triumphalistic target for the Hellenistic dynasts portraying themselves as protectors of civilization.

<sup>171</sup> The reaction is quite accurately called a 'frenzy of myth-making' by PLATT 2011, 154.

<sup>172</sup> Paus. 10.21.5: εὔτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἤκμασε θοῦρος Ἄρης. For the cliché of 'Celtic Ares', see below.

<sup>173</sup> PÖHLMANN & WEST 2001, 70f.

The inscription containing the *First Delphic Paean* in honour of Apollo, found along with the *Second Paean* on the southern wall of the Athenian treasury, was first described in *FD* III 2.137; at the time it was still considered anonymous, but it was later resolved as being by Athenaeus son of Athenaeus. In a fragmentary line that does not permit a reliable translation, it contains a reference to a Γαλατᾶν Ἄρης; line 26, however, contains the word ἄσεπτ-, thus attesting the notion of unholy action.<sup>174</sup> Although it is impossible to say how much of the composition we lack, it may be significant that—according to the notation as transcribed both by REINACH and PÖHLMANN & WEST—the melodic pitch reached a notable peak in connection with this reference to the barbarians.<sup>175</sup> The *Second Delphic Paean*, by Limenius son of Thoenus, the Athenian, closely parallels the first one, in referring to a βάρβαρος Ἄρης.<sup>176</sup> The hymn thanks Apollo for guarding the omphalos of the earth when the 'barbarian Ares' with impious design attempted to rob the mantic shrine, but was vanquished by winter (lines 31-3). The musical tone rises dramatically at this point, like in Athenaeus' piece. The formulaic nature of both hymns supports the notion that they conform to a set of traditional requirements, and while it is not entirely certain that they were compositions for a Σωτηρία, the inclusion of a reference to the Gauls nonetheless points to the continued relevance of the episode for the Delphic image, while the possibly incorporated prayers for the rule of Rome would be well suited to middle Republican Roman pretensions to portray themselves as protectors of the sanctuary from barbarians.<sup>177</sup>

Less sacral and more propagandistic—as well as slightly earlier—attestations of the association 'barbarians-Κελτοί-Ares' are found in the Hellenistic kingdoms, where victories over the barbarians were often converted into political prestige. The most widely debated of these is a poem in elegiac disticha from the mid-third-century BCE *Papyrus Hamburgensis* 381, apparently celebrating a victory over barbarians by a Hellenistic ruler.<sup>178</sup> Line 9 appears to describe the adversaries of the monarch as ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄφρονες—a telling

<sup>174</sup> *Paean Delph. I anon. in Apoll.* F 1 col. II line 25 *ap. Coll. Alex.* 141 (*FD* III 2.147ff.). The attribution to Athenaeus (instead of the demonym 'the Athenian' as the fragmentary first line led previous scholars to believe) was proposed by BÉLIS 1992, 48f., 53f.; cf. also PÖHLMANN & WEST, 2001, 71. The fragmentary parts of both paeans have been reconstructed largely on the basis of each other, as explained in PÖHLMANN & WEST 2001, 72f., 84f.

<sup>175</sup> REINACH 1893, 586; PÖHLMANN & WEST 2001, 67.

<sup>176</sup> Limen. *Paean Delph. II et Prosod. in Apoll.* ll. 31-3 *Coll. Alex.* 149-59 (*FD* III 2.138).

<sup>177</sup> The formulaic nature: PÖHLMANN & WEST 2001, 71; similarities: 85; the probable ending with prayers for Athens and the Roman rule: 73. The suggestion of a derivative connection between the language of the Delphic hymns and the Apolline prophecy in Callim. *Hymn* 4: FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004, 358. For the Roman propaganda at Delphi, see *infra*.

<sup>178</sup> First in WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORF 1918, 736, later in *Coll. Alex.* 131, *Eleg. adesp.* 2, and *SH* 958. It has been subsequently emended, discussed and interpreted intensely, most notably by DIEHL 1942 in *ALG*; SNELL 1954, 126f.; BARTOLETTI 1962; RICHTER 1963; PEEK 1963; FRASER 1972, II 925-7; BARIGAZZI 1974; and NACHTERGAEL 1977, 184-7.

characterization in the wake of the Delphic attack (cf. Callim. *Hymn* 4.184)—while line 14, after mentioning the Medes, refers to a *θοῦρος ἀνὴρ Γαλάτης*, a rather unsurprising formulation remarkably similar to the epitaph of Cydias.<sup>179</sup> Attributions regarding both the author and the dedicatee of the piece have been numerous; the Seleucids or Ptolemies are the dynasties preferred by WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF 1918, while POWELL (*Coll. Alex.* 132) suggests a composition by Musaeus of Ephesus to honour Attalus I, chiefly on the authority of *Suda s.v.* Μουσαῖος (although Galatians are not explicitly mentioned as a subject).<sup>180</sup> MOMIGLIANO detected in the piece a possible survival of the encomiastic poetry dedicated to Antiochus III by Simonides of Magnesia.<sup>181</sup> The piece has also been identified as the vanished *Hymn to Pan*, written by Aratus to celebrate Antigonus Gonatas' victory over Gauls at Lysimachia. This last attribution, resting chiefly on Antigonus' Macedonian coins showing Pan, is intriguing, although it must be remembered that panic is a clear stock motif in galatomachic accounts, and in fact is absent from Justin's relatively detailed description of the battle at Lysimachia.<sup>182</sup>

Several commentators, however, have opted to regard the piece as Egyptian in both composition and dedication, an interpretation made even more attractive by Callimachus' well-known example in celebrating the achievement of Ptolemy II against the Galatians. The monarch would in that case most likely be Ptolemy Philadelphus. While the Egyptian papyrus is approximately contemporary with his rule, plausibly dealing with the extirpation of the

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<sup>179</sup> The editors of *SH* make the suggestion that the pairing of Galatians with Medes (whichever opponent this classically inspired ethnonym designates) is meant to emphasize the more glorious victory of the warlike and more manly (line 11: ἀρείονας) northerners: LLOYD-JONES & PARSONS 1983, 460. That any attacker against Delphi would become associated with ὕβρις and the consequent impiety is also demonstrated by the *exemplum* that became projected the furthest back in time, namely the war of the Orchomenians under Phlegyas, son of Ares, who was said to have torched the Apolline temple and paid for his sin in the underworld (Verg. *Aen.* 6.618; Paus. 10.4.1f.; his descendants, the Phlegyas, had a reputation for brigandage: *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 278); for the possible politics behind the literary tradition, see PRANDI 1981.

<sup>180</sup> An attribution endorsed by RICHTER 1963, 116-7, and more faintly by KOSMETATOU 2003, 170f. She also suggests that a combination of Γαλάται and 'Medes' could be meant to allude to the armies of the Seleucids: KOSMETATOU 2000, 51-2.

<sup>181</sup> MOMIGLIANO 1930, 151-5, basing the attribution upon *FGrH* 163 T 1 *ap. Suda s.v.* Σιμωνίδης. He observed that the Galatians of the poem are being inflicted a defeat similar to the one that the king already inflicted upon the Medes. PAGE 1941 in the Loeb-edition (III, 464) argues the other way around; Antiochus I as the identity of the victor is supported by BAR-KOCHVA 1973; *contra* both, NACHTERGAEL 1977, 53-4, esp. fn. 134 supports the idea that Simonides (who is not seen as the author of *SH* 958) praised Antiochus I's success in the battle that Lucian describes (fictionally: BRACHT BRANHAM 1985, 238f.) in *Zenxis*. BARBANTANI 2001, 184 fn. 11 rebuts proposals that Simonides could have written under Antiochus III but still celebrated the galatomachic feats of Antiochus I. CAMERON 1995, 285 considers Simonides' poem on the deeds of Antiochus to refer to Antiochus III, but does not link *SH* 958 with Simonides' oeuvre, which seems quite sensible.

<sup>182</sup> BARIGAZZI 1974, esp. 238. Aratus' *Hymn to Pan* is testified by *V Ar.* 3.58. In Just. 25.2, similarly to Livy's description of the aftermath of Allia (5.39.1f.), the *Galli* act with some caution, expecting a stratagem or ruse from the part of the enemy.

mercenaries, the poet who penned the piece has been less easy to pin down.<sup>183</sup> Crucially, however, the invaders are indicted for their impiety (line 9), and the language is essentially that of the epic; thus we may be dealing with a type of Hellenistic encomiastic poetry, of which Callimachus' already examined passage in the *Hymn to Delos* is merely another example.<sup>184</sup> The king's presence at the ideological apex of the elegy is pronounced, rather similarly to the way that Apollo is present in the dramatic heightening of the Delphic hymnal melodies. While it is easy—perhaps too easy?—to detect a Callimachean influence in the piece, there is little foundation for any reliable conclusions as to authorship. The notions behind the *Papyrus Hamburgensis* 381 are, nonetheless, very much the same as in the *Hymn to Delos*.

Of possible relevance in this context is another encomiastic elegy from an Egyptian papyrus, which augments our information of Hellenistic praise poetry regarding victories over Galatians. First edited by TERZAGHI 1957, it has since been emended by several scholars; it has been understood as possibly representing another celebration of a barbarian victory, with the most relevant suggestions stemming from an extant 'ἔβρε-' in line 6, and influenced by *SH* 958 and Callimachus.<sup>185</sup> The presence of the ethnonym Ἕλληνες on line 7 probably supports the argument that the poem *in toto* presented a contrast between the Greeks as an ingroup, and some foreign enemy.<sup>186</sup> Any further interpretation of the piece, however, is problematical. The figure commemorated does not appear to be necessarily a ruler, but could just as well be a successful general; moreover, the dating of the piece can be anything from Hellenistic to Imperial.<sup>187</sup> All the emendations above draw upon the quite well established notion of the barbarian clamour in war, together with the attested Hellenistic rhetorical turns of phrase.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>183</sup> The king in the elegy is identified as Ptolemy II by BARTOLETTI 1962, 25-30, PEEK 1963, NACHTERGAEL 1977, 185-7, and LLOYD-JONES & PARSONS 1983, 460 (with the suggestion that the 'Medians' would in this case be a poetic alias for the Seleucid troops of Antiochus I, who were repulsed in the First Syrian War. Also BARBANTANI 2001, 125 opts for Philadelphus, and adds an explanation for the 'Medes' as an evocation of the Macedonians' greatest victory, under Alexander (cf. *ead.* 129 and still further 131ff. with convincing argumentation for a encomiastic 'Medoktónos topos'). The comparison, however, is perhaps slightly too elevated to furnish for a punishment of rebellious mercenaries. Moreover, as noted by KOSMETATOU 2003, 171, comparing Galatians to Persians would suit either Pergamene or Ptolemaic galatomachy.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. BARBANTANI 2001, 118, 121; and 129 "Il punto culminante degli encomi dei *basileis*, [...] era la celebrazione delle loro vittorie sui barbari ed è lecito supporre che al brano riportato da *SH* 958 seguisse la descrizione del trionfo del re sugli empi avversari, i Galati, con il ristabilimento [...] della pace e della prosperità del paese." The choice of such an ostensibly minor victory for the object of celebration would 'reflect the new realities of royal statecraft' (BING 2008, 132).

<sup>185</sup> *SH* 969 line 6, with TERZAGHI 1957 ἔβρεμε θούρος Ἄρης, BARTOLETTI 1962 ἔβρεμ' ἄνηρ Γαλάτης, and PEEK 1963 ἔβρεμε Κελτὸς Ἄρης. Collected in BARBANTANI 2001, 225-6; cf. also *SSH* 969 p. 113 and CAMERON 1995, 290 (implying that though *SH* 958 and 969 are in different hands, they might belong to the same poem).

<sup>186</sup> BARBANTANI 2001, 92. Cf. Callim. *Hymn* 4.172f; besides, FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004, 357 make the good point that in extant Callimachus, the word Ἕλληνες is found only twice—both times in connection of the Gallic invasions (the other instance being the above-mentioned possible fragment from *Galatea*).

<sup>187</sup> E.g. BARBANTANI 2001, 73-116 considers it to be directed at a Ptolemaic commander, with the cautious suggestion that the commander in question could potentially be Neoptolemus son of Cressus, who was honoured

The subject of Celts had been made salient in Egypt because of the above-mentioned mutiny of Philadelphus' mercenaries around the year 276-5, commemorated by Callimachus.<sup>189</sup> Even before him, however, the treatment of northerners was not restricted to encomia; we also know, thanks to a fragment preserved by Athenaeus, that Sopater of Paphos, an Alexandrian comic poet from around the year 300 BCE, had used information on the Celts' sacrificial customs to undisclosed (not necessarily comical) effect in a piece referred to as *Γαλάται*.<sup>190</sup> Athenaeus' speaker in the passage, Magnos, certainly uses this quotation to comical effect to express his jesting intention to make a holocaust of his three frustrating interlocutors, as is the custom among the Galatians.<sup>191</sup> As somewhat later in Roman comedy, Hellenistic comedy too may be argued to preserve traces of notions that were palatable to and current among the average audience of the time.

In any case, Sopater's fragment appears in chronological terms to be the earliest testimony with a direct bearing upon perceptions of the Celts' religious practices. As noted by FREEMAN (2006, 45), archaeological evidence from Galatia seems to attest to the ritual dismemberment, and thus probable sacrifice, of humans as well as animals; while there is no real evidence for human burnt offerings among the early Galatians, at the very least their sacrificing of humans would thus have been known to eastern observers from their immediate arrival in the area onwards.<sup>192</sup> If not based on 'facts', Sopater's reference may have been influenced by information regarding the Carthaginians' burnt offerings—the two 'western' groups had been ascribed broadly similar behaviour already by Plato and Aristotle, so in terms

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in the Lycian Tlos with an epitaph (PREGER 1891, *IGM* 169) also recorded, with minor errors, in Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀγρία*: it records his victory over invading Pisidians, Paeonians, Agrianians and Galatians—all probably mercenaries of some opponent of the Ptolemies or another; see also PAGE 1981, *FGE* 141 p. 448f. For the dating of the *SH* 969, see LLOYD-JONES & PARSONS 1983, 478.

<sup>188</sup> In addition to the above-given examples of the association between *Κελτοί/Γαλάται* and Ares should be added *IG* XI.4.1105, a Delian dedicatory epigram of the middle of 3<sup>rd</sup> century by Sosicrates for a statue of Philetaerus (set up under his grand-nephew Attalus I), the eunuch founder of the Attalid dynasty of Pergamon, with lines 5-6 reading: *ὥς ποτε δυσπολέμοις Γαλάταις θοὸν Ἄρεα μείξας / ἤλασας οἰκείων πολλὸν ὑπερθευ ὄρων*. HANNESTAD 1993, 26 considers this monument to have been of the traditional type, bearing portrait statues. On Philetaerus' conflict with *Γαλάται* and the dating of the dedication, see LAUNEY 1944.

<sup>189</sup> See above p. 64. On the date, e.g. BARBANTANI 2001, 191. The revolt of Magas has been quite securely dated, and the revolt of the Galatian mercenaries hired for the purpose of fighting in Cyrenaica cannot have happened at a very large temporal remove.

<sup>190</sup> Sopatr. F 6 KAIBEL *ap.* Ath. 4.51 (160E). MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 159f. considers Sopater the first of our testimonies of 'Celtic ritualism', which is broadly speaking true, though incidental; FREEMAN 1993, 149f. problematically denies the imaginary nature of the reference based upon Callimachus and sources later than Sopater. The dating of Sopater's works makes it difficult to say if he was still writing around the middle of Ptolemy II's reign; see HOFENEDER 2005, 62.

<sup>191</sup> The ambivalence of the ethnonym should be noted, but it seems justified to agree with WEBSTER 1994, 7, preferring to see Sopater as meaning the *Γαλάται* of Asia Minor than the inhabitants of Gaul.

<sup>192</sup> Further references to archaeological remains of human sacrifice among the 'Celts' is provided, for instance, by WEBSTER 1994, 8; on the difficulty of identifying 'sacrificial' remains see e.g. MARCO SIMÓN 1999, 6-14.

of *topoi* this could still have been plausible in Sopater's time.<sup>193</sup> Another likely source is the by then quite common knowledge of the sacrifice of prisoners among the Scythians. Subsequent references to burnt offerings among the Celts derive mostly from Caesar, as in Str. 4.4.5.<sup>194</sup> Occasionally the ethnographical motif of wives or followers devoting themselves to death at the funeral of a barbarian leader may be connected with the notion of a burnt offering.<sup>195</sup>

After Sopater, and much more securely datable to after the Delphic attack, Posidippus of Cassandrea and Apollodorus of Gela are among the comic writers whose titles seem to contain references to the *Γαλάται*; as we have seen, however, only Sopater's fragment is substantial enough to tell us something of the audience's shared sentiments of the Galatians' religious attitude.<sup>196</sup> Much more difficult to interpret is fragment 47 of the comic poet Philemon, who is similarly quoted in Athenaeus, to the effect that since a Seleucid ruler had sent a tiger to the speaker's community (apparently Athens), they should send him a *τρουγέρανος* in exchange, as such a beast is not really known in the East: though the snippet has been interpreted to have something to do with the subsequently attested Gaulish deity Tarvos Trigaranus, the true import of the passage seems difficult to decipher.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Perhaps comparable is the way in which Roman *metus Gallicus* appears to have elided with *metus Punicus*: BELLEN 1985, 24, 36. The human offerings of Gauls and Carthaginians are presented in close association with each other in Cic. *Rep.* 3.15, where they may be contrasted as 'historical examples' with two mythical instances of similar practice; a parallel use to Cicero's is found in Varro *Ant. div.* F 16 *ap.* August. *De civ. D.* 7.19; the similarity of Varro with Cicero has been commented by HOFENEDER 2007, 164, who furthermore connects this possibly topical formulation with Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.38.2. The point of Celtiberian incineration burials is noted in CURCHIN 1995, 70, and the knowledge on such practices may have helped to epistemically connect the Carthaginian and 'northern' practices.

<sup>194</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.19 in the case of funeral pyres; 6.19 with the 'wicker man' holocausts: bibliography and some discussion in HOFENEDER 2005, 202. Further unambiguous references to burning either as a punishment or a method of human sacrifice among the Celts are scarce: Diod. 5.32.6 likewise depends on Caesar. The verb *immolare* is ambivalent as regards the method of sacrifice (e.g. Cic. *Rep.* 3.9.15), suitable for accommodating varying perceptions of the methods of Gallic human offerings.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. the Cantabrians willing to follow their chosen leaders unto death: Str. 3.4.18, which may be a slight geographical transposition (under the increased Augustan attention to northern Hispania) of Caes. *BGall.* 3.22 about the *soldurii* of Adiatuanus and Caesar's other statements about northerners not fearing death. Caesar was also followed by Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrH* 90 F 80 *ap.* Ath. 6.54 (254A). Here, one must disagree with HOFENEDER 2005, 174 about the extent to which Nicolaus could have needed any source beyond Caesar (or a common source beyond both): the few elaborations exhibited by the reference in Athenaeus can be explained as slight augmentation through tropes and conjecture. BELL 1995, 754 notes that the word *soldurii* may stem from a Greek literary source.

<sup>196</sup> Posidippus' work was titled *Galates* (F *tit.* 7-8), while the one by Apollodorus of Gela is postulated in BARBANTANI 2001, 187, also arguing that the comedy of Sopater may have aimed to lighten the menace left in the minds by the revolt of the Gallic mercenaries. It might, however, be better not to explain so much by a single, poorly evidenced event. A more interesting aspect of the fragment is the use of such a sinister theme as human holocaust sacrifice in a work of comic nature. For a comical pictorial depiction of a Gallic warrior in a crater from Volterra, see REINACH 1910, 25 fig. 12 (cf. 26 fn. 1).

<sup>197</sup> Philem. F 47 *ap.* Ath. 13.57. The suggested link with the later Gaulish deity, see VENDRYES 1907, who moreover suggests that the explanation (φάσματι ἑοικώς) in Hsch. *s.v.* τρουγέρανος stems from incomprehension (123). The latter part is probably true, but not even the original audience was necessarily meant to understand the word. Maybe Philemon simply wanted to construct a mythical beast that could be obtained from the west, in parallel to the eastern tiger yet manifesting certain verbal echoes of it. For a 'realist' reading of

Other incidents of non-propagandistic (or not outrightly so) articulation of the Galatian threat can be found in Hellenistic poetry, and one in particular allows us to see to the emotional side of the Greek reaction to the depredations wrought by the barbarians. *Anthologia Graeca* 7.492 preserves what purports to be a funerary epigram of three (or according to Jer. *Adv. Ion.* 1.186, seven) Milesian maidens, who chose rather to take their own lives than be ravished by the “lawless Galatian hybris”. Whether or not the piece testifies to a real humanitarian tragedy in the face of attack against the cities of the Asia Minor littoral, the sense of outrage, injustice and pollution is clearly evident. Attributed to the elusive poetess Anyte, of probable early third-century BCE date, the epigram can be considered a typical choice of hers in its subject matter of a maiden (or in this case several) dying before marriage—a device certainly meant to evoke emotions of pity and loss.<sup>198</sup> Once again we find the combination Κελτῶν [...] Ἄρης, which by now, given such numerous attestations, can safely be classified as a genuine Hellenistic commonplace.<sup>199</sup>

### Mythical antecedents, connections and etymologies

Literary mythologizations constitute the aspect of the Greek barbarographic enquiry that most easily lends itself to general comparison with emergent Hellenistic modalities of epistemic ordering. Often these accounts were crafted from existing mythical narratives, but with some novel connection or obscure figure to explain the origins of a given outgroup.<sup>200</sup> While the question of whether the Greeks really ‘believed’ in their myths, i.e. whether or not myths were genuinely ‘religious’ in nature, has some bearing in this matter, they certainly functioned as powerful tools in making sense of newly encountered population groups.<sup>201</sup> The implicit value of such mythologizations for the most part no longer stemmed from any ‘sacred’ status conferred on them by their incorporation within the mythological register (contrary to what appears to have been the case for instance in Hesiod), but from their treatment as accounts of and inquiries into earliest history.<sup>202</sup> Indeed, the Hellenistic period seems to have witnessed a hitherto unprecedented level of interconnections between past and

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Trigaranus (arguing for a genuine, indigenous tradition behind at least the depiction at the monument of the *Nantae Parisiaci*, *RIG L-2 1*), see MAUGARD 1959. The last attempt to solve the conundrum has been provided by HOFENEDER 2005, 53-56 as 8 T 1; he supports the idea of “eine typische Wortbildung der Komödie” (54), with Philemon possibly aiming at a hybrid of turtledove and crane, as suggested by KASSEL & AUSTIN 1989 in their *PCG* 7.252). He suggests (55) that the study of Celtic religion be rid of this fragment, and with good reason.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. DEGANI *s.v.* ‘Anyte’ *BNP*, considering that the theme (also treated by Anyte in *Anth. Gr.* 7.486, 490, 649) was yet to become a commonplace.

<sup>199</sup> *Anth. Gr.* 7.492, line 4. Cf. BING 2008, 129; BARBANTANI 2001, 108f.; FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004, 358f.

<sup>200</sup> See WOOLF 2011A on the ethnographical, partly mythopoeic, selectively interviewing ‘middle ground’ as the notional location for such re-combinations of existing information during the Hellenistic and Republican eras.

<sup>201</sup> The best-known, if already dated, examination of the ‘belief’ of Greeks in their myths is VEYNE 1988.

<sup>202</sup> Famously formulated in VEYNE 1988, 46.

present.<sup>203</sup> In some ways myth did become “the playground of the erudite elite”; if so, however, it was also a playground where the sandbox was used as a miniature model to familiarize the (occasionally bickering) playfellows with both spatial and temporal dimensions of the newly enlarged οἰκουμένη.<sup>204</sup>

The notion that the Hellenistic era brought changes to Greek cultural discourse is understandable and easily defended (from MOMIGLIANO 1975 to GRUEN 2011A), but some tendencies within the literary tradition do seem to stem from earlier—on than the third century BCE. It has been suggested, for instance, that the ‘Herodotean’ conception of Hellenicity was novel, in the sense that it placed equal emphasis on cultural criteria as on kinship ties in relating different groups to the Greeks.<sup>205</sup> Herodotus does indeed seem to stand at the beginning of such culturally articulated comparisons, but this does not mean that the traditional way of conceiving relationships between groups through kinship or lack thereof was eclipsed. On the contrary: for most of Graeco-Roman antiquity, new, or recently prominent, foreign groups were tied to existing mythical or heroic genealogies in what was effectively a form of hegemony by means of an epistemic regime.<sup>206</sup> Here the Hellenistic age shows no easily discernible change. The long-standing practice in itself, however, may be less informative and more topos-based than has at times been claimed.<sup>207</sup>

Aetiological narratives have been mentioned briefly in the preceding sections, but their contribution to the conceptualization of the barbarians merits more discussion. This technique of putting northern (and other) barbarian peoples in their place—both in terms of appropriating the right to ‘know’ their true affiliations and origins, and of being able to derive conclusions about their nature from this ‘projected knowledge’—proliferated in the context of Hellenistic literary pursuits, namely the learned, mythologizing etymologies and aetiologies found in many

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<sup>203</sup> SCHEER 2003, 218. This highlighted the explanatory power of mythical connections in terms of ancient anthropology and ethnography, though it was not properly of historical nature, either: SCHEER (2003, 217) notes that the past was only notable when it was illuminated by famous personalities or the deeds of mythical heroes. But it could be said that the more minor personalities and heroes of mythology proliferated.

<sup>204</sup> ‘[T]he playground of the erudite elite’: HENRICHS 1999, 225.

<sup>205</sup> HALL 2002, 193.

<sup>206</sup> E.g. RAMIN 1979, 13, 55ff., 61-65; ROMM 1992, 218; the epistemic base of such mythological constructions is also explained by HALL 1992 (esp. 188-91, 193-97) as part of her response to Martin Bernal’s model of Greek mythistorical knowledge; recently WOOLF 2011A, 111-14; also DUECK 2012, 24-27. Since naming is power (as noted e.g. in WEBSTER 1995A, 158, in the context of *interpretatio* of barbarian religions), to be able to tell where a foreign group gets its name and origin was a powerful component in mastering them through knowledge. Also relevant is the discussion in BHABHA 1994, 94-120. Concerning the predominantly familial or genealogical assessments of other groups in relation to one’s self and ingroup among the Greeks: SCHEER 2003, 216; and the ‘opportunity to take mental possession’ through appropriating genealogies: *ead.* 219f.

<sup>207</sup> GRUEN 2011A sees mythological adaptations as a form of positive appreciation—but the mythogeographic register was epistemically more complex than just providing criteria of cultural comparison; e.g. 224-27.



scholarly writers of the age.<sup>208</sup> Though ostensibly not strongly discriminatory in itself (an interpretation particularly favoured by MOMIGLIANO 1975 and GRUEN 2011A), the mechanics of this sort of epistemic ordering have colonialist analogies (cf. BHABHA 1994, 94-120). Not infrequently, this register found its material in the recently encountered northern peoples, predominantly the Celts, and in so doing anchored them more firmly in the canonical past of Greek myths, at least in the eyes of the literary elite. While it might be considered a second, distancing and exoticizing phase in the Greek encounter with the northerners, it is more complex in both its nature and origin, and is almost coeval with the shocked reflections of Celtic venality and the role accorded to the divine in safeguarding against it.

Callimachus' references to the Celts have already been covered to some extent, but their most crucial context is precisely the Greek mythologization of the Κελτοί/Γαλάται. His learned mythical aetiologies are definitively present in the *Hymn to Delos*, and certainly had much to do with his erudite contemporaries in Alexandria, but they seem already to be foreshadowed by Ephorus' approximate contemporary and his fellow student of Isocrates, Asclepiades of Tragilus.<sup>209</sup> Asclepiades refers to a belief (by some) that Boreas had been a Celtic king, who had been the first to plant cypresses on the grave of his daughter Cyparissa. The north, even the utmost north, is the association arising from the king's name. A similar early Hellenistic example of breaking new ethnographical ground with novel aetiologies would be Timaeus, who is quoted in the *Etymologicum Magnum* concerning the toponym Galatia: he is said to have derived the name of the land from Galatos/Galates, the son of Cyclops (Polyphemus?) and Galatea.<sup>210</sup> The basic elements are present here: using minor mythological characters to provide learned etymologies; connecting previously known mythological figures to these new peoples; and introducing a tragic or pathetic element in most of the stories.<sup>211</sup> What is notable here is that the fragments of early Hellenistic writers such as Asclepiades seem

<sup>208</sup> Cf. FANTUZZI & HUNTER 2004, 49-50.

<sup>209</sup> Ascl. Trag. *ap. Prob. In Verg. Georg.* 2.84.

<sup>210</sup> Tim. *BNJ* 566 F 69 *ap. EtMag s.v. Γαλατία*. This aetiology is also suggested as predating the Celtic attack to Greece by BARBANTANI 2001, 187, but as the ethnonym Γαλάται only gained notable currency after the attack, this particular formulation would better fit the scenario of a Timaeian or other post-invasion formulation—though perhaps building on an idea that some western groups were the offspring of the Cyclopes, who as Sicilian mythological figures would also have appealed to Timaeus; cf. MARTIN 2011, 78-83. The Sicilian context may be taken further: *ead. loc. cit.* also refers to modern suggestions (deriving to a large extent from SORDI 1960, *ead.* 1990, 168, and quite faithfully adhered to by Italian scholars: cf. BRACCESI 1991, 90f. with footnotes; LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1997, 164) of Dionysius I of Syracuse and his Gallic mercenaries (as in Just. 20.5.4-6) being the historical catalyst for such inclusive aetiologies meant to 'Hellenize' the barbarian employees to some extent. Though the political motivation is debatable, as a 'Western' historian Timaeus would be the most natural transmitter of such constructions: cf. PEARSON 1987, 187. Diodorus of Sicily appears to have taken at least the name Galates (5.24.3) from either Timaeus or some other writer with similar genealogical information.

<sup>211</sup> PEARSON 1987, e.g. 73 counts Timaeus among the foremost Greek writers engaged in relocating mythical narratives and heroic acts to the western sphere, though no mythological incident located in Gaul survives.

to indicate that the mythologically articulated assimilation of the Κελτοί into the Greek mental mythohistorical geography had begun already before the attack on Delphi. The pace of aetiological appropriation, however, probably picked up after the menace became more accentuated, and Timaeus' fragments seem to confirm that he had attempted a mythical appropriation of the Celtic, Galatian and Illyrian origins; the inclusion of the Illyrians would probably have appealed to the Greek world trying to conceptualize the Delphic attack.<sup>212</sup>

Appian includes among the aetiologies of his *Illyrica* a rather complex, possibly at least partly Timaeian, interweaving of barbarian genealogies in the Balkans: the three sons of Polyphemus and Galatea—Celtus, Illyrius and Galas—give rise to groups named after them.<sup>213</sup> Perhaps due to this shared origin, Appian (or rather his source) made the Illyrian Autarienses join 'Molistomos' and the 'Celts called Κίμβροι' in the doomed expedition to Delphi (*Ill.* 4). The survivors were actually punished with a plague of frogs, in addition to the storm and lightning they had to endure at Delphi. Even so, neither the Celts nor the Illyrians ceased from their sacrilege (οὐ μὴν ἀπέσχοντο τῆς ἱεροσυλίας), and invaded Greece again (*Ill.* 5). Appian's inclusion of Autarienses in the Delphic invasion is probably derived from a source reflecting either Macedonian or Roman interests in Illyria, and the consequent benefit of tainting this important inland group (Str. 7.5.11) with the stigma of temple robbery.

The Celtic migration (as conceived by the ancients) was likewise used to account for their name, as attested by a fragment from the *Polychares* of the Hellenistic polymath Euphorion of Chalcis.<sup>214</sup> The Γαλάται are also said to be known as Γαιζήται, which

<sup>212</sup> The most relevant fragments are *FGrH* 544 F 69 *ap. EtMag s.v. Γαλατία*, F 77 *ap. [Scymn.] Perig.* 405-14, and F 78 *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀργυρίνοι*. Another interesting Timaeus-fragment is *FGrH* 566 F 89 *ap. Diod.* 4.21.1-7, which gives an account of Hercules' fight against the Giants on the Campi Flegrei near Vesuvius; Diodorus reports that having gotten the story from mythographers, Timaeus followed it in his own history. This seems to confirm that Diodorus' information about Heracles' feats in the west came to a large extent from Timaeus, which in turn indicates Timaeus' interest to incorporate the western reaches of the Greek world to the established mythologies—his extensive ἀρχαιολογία are well attested (cf. HORNBLOWER 1981, 138). Appropriating such a location to the mythical episode of Gigantomachy also demonstrates the often-encountered tendency to project mythological events to the peripheries of the expanding Greek world (see p. 138f).

<sup>213</sup> App. *Ill.* 2: the parentage of the three brothers is identical to that in Timaeus; cf. above. Notable are the simultaneous eponyms for Celts and Galatians. Though Natale Conti (*Myth.* 9.8.510B) attributes his similar version to the possibly fictional Dercyllus' book *De nominibus urbium et locorum*, better known authors are likelier sources for his information: CECCARELLI in *BNJ* Derkyllus 288 F 12 'Commentary'.

<sup>214</sup> *EtMag s.v. Γαιζήται*: οἱ Γαλάται· οἱ τὴν γῆν ζητοῦντες. Ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν χώρας, πολλὴν γῆν περιῆλθον ζητοῦντες ὅπη οἰκήσουσιν. Εὐφορίων ἢ Πολυχαρίη· ὅθεν καὶ, Γαιζήται περὶ δείρεα χρυσοφορεῦντες. The information is also referred to in the end of Stephanus' entry *s.v. Γάζα*; as well as *Lex. Zonar. s.v. Γαιζήται*; and Eust. *Il.* B 140. The fragment is discussed in passing by BARBANTANI 2001, 184-5. The idea of Celts as a *fugax gens* (the term is that of NENCI 1990, 316) is probably only Hellenistic, and the impression given by Avienus (*contra* NENCI *loc. cit.*) of an early impression to this effect is probably illusionary, and stems from his later sources, not from 'informazioni fenicie, informazioni foci'. The collection of source passages by TOMASCHITZ 2002, though again (as with Hofeneder's source books) operating with a preconceived set of ideas

otherwise might appear as a plausible Greek rendition of the Γαισάται known predominantly from Polybius, although in that case it would have to be the first appearance of the demonym.<sup>215</sup> In any case, Euphorion's etymology seems to imply that the notion of Celts/Galatians roaming around in search of new lands to settle was to some extent shared by the learned writers of the Hellenistic era.<sup>216</sup> This motif may have some relation to the motivation of the Galatae as given by Memnon of Heraclea, who stressed famine as the crucial factor.<sup>217</sup> Memnon, a local historian of the first to second centuries CE who is partly preserved in Photius' summary, may in turn have drawn on an earlier Heracleote chorographer, Nymphis.<sup>218</sup> Nymphis should probably be considered, along with Demetrius of Byzantium, one of the more influential narrators of the Gauls' crossing to Asia Minor, though the extent of subsequent events covered by either one is conjectural.<sup>219</sup>

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about who and what 'the Celts' were, illustrates in its entirety rather well the topical nature of seeing groups of European northerners as migratory or wandering people.

<sup>215</sup> The oldest secure attestations of Γαισάται are Polyb. 2.22.1, and 2.34. It is thus not impossible that Euphorion (born between 275 and 268 BCE) could be the first Greek to mention the Gaesatae, as their most famous encounter with the Romans took place in 224 BCE in the battle of Telamon (Polyb. 2.22-34); cf. WILLIAMS 2001, 92. The fact that both Euphorion and Fabius Pictor, whose Greek account of the battle of Telamon Polybius seems to have used (WALBANK 1957 *ad loc.*; KREMER 1994, 78), show great interest in the gold worn by the Γαιζήται need not be taken as a direct influence between the authors—especially as the chronology would be rather shaky. If, however, the referent group of Euphorion's Γαιζήται and Polybius' Γαισάται is the same, this would drive the argument of ZECCHINI 1979 (that the Gaesatae are in fact early 'Germani': esp. 67-69) into difficulty. The later mention of a Galatian leader named Gaizatorix (Polyb. 24.14.6) who offered to help Eumenes II belongs to the context of the 180s BCE. Lastly, the term is γεσοί found in the *Suda s.v.* Γεσοί: the quote refers to Crito of Heraclea's *Getica*, where however the γεσοί seem to be used by Romans.

<sup>216</sup> One example of such notions is the anonymous, probably Hellenistic (the dating in KOCH & CAREY 2003, 42 is far too early and should be ignored; unfortunately it is already followed by FREEMAN 2006, 115f.) *Tractatus de mulieribus claris in bello*, with its story of Onomaris: GERA 1997, 10, 219-23. Also Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 8.8; Str. 7.2.2; Just. 24.4.1; Plut. *Cam.* 15.

<sup>217</sup> Memn. *BNJ* 434 F 14 *ap. Phot. Bibl. cod.* 224. The complex of 'fecundity-multitude-famine-migration' lays behind many imagined causalities, not all of them connected with Gauls—though northern groups generally feature quite prominently: see above p. 35 fn. 32; Caes. *BGall.* 1.29 on Helvetii (both wanderlust and great numbers), then 1.31 about the threat of German migration; Just. 24.4.1, 25.2.8 on fertility; Livy 38.16.13 on the Gallic fecundity in their new lands of Galatia.

<sup>218</sup> JACOBY *FGrH* 434 (*BNJ* 432) *Kommentar*; MORAUX 1957, 6f.; NACHTERGAEL 1977, 77-8—who additionally postulates a possibility that Nymphis would have acted as one contemporary source of *Galatica* for later authors (79). *FGrH* 434 T 4 *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 224.228B moreover mentions Nymphis leading an embassy of the Heracleotes to the Galatians, so his account would have drawn authority from claims of autopsy. Though the use of Nymphis is entirely possible (he was known by Plutarch, Athenaeus and Aelian), particularly as the possible use of local histories such as his and that of Demetrius of Byzantium is nowadays considered quite likely by more thorough authors, endorsing him but dismissing Hieronymus of Cardia by NACHTERGAEL 1977 seems a biased overreaction to earlier scholarship (cf. e.g. 82-3). On Nymphis are also CUYPERS 2010, 319-21.

<sup>219</sup> Dem. Byz. *BNJ* 162 T 1 *ap. Diog. Laert.* 5.83. ZECCHINI 1990, 216 reads the statement of Diogenes to mean that Demetrius dedicated the whole of 13 books to the passage of the Γαλάται from Europe to Asia, and implies that the extent of his attention to the barbarians may have had something to do with the Ptolemaic politics. His other historical work known by name referred in all likelihood to the revolt of Magas in Cyrene, see CECCARELLI in *BNJ s.v.* 'Demetrius (160)'.

### Emotional 'barbarography'

As noted by MOMIGLIANO 1975, 61, the Greek reaction to the Celts was particularly emotional. But how does one measure emotional chargedness? Are ethnic slurs (or even 'hate speech') necessarily emotional by nature? It might be possible to enumerate instances of weeping or expressions of fear and hate among ancient passages dealing with northern barbarians, but this would in all likelihood become much too involved with scholarship regarding the ancient concept of θυμός.<sup>220</sup> Crucial to the emotionally charged barbarography, however, and particularly to its possible connections with religious themes, is the ability to engender fear, which seems to be ascribed to them since at least the Roman Republican period. It is not unlikely that religious sentiments, crucial to many societies' self-perception of moral rectitude, and the ensuing expectation of supranormal protection and existential comfort, might contain elements reflecting deeply felt concerns when facing an external threat.<sup>221</sup> In this section, I look at ways in which Hellenistic literature attempted to come to terms with the fear, loathing, and horror engendered by the Galatian wars.

As seen above, the religious register is prominently present in the extant accounts of the Galatian attack on Delphi, but it is difficult to judge whether the supernatural elements that Pausanias includes in his narrative are derived from Aetolian propaganda following the invasion, or rather from the historians who dealt with these events in their writings. Even so, there is no doubt that by the time of Pausanias, reinforced by all the later instances of northern aggression, these elements are presented as a joint and unified defence of Greece against the impious invaders (cf. p. 52). All the disparate Greek groups—soldiers and townsmen, men *and* women (among the Aetolians), the epiphanic divinities of the Hellenes,

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<sup>220</sup> Some of the challenges were anticipated in MOMIGLIANO 1975, 22ff. For θυμός and barbarians: MARTIN 2011, 261-303. For some basic studies on historical study of emotions and emotive responses to crisis in antiquity, see MACMULLEN 1980 for a brief note that nonetheless points to the rhetorical and deictic uses of tears in antiquity; AIRLIE 2001, highlighting the need to scrutinize the authorial strategies behind historical descriptions of emotive responses (e.g. 237f., 240f.); ROSENWEIN 2002 mostly centres on medieval and later history, though noting that Homeric reception itself undermined arguments for emotional restraint (827), a heritage acting as the departure point for BAUMGARTEN 2009, who goes on to examine the views of Plato and Aristotle; see FÖGEN 2009 for an introduction to the historical study of emotional displays in antiquity, including bibliography; LATEINER 2009 contextualizes with great detail the Hellenistic literary representations of crying and tears (esp. 105-9, 120-28); DE LIBERO 2009 examines Livy, Tacitus and Ammianus for their descriptions of displaying grief: the moralizing use of such elements comes across well (e.g. 226 on Tacitus), as does the dramatic use of tears in order to heighten pathos (231 on Ammianus). Generally, at the very least, it would seem reasonable to infer that the pathetic combination of personal tragedies with the existential symbolism that a barbarian war had evoked since the Persian Wars could have touched cords of pity, fear and sense of drama in many Hellenistic audiences. This made it a potent brew to be used in historiography, rhetorics, and novels alike—especially when the generic interconnections are kept in mind.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. what BURKERT 1996, 30 says about 'anxiety learning', making certain experiences indelible at a stroke, and in particular doing this in 'situations of utmost excitement'—in other words situations where notions of existential threat and religious symbolism can easily obtain prominence.

their heroic dead, and nature itself—all unite to repulse the Gauls. An almost comparable display of a metonymically figured cosmos in all its components attacking the invaders is found in Justin.<sup>222</sup> Similarly, the atrocity at Callion summons up an inevitable nemesis that foreshadows the Galatians' demise.<sup>223</sup> It seems reasonable to argue that because of the nature of the Galatians' first appearance and their perceived propensity to target temples in particular, the understandable fear of barbarian depredations began to take on undertones of an existential threat against Hellenic civilization. The propaganda disseminated both by the Aetolian-dominated Delphi and subsequently by the Hellenistic dynasts would have stoked the general fears, and the rhetorical appeal of dramatic elements in near-contemporary descriptions of the Galatian wars can easily be understood.

A potentially promising path of inquiry into the emotionally loaded, dramatized literary reflections of the Galatian contact are writings that can be characterized as novelistic (or 'romances'). Whether or not such writing addressed the ideas and expectations of a wider audience than most of the (extant) classical literature, its surviving examples certainly make frequent use of emotionally appealing and intense situations and motifs.<sup>224</sup> Methodologically, rather than considering this category of evidence as 'novels' or even 'novelistic', it may be more conducive to interpret them as representatives and relics of a more widely recognizable mode of 'lighter literature'. This allows us to include scraps of narratives, both in poetry and in prose, with perhaps hazy original provenances, but which nonetheless appear to bear evidence of local traditions, 'small-scale' encounters, personalized viewpoints (whether genuine or fabricated does not matter much), and attempts to evoke the pity and fascination of the reader. Romantic tales of lovers, captures, recognitions, suicides, moral judgements, and long-distance travel are all stock themes encountered in texts of this nature, while the increasingly well understood connections of novelistic literature with other registers of writing make their

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<sup>222</sup> Paus. 10.22.5, 22.13-23.14; Just. 24.8 on the expulsion of Gauls from Delphi.

<sup>223</sup> Paus. 10.22.3-7. The episode at Callion also serves as an exercise in the *urbs capta* –topos, easily linked to northerners after Thucydides' description of Thracians at Mycalessus. While it is difficult to say whether this rhetorical device was already applied in the early traditions, Sallust refers to it becoming over-employed (*Cat.* 51.9). Thus the massacre of the Callians may be a Hellenistic element; for the trope, see KEITEL 2010, 338f.

<sup>224</sup> The question of the ancient novels' readership is certainly a tangled affair, and by no means settled yet, although generally there seems to exist a consensus regarding the relatively wide social reception of Greek novels: but cf. SANDY 1994, 134f.; RUIZ-MONTERO 1996, 80-85; BOWIE 1996B, 92-106. There is no reason to assume that the novels represented a rigid either/or situation of appealing only to a less-educated or more cultured readerships: an example would be Antonius Diogenes' novel, with its huge amount of pseudo-ethnographical trivia. For a study on the complex dynamics of demotic and learned readership for the ancient novels, see ANDERSON 1996, who points out instances of presenting 'the popular' from the outside, with detachment that could indicate an elite gaze (109). These tendencies also come across from the fragments of Lollianos' *Phoenicia*. WINKLER 1980, 175-81.

use rather more polyvalent than has been previously recognized.<sup>225</sup> The combination of appealing to a wide readership yet partly achieving this aim through literary stereotypes and stock motifs, makes novels an enlightening side path in the history of religious barbarography.

Theoretically, the earliest among our sources to 'pathetic galatography' is the funerary epigram 7.492 in *Anthologia Graeca*, attributed to a certain Anyte of Mytilene, possibly a duplicated identity for the poetess Anyte of Tegea.<sup>226</sup> The composition speaks with the tragic voice of three maidens of Miletus: facing the choice of submitting to the will of their hybriatic and lawless Galatian kidnappers (τὰν ἄνομον Γαλατᾶν ὕβριν), or ending their own lives, they opted for the latter. The threat of rape at the hands of the barbarians is described as an 'impious Hymenaios', and we find the already clichéd pairing Κελτῶν [...] Ἄρης. The content of the epigram, also repeated by Jerome in *Adv. Iov.* 1.186 with seven maidens, was first suggested by the Loeb editor PATON (II, 267) to have "derived from some romance". While the epigram is quite possibly purely fictional, its high quality and a certain pathos is far from unique among the genuine epigraphic record from Miletus. Whether or not it actually copies a genuine exemplar set in stone, its drama and emotional tone could well have been common to both the literary and the epigraphic registers of reports on the Galatian depredations.

With Parthenius of Nicaea, who wrote around the time of Caesar and Cicero, and his sometimes unknown sources, we are operating quite confidently in a Late Hellenistic setting, and with themes bearing a remarkably similar outlook to the narratives of Greek novels. The contents of his short collection of romantic plots with predominantly tragic endings (*Narrationes Amatoriae*) has been noted to present a striking similarity to the love stories of the novels.<sup>227</sup> It is quite likely that Parthenius not only drew for some of his subject-matter on novelistic sources, but that he might also have written his compilation partly in order to

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<sup>225</sup> HOLZBERG 1996A, 1996B, RUIZ-MONTERO 1996 *passim* delineate many of the common tropes of 'novels', though also stressing the difficulty of generalizing about such a disparate 'genre' (16); *ead.* 1996 also examines the many areas of connection between novel and historiography (42-8), rhetoric (65-70), drama (48-54), and utopian literature (38-42, cf. 71-6). Also KRASSER *BNJ s.v.* 'Light reading'. The dating of novelistic remains is much more challenging than the contents; the extant Greek novels are all comparatively late, and what evidence we have of the earlier light literature is often second hand, and besides associated with authors who are on the whole difficult to date; see RUIZ-MONTERO 1996, 29-38, 80-85.

<sup>226</sup> Anyte of Tegea was of early Hellenistic date. The single poem (492) attributed to the 'Mytilenean' Anyte certainly bears some thematic echoes to the funerary pieces in the *Anthologia Graeca* that are attributed to her Tegean, more firmly attested, namesake. ZWICKER (1934, *ad loc.*) reports that one *lemma* claimed the author herself to have been one of the Milesian maids who had suffered of the violence of the Gauls. The theme of a young woman dying tragically before her wedding, in particular, is met in *Anth. Gr.* 7.486, 490, and 649. The epigram of (pseudo-)Anyte could be compared in tone and origin with inscriptions known from other towns of Asia Minor that suffered Gallic attacks (e.g. *IpP* 17 = *OGIS* 765).

<sup>227</sup> HÄGG 1983, 122; RUIZ-MONTERO 1996, 35, 60 with references to earlier studies.

provide material for both poets and writers of fiction. We meet with Gauls in two of his narratives. The first, *Narratio* 8, tells the tale of a Milesian woman named Herippe; according to Parthenius, it is derived from the grammarian Aristodemus of Nysa of the second and first centuries BCE.<sup>228</sup> The second, *Narratio* 30, is a short summing of a very 'typically Hellenistic' account of Heracles' dalliance with a Celtic princess.<sup>229</sup>

The narrative of Herippe begins with a Gallic attack as the Milesians are celebrating the Thesmophoria; some of the Milesian women taken captive are ransomed, but the rest are carried off by the Gauls. Perhaps reflecting a Greek perception of continued strong links between the Γαλάται of Asia Minor and those in the West, as well as their invasive and migratory nature, Herippe is not taken to nearby Galatia, but ends up in Gaul proper. Her husband, Xanthus, liquidates his assets and departs for the west in order to redeem her. He travels through Italy and Massalia to the lands of the Celts, and is hospitably received in the household of a wealthy Gaul (whom Aristodemus had called Kauaras),<sup>230</sup> who now has possession of Herippe. Xanthus ends up paying for Herippe "much less than he expected"; he had not assumed the barbarians would be so reasonable. Apparently of a trusting sort, Xanthus discloses to Kauaras that he actually has twice as much gold with him. Herippe-Euthymia, who is revealed as the villain of the piece, attempts to convince Kauaras to play foul with Xanthus, as she would rather stay with the Gaul. Kauaras is revolted by such disloyalty; escorting Herippe and Xanthus to the border of the Κελτική, he uses the pretext of performing a traditional departing sacrifice to cut the throat of the objectionable Herippe instead.<sup>231</sup> Xanthus is understandably upset by this turn of events, but Kauaras soothes him by telling him of his wife's disloyalty and allowing the Greek to keep all of his gold. The story ends in a display of male solidarity that reinforces the patriarchal social norm.

The narrative of Herippe demonstrates a striking interplay of 'fact' and 'fiction'.<sup>232</sup> First of all, we have the religious festival as a setting for the kidnapping. While it is not impossible that such a widespread festival as the Thesmophoria was also celebrated at the great Ionian

<sup>228</sup> Although Aristodemus called the heroine (or anti-heroine) Euthymia: this is disclosed by Parthenius himself at the start of the *Narratio*. That the mention of Aristodemus stems already from Parthenius, instead of being a latter addition as claimed by LIGHTFOOT 1999, 248, is demonstrated by CAMERON 2004, 106-14.

<sup>229</sup> Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Νέμαυσος refers to a Heracleian aetiology for Nemausus, given by Parthenius and classed by LIGHTFOOT 1999, 533 as Parth. F 52. As noted by HOFENEDER 2005, 162, the same information is found in Ael. Her. *Prosod. cath.* 3.1 LENTZ 214, though without reference to Parthenius.

<sup>230</sup> The name Kauaras associates with the tribe of Cauari in Gaul (cf. fn. 239 below); as a royal name cf. also the Thracian Gaulish king Kauaros in Polyb. 4.46.4, 52.1-2, 8.22 (confirmed by *IGBulg* I 2.388; *SEG* 55.741); Cavarinus the Senonian in Caes. *BGall.* 5.54; and Cavarillus the Aeduan in 7.67.7.

<sup>231</sup> The motif of sacrificing a woman is also shared by Aristodemus *BNJ* 22 F 1A *ap.* [Plut.] *Par. Min.* 35 (314C) where Helen, in danger of being sacrificed in Sparta, is saved by a timely intervention of an eagle.

<sup>232</sup> Some 'Gallic realities' in the Herippe-narrative were covered by LOICQ-BERGER 1984.

metropolis, the lack of epigraphic testimony is surprising.<sup>233</sup> The northernmost hill of Miletus (nowadays called Humeitepe) within the city proper may have contained a temple of Demeter and Kore as late as the Hellenistic period, which would fit the most usual placing of sanctuaries to Demeter.<sup>234</sup> As a minor piece of attestation, Stephanus of Byzantium quotes Didymus Chalcenterus' *Symposiaca* concerning a cult of Demeter present in Miletus.<sup>235</sup> In short, it does not seem likely that a procession to the Didymeion in honour of the Thesmophoria would 'really' have taken place—though there is no doubt that for most non-Ionian readers the point may have appeared entirely plausible. The reliability of the detail ultimately depends in part on whether the information was originally supplied by Aristodemus, a native of Nysa and thus probably rather well acquainted with the cities of the nearby littoral. Even more importantly, the motif of a religious festival as the starting point for the plot of a romantic novel seems to have been a rather well-known device.<sup>236</sup>

Secondly, the narrative of Herippe exhibits some interplay between traditional themes already quite consistently associated with Gauls and Celts, and a number of no doubt intentional departures. The reception of Xanthus among the Celts is most hospitable, conforming to a tradition already noted by Phylarchus, possibly based on his information concerning the Galatians of Asia Minor.<sup>237</sup> Another preconception was the greed of the barbarians, though this is neatly inverted in the story: it is not the Celts but the Greek woman who is cast as deceitful and greedy. Describing Xanthus' surprise at meeting such a reasonable bargainer among barbarians explicitly affirms the generalized stereotype, especially as the reason for Kauaras' moderation forms a special case.<sup>238</sup> Here, we may have a factor that lends credibility to the suggestion of LIGHTFOOT 1999 (413), that Parthenius was attempting to flatter the provincial interests of Cornelius Gallus, the dedicatee of his work, who came from

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<sup>233</sup> In the epigraphic record of Miletus, Demeter does not appear very often at all; but most importantly we have an inscription containing two hexameter oracles directed at a priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros: *IDidyma* 496 (MCCABE & PLUNKETT 1984, 481A-B). In addition, there is the dedication to Demeter Argasis now in Smyrna but which may originate from Miletus (MCCABE & PLUNKETT 1984, 274). FONTENROSE 1988, 148 sees these as evidence enough for the cult of Demeter Thesmophoros in the city of Miletus itself. In any case, there is no evidence for a proper cult of Demeter at the sanctuary of Didymeion (but see *ibid.*, 148 fn. 7 on a votive depiction of Demeter together with the divinities of Didyma).

<sup>234</sup> An archaic temple on Humeitepe: GREAVES 2002, 86; locations of Demeter temples: COLE 1994, 205; *ead.* 210 notes that the temple of Demeter at Mytilene, not so far from Miletus, was located on a rocky height by the sea, which would also correspond to Humeitepe. Her note that at Miletus the temple of Demeter was located 'a short way from the city' (211), however, is circularly based upon Parth. 8.1. Her additional evidence from the Milesian colonies is more convincing (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>235</sup> Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μίλητος.

<sup>236</sup> HÄGG 1983, 6, 24 (Xenophon of Ephesus), 77 (Eustathius Macrembolites, on whom cf. BEATON 1996, 717 'characters move around a world of invented Greek cities and specially devised pagan festivals'), 122-3.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. p. 50 fn. 103.

<sup>238</sup> Diod. 5.27.4 contains a similar implication, temporally not far removed from Parthenius: the undisturbed abundance of gold in Celtic sacred dedications is contrasted to them being an exceedingly covetous people.



the Forum Iulii in Narbonensis. No doubt Gallus preferred to read of a noble and heroic Gaul rather than a deceitful and money-grubbing one.<sup>239</sup> This also explains the remarkably positive overall characterization of Kauaras in the piece: he comes across as the only character who combines some sort of mental acumen to a fundamental, albeit slightly rough, righteousness. A third element seeming like a topos is the severing of Herippe's head at the climax of the story. The alarming and fascinating habit of the taking of enemy heads was, as apparently attested in Posidonius' fragment (F 274 KIDD *ap.* Str. 4.4.5), part of the late Republican and Augustan literary imagination; in this case, either Aristodemus or Parthenius has adapted it to his scheme of impulsive barbarian justice, something that Massalia too had become known for—possibly imagined partly as reflecting the 'archaic' character of the surrounding lands.<sup>240</sup>

The latter of Parthenius' Celtic *Narrationes*, number 30, is a short piece that gives the essentials about Heracles' encounter with the princess Keltine.<sup>241</sup> As the hero is returning with the cattle of Geryon, through the land of the Celts, he lodges in the household of Bretannus. Keltine, Bretannus' daughter, falls in love with the travelling hero, and in order to have her way with him, she hides the stolen cattle. Struck by the girl's beauty, Heracles consents to her wishes, resulting in the birth of a son Celtus, who gives his name to the Celts. As stock motifs go, we have the vague recognition of Celtic hospitality and of the wayward character of their women; the main import of the story, however, derives from its resemblance to traditional etymologies. The piece can formally be compared to what Parthenius' approximate contemporary, Timagenes, wrote about Heracles and his descendants in Gaul (as preserved by Ammianus).<sup>242</sup> In addition, according to a mention in Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica*,

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<sup>239</sup> LIGHTFOOT (*loc. cit.*, cf. fn. 243 below) does perhaps take as too self-evident the possibility of the name Kauaras referring to the tribe Cavari or Καυάροι of Narbonensis. It is on the contrary Aristodemus who called the Gaul by that name, in which case the association with Kauaras, king of the Thracian Gauls (Polyb. 4.46, 52, 8.22; Ath. 6.252D) is much more likely. Indeed, we could go as far as to say that the connection with Gaul was only Parthenius' doing; for all we know Aristodemus could have produced a neatly eastern story.

<sup>240</sup> Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3.57; Lact. Plac. *Comm. in Stat. Theb.* 10.793. RANKIN 1987, 43 refers to studies suggesting that the restrictive laws of Massalia would have been meant to curtail the local *mores* from being 'Celticized'. This is possible, although the emphasis should be put onto the perceptions and expectations from both Massalia's own population and their Greek (and Roman) contacts; the extent of true acculturation may be doubted.

<sup>241</sup> Bretannus is only mentioned by Parthenius and the late etymological compilations probably deriving it from Parthenius (*EtGen* and *EtSym s.v.* Βρεττανοί; *EtMag s.v.* Βρεττανοί, Κελτοί), which specifies him as the eponym of the Βρεττανοί (see discussion in BRACCESI 1996, 191f.). The notion of Celtus being descended from Bretannus does seem to imply a belief in the joint origins of the Κελτοί and Βρεττανοί, but does not need to be linked with Caesar and his claim that Gallic Druids received their training in Britain (cf. LIGHTFOOT 1999, 533, whose conjecture that Bretannus' abode 'somewhere in the Celtic lands' reflected a back-projected antiquity when a Gallic migration to Britain had not yet happened, is likewise unnecessary). The haziness of the northern groups and their interrelations in the minds of the Greeks and Romans preclude any narrow interpretations of what scraps of information we have.

<sup>242</sup> Timagenes *FGrH* 88 F 2 *ap.* Amm. 15.9.6. That Herculean pedigrees could have obtained heightened salience in writers of the Augustan age is supported by the evidence examined in the context of Vergil (*Aen.* 8.285-205) by HEIDEN 1987; cf. SULIMANI 2011, 33ff. Additionally, the suggestion by WEBSTER 1994, 5 that the Herculean aetiology of Gallic groups may have been useful for Greek writers in coming to terms with Roman colonialism

Parthenius also made reference to Nemausus, an eponymic descendant of Heracles in Gaul—though whether this was his own creation or that of some contemporary (or even of the Volcae Arecomici of Nemausus themselves) is beyond reasonable conjecture.<sup>243</sup> Diodorus too preserves a version of Heracles' tryst with a handsome, tall Gallic princess; it is tempting to relate this to both Parthenius and Timagenes.<sup>244</sup> While the tone and localization of the piece is typically Hellenistic, its formal model harks even further back in time: it has been noted that in its essentials the narrative of Keltine and Heracles is identical to the story of Heracles and Echidna given by Herodotus.<sup>245</sup> Like in the story of Herippe, the contemporary situation impinges upon the story via the increased interest in the areas and peoples supposedly involved with the narrative characters; what in the case of *Narratio* 8 may have been derived from the personal connection of Cornelius Gallus, stemmed almost certainly in *Narratio* 30 from Caesar's recent campaigns in Britain, which had heightened the need to anchor the newly opened-up area to the epistemic geography already shared. That this took the shape of a conventionally Hellenistic etymology is symptomatic of the power of the tradition.<sup>246</sup>

Other traditions that may possibly pertain to Hellenistic lighter literature, with its apparent fascination with powerful female barbarians and their sometimes tragic fate, are preserved by Plutarch. The story of Chiomara, which Plutarch found in Polybius, is also narrated by Livy and by Valerius Maximus.<sup>247</sup> Chiomara is taken captive after the Romans, under Manlius Vulso, defeat the Galatians, and is raped by the cruel Roman centurion who

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that could appear unsavoury to them, has merit in the context of Timagenes (of whose disillusionment see BOWERSOCK 1965, 109f., 125), but must be regarded as a supplementary, not dominating or uniformly recognized, motivation for such aetiologies. The Timagenean passage in Ammianus is also the starting point of the study of BRACCESI 1996, which examines other similar cases.

<sup>243</sup> Parth. F 52 LIGHTFOOT *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Νεμάουσος: πόλις Γαλλίας, ἀπὸ Νεμάουσου Ἡρακλείδου, ὡς Παρθένιος. Along the lines of argumentation in WOOLF 2011A (see 23f. on Parthenius) this would accord well with the idea of Gallic provincial groups constructing links with their new masters through creative appropriation on the 'middle ground'. In chronological terms Parthenius suits the model, and his interest in the area may have been highlighted because of his dedication to Cornelius Gallus (LIGHTFOOT 1999, 413). The creation of this particular Herculean aetiology could have been helped by the peaceful submission of the Volcae Arecomici to Rome, and their *ius Latii* (Str. 4.1.12; Plin. *HN* 3.37: Nemausus was their principal town); that there is a divinity called Nemausus associated with a sacred spring in the locale (GREEN 1992, 160 *s.v.* 'Nemausus') might point to the fact that a local eponymic ancestor/divinity was simply ascribed a Greek pedigree. Heracles was at the time strongly associated with the mythogeography of the area is testified by the mentions of the *Via Herculea* traversing the area of the Volcae: Polyb. 3.39; Str. 4.1.12; some of the arguments of DEWITT 1941 about the *Via Herculea*/Via Domitia and the associated perceptions are still relevant.

<sup>244</sup> Diod. 5.24.2f. Cf. LIGHTFOOT 1999, 532, referring to Jacoby's old suggestion (*FGH* 566 F 69) of Dionysius Scytobrachion (for whom see RUSTEN 1982). Obviously the source need not have been mythographical in itself.

<sup>245</sup> LIGHTFOOT 1999, 532. Her further note (533) that the account of Celto in the *EtMag* *s.v.* Κελτοί (Κελτώ, Βρετάνου θυγάτηρ, ἐρασθεῖσα Ἡρακλέους) is even closer to the Echidna story casts light to the habit of Hellenistic mythographers to lift episodes rather wholesale from the earlier literature and substituting suitable etymological eponymic characters.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. the increase in the use of material from Pytheas after Caesar's invasions of Britain: STEWART 1995, 2.

<sup>247</sup> Polyb. 21 F 38 *ap.* Plut. *De mul. virt.* 22; Livy 38.24.2-11 with the chief's name as 'Orgiago' perhaps influenced by the Greek word for rage and violence; Val. Max. 6.1.2 does not name the heroine, but identifies her as the wife or Ortiagon.

has obtained her as his slave. Since, however, greed is even more powerful than lust in the mind of the Roman centurion, he accepts the her kinsmen's offer of ransom and hands her over to them at a river crossing, being himself absorbed in weighing his newly acquired gold. As soon as she is safely among her own, Chiomara orders them to decapitate the Roman and takes the head with her to her husband. Plutarch ends the story with a vaguely gnomic exchange of words between Chiomara and her husband Ortiagon, about a virtuous wife preferring there be only one man alive who has had relations with her.<sup>248</sup> Plutarch claims that Polybius interviewed Chiomara at Sardis and admired her spiritedness and intelligence. The story is clearly moralizing; its scenario demonstrates a clear inversion of values, whereby the Roman conqueror encapsulates all the vices and faults that at other times are attributed to the barbarian enemy.<sup>249</sup>

No less moralizing is the story of Camma, although here the justly slaughtered evildoer is another Gaul. Two Galatian tetrarchs, the kinsmen Sinatus and Sinorix, fall out over Sinatus' lovely wife, Camma the priestess of Artemis (whom the Galatians are said to worship the most: Plut. *De mul. virt.* 20). Sinorix ends up treacherously murdering Sinatus; he then approaches the mourning widow, who has secluded herself in the temple of her goddess, contemplating revenge upon her husband's murderer. She acts as though she might yet consent to Sinorix's advances, and her family in fact urges her to accept her influential suitor. She agrees, demanding that the pact be solemnized at the temple of Artemis. When the eager Sinorix arrives, Camma acts with every courtesy; she offers him a poisoned drink sweetened with honey, tasting it first to alleviate his suspicions. After he has drunk the concoction, the priestess jubilantly reveals her revenge and calls upon the goddess to witness her act. Sinorix attempts to mitigate the effects of the poison by driving in his chariot and exercising, but dies

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<sup>248</sup> The reputation of Gallic eloquence: Cato F 94 PETER *argute loqui*; much later Lucian *Her.* 1; Jer. *Adv. Iov.* 2.7 (though possibly ironic); yet their speech is also cryptic (Diod. 5.31.1; cf. Diog. Laert. 1.6; a potential epistemic base in Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.2) and bombastic (Diod. *loc. cit.*; Arr. *Anab.* 1.4.6; Cass. Dio 76.16.5 *ap.* Xiph. 324-25; Amm. 15.12.1; a possible meaning also for Cato F 94); cf. RANKIN 1987, 247f., but perhaps with too confident Irish parallels. See also p. 106 fn. 344, 308f. The gnomic style might be an application to barbarians of the 'Laconic' topos, but it hardly can have come from Posidonius as is suggested by RAWSON 1985, 254f. with a justification that only emphasises the implausibility of a genuine observation ('he must have listened carefully to interpreters').

<sup>249</sup> For Polybius and Chiomara (Plut. *loc. cit.*), see BERGER 1992, 121. Plutarch does not, in fact, state unambiguously that the story was noted down by Polybius, simply that he conversed with the noble lady. Since the conduct of the Roman officer is presented as reprehensible (both in his treatment of his noble captive and his greediness about the ransom), the whole episode may have arisen during the period right after Manlius Vulso's controversial campaign. With the senate conducting investigation into Vulso's campaign (see p. 219ff.), the general tone of debate may have obtained literary reflections, too. Many of the details in Chiomara's story appear literary (decapitation, pithy remarks, ) and 'invented' in the ancient sense of the word; notably, several of the motifs are also met with—though mostly handled in a different manner—in the story of Herippe which Parthenius claims to have gotten from Aristodemus of Nysa (p. 79; the mirrored structure is commented upon by LIGHTFOOT 1999, 414). Aristodemus, with his *fl.* in the first half of the first century BCE, could have adapted some of his elements from a story such as that of Chiomara. As the entry in *Suda s.v.* Ὀρτιάγων attests, Chiomara's husband, too, came to be characterized through a wholly conventional set of topoi.

that evening. Camma, having endured until she is told of her husband's murderer's fate, expires in good cheer and without anguish.

Both of Plutarch's stories of resolute Celtic women contain elements with possible links to lighter literature. Moralizing judgements are prominent, just as in the story of Herippe. The Celtic flavour of the pieces is constructed from bits that could be relied to be familiar to the majority of the audience; the two stories, just like the story of Herippe, seem to draw plausibility from the sense that even just representatives of Gallic society distribute their justice in relentless, personal, and bloody fashion.<sup>250</sup> Family and kin seem to play prominent parts in both of Plutarch's stories, and the brief, pseudo-ethnographic detail of Artemis being a much venerated deity among the Gauls recalls similar references to prevalent cults offered by writers from Herodotus to Caesar and Tacitus.<sup>251</sup> Death seems not to hold much terror for Camma, and the story contains the 'authenticating' motifs of the honey-flavoured drink (possibly mead) and use of chariots. The female angle appears to be not only typical of many narratives in lighter literature, but very much associated with what was perceived as a genuinely Celtic or Galatian cultural trait. The same prevalence appears in the anonymous *De mulieribus claris in bello*; this refers to a certain Onomaris, a woman who leads the Galatians in their migration after famine has forced them to move.<sup>252</sup> When none of the Galatian men is willing to take up the task, Onomaris orders all her people's property to be formed into a common stockpile, and leads the numerous settlers to a new place (the name of which is occluded by a *lacuna*).<sup>253</sup> In any case she crosses the Danube, and subdues the natives, ruling the land as a queen.<sup>254</sup> The notion proffered by Aristotle about the Celts 'not being ruled by women' seems to have lost some of its fascination in the register that was interested in good stories rather than philosophical parallels. Later, Strabo (3.4.18) stresses that the Cantabrians' gynaeocracy is far from civilized.

<sup>250</sup> The theme of justice of arms finds a parallel in Livy 5.36.5 *cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse ferociter dicerent*, which brings to mind not only the tenor in Just. 24.4.6, 5.1-4, 25.2.10, but to a certain extent also Amm. 15.9.8 *fortia virorum illustrium facta*. For the northerners putting their trust in their weapons, see 34f. fn. 29.

<sup>251</sup> See p. 37, 237. For Artemis in the novelistic tale of Acontius and Cydippe: RUIZ-MONTERO 1996, 79. Later, and probably purely literary instances of Artemis-cults among the northerners include Eumath. *Hysm.* 8.7. Additionally there is the curious insistence by many late imperial Gallic ecclesiastics that Diana is popularly worshipped among the rustic communities of Gaul; see below, p. 344f. fn. 158. The interpretation of Artemis' role in Galatia by STROBEL 2009, 134 seems to disregard the possibility of such mentions being literary artefacts.

<sup>252</sup> The text in GERA 1997, 10: Ονόμαρις, μία τῶν ἐν ἀξιώτατι Γαλατῶν, καταπονουμένων ὑπὸ ἀφορίας τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ ζητούντων φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. παραδιδόντων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑποταγῇ τῶ θέλοντι ἀφηγεῖσθαι, μηδενὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θέλοντος τὴν τε οὐσίαν πᾶσαν εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε καὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἀφηγήσατο, πολλῶν ὄντων ὡς εἰς ... διαβάσά τε τὸν Ἴστρον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μάχην νικήσασα τῆς χώρας ἐβασίλευσεν.

<sup>253</sup> KOCH & CAREY 2003, 42, but cf. fn. 261 below.

<sup>254</sup> The conquering of natives in an area in the Balkans recalls vividly Just. 24.4.3 *et portio Illyricos sinus ducibus avibus [...] per strages barbarorum penetravit et in Pannonia consedit*. Also the reason of the migration is comparative: 24.4.1 *namque Galli abundante multitudine, cum eos non caperent terrae quae genuerant*.

Antonius Diogenes was the first or second century CE author of a lengthy aretalogical novel *Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα*, preserved in Photius' summary and allegedly dedicated to Diogenes' sister Isidora, who apparently loved that sort of literature.<sup>255</sup> Photius' summary contains certain elements which may have seemed somehow apt in a northern context, such as the spell (albeit by an evil Egyptian sorcerer) afflicting Dercyllis, the love interest of the protagonist Deinias, causing the maiden to come alive only at night (110B). One mention of Celts does occur: after Dercyllis has met with the immortal figure of Astraeus and heard his insights on Pythagoras, she arrived in an Iberian town where the inhabitants can see at night and are blind during the daytime.<sup>256</sup> Astraeus seems to have overcome the enemies of this people by playing the flute, but after this, relaxed and careless, they are set upon by Celts, a "cruel and senseless folk" (περιπεπτώκασι τοῖς Κελτοῖς, ἔθνει ὠμῶ καὶ ἡλιθίῳ), whom they escape on colour-changing horses.<sup>257</sup> While the dating of Antonius Diogenes makes him a poor fit in the context of Hellenistic novels and their emotional depictions of barbarians, his main import in this case stems from the fact that his narrative represents a vanished

<sup>255</sup> Ant. Diog. *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 166.111A-B. For the possible readership of different types of ancient novels, see BOWIE 1996B, pointing out that 'sophistic' novels (such as the *Apista*) would have required quite a lot of education from their readers (103, 105f.; taking this into account, and even more generally, there is no reason to overly emphasize the female readership for the ancient novelistic literature: SANDY 1994, 133f.; RUIZ-MORENO 1996, 84). In any case, Isidora is the single female reader known by name in antiquity, as is noted by EGGER 1999, 116. On the work of Antonius Diogenes more generally, see HÄGG 1983, 118-21; MORGAN 1985; ROMM 1992, 205-10; GÓMEZ ESPELOSIN 1994, 284; WHITMARSH 2011, 87-8. Antonius' work was regarded as aretalogy by PERRY 1967, 27, 333 n. 7; whereas Ní MHEALLAIGH 2008 examines the pretensions to documentarism that Antonius entertained to a remarkable degree (415-19), and which can be a possible explanation for his inclusion of material resembling that of Eudoxus of Rhodes. On the religious, philosophical and aretalogical elements in the *Apista*: STEPHENS 1996, 674-80, and in novels in general: BECK 1996.

<sup>256</sup> Ant. Diog. *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 166.109B. Cf. Eudox. *FGrH* 79 F 2 *ap. Apoll. Mirab.* 24; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γέρμαρα. With such contents, both transmitted and invented, it is quite correct to observe that in *Apista* the tradition of paradoxographic novel reached its high point: RUIZ-MORENO 1996, 40f. It seems that Antonius Diogenes could have gotten this element from either Ephorus (F 134A *ap. Str.* 5.4.5 on troglodytic 'Cimmerians' at Cumae) or Apollonius the Paradoxographer—both sources would seem to point to his desire to include *τεράστια* in his racy narrative. Photius scolds Antonius' habit of appealing to the authority of earlier authors in presenting his marvels: apparently every book began with a list of earlier writers on subjects that appeared therein (111A). The Iberian context brings to mind the nightly dances among the Celtiberians (Str. 3.4.16); regarding which see BLAZQUEZ 1983, 238, 275. The Graeco-Roman association between night-time, darkness, death and the West seems intuitive and topical (in the case of Heracles and Geryon: BURKERT 1996, 59, 68), and in any case it would be too unreflective to simply link literary motifs such as these met in 'novelistic' accounts with passages such as Caes. *BGall.* 6.18.1f. in order to proclaim the 'the Celts' as 'the children of the god of night' as MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 173 does (even while noting how Tacitus recycles the 'counting by nights' motif in *Germ.* 11.1).

<sup>257</sup> Ant. Diog. *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 166.109B. Later, at 110A, Astraeus meets Zalmoxis among the Getae in a plainly Herodotean reference (see BOWERSOCK 1994, 100f.; also FAUTH 1978, 229 though otherwise occupied with the Pythagorean reference in the text). It has been suggested (STEPHENS & WINKLER 1995, 112ff., with some credible parallels) that Pythagoreanism could have been a device meant to impart a measure of respectability to the *Apista*—and the presence of both Celts and Getae could support this in a tangential way, considering their famous belief in life after death. Around the same time as Antonius Diogenes was writing, calling a Celt ἡλίθιος was apparently somewhat conventional: cf. Lucian *Alex.* 27: ὁ ἡλίθιος ἐκείνος Κελτὸς directed at Marcus Sedatius Severianus Rutilianus, a senator and general of Gaulish origin who appears to have been completely deceived by a tailored oracular pronouncement of Alexander 'the Pseudomantis': see p. 42 fn. 61 above.

geographical dimension of the Greek novel.<sup>258</sup> As attested both by the name and by the furthest extent of the narrative action, the north was felt to be a suitable setting for novelistic adventures and marvels.<sup>259</sup> A firmly Hellenistic example of travel fiction combined with philosophical speculation is Euhemerus' *Sacred History*, although his eastern orientation obviously led him to feature different motifs.<sup>260</sup>

One further component in the tradition, and one with quite consistent connections to northerners' ritualism, bears the marks of a possible association with the registers of lighter literature and should thus be examined here. This is the motif of the 'test by river'. We have already noted that Aristotle included in his *Politica* (1336A) a piece of information, reported in approving fashion, to the effect that 'many barbarian peoples' are known for plunging their newborn into a cold stream in order to accustom them to hardship. The Celts are in this first case introduced as a variant, as they clothe their babies only in light wrapping cloths. The next attestation of this motif, by an anonymous poet, may possibly date from the third century BCE, and is included in the *Anthologia Graeca*.<sup>261</sup> Here we meet the tradition more or less in its subsequent form, with the aspect of the paternity test prominent: the 'fearless Celts' test their children in their holy, 'jealous Rhine', with the father unsympathetic until the child (who is lowered into the river on a shield, in itself a constant trope met with in connection with the Celts) is proved to be his. The mother, still in pains from her labour, seems to recognize the inconstancy of the river's judgements, and waits in apprehension. The poet's focus on the emotions of both mother and father, as well as evoking the pity of the audience towards

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<sup>258</sup> Cf. NESSELRATH 2005, 164f. It could be hypothesized that the Byzantine reception of Greek novels and romances might have skewed the geographical settings to favour those dealing with the Orient, as that area was of vastly more concern to the Byzantines for much of their history. For observations possibly supporting such a conclusion: BEATON 1996, 717, 721, 725.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Ant. Diog. *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 166.110A: Καὶ ὅσα περὶ Βορρᾶν αὐτοῖς τεράστια ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι συνηρέχθη. Even more intriguingly, it seems that Photius had partly taken the book up in hopes of finding information on Thule, for after giving a summary of the twenty-third book of the *Apista*, he adds with certain chagrin that there had been very little about Thule yet in the narrative (110B). Diogenes had, however, made it relatively clear at the start of his work that he was essentially composing fiction: MONTIGLIO 2005, 252f.; what is significant is that an openly fantastic yet overtly philosophical account (in all likelihood planned to entertain learned readers: BOWIE 1996B, 106) could circulate thaumasiographic material about the northerners. Antonius' literary readership and intriguing content may have both contributed to him becoming the most-cited of the ancient novelists: STEPHENS 1996, 675.

<sup>260</sup> Examined e.g. in GEUS 2000, 76-81; also HOLZBERG 1996B, 621-28.

<sup>261</sup> *Anth. Gr.* 9.125. For the dating, KOCH & CAREY 2003, 8. The sourcebook is not, however, particularly strong in the dating of ancient sources: for example, the above-mentioned story of Onomaris, a queen attributed to some migratory group of Galatae in *Tractatus de Mulieribus Claris in Bello* 14, can in no circumstance date from the '5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> century BC?', even with a question mark added; the work itself cannot be regarded earlier than the end of the second century BC: GERA 1997, 30. Even if (and this is extremely hypothetical) we should regard Onomaris as an early leader of the Scordisci, as JULIAN 1906, 124 did, the unnamed source(s) of *De mulieribus* is beyond our abilities of conjecture, and to be on the safe side the information should be regarded only as old as *De mulieribus* itself; though cf. GERA 1997, 219-20 with some attractive possibilities as for the identity of the source—among which Timaeus and Hieronymus of Cardia are the most promising.

mother and child, can both be interpreted as an argument for a Hellenistic provenance, as can the motif of the shield, which enjoyed wide circulation from the third-century invasions onwards. Further manifestations of the topos of frozen baptism will be noted in due course, with particular attention to the long survival and moralizing tone of the tradition.<sup>262</sup>

Rhetoric comes across as another strong candidate for discourse that might be suffused with emotional judgment; as noted by STEWART 2004, 229, “[a]ny Greek [...] could enjoy a put-down of barbarians, especially the hated Gauls”. While our extant evidence concerning Hellenistic rhetoric is sparse, the example of Isocrates and the demonstrable influence of rhetoric on both historiography and philosophy make it likely that the motifs and commonplaces so often found in writings on barbarians were transmitted and popularized above all by the rhetoric of the age. In this context it is worth noting that even Hellenistic rhetoric did not morph into a wholly ‘scholastic’ field, even though it turned into an essential component for admission into the ranks of most Hellenistic elites.<sup>263</sup> Such use of standard rhetorical formulae and commonplaces would have spread the Greek ‘what-is-known’ regarding barbarian peoples to even the emerging, Hellenizing elites of newly founded communities—imagery that sometimes would have involved the ancestors of the very youths who were undergoing their Hellenic rhetorical training.<sup>264</sup> This would have been particularly poignant in the Hellenistic east, but earlier Greek opinions regarding the Scythians and Thracians were undoubtedly taught by rhetoricians through their *paideia* in western and northern communities, as well.<sup>265</sup> Connections with more recent groups, such as the newly salient Κελτοί, would have been relatively easy to draw. In contexts where emotional appeal and rhetorical effect were the crucial aim, there would not have arisen a significant amount of cognitive dissonance in using things said about Herodotean northerners to characterize these more recent groups.

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<sup>262</sup> The shield motif, see p. 54 fn. 121 above; the topos of frozen baptism, see below p. 231f.

<sup>263</sup> MORGAN 1998, 190-98; WHITMARSH 2001, 37 ‘Greek *paideia* was intrinsically bound up with structures of power, those of both Roman imperialism and Greek civic politics’, 90-130; CUYPERS 2010, 324f. On the connections between Hellenistic rhetoric and historiography, REBENICH 1997 should be consulted, with pertinent points about ‘rhetorical’ historiography beginning to get distinguished from ‘tragic’ one (269) in the wake of Isocrates; about the way of stylistic shaping of historiography carrying constantly with it the didactic, moral and political concerns as well (270); for the centrality of rhetoric BERRY & HEATH 1997, 394.

<sup>264</sup> In the full-fledged Roman-era *paideia*, even poetry was learned in close association with rhetoric, since it provided much of the subject matter for προγυμνάσματα: WEBB 1997, 346f.; and on προγυμνάσματα KENNEDY 1994, 202-8. In a more advanced stage, declamatory exercises increased the presence of dramatic stock elements: WEBB 1997, 350. BERRY & HEATH 1997 stress the centrality of rhetorical training in elite schooling. On the structures of *paideia*, MORGAN 1998, 50-89.

<sup>265</sup> Through the conventional curriculum outlined in e.g. REBENICH 1997, 269; BERRY & HEATH 1997, 408 on teachers; CUYPERS 2010, 325f. For the cognitive processes engrained via the *paideia*, see MORGAN 1998, 240-70.

One possible example of such use of ethnonyms comes from the Bosporean Kingdom in the form of the famous late third or early second century Protogenes Decree, originating from Olbia, a Milesian colony.<sup>266</sup> The inscription honours a private citizen benefiting the polis at a time when several barbarian groups were perceived to covet its possession. Apparently the Γαλάται and the Σκίροι had formed an alliance, and the shared fear of the Galatians' cruelty had compelled the Θισαμάται, Σκύθαι and Σαυδαράται as well to also try and seize the city.<sup>267</sup> It can also be conjectured that the Milesians' own experiences of rapacious Galatians may have conditioned the ethnonyms picked up by the embattled inhabitants of the Ionian city's colony at Olbia; the choice of ethnonym (Γαλάται pro Κελτοί) may have some relevance in this regard.<sup>268</sup> However distinct from themselves the northern barbarian groups appear to modern scholars—inevitably affected by the nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalistically articulated constructions of European history,<sup>269</sup> as well as such romantic creations as the concept of the 'Celts'—there is not much support for similarly distinct ethnic articulations in Greek (nor, for the most part, Roman) antiquity. Barbarian ethnonyms, so often taken at face value by wistful modern scholars, seem for the most part to have been used in an ambivalent and quite clearly *ad hoc* basis.<sup>270</sup>

What happened in the Bosporean Kingdom may have predated developments in other Hellenistic kingdoms to some extent, but a similar dynamic probably would have taken place in other communities that felt it necessary to define their Greekness vis-à-vis barbarism in some fundamental way—not necessarily strictly oppositional, but nonetheless expressed through categorical differences. Jonathan M. HALL has noted that by the Hellenistic period,

<sup>266</sup> CIG II 2058A-B; also in FIEBIGER-SCHMIDT 1917-44, I 1.1; SIG<sup>3</sup> 495; IOSPE (1916) I 32 pp. 43-56, add. p. 220.

<sup>267</sup> CIG II 2058B ll. 5-11. On the motif of fear in interbarbarian relations, cf. Tac. *Germ.* 1: *mutuo metu*. The theory of PEKKANEN 1974 on the ethnonym *Germani* translating Σκίροι into Latin (55) has not gained acceptance. For the possible semantic extent of the ethnonym, LUND 1991, 1974-81, mostly without undue speculation.

<sup>268</sup> According to Str. 11.6.2, who is probably referring to 'Greek historians' of not much later date than Protogenes Decree's assumed context, all the northern peoples were called by the general name of Scythians or Celtoscythians (cf. Hell. *FGrH* 4 F 185 *ap.* Str. 11.6.2; Plut. *Mar.* 11.3-7, briefly discussed by VALGIGLIO 1955, 9f.). Strabo then enumerates Herodotean and other early ethnonyms as well. CAMPBELL 2009, 126 considers the name pairings (Κελτοσκήται, *Gallograeci* etc.) to arise 'from an attempt to better define people who were just coming into the sphere of Greek awareness'. This is partly correct—and certainly correct is his point that such terms have nothing to do with actual acculturation. The use of name pairings stems from a desire to order the ethnographic boundlessness at the margins of οἰκουμένη by anchoring it to familiar categories, but tradition did have part to play, too: the wide currency of *Celtiberi* and Κελτίβηρες was certainly facilitated by the long-standing, almost proverbial use of the paired ethnonyms in Plato and other influential writers (see above p. 45f.).

<sup>269</sup> This appears prominently regarding the Gallo-German distinction—for many the implicit ancestors of the modern French and Germans; cf. BORCHARD 1971, 177-203; CHAPMAN 1992, 203; GEARY 2002, 3-40; GOFFART 2006, 3-12. For nationalistic myth-making and historical projection, see ANDERSON 1991; HOBBSAWM 1991.

<sup>270</sup> For instance, SKYDSGAARD 1993, 125, though far from alone in this, quite straightforwardly speaks of 'bands of Celts and other people' threatening Olbia around that time. Later status of Olbia as a vantage point to the barbarian north, especially in the context of Dio Chrysostom's *Borystheniticus*, see BÄBLER 2002—and note her point about Dio's classicizing stylization, such as calling Olbia 'Borysthenes' (314f.).



the Hellene vs. barbarian dichotomy, articulated through the concept of *paideia*, had relegated the truly irredeemable barbarians to the edges of the *οἰκουμένη*, and that Celts were included in this category.<sup>271</sup> It is quite clear that *paideia*—that is to say cultural difference—continued to act as an influential defining feature distinguishing between barbarians and Greeks.<sup>272</sup> Hellenistic mentalities, however, seem to have been able to conceptualize differences among barbarians through several concurrent modalities that are aligned only in part. The mythological aetiologies that both connected and set apart constituted one such modality. Another mode that may have been in some contact with religiously motivated sentiments was that of the emotional, pathos-engendering descriptions that seem to have been linked with the *Κελτοί* with some frequency. Yet another complex of modes was the scientific-ethnographical register, which we will look at in more detail after dealing with the first influx of Greek barbarographic influence into the emerging Roman literature.<sup>273</sup>

## 2. FROM GREEK TO ROMAN LITERATURE

### a. EARLIEST ROMAN CONTACTS WITH THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS

The Hellenistic mythologization of the northern barbarian menace is a necessary preliminary to examining Roman interaction with the received Greek tradition of barbarography; not least because the incipient Roman enquiry into their own early history was expressed in the Greek language, and was conducted by individuals interested in applying and re-interpreting Greek information on the European barbarians—whether that information was (pseudo-)ethnographic or mythologized etymologies.

The peoples of Italy certainly encountered groups identified in modern scholarship as 'Celts' even before the Greeks endured their own respective encounters. Even so, what is more important than any modern conjecture or projection of associated ethnicities is the fundamental point: that Romans and perhaps Central Italians as a whole—Etruscans

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<sup>271</sup> HALL 2002, 221, himself referring to BENGTON 1954.

<sup>272</sup> The cultural difference could be surmounted at least since Isoc. *Paneg.* 50: see ISAAC 2004, 113f.; for the situation by the time of Strabo's writing, see ALMAGOR 2005.

<sup>273</sup> For the *paideia* and identity-building: WHITMARSH 2001, 116-30. Philosophical, scientific, and theoretical literature, as is stressed by CUYPERS 2010, 332, were crucially interconnected with poetry and other modes of literature sometimes regarded as 'more literary' after the modern generic paradigm. Cf. THOMAS 1982, 133. Similarly, of course, the composers of poetic and prose works could be surprisingly well-versed in both philosophical and technical literature, both of which could transmit information of ethnographic nature according to their own outlooks.

included—were no strangers to fighting off northern enemies with possibly a less sedentary way of life. Our ancient sources, however, pose several difficulties in reconstructing the earliest Roman tradition about these enemies—even apart from the question of when the *Galli* began to be called by that name.<sup>274</sup> Whatever the content and nature of the earliest Roman reactions to encountering the northerners, these reactions were not expressed in writing but orally. The contents of this oral tradition, however, are difficult to reconstruct due to the subsequent Greek literary influence. Moreover, the crucial source for the salience of north-Italian groups in Roman thinking was in fact not the 'Gallic Sack' of Rome of the early fourth century BCE, but the continued military contact with the said groups during most of the Republican era.<sup>275</sup> The dynamics of Roman contact with north-Italian groups, and the literary manifestations of this encounter, have been studied by WILLIAMS 2001, whose conclusions support the notion that Greek literature bequeathed a substantial set of stock images and motifs to the evolving and adaptive Roman writing during the formative phase of the Middle Republic. At a time when the Romans encountered both the formidable cultural prestige of Greek literature and the equally noticeable warlike ethos of the barbarian groups of northern Italy, it is easy to see how Roman literature came to incorporate certain Greek reflections on the nature of such foreign groups.

The earliest Roman narratives about northern enemies were probably kept alive by different patrician *gentes*; they were manifested in funerary orations and the elusive *carmina antiqua* mentioned by Cicero and Varro, and are much discussed in modern scholarship.<sup>276</sup> Whether or not this motif of heroic songs is itself a genuine one, it cannot be doubted that information on individual heroic deeds reached written sources via oral transmission. These accounts (albeit in their later form) often contain elements that seem connected with religious themes. The ancestor cults at patrician homes would have been the most basic *loci* for elaborating the deeds of the ancestors, in a setting that provided relatively free rein for

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<sup>274</sup> One tentative suggestion about the adoption of the ethnonym will be offered below (p. 104), but the Roman terminology will be followed already earlier, and the northern enemies called for the most part Gauls or *Galli*.

<sup>275</sup> On the level of historical facts, OAKLEY 2004, 23 has noted that only three things are certain about the Gallic Sack: 'that it happened, that it left Rome with a long-lasting fear of Celts, and that virtually everything that our sources say about it is unbelievable.' In the end, it does not much matter whether the Sack took place or not, for its true meaning was as a symbol and an *exemplum*. Cf. RAWSON 1985, 259.

<sup>276</sup> Cicero draws explicitly on Cato's reference: *Brut.* 75, *Tusc.* 4.3; Varr. *De vita pop. Rom.* F 84 RIPOSATI *ap.* Non. 107-8. Famously discussed by NIEBUHR 1828, 209-10, and later e.g. by MOMIGLIANO 1957 (who demolishes Niebuhr's simplistic interpretation) and ZORZETTI 1990 (who replaces Niebuhr's notion of such old songs representing a 'common property of a nation' with the idea of them as an expression of 'aristocratic wisdom'). GOLDBERG 1995, 43-6 recounts the main points in the discussion, but ends up with the observation that the closest thing at all reliably testified are the Roman triumphal songs. A fine discussion of Roman oral tradition, originally published as a review, is reprinted in WISEMAN 1994, 23-36. The 'galatomachic' family traditions were suggested as a distinct set of prestigious oral narratives in old Roman families by WILLIAMS 2001, 41ff., 143.

narrative constructions.<sup>277</sup> It is possible that such familial spaces helped to associate victories over the Gauls with perhaps the most fundamental source of symbolic continuity in the Roman religious sphere, the cult of Lares and the family hearth.<sup>278</sup> The *laudationes* given at the funerals of prominent men were another opportunity for augmenting family prestige through heroic narratives, and these funerals formed a wholly public and epideictic forum for epideictic rhetoric propagating patrician traditions.<sup>279</sup> The age and provenance of religious elements must, however, be judged separately in each case: Livy, in particular, is suspect for embroidering his source material with heightened religious content. The apparently disconnected nature of certain patrician galatomachic stories may nevertheless point to an early Roman association between the role of religion and fighting off barbarian invaders. If a Republican mythologization of the conflict with the Gauls is to be found anywhere, it is the stories of heroic patrician ancestors that provide the most likely vehicle.

One element in these traditions which seems genuinely Roman is that of single combat, which is unlikely to derive from references in Greek sources to their Galatian wars—although the subject of Roman single combat and its possible models in classical epic has received relatively little attention.<sup>280</sup> Patrician Romans are, however, described as single combatants from the very outset of the hostilities with the Gauls, who according to Livy were first met by members of the *gens Fabia*. It was they who furnished a senatorial embassy to mediate between the invading Senones and the inhabitants of Clusium *ca.* 391 BCE.<sup>281</sup> Allegedly, one of the brothers chosen, N. (or Cn.) Fabius Ambustus, had already served as Roman envoy to Delphi.<sup>282</sup> Three sons of Fabius Ambustus were sent, but they got caught in a

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<sup>277</sup> On the ancestor cult of the aristocratic *domus*, see FLOWER 1996, 209-22.

<sup>278</sup> Later, of course, we have the motif of tying Gallic menace with the continuity of the hearth of Rome herself, the flame of Vesta—articulated by Cicero (*Font.* 46-9) and Livy (5.40.8-10, 52.7).

<sup>279</sup> The frequent falsities and fabrications in this type of family traditions is particularly mentioned and lamented by Cic. *Brut.* 62; also in Livy 8.40.4, 9.44.14f. (about the improbable *tituli* of ancestral *imagines*). A telling example of how an individual figure could be spun out of distinct traditions is the creation of 'Furius Camillus' partly through the propaganda of *gens Furia*: BRUUN 2000, 60-65; already earlier, the evidence and scholarly suggestions regarding Camillus' late introduction to the tradition was reviewed in LUCE 1971, 177, with notes; cf. also CORNELL 1995, 317. That Roman annalists, too, could occasionally criticize the tendency of elite families to elaborate the achievements of their members: RAWSON 1985, 218f. Patrician tombs with their 'triumphal paintings' (such as that of a Fabius on the Esquiline: HOLLIDAY 1997, 136) were another obvious medium to formulate family traditions and to attempt consolidating the versions most genial to a given *gens*. Cf. also KOORTBOJIAN 2002, 35, 40-3 on the overtly politicized triumphal paintings in Republican Rome.

<sup>280</sup> The fundamental contribution is that of OAKLEY 1985. For the duel of Manlius Torquatus, when minimalistically interpreted in its own context, as a possible example of Romans taking advantage of Gallic notions of single combat, see LAMPINEN 2009. The tendency to over-interpret Roman legends in order to confirm later Insular narrative motifs as based upon facts is exemplified by BLOCH 1964, 391-9.

<sup>281</sup> The old pedigree and prestige of the Fabii: BADIAN 1966, 2. It is no wonder that the envoys would have come from one of the most powerful families of the Early Republic. As noted by LUCE 1971, 175 fn. 36, violence committed by or perpetrated towards legates is a topical reason for war met widely in different traditions.

<sup>282</sup> MRR 1.86, although this could easily be a back-projection of Fabius Pictor's famous embassy, perhaps fabricated by the historian himself. If the old suggestion is correct about the Fabian embassy to Clusium being an

battle between the *Galli* and Clusines, and one of them killed the leader of the Gauls in a single combat. On the one hand, the Fabii brothers are described as more similar to Gauls than to Romans in their ferocity; on the other, the action seems already to be directed by Fate itself—no doubt an element added by Livy.<sup>283</sup> Moreover, while Livy at least regards their behaviour as expressly *contra ius gentium*, the Romans at the time appear not to have shared this sentiment: when the Gauls demand the extradition of the brothers, the *populus* elects them as consular tribunes for the following year.<sup>284</sup> In subsequent events the Fabii appear in more constructive roles—perhaps through attempts at whitewashing. Fabius Dorsuo in particular is an essentially religious figure. He dons a ritual garb in the besieged Capitol and carries the paraphernalia required for his family's traditional sacrifice through enemy lines to the Quirinal; after completing the cultic obligation he returns unharmed.<sup>285</sup> It has been suggested, with some plausibility, that Fabius' *cognomen* Dorsuo stems from his carrying of the sacred items on his shoulders.<sup>286</sup> Later, after the Gauls had been beaten and the city's restoration begun, Quintus Fabius, the brother who had killed the leader of the Gauls at Clusium, was impeached

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addition to the tradition of the Gallic sack from circa 225 BCE (see LUCE 1971, 174f. and footnotes with the relevant references to earlier scholarship), Fabius Pictor may have aimed to mitigate a hostile account of his ancestors that by his time of writing had become increasingly established in the tradition. Regarding the early quasi-historical and historical connections between Rome and Delphi, see the discussion of sources in GRUEN 1990, 2-10. In terms of back-projections in Delphic embassies, one should note Livy 5.28.2 which lists both a Valerius and a Manlius taking a dedicated golden cup to Apollo at Delphi.

<sup>283</sup> Livy 5.35.6 *Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes*, 5.36.6 *ibi iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt*. The mood of the sentence is notably similar to that used in Justin to describe the approaching death of Ptolemy Ceraunus in the hands of the Celts: *eisque [...] quasi bella non difficilius quam scelera patrantur, parricidiorum furis agitatus, occurrit* (Just. 24.4.8). The heightening of fate-driven actions and religious modalities in connection with Gallic war may, in addition to Livy, have been current in other moralizing historiography of Late Republic as well, but for the particular interplay of *fatum* and exemplarity in Livy, see DAVIES 2004, 106f., 114f. A remarkable echo of Livy's language is found in Tac. *Germ.* 33.2: *quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam*: see below p. 242 (cf. 246 on Livian tones in Tacitus).

<sup>284</sup> Livy 5.36.10-11; Diod. 14.113.7-8. Livy's version appears later in App. *Celt.* F 2 *ap. Exc. de leg.* 1.1.70, but among the earlier writers Polybius, notably, does not refer to it. If Fabius Pictor was Polybius' source already for this section of his history, this silence could easily be explained as a deliberate suppression. It is also possible that later Republican historians of senatorial viewpoint but with no family reasons to protect past *Fabii*, made the plebs compound the ostensibly patrician mistake of nominating the brothers in the first place, thus spreading the blame. Diodorus (*loc. cit.*), in particular, hints at a rift starting to develop between the senate and the people. That the Livian formulation '*contra ius gentium*' stems from a purposeful and sustained authorial aim (5.36.6, taken up in 36.8, 37.4, 51.7, 6.1.6), and is meant as a prolonged *exemplum*: LUCE 1971, 156-59. LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 357 adds the observation that the justness of wars seems to have been of great concern to Livy (cf. *ibid.* 365), and is in its Early Republican narrative setting a likely back-projection.

<sup>285</sup> A more insecure incident of (possibly) Fabian piety is the M. Folius, whom some manuscripts of Livy call Fabius (possibly corroborated by Plut. *Cam.* 21.3), and who as *pontifex maximus* devotes to death the Roman elders (5.41.3). The Folii are known from 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, and the change to Fabius need not be anything but a scribal error. See RÜPKE *FS* 673 *s.v.* 'Fabius' and fn. 3, 695 *s.v.* 'M. Folius M. f. Flaccinator,' esp. fn. 2. RICHARDSON 2004, 288 suggests an interesting solution to the presence of these two Fabian *pontifices* in the literary tradition.

<sup>286</sup> RICHARDSON 2004, 289f. (though this does not imply that Fabius Dorsuo as a figure would be a late addition), 292. This would make the Dorsuo episode one of the many dealing with Gauls which explain a Roman *cognomen*; additionally *dorsum* could also have been coined as a reference to the returning Fabius bravely exposing his back to the enemy. The wondrous element of Gallic awe towards Dorsuo is present in Appian, as well.

and stood in danger of a harsh sentence, from which only his timely death—perhaps not natural - spared him (Livy 6.1.6).

The early history of the Fabii included a tradition about their mass destruction at Cremera, which perhaps demonstrates their interest in modelling their family history according to Greek examples: the numbers of Fabii and their clients at Cremera seem to have paralleled the Greek numbers at Thermopylae, and their fate was similarly bloody.<sup>287</sup> Whatever the case of the Greek examples, it is clear that the Fabii and their Gallic encounters are steeped in partisan politics: the absolution of the three Ambusti by the *populus* is an ambiguous element, but the redeeming sacrificial purity of Fabius Dorsuo during the Gallic siege seems to be a distinctively patrician construct.<sup>288</sup> Further it may be noted that the Fabii are described by Ovid, Silius Italicus, and Juvenal as the descendants of Hercules.<sup>289</sup> While these Herculean origins may constitute a significantly late invention, the other legendary and early history of the *gens Fabia* was almost certainly transferred into writing by Q. Fabius Pictor, from whom other annalists derived the stories eventually surviving in Livy.<sup>290</sup> Later Republican Fabii were no doubt aware of the heroic pedigree of their ancestors, and we may wonder whether the repeated battle honours won by Gaius Fabius, the legate of Caesar in Gaul, were partly inspired by the galatomachic pedigree of his forefathers. A comparable nod towards previous

<sup>287</sup> The 300 Fabii and 4000 clients at Cremera: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.15, Fest 450 L; 300 Spartans and 3900 allies at Thermopylae: Hdt. 7.202. Cf. Livy 2.42-51.3. The parallel was noted by OGILVIE 1965, 360. Another, and potentially more relevant parallel is mentioned by Livy 6.1.11 when enumerating the acts taken by the first elected officials after the liberation of the city from Gauls: he envisions the *dies ater* of 18<sup>th</sup> of July, subsequently held in commemoration of Allia, was already marked as inauspicious by the annihilation of the Fabii at Cremera.

<sup>288</sup> Cass. Hemina F 19 *HRRel ap. App. Celt.* 6; Livy 5.46, 52. Appian, interestingly, refers on the authority of Cassius Hemina (RICHARDSON 2004, 286f. about Hemina vs. Quadrigarius is in the end rather speculative) to Dorsuo's sacrifice to 'Hestia', that is Vesta, in her wrecked temple, which is difficult to reconcile with Livy's reference to Quirinal (5.46.3). If Hemina had not been committed to the idea of Vesta's *sacra* being transferred to Caere for safekeeping (by *L. Albinus de plebe Romana homo*, Livy 5.40.10), it is possible that Dorsuo's act was meant to fulfil (perhaps through actions of a patrician) the necessity of continued ritual observances. This would make the episode one of the many which became involved in the religious conflict of the orders. The two minor versions of Flor. 1.7.15-16 and Cass. Dio F 25.5 do not present Dorsuo's act as a familial obligation, but stemming from his position as a *pontifex*: RICHARDSON 2004, 285-8, though his attempt (291) to resolve the difference between rites to Vesta and the *locus* at Quirinal is tenuous (cf. also 295).

<sup>289</sup> Plut. *Fab.* 1.2 mentions that Heracles fathered the first Fabius with either a local girl or a nymph by the river Tiber (cf. Fest. 77 L, which describes the particular scene of action as a wolf pit, *fovea*, probably in an attempt to explain why the Fabii were the original participants in Lupercalia-cult). Ov. *Fast.* 2.235-42 (*ut tamen Herculeae superessent semina gentis, credibile est ipsos consuluisse deos*); Sil. *Pun.* 2.3 (*Fabius, Tiryntbia proles*), 7.34, 44; Juv. 8.14. Ovid could have found the information in an antiquarian source also available to Verrius Flaccus (judging by Festus) and possibly to Plutarch, whereas the later poets need not content-wise have had other sources beyond Ovid's *Fasti*. The prominence of the Herculean genealogy in close connection with Fabius Maximus, a figure of some controversy in his lifetime who was later rehabilitated as another heroic patrician commander, should be noted. These genealogies may have been emphasized as late as in the circle of Paullus Fabius Maximus, the friend of Augustus and patron of Horace and Ovid, the latter of whom refers to the Herculean origins of the Fabii: *Fasti* 2.237: cf. *s.v.* 'Fabius' BNP. RAWSON 1985, 40 fn. 4 speculates that the Fabii Maximi had been in possession of a large Greek family library since Aemilius Paullus brought the Macedonian royal library to Rome in 167 BCE.

<sup>290</sup> A good example of distortion of previous Fabian acts by Pictor is noted by FRIER 1999, 244, who suggests that he was 'misled by family records' and notes the possible parallel in the action of M. Minucius Rufus (when serving as a *magister equitum* for Fabius Rullianus) in Pictor's own lifetime.

Fabian achievements, combined with remarkably triumphalistic elements, would have been the *Fornix Fabianus*, a triumphal arch erected by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus after his victories over the Allobroges and Arvernians around 120 BCE.<sup>291</sup> Another reminder of the family's Herculean origins is the temple to Hercules, dedicated by the same Fabius and for the same victory.<sup>292</sup>

Manlii can be quite safely argued to have possessed a galatomachic family tradition, especially in the case of T. Manlius Torquatus. The Republican explanation for his *cognomen* derived it from spoils of war taken from a Gaul of monstrous size, whom the first bearer of the name overcame in a duel, as narrated by Q. Claudius Quadrigarius.<sup>293</sup> While the motif of a duel against a gigantic opponent is an entirely conventional, almost folkloristic element, with parallels in Roman and other traditions, there are elements in the Torquatus story which may point to a narrative that was genuinely handed down in the family.<sup>294</sup> Livy's description of the action has been embellished for dramatic effect, but the basic elements are similar to

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<sup>291</sup> Gaius Fabius in Gaul: Caes. *B Gall.* 5.24.2, 47.3, 7.41. On Fabius Allobrogicus' temple Cic. *Font.* 36; Str. 4.1.11; discussed by FLOWER 1996, 72f. Around the same time other 'Gallic' victory monuments, too, were commissioned, with Minucius Rufus' *Porticus Minucia* funded by spoils from the Scordisci and Bessi (Vell. Pat. 2.8.3)—a campaign further celebrated in Delphi (cf. p. 155f.). See HARRIS 1979, 272 for the campaign against the Scordisci in 114. To treat the different Balkan groups as having any well-defined iconospheres attached to themselves (as TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 36-47 in the case of 'Germanic' Bastarnae) does not seem realistic: most of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE disturbances were conceptualized through the hazy assemblage of images about the northerners. That said, WEBSTER 1996, 117 suggested that the 'First Transalpine War' against the Allobroges and Arverni was one important milestone in generating 'ethnographic data' about the 'western Celts', though in all probability this mainly took the form of increasing the salience of received literary tropes, which besides was soon obscured by the urgent and scarring reaction to the Cimbri and Teutones, a strong influence on Posidonius.

<sup>292</sup> Str. 4.1.11 (two temples, to Mars and Hercules). BENEDICT 1942, 47f., also on Fabius' *cognomen* Allobrogicus.

<sup>293</sup> Quadrigarius is lauded on stylistic grounds by Gellius, who proceeds to provide the quite lengthy F 10B CHASSIGNET *ap.* Gell. *NA* 9.13.4-19 about the action. Quadrigarius' account is affirmed by Livy 6.42.4f. (Quadr. F 10A CHASSIGNET). While Gellius' admiration was directed at linguistic purity (see HOLFORD-STREUVENS 1988, 184), his friend Favorinus of Arelate, upon reading the passage, was moved to proclaim that it had affected him as if he had been present himself (*NA* 9.13.5); this may well have partly derived from his self-proclaimed identification as a Gaul, of which see Philostr. *VS* 489. Later authors giving versions of the Torquatus story are Cic. *Fin.* 1.7.23, *Tusc.* 4.49; Flor. 1.8; Amm. 24.4-5; Eutr. 2.5; Oros. 3.6.2; Zonar. 7.24. Another editor of Quadrigarian fragments, LACONI 2005, remarks (124) that the aetiology for the name of Torquati is similar to that of Valerii Corvini in that it is a 'rielaborazione della tradizione storica'.

<sup>294</sup> Among Roman parallels for the 'giant adversary' motif (similar to the motif 'David and Goliath' or perhaps more properly 'The Small Boy Defeats the Ogre' as in *ATU* 327B), the most striking is the one dated by App. *BCiv.* 50 to the Social War (89 BCE), with L. Cluentius receiving 'certain Gallic reinforcements' (from where, is not specified, and indeed this element seems quite anachronistic) for his fight against Sulla. Immediately before the confrontation a Gaul of enormous stature challenges an Roman to come forward and fight him. The challenge is accepted by a Maurusian (Mauretanian) soldier of short stature, who kills the Gaul and through this ensures that the barbarian reinforcements flee in panic, leading to the collapse of Cluentius' battle line. The topical elements are clear: short vs. tall, the Gallic panic, the 'ethnicizing' of a short soldier as someone from a southern clime, and even the motif of stupefied silence either after his unexpected victory or before anyone accepts the threatening task (cf. the Torquatus episode in Quadr. F 10B CHASSIGNET *ap.* Gell. *NA* 9.13.10; comments in LACONI 2005, 127 *ad loc.*), reinforced by Sisenna F 74 CHASSIGNET *ap.* Non. p. 720, 8 L, if correctly attributed (and ostensibly supported by F 75 *ap.* Non. p. 643, 20 L on a panicky retreat of an undefined army).

Quadrigarius' version, which Livy probably used as his source.<sup>295</sup> Soon after the Roman defeat at Allia and the subsequent sack of the city, the Gauls invade once again, making camp near the third milestone on the Via Salaria by the river Anio (according to Livy; Gellius' quotation from Quadrigarius does not give much background). The Romans, taken by surprise while preparing for war against the Tiburtines, recognize a case of *tumultus Gallicus* (Livy 7.9.6), and the dictator T. Quinctius Poenus expands the ranks of the army with young recruits and hastens to meet the enemy. A bridge, left undemolished by both sides in their unwillingness to appear weak, emerges as the focal point of the confrontation and the scene of the duel. The challenger is a Gaul of gigantic size, who struts to the bridge and calls on the Romans to send forth their bravest fighter to determine the outcome of the conflict; the challenge is accepted by Titus Manlius.<sup>296</sup> The Gaul continues to grimace and ridicule his smaller opponent, who nonetheless dispatches him with Roman *gravitas* and economy of movement. The Livian and Quadrigarian versions differ perhaps the most in their depiction of the fate of the dead Gaul. According to Gellius, Quadrigarius described Manlius as decapitating the barbarian and affixing his *sanguinulenta* torque to his own neck. Livy, undoubtedly wishing to cast Manlius as an even more admirable figure, devoid of greed and rudeness, stresses that the corpse of the richly bedecked foe stayed unmutated; Manlius was content merely to remove the torque (described with more restraint as *respersum cruore*) from the dead Gaul.<sup>297</sup>

The case of Manlii Capitolini is a more complex one. The story of M. Manlius was narrated already by the Republican annalists, but the fullest version is again that of Livy.<sup>298</sup> The Gauls besieging the Capitol had spotted an easy route of ascent to the top of the hill by the temple of Carmenta, and a group is dispatched to conduct a surprise attack. While the dogs of the besieged did not spot the enemy, the sacred geese of Juno—left untouched despite the famine—were alarmed and woke the Romans with their cackling.<sup>299</sup> Manlius, who three years

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<sup>295</sup> Livy 7.9.3-11.1. Apart from the dating of the incident (OAKLEY 1998, 113), Quadrigarius was Livy's preferred source to this section: *ibid.* 114-15. McDONALD 1957, 248 sees the Livian embellishments as partly poetic in nature. HORSEFALL 1981, 305 suggests a tradition with Greek, and possibly specifically Herodotean, influences.

<sup>296</sup> Elsewhere, I have argued that the motif of single combat on a bridge may have held a particular significance for the invading Gauls, and that the Romans may not have been ignorant of this: LAMPINEN 2009.

<sup>297</sup> Gell. *NA* 9.13.19; Livy 7.10.13. The earlier annalistic tradition saw no difficulty in a certain greed for plunder as the Romans' motivation: Pictor *ap.* Polyb. 2.29.8-9 ascribes the glint of golden Gallic torques as an inducement to the Romans at Telamon. In addition to the treatment of spoils, Livy's account contains many further conscious elaborations: the apprehension among the Romans after the initial challenge of the Gaul is replaced by the *pavor cum admiratione* of the Gauls after the duel; the Roman silence by the *carmina* of jocular military type congratulating Manlius.

<sup>298</sup> Quadr. F 7 CHASSIGNET *ap.* Gell. *NA* 17.12.14; Livy 5.47.

<sup>299</sup> A variant tradition envisioned the Gauls climbing tunnels (*cuniculi*) straight to the temple of Jupiter: Cic. *Caecin.* 88, *Phil.* 3.20; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.652; Lydus *Mens.* 4.114. Influence from the 'Gauls in a temple'-motif cannot be discounted (cf. p. 54 fn. 119). The intricacies involved in the tradition about the cult of Juno on the Arx have been explored by ZIOLKOWSKI 1993.

previously had been consul and an *ovatio*-winning leader, is the first to dash to the rescue, and the stealthy attack is repulsed. The next day Manlius is rewarded by extra rations; the charge of sleeping on duty is directed at one particular guard who is then flung over the edge of the cliff (5.47). The crucial religious theme here, that the sacred geese were left untouched despite the Romans' hunger, has less to do with Manlius Capitolinus himself than with the Romans' general rediscovered piety. Other incidents reported about Manlius' later career reveal him as one of the figures (much like the three brothers Fabii) through whom traditional stories about the Gallic Sack were affected by the social struggle between plebeians and patricians.<sup>300</sup> Manlius was accused of collecting a plebeian following by means of financial promises, and of aspiring to kingship, for which he was put to death (Cic. *Phil.* 2.87, 114). It may be wondered whether such accusations were facilitated by his high prestige and (at face value) auspicious notional connection with the locale of the holiest temple of the state, the construction of which had begun under Tarquin, the last king of Rome, and which was dedicated during the first year of the Republic. In effect, it may have easily upset the patricians for someone of their number to affect a 'Capitoline' identity beyond merely his name.<sup>301</sup> Among the later Manlii, Manlius Vulso, whose own galatomachic input will be discussed in more detail below in the context of Livy's description of Vulso's justifications for his campaign against the Galatians, represents the later stages of the somewhat self-conscious posturing against the Gauls which seems quite prominent in the portrayal of the *gens Manlia*.

The *gens* of the Decii Mures provided the Romans with a story of self-sacrifice (*devotio*) in the face of a strong enemy, which passed down in the family through at least a father and a son, as well as a possible grandson.<sup>302</sup> Although the family was plebeian—or perhaps because of this—religious concerns appear to have been close to their self-portrayal, at least in warlike contexts. In *devotio*, a Roman commander devoted either himself or the enemy to the chthonic

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<sup>300</sup> Regarding the political concerns of the Manlii Capitolini, e.g. VALVO 1984, though mostly focusing on the efforts of the *gens* to cope with the tradition of M. Manlius' treason; for the Capitoline feat, esp. 99-102. HORSFALL 1981, 310 notes that the story of geese was probably already in existence before Pictor, and may have been meant to rehabilitate the Manlii—though pointing out that this effect may also have been incidental. Quite so, although the benefits for the Manlii in promoting such a version would also have been clear. See also ZIOLKOWSKI 1993, 218f.

<sup>301</sup> This appears to be confirmed by Livy's *ne quis patricius in arce aut Capitolio habitaret* (6.20.13). In his defence the Manlius of Livy (6.20.8-10) stresses his exemplary feat of protecting the Capitolium, and compares himself favourably with Camillus and his achievement (6.11.4-6); his enemies, however, paint his later aspirations as an internal war (*bellum intestinum*): see KREBS 2012, 139-41. Plin. *HN* 7.103 formulates Manlius' achievement through *Capitolium summamque rem [...] a Gallis servaverat*, which tellingly implies the associations of defending Capitolium, and points to the possibility of such a feat serving as a base of claiming supreme position. In Livy, the irony is sustained by verbal choices: KREBS 2012, 145-49.

<sup>302</sup> For the historiographical (largely Livian) uses of the *devotio*, see DAVIES 2004, 58, 93, 104, 110, 128. Also VERSNEL 1976. This type of family tradition would combine the two prestige-bringing strains of military success and public service: on *dignitas* and tampering with family traditions in order to enhance it, see RAWSON 1985, 12.



deities, thus acting as a kind of sacrificial substitution for Roman casualties. This is not often met with in Roman literature. In fact, only P. Decius Mus at the battle of Vesuvius (340 BCE), and his son and grandson of the same name, the former serving as the consular colleague of Fabius Maximus Rullianus at the battle of Sentinum against Samnites and Gauls (295 BCE), and the latter at the battle of Ausculum (279 BCE), are described as conducting this drastic self-sacrifice.<sup>303</sup> If genuine, these acts testify to the strength of personally compelling religious precedents stemming from certain family traditions, which would have motivated and informed the actions of Roman commanders and policy makers when faced with a foreign enemy.<sup>304</sup> If the narratives are purely literary, their battle contexts and connection with family heritage can nonetheless cast light on the Roman galatomachic dynamic.

The Claudii and the Valerii, two profoundly influential patrician *gentes* throughout the Republican period, were not devoid of their own historians either, and both families had their own galatomachic heroes. Claudius Quadrigarius, writing around the time of Sulla, whom we know from Gellius to have provided a rather full description of the duel fought by Manlius Torquatus', would be a strong candidate for providing a pro-Claudian account of Republican incidents involving Gallic adversaries. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who won the *spolia opima* after killing the Gallic leader Viridomarus in a duel during the battle of Clastidium (222 BCE), is a case in point.<sup>305</sup> He was ostensibly the subject of Naevius' play *Clastidium*, and Plutarch's *Vita* of him contains a number of details that may be derived from the historical play.<sup>306</sup> Just as he is about to lead the charge of the Roman cavalry against the Gallic contingent, Marcellus has to restrain his horse which shies away from the enemy; the Roman manages to pretend that his momentary turning around was actually a gesture of praying to the sun (Plut. *Marc.*

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<sup>303</sup> Battle of Vesuvius: Livy 8.9f.; battle of Sentinum: Livy 10.28; battle of Ausculum: Cic. *Fin.* 2.61, *Tusc.* 1.89. For the devotee acting as a substitute for Roman blood: Macr. *Sat.* 3.9.9ff. *vicarios*. Though conducted in a somewhat different context, the alleged self-sacrifice of the elderly Senators during the Gallic sack of the city as conceived by Livy 5.41.3 and Plut. *Cam.* 23.3 bears some similarity to an act of *devotio*.

<sup>304</sup> Although, as noted by FLOWER 1995, 180 on the basis of Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.15, the Decian tradition was recognized by Romans as self-promotion. No doubt the purpose of many such family traditions was equally apparent to contemporaries.

<sup>305</sup> GOLDBERG 1995, 32f. According to Plut. *Marc.* 6.4 the Gallic leader is called Britomatos.

<sup>306</sup> The meticulous description of the Gallic leader's armour (Plut. *Marc.* 7.1-3) brings to mind the comparable 'materialistic' touch in the Pictorian passages of Polybius' description of the battle at Telamon (cf. p. 102), but such details may be topical ekphrasis. But what is perhaps more remarkable among the Roman reactions to the victory at Clastidium was the dispatch of a golden votive bowl to Delphi after the battle (Plut. *Marc.* 8.6). Whether a 'fact' or a later introduction to the tradition (Claudius Quadrigarius springs to mind, perhaps motivated by a desire to counter the prestige garnered by the *gens Fabia* from the embassy of Pictor to Delphi), this thankfulness towards Apollo after a victory over Gauls may testify to at least middle Republican perceptions (see GRUEN 2011A, 350 about these associations). The associated Roman gifts from the spoil to Italian and Sicilian cities (Plut. *loc. cit.*) points to a desire to pose as a defender of Italy from the northerners. WILLIAMS 2001, 165 observes that by the late third century the Romans had learned to use Delphi in their propaganda much along the lines that Greeks used it. And, like the Greeks, they had no doubt learned to claim older connections to Delphi than seems plausible in a strictly historical sense: cf. the Fabius Ambustus of MRR 1.86, *ca.* 398.

6.11f.). Immediately after dispatching the Gallic leader, Marcellus dedicates his armour in formulaic language to Jupiter Feretrius (7.3). The consequent victory ensures triumphal honours for Marcellus.

The Valerii, another ancient and prestigious patrician family, had their own galatomachic hero in Valerius Corvinus. While such a *cognomen* is easily explained in a number of ways, at some point in the Republican commemorative tradition the Valerii Corvini were given an aetiology involving Gauls. According to the version recorded by Quadrigarius, again cited by Gellius, who was thoroughly smitten by Quadrigarius' Latin, the incident occurred in the consular year of L. Furius and Appius Claudius, when copious troops of Gauls were occupying the *Ager Pomptinus*.<sup>307</sup> The Romans are uneasy in front of the numerous enemy, and the effect of the Gallic giant's contemptuous challenge, as in the Torquatus story, is shame and fear (*NA* 9.11.6). Valerius, the young tribune, seeks permission from the consul to engage the Gaul. After the combat has begun, a divine power becomes manifest (*ibi vis quaedam divina fit*) in the form of a crow, which appears from nowhere and after perching on Valerius' helmet starts to attack the Gaul. After harassing the barbarian with its wings and claws to fatal effect, the bird flies back to sit on top of the Roman's helmet (8-9). The narrative in Livy is essentially the same, although characteristically it places a heavier emphasis on the providential aspect of the avian helper.<sup>308</sup> Livy is quite explicit about Valerius' motives: he does not think himself any less worthy of success in a duel than was Manlius Torquatus (7.26.2). Indeed, both the Quadrigarian and the Livian versions of Corvinus' feat share so many elements in common with the Torquatus episode that it is not unreasonable to consider them duplicates of the same motif.<sup>309</sup> It is difficult to say which patrician *gens*, the Manlii or the Valerii, was motivated into emulating the other. Gellius notes that all well-known historians agree in telling about Valerius (*NA* 9.11.1), although Quintilian (*Inst.* 2.4.18), in discussing the

<sup>307</sup> Quadr. F 12 CHASSIGNET *ap.* Gell. *NA* 9.11.1-9.

<sup>308</sup> Livy 7.26.3-7: *minus insigne certamen humanum numine interposito deorum factum [...] quod primo ut augurium caelo missum laetus accepit tribunus [...] si divus, si diva esset qui sibi praepetem misisset [...] donec territum prodigii talis visu [...] praesentibus ac secundis dis*. As has been noted by MCDONALD 1957, 248, Livy first adapted his 'archaic material' to the demands of his contemporary style, but also added 'an 'archaizing' appeal of 'sacral' tradition' in order to construct an event with heightened significance. For the religious agency in the passage see DAVIES 2004, 102f., 134. A later addition to the legend of Valerius Corvinus seems to emerge from Manilius' reference to Corvinus being aided by a bird which manifests the divinity of Phoebus Apollo (*Man. Astr.* 1.782f.), though this may be just a Manilian mythological contrivance with little or no connection with either the Valerii or Apollo's opposition to the Gauls.

<sup>309</sup> Common elements: an impasse between two armies, a gigantic Gaul in splendid armour and with a contemptuous attitude, Roman fear when challenged, a young tribune who seeks the permission of his commander, and the Roman's modest and sober behaviour. The third version is provided by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*AR* 15.1), but it differs from the two mostly on account of the more drawn-out action (the combat is said to have lasted for a long time), and the further detail that afterwards Valerius continued to decorate his helmet with a raven emblem. Gellius and Dionysius agree about Corvinus being the subject of a sculpture (*NA* 19.11.10 specifies it to have been set up by Augustus on his forum). HOLFORD-STREVENS 1988, 180 fn. 12, 185 fn. 41 suggests that the versions come from Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias.

refutation and confirmation of both poetic and historical narratives, gives as an example the story of the raven and Valerius, the credibility of which could be both defended and refuted by many arguments. Similarly to other patrician historians, Valerius Antias did in all likelihood exaggerate the achievements of his fellow Valerii.<sup>310</sup>

The early patrician traditions appear to be mostly about battling the northerners, whom the Romans may already at this stage have called *Galli*. Through hearsay via the Etruscans, through direct conflict between the Romans and the barbarians, and by way of north-Italian barbarians serving as mercenaries for Rome's enemies, a tradition of hostile contact with these groups had become a defining narrative of the Romans' relations with this first clearly 'northern' society encountered by the growing polity.<sup>311</sup> Not all early contacts, however, were warlike. The first definite Latin use of *Galli* occurs in Plautus' *Aulularia* 495, where the price of mules is compared to 'Gallic geldings' which apparently were comparatively inexpensive. While Plautus' heavy use of Greek models is well known, this piece of information pertains almost certainly to the reality of Roman trade with the Gauls.<sup>312</sup> With Plautus and the late third century context, however, our sources cannot be examined in isolation not only from direct Greek literary models, but also from the adoption of Greek modalities of thinking and arguing about the barbarians. These will be discussed in the next subsection, along with other testimonies concerning the power of Greek barbarography in the emerging Roman literary imagination.

#### b. GREEK INFLUENCE ON REPUBLICAN ROMAN DEPICTIONS OF NORTHERNERS

Although the occasional emergence of 'instant legends' in Greek and Roman historical or quasi-historical narratives is easily demonstrated (cf. WISEMAN 1998, 55), traditions about the Gallic Sack could at best have constituted an oral and heavily factionalized (as well as fictionalized) repository of stories which subsequently became elaborately mythicized. Nothing in the extant stories points to instantaneous formation. However momentous the

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<sup>310</sup> RAWSON 1985, 219. HARRIS 1979, 194 fn. 2 on P. Valerius Falto's war against Cisalpine Gauls in 238-7 BCE.

<sup>311</sup> Indeed, it may even be that the Roman connection to Delphi was to some extent inherited from the Etruscans, for whose gifts to Delphi see BONFANTE 2011B, 236. And even if 'real' connections only started in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the technique of back-dating connections to Delphi was certainly available to the Roman annalists: cf. p. 91f. fn. 282. WOOLF 2011A, 22 points out that hostile connections produce very different elements in the imagery formed about foreign groups than encounters in the 'middle ground.'

<sup>312</sup> On the Greek models for the early Roman literature during a crucial period of time: POTTER 2012, 143-6.

event, a literary culture in existence at or soon after the time is a necessary prerequisite for such 'instant legends' to take root rather than a plethora of family traditions holding sway. Above I have argued that the latter was the case, with the religious elements being thematically examined at a later time (p. 128-66). Pictorial depictions of a galato- and generally barbaromachic nature come across as just one of the many transitory media through which the Greek iconography of barbarians entered the consciousness of Romans and other Italians. What is more, they were almost certain to reach Central Italy before any actual literary models from Greece. These iconographic vestiges have received plenty of attention in both their Greek and Italian guises, and a brief account of their most relevant themes can thus easily be provided on the basis of earlier scholarship.<sup>313</sup> This can augment our patchy understanding of the process whereby the pictorial—and presumably literary—range of imagery was adopted from the Greek culture by the natives of Italy.

The ceramic reliefs produced at Cales (the modern Calvi Risorta) exhibit certain motifs which can be quite confidently connected with the Greek narratives of the Celts pillaging a temple; the barbarians are variously shown grabbing a tripod or a crater from an altar or carrying off ritual objects, such as a *θυμιατήριον*.<sup>314</sup> Another category of evidence consists of the quite numerous body of Etruscan funerary urns and grave stelae with barbaromachic scenes, some of them showing divinities attacking the despoilers.<sup>315</sup> With regard to barbarian depictions, the examples highlighted by HOLLIDAY 1994 bear out the observation that Etruscan specimens depicting Gauls demonstrate an increasing influence from the Greek world; this applies both to the prevalence of the figure of a triumphant rider (of Pergamene type), and the increasingly Hellenized pictography of the Gallic adversaries. The divinities depicted (apart from the Etruscan winged demonesses, a traditional motif), for their part, seem similarly to allude to a Hellenistic epiphany in the pictorial arts. Artemis appears to be the divinity most frequently depicted, along with Erinyes, human warriors, and another female deity, probably Leto or Athena.<sup>316</sup> Finally, there is the much-discussed Civitalba Frieze, the

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<sup>313</sup> A summary can be found in NACHTERGAEEL 1977, 107-123, ending with an analysis of the artistic (119), religious (120-1) and historical (121-2) syncretism of their iconography, with the ensuing corollary (122-3) that on account of their complexity, enquiry into both the specific origins and exact historical referent (if any) of the iconography is largely pointless.

<sup>314</sup> PAGENSTECHEER 1909, 44-48; the Italian provenance is confirmed by DONCEEL 1963; CAIN 2002, 52-3; also in MARSZAL 2000, 213. The pictorial motif of tripod as a metonym for Apollo is unlikely to have direct contact with Callim. *Hymn* 4.182.

<sup>315</sup> See e.g. BIENKOWSKI 1909, 105-115; SEGRÈ 1934, 137-42; PRYCE 1933, 114; SASSATELLI 1983; HOLLIDAY 1994; MARSZAL 2000, 199f., 213f.; FERRIS 2000, 15, 158.

<sup>316</sup> As observed by NACHTERGAEEL 1977, 116. The other interesting observation in the same location is that Apollo is never present in our extant Italian pictorial depictions; only his attribute, the tripod, can be witnessed in the reliefs from Cales and one urn. The idea of MOMIGLIANO 1975, 63 that such scenes in the funerary urns may

pictorial form of which shows many analogues to Greek iconography and literature, especially the stereotypically Celtic/Gallic form of the fleeing invaders and the depicted moment of temple-robbers being chastised by gods.<sup>317</sup>

There thus seems to have existed a relatively well-developed and Hellenistically inspired pictorial convention that found some currency in Italy of the third and second century, and these depictions are likely to have been influenced by events in the Greek cultural sphere. It is a different matter entirely whether the event depicted—even with the motif of epiphany present—can be equated with any certainty with a particular historical attack, or whether we are dealing here with a conventional pictorial register with only a tenuous link to historical circumstances, such as the attack on Delphi, the plundering of the Didymeion of Miletus, or some other event.<sup>318</sup> Taken together with the literary sources and the attested contact of the Roman elite with Delphi in the form of Fabius Pictor's embassy, it is not unreasonable to assume that the extant material remains, conventional as they are, largely mirror Greek iconographic conventions, perhaps even in its more narrow, 'Delphic' form.<sup>319</sup> Be that as it may, the main import of the iconographic corpus stems from the wide diffusion obtained in Republican Italy by depictions of barbarian invaders as pillagers of sanctuaries—something that would almost certainly have fostered associations regarding their character. Additionally, the panic gripping the barbarians is another motif with Greek parallels and clear providential implications for the 'defensive' ingroup mentality.

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have acted as allegories of death—a kind of *memento mori*—is about as likely as any other hypothetical reconstruction of what made Etruscans pick the subject matter for their funerary art.

<sup>317</sup> First described in the excavation reports by BRIZIO 1897, 283-304 and figs. 1-17; *ibid.* 1903, 177-185 and figs. 1-6; and subsequently discussed by PEYRE 1970, 284-96; VERZAR 1978; MARSZAL 2000, 215f., who endorses the Delphic inspiration as the most likely, as does FERRIS 2000, 15ff. (though noting that a conflation of Delphic and other salvation-stories is likeliest); cf. also CAIN 2002, 53-5; TORI *s.v.* 'Civitalba' in KOCH 2006, 449-50.

<sup>318</sup> The suggested attacks toward temples include Didymeion by SEGRÈ 1934 (echoed by MOMIGLIANO 1975, 62), but if such a late example is accepted, it could quite as likely be the despoiling of the temple of Venus Erycina by Gallic mercenaries during the First Punic War, much closer to Italy (Polyb. 2.7.6-11, emblematic of the perceived ὕβρις of Celts according to BERGER 1992, 120f.); an Italian example is favoured by PEYRE 1970, 294-6, with the suggestion that we may see the impact of a locally important sack, such as the temple of Uni-Juno in Pyrgi by Dionysius I of Syracuse (Diod. 15.14.3-4; Polyæn. *Str.* 5.2.21; Ael. *VH* 1.20; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 10.184; cf. FRASCHETTI 1981, 99 with regard to the human sacrifice on Forum Boarium. Certainly, the tradition accuses Dionysius I of many impieties: PEARSON 1987, 171; ELLIS 1997, 52). Some of the early, and largely contradictory propositions for the artistic influence to the Civitalba Frieze is briefly enumerated in NACHTERGAEEL 1977, 115, who follows PEYRE in dissociating the artwork from Greek models; to this should be added the renewed defence of a Pergamene inspiration by HOLLIDAY 1994, 35-39 (a view faintly echoed by TORI 2006 *s.v.* 'Civitalba', in KOCH 2006, 449-50), and the admission of possible ambiguities in signification by FERRIS 2000, 15f.

<sup>319</sup> WILLIAMS 2001, 169 with a cautious assessment of attributing any single point of reference to the depictions, and highlight on the symbolism involved, which can hardly be dissociated from the influential *exemplum* of Delphic attack.

## Fabius Pictor

Whether or not Q. Fabius Pictor, the first historian of Rome, was the “most enlightened Roman of his time” (TWYMAN 1997, 11), he certainly was very well-versed in Greek literature, as well as possessing access to senatorial traditions of an oral or annalistic nature. While reconstructing the details and themes of his writing is a largely hypothetical pursuit, Pictor has been argued to have adopted Greek methods of historiography and presenting an “essentially Greek picture” of the Roman past.<sup>320</sup> Even more significantly for the matter at hand, he had himself fought against the Gauls at least at Telamon, and gave an account of the battle in his history, written in Greek.<sup>321</sup> Later, in 216 BCE, following the disaster at Cannae, Pictor was chosen to head the Roman embassy to Delphi, a prestigious assignment which may have been given a fictional precedent in the form of a Fabius Ambustus, supposedly in 398 BCE.<sup>322</sup> Returning to Rome, Pictor reported a favourable response by the oracle, pledging the help of Apollo to the Roman war effort (Livy 23.11.1-6). Regarding Telamon, his probable use by Polybius (2.24) has preserved many elements of his narrative, which appears to have highlighted not only the emotions of the Romans, but also details of Gallic weaponry and jewellery.<sup>323</sup>

As noted above, Pictor did not shirk from drumming up the achievements of his proud patrician family. BADIAN 1966, 5 notes that Fabius’ most poignant message to his Roman readers was the wisdom of the senate as opposed to the blindness and

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<sup>320</sup> CORNELL 2010, 103, with the further observation linking Pictor to such Greek-language historians of their own peoples as Manetho and Berossos (already prefigured in BADIAN 1966, 3), though as one with a much more accommodating attitude to the previous Greek accounts of Romans than his eastern counterparts had for their peoples’ treatment. MARINCOLA 1997, 78 emphasizes that as the first Roman historian, Fabius would have set the example regarding, for instance, what sort of enquiry was appropriate for a Roman senatorial historian. The motivation of the language choice is examined e.g. in KAIMIO 1979, 225ff, who favours the explanation of Pictor favouring Greek because of the already existing historiographical information on Rome in that language, and a feeling of Latin being possibly unsuitable for the assignment.

<sup>321</sup> Cic. *Div.* 1.43; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.6.2; Pictor F 30B CHASSIGNET (F 23 PETER) *ap.* Oros. 4.13.6-7; F 30A *ap.* Eutr. 3.5.

<sup>322</sup> MRR 1.86. Of Pictor’s Delphic mission: Livy 22.57.5, 23.11.1-6; Plut. *Fab.* 18).

<sup>323</sup> REBENICH 1997, 310 moreover remarks about fondness for ethnographical evidence. It should be noted, however, that neither PETER (1914) nor CHASSIGNET (1996) class Polybius’ description of the battle of Telamon as Pictor’s fragment; WALBANK 1957, 184 (*ad* 2.27-30), however, is confident about Pictor as Polybius’ source, and there is no reason to call this into question. As noted by FORSYTHE 1994, 153f., Pictor appears to have considered greed and avarice as regular motivators in decision-making, both for the Romans and their enemies; in a similar moralizing mode, he appears to have condemned the detrimental effect of Sabine wealth upon Roman morality: Pictor F 26 CHASSIGNET (F 20 PETER) *ap.* Str. 5.3.1; cf. FRIER 1999, 266. Similar bling among Iberian warriors appears to be preserved in a fragment of Lucilius preserved in Non. 227.33: *conventus pulcher: braciae, saga fulgere, torques*; and among some of the Galatian characters in Plut. *De mul. virt.* 20 (257F), 23 (259C). It is, then, possible that the motif of Gallic avarice in the weighing of the Roman ransom as a root of their final defeat (much as is it expressed in Livy 5.551.10: *et in hostes qui caeci avaritia in pondere auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt, verterunt terrorem fugamque et caedem*) might stem from as early a formulation as that of Pictor. If so, a connection with the similarly moralizing theme in Delphic traditions of the Gallic attack (cf. p. 56f.) would seem plausible.

impressionability of the plebs; this is partly a reflection of his book's expected audience—there were not many readers of Greek among the lower classes, and probably none who mattered. Thus it is not unreasonable to suppose that many of the pro-senatorial elements in the Gallic narrative could have taken form in Pictor's work, even if particular patrician family traditions had been already developed in a quite separate, though perhaps similarly charged, mode. If Pictor was interested in the ideal moral character exemplified by members of old senatorial families, he may have projected their polar opposite to the moral stance of Gallic adversaries, and within the Roman society itself, to the plebeian challengers to the privileges of old elite.<sup>324</sup> This would have made the providentially preserved Capitol, modelled on the preservation of Delphi, an attractive morally charged motif for him.<sup>325</sup>

Despite his heavy involvement in Roman concerns and senatorial power politics, Pictor was constantly mindful of his Greek readers, as well.<sup>326</sup> In relating to his Greek models, Pictor essentially accepted things written about early Roman history by the Greeks.<sup>327</sup> His task appears to have been more to supply these with his own experience, arranged and reported in a way that would have appealed to what he thought his Greek audience expected.<sup>328</sup> The most authoritative source for Pictor would have been the literary accounts, but epigraphic remains—similar to the slightly later *Delphic Paeans* displayed (or even performed) at the sanctuary—would in all likelihood have played a role as well. If Pictor's aim was to explain and justify the place of Rome in the world to the Greek-speaking sphere, the common fight against the northern invaders, the *Galli* (or Γαλάται, as the contemporary Greeks were wont to call them) would have constituted a most suitable common cause.<sup>329</sup> In sum, Pictor's treatment of the Romans' Gallic adversaries must have consisted of a mixture of autoptic elements, things narrated among the Romans, and things consciously modelled after Greek portrayals. The priestly annals and other original Roman sources would have included but few characterizations of enemies against which the citizen army had been deployed: thus, it may be that despite his own experiential knowledge, some of what Pictor wrote about the Gauls was

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<sup>324</sup> Cf. BADIEN 1966, 5-6, with references to Pictor's F 20, 27-8 PETER (F 26, 11, 18 CHASSIGNET).

<sup>325</sup> Despite the variant traditions where the Capitol was in fact taken (see OGILVIE 1965, 720; HORSFALL 1981, *passim*), the consensus of a preserved Capitol was already obtaining prevalence among the annalistic writers. The discordant sources are Arist. *ap. Plut. Cam.* 22.3, Theop. *ap. Plin. HN* 3.57, Heraclid. *Pont. ap. Plut. Cam.* 22.3, Enn. *Ann. ap. Macr. Sat.* 1.4.17, Just. 20.5.4, Verg. *Aen.* 8.652, Sil. *Pun.* 1.625, 4.150, 6.555, Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.1, Tert. *Apol.* 40.9. For the problematic Simyl. *ap. Plut. Rom.* 17.5 on Tarpeia and the Celts, see HORSFALL 1981, 303ff.

<sup>326</sup> HARRIS 1979, 109: 'his work was propagandistic not only in effect, but also [...] in intent'; ROOD 2012, 56: 'strongly apologetic'. GRUEN 1992, 231 opts to envision Pictor writing primarily to his Roman compatriots, but does not elaborate.

<sup>327</sup> CORNELL 2010, 103ff.; cf. BICKERMANN 1952, 67 on the Trojan origin myth for the Romans, accepted by Pictor (as well as Naevius, Cato, and others).

<sup>328</sup> Cf. MARINCOLA 1997, 77. Autoptic claims were a well-evidenced Greek technique of constructing authority.

<sup>329</sup> The purpose of Pictor: CORNELL 2010, 111.

expressed through imagery received from his Greek models.<sup>330</sup> Pictor did not need to tell the Greeks what the Galli were capable of, and why they needed to be defeated—what he wanted to emphasize was that the Romans were well capable of this, and consequently deserved the respect of the Greeks.<sup>331</sup> Indeed, the Gauls themselves, or more properly opposition to them, could have helped to place Rome and the Romans among the civilized, 'Greek', peoples of the world—if only in Pictor's aspirations.

A possibility not often taken up in connection with the early Roman perception of the Gauls is a scenario whereby it was the Roman encounter with the Greek ethnonym Γαλάται that consolidated the ethnonym *Galli* in Roman literature. In that case, the influence of the early Roman historians writing in Greek would have been even more fundamental than previously thought.<sup>332</sup> The fact remains, however, that we have no certainty as to what the earliest Romans called their adversaries in the fourth and third century BCE. One possibility, although ultimately just a thought experiment, is that in addition to the first demonstrable Roman link with Delphic tradition of galatomachic narratives, Fabius Pictor could also have acted as a concrete transmitter between the Greek term Γαλάται and the Romans' Italian enemies, the *Galli*.<sup>333</sup> We know that after returning from his famous mission to Delphi he delivered his report on the Pythian response to the Senate in Latin.<sup>334</sup> If the oracular

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<sup>330</sup> Admittedly (cf. CORNELL 2010, 105) the oral traditions of aristocratic families may have included more descriptive material than the priestly annals. It is also relatively secure that Pictor could have given his own impressions at least regarding the Gauls at war, such as the famous description of the rich Gallic trappings—which anyway is without parallels in early Greek accounts. Even so, the influence of his choice of language, likeliest audience, and Delphic sojourn would have shaped in a significant way the account he gave of the Gauls.

<sup>331</sup> Cf. BADIEN 1966, 6. The survival of the Capitol, if it was indeed already a part of the Pictorian narrative (as argued by SORDI 1984, 83-6), was probably connected with the motif of an intact Delphi.

<sup>332</sup> WILLIAMS 2001, 19, 158-70 comes close to recognizing this possibility. He notes (166), with good reason and prefigured by the more textual remark in OGILVIE 1965, 719, that the name of Brennus was almost certainly borrowed from the Delphic tradition into the Roman. If the name of the leader of the invaders could be transported to an earlier disturbance in Italy, then it is quite as likely that also the name for the invaders could. The poorly referenced claim of COLLIS 2003, 21 that Cornelius Sisenna (d. 67 BCE) was the first to connect the name Brennus with the attack on Rome is difficult to substantiate. There is little reason to invest much hope in the meagre fragments from the *Historiae* of Sisenna, and in addition to the mention of Brennus there is nothing more to do with Roman sanctuaries. A note may, however, be made of the presence in Sisenna F 73 (CHASSIGNET *ap.* Non. 142 M) of the motif of Gallic noise and din, which apparently was an element that the Republican Romans agreed to be an upsetting part of encountering the Gauls in war (Sis. F 73 *ap.* Non. 142 M: *Galli contra magno cum molimento ac perpetuo sonu procedunt*; cf. Livy 5.37.8 *nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo compleverant sono*; 10.26.11 *ovantes*); also Diod. 5.31.1 remarks about the deep and harsh voices of the Gauls: the same is still recycled by Amm. 15.12.2 *metuendae voces*.

<sup>333</sup> The word *Galli* had in any case been introduced to the Latin language at some point before Ennius' *Annales* (BRIDGMAN 2012, 61), and Pictor, Naevius, or Plautus are all plausible candidates for this introduction. It may be noted that the ethnonyms Γαλάται and Κελτοί are quite evenly balanced in Polybius' work. Though the identity had clearly been settled upon before Polybius, his usage would probably have enmeshed the ethnonyms together in a rather influential way.

<sup>334</sup> Livy 23.11.1-6. As is pointed out by GRUEN 1992, 231, and 242 with the additional point that essentially Pictor's rendering of the Pythian response symbolized the application of Greek religious authority to the needs of the Romans. Certainly so, but in addition it could also have been one of the first steps in the Romans' adoption as 'enemies of gods and men' of a group of northern barbarians that Delphi felt strongly about.



pronouncement of Apollo had mentioned the barbarian despoilers, it is almost certain that the word used would have been Γαλάται. Pictor, in translating the Greek response into Latin, might have been the first to draw equation marks between Γαλάται and *Galli*. Even if this is largely conjectural, it is clear that the Gauls as an enemy group could have served Pictor the historian in a valuable way. His construction of Γαλάται/*Galli* as enemies to Rome (just as they were enemies to Hellas) would have provided Pictor with a widely recognizable analogous element for his work, the likely aim of which was to portray Roman society and history to a Greek audience for the first time through a native literary voice. While the archaeological evidence partly supports the idea of some sort of influx of people into northern Italy in the seventh to sixth century BCE, it may have been both tendentious and Greek-inspired for the early Roman writers to call their adversaries in northern Italy by the name *Galli*.<sup>335</sup> Another convenient innovation may have been the emphasis on their migration into Italy from origins lying further north; as will be seen, however, this innovation in Latin literature may date no further back than the Cimbric invasions.<sup>336</sup>

### Cato

The Gauls, however, had already earlier been portrayed as not belonging in Italy. As noted by CORNELL, Republican Roman historians in general appear to have been much more interested in ethnography than Livy was; consequently his particular attention to Cato in this regard is in all likelihood correct.<sup>337</sup> Cato probably treated the Gallic invasions in Book 2 of his *Origines*, or at least gave an account regarding the history of northern Italy and Liguria.<sup>338</sup> Here Cato was following, in method and form—and perhaps not unconsciously—trends in Greek historiography and chorography. Indeed, though writing self-consciously in Latin, his famous denunciations of Greek culture and *mores* have been shown not to have stemmed from a wholesale rejection of Greek exemplars when the latter provided suitable models.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> Most of the relevant archaeological evidence for 'Celtic' presence in the North of Italy is summarized in WILLIAMS 2001, 198-207; with slightly different emphasis in MAIER 2003, 82-9.

<sup>336</sup> Cf. p.90, 99, 103, 150. To be sure, the idea of a northern barbarian people of nomads wandering in search of new lands was quite established in Hellenistic thinking (cf. p. 74f., 155 fn. 551, and sources collected by TOMASCHITZ 2002, as well as WERNICKE 1991 on the Gallic 'Einwanderung' into Italy). As is noted by WILLIAMS 2001, 138, apart from Polybius and Cato, all the other accounts of the migration (or invasion) of the Gauls were written in the Imperial period—and hence, after the shock of the Cimbric wars. Hence, the Gallic 'invasion of Italy' in the distant past was very much a case of historical 'plupast' (GRETHLEIN & KREBS 2012, 1).

<sup>337</sup> CORNELL 2010, 107f. WILLIAMS 2001, 48-58 examines Cato in terms of his Italian ethnography in the *Origines*.

<sup>338</sup> CORNELL 2010, 109, going on to note that including the origins of peoples and cities in historiographical accounts was most crucially a trait of the universal historians in the way of Ephorus and Timaeus.

<sup>339</sup> WILLIAMS 2001, 50. For the antihellenic posturing of Cato, see e.g. GRUEN 1992, 52-6, 62ff., 75-80 with a good basis on the recent studies calling into question Cato's own professed hostility; GOLDBERG 1995, 125; and MARINCOLA 2011, 351.

Cato's influence is a subject of great interest, though regretfully little substance. However, it is plausible that Trogus may have used *Origines* as one of his main sources.<sup>340</sup> The works seem to share a disposition to regard the Alps as a formidable barrier, and the Gauls as invading through the mountains, though Cato's fragments do not preserve anything that can be interpreted as a religiously coloured judgment. The symbolism of the Alps would probably have been clear already to Fabius Pictor, who implies a Roman desire to portray a joint Italian effort to expel the Gauls; indeed, soon after Telamon (and Clastidium) a succession of Roman generals attempted to drive this symbolism home by campaigning all the way up to the Alps.<sup>341</sup> Cato follows this logic by comparing the Alps to a wall that protects Italy. In his lifetime, Cato would have witnessed the near total subjugation of Cisalpine Gaul, and the symbolism of the Alpine border would accordingly have undoubtedly featured more clearly in the minds of his contemporaries.<sup>342</sup>

Cato's remark on the Gauls being most diligent in pursuing two things, military matters and verbal wittiness, seems related to several later attestations.<sup>343</sup> It is not easy to detect any religious or moralizing colouring here. If, however, the tendency of Gauls to speak *argute* represents a Roman notion current at some point in the Middle and perhaps Later Republic, it could be connected with Diodorus 5.31.1, which seems to exhibit the motif of the loud Gallic voice, attested in other Roman sources as well.<sup>344</sup> Diodorus specifically describes Gallic conversation as reticent and riddling, hinting obliquely at things and using coded

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<sup>340</sup> CORNELL 2010, 110.

<sup>341</sup> Pictor F 30A-B CHASSIGNET. Cf. ROSENSTEIN 2012, 117. Cf. also the *picta Italia* at the Temple of Tellus (268 BCE) reported in Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.1.

<sup>342</sup> Cato *Orig.* 4.10 CHASSIGNET *ap. Serv. Ad Aen.* 10.13: *Alpes quae secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italiam*. To be sure, it is unclear from the form of the citation which of the writers used that actual choice of words, and the chronological distance between the two may make all the difference. Cf. WILLIAMS 2001, 79.

<sup>343</sup> Cato F 34 PETER (*Orig.* 2.3 CHASSIGNET) *pleraque Gallia duas res industriosissime persequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui*. ISAAC 2004, 412 thinks the subject 'unusual', perhaps because he searches for mostly negative connotations; RANKIN 1987, 121 does not think Cato intended the point as a compliment. Ammianus is the last testimony to this trope: 15.12.1f., followed a few sentences afterwards by a reference to both Cato (about drunkenness being a voluntary form of madness), and Cicero—the latter similarly cited about Gallic drunkenness, apparently from *Pro Fonteio*, a speech that in its extant parts does refer to the *minae Gallorum* and their insolence. It seems the speech-related notions formed a predominantly Latin trope, occasionally reaching Greek works. In addition to Diodorus, Str. 4.4.2 seems to be another example of this: the Γαλάται are said to be eager for learning and good at languages (cf. 4.1.5). Diodorus and Strabo were influenced by Augustan notions of an ongoing 'civilizing mission', whereas Cicero seems to reflect Roman annoyance towards recalcitrant provincials.

<sup>344</sup> The threatening voice is already met in Thuc. 4.126.3-6 on Illyrians preparing for attack, together with many other elements later affixed upon the Galli. Whether the notion of Britain as the seat of *eloquentia* and *virtus* in Tacitus' *Agricola* has any relation to this complex of ideas, is debatable: probably CLARKE 2001, 107f. is correct in noting that it has more to do with Tacitus' cultural critique of Rome's decay and the need to provide a setting of old-fashioned Roman qualities for his traditional hero, *Agricola*. One might note, however, the witty rejoinder to Julia Domna by the wife of Argentocoxus the Caledonian in Cass. Dio 76.16.5 *ap. Xiph.* 324-25—the motif of *eloquentia* and the high profile of a northern elite female (cf. Boudicca in Dio) seem to converge, with likely forebears in Hellenistic narratives incorporated to Plut. *De mul. virt.* 22.

words.<sup>345</sup> On the other hand, and seemingly in contradiction, they are said to speak in superlatives and in bombastic language. Here we may be seeing a collation of two different motifs, or two ways of elaborating a vague cliché. Closest to Cato's statement comes Diodorus' further comment that Gauls are ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ὄξεις καὶ πρὸς μάθησιν οὐκ ἄφυεῖς; this is somewhat paralleled by Pomponius Mela 3.14, where he grants that the peoples of Gaul *habent tamen facundiam suam magistrosque sapientiae druidas*. While the Druids are an addition derived from Caesar, the (perhaps grudging) admission of a certain eloquence may hark back to a motif that is first met in Cato.

### Annalists and their users

Livy is certainly one of the most crucial authors recycling (or rather, reworking) material from the Roman annalists, which we have already encountered above. Of particular relevance is the fact that Livy's sources include such patrician historians as Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, and Claudius Quadrigarius—all probably writing in the earlier first century BCE, and most of them members of ancient *gentes* of great prestige and long family traditions.<sup>346</sup> The structural similarity of these patrician representations (visual and, presumably, oral) of their heroic ancestors through the family cults, using the format of annalistic history has been remarked by FLOWER 1996, 215. Consequently, certain elements in the annalistic historiography concerning the Gauls are closely connected with politicized and glorified narratives Roman of encounters with northerners. Even so, the very beginnings of Roman historical literature itself make it likely that a Greek influence will be found in this category of evidence, as well.<sup>347</sup> Elements of which we may have been deprived of by the poor preservation of Pictor's work sometimes crop up in later annalistic writers. The interpretational distance would probably have affected the content of the characterizations, with the most salient themes being sampled from the available selection. Among the potentially more faithfully preserved elements may be the political considerations associated with galatomachic commemorations within Roman domestic politics.

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<sup>345</sup> Diod. 5.31.1: πολλὰ δὲ λέγοντες ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ἐπ' αὐξήσει μὲν ἑαυτῶν, μειώσει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀπειληταί τε καὶ ἀνατακτικοὶ καὶ τετραγωδημένοι ὑπάρχουσι. Later met in Diog. Laert. 1.6, where Druids are said to give the riddling and obscure pronouncements. One wonders if there is any connection with the astrological explanations of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, which drew on the planets and constellations the conjecture that the westerners were more secretive in character (*Tetr.* 2.2): see KEYSER 2011, 51.

<sup>346</sup> Livy's use of early annalists is sufficiently demonstrated by NORTHWOOD 2000, correcting the previous assumption of non-direct dependency, most sharply articulated by OGILVIE 1965 in his commentary. See also OAKLEY 2009, 460 in sum; and CORNELL 1986, 52-8, 73-6 about the annalists receiving already quite fully formed versions of historical narratives, and about each Republican generation reshaping their narratives about the Roman past within certain parameters.

<sup>347</sup> Fabius Pictor would have acted as a powerful example and source of direction: MARINCOLA 1997, 78.

The accounts given by early and later Republican annalists were not influenced by the prestige and traditions of their respective *gentes* alone; they also seem to have chosen sides in the social struggles of the Republican era, with plebeians pressing the patricians for increased rights and recognition, and the patricians retaining control of the state religion as their last stronghold of privilege.<sup>348</sup> Such tendencies present in the annalists could have been preserved to a certain extent by way of Livy's not very latent aristocratic idealization.<sup>349</sup> The underlying narrative is linked with the rhetoric of the return of the Golden Age under Augustus.<sup>350</sup> In sum, religious narrative elements regarding the northern barbarians in the vestiges of annalistic historiography will most likely be due to from one of three principal causes, or to some combination of them. First, the religious emphasis may be the work of Late Republican and Early Imperial writers, such as Livy. Secondly, and as a decidedly earlier factor, the religious elements could stem from the religious slant bequeathed to the literary tradition by the conflict of the orders; this seems to be borne out by some of the variants regarding plebeian or patrician heroes of pious character during the Gallic wars. The family partisanship of patrician oral traditions should be included in this category (above p. 90f.). Thirdly, in so far as one purpose of most Roman annalists writing in Greek was to explain Roman society and traditions to the prevalent cultural elite of the Mediterranean world, tropes of Greek origin could have entered the register (in partly obscured form) by way of its Pictorian birth; alternatively, they may have been later and more programmatically incorporated into the literary discourse as a tool to help the Romans relate to the Greeks through a common enemy.

Certain elements in Roman historical narratives relating to Gauls seem to have caught the particular attention of Greek writers, and this was to some extent outside the Roman control. For instance, the *devotio* of Decius Mus at the battle of Sentinum, which according to Tzetzes' *Scholion* in Lycophron was included in the historical work by Duris of Samos, could have been picked up by the third century BCE historian from his own direct or indirect sources; if these sources were Roman, they must have been oral.<sup>351</sup> Either that, or Tzetzes is mistaken. This highlights the benefit of the Romans taking their historiography (and with it

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<sup>348</sup> For the significance of the state religion as the exclusive field of action retained longest by the patricians: ; although cf. MITCHELL 1986 mounting criticism against the sharp view of a 'conflict of orders' (although even he notes that if the *patres* were an identifiable social entity, it was their religious role which defined them: 173). Cf. LEVENE 1993, 181 about the class struggles prominently surfacing in certain sections of Livy; for Polybius, VAAHTERA 2000, esp. 262f. FORSYTHE 1994, 277 notes that the tribunates of the Gracchi changed the Roman understanding of socio-political schism so fundamentally that such incidents were soon being projected into historical accounts of earlier events; cf. also RAAFLAUB 1986, 202f.

<sup>349</sup> Already noted by WALSH 1955, 369f., 381ff.

<sup>350</sup> See below p. 110 fn. 359, 141f. fn. 484-87, 160 fn. 571.

<sup>351</sup> BNJ 76 F 56B *ap.* Tzetz. *Schol. in Lycoph.* 1378 ; further affirmed by F 56A *ap.* Diod. 21.6.1. Discussed in LANDUCCI GATTINONI 1997, 159ff. The mention of this Mus being a colleague of a Torquatus points to Duris' confusion between father and son. This supports the notion of an oral, early, or second-hand transmission.

their barbarography) into their own hands: submitting chosen pieces of Roman history to a Greek literary audience gave them greater control over their own public image. Another example of a possible Greek variant of a Roman story pertains to a tradition whereby Tarpeia, the eponymous traitorous maiden, opened the way to the Capitol not to the Sabines but to the Gauls.<sup>352</sup> Of possible relevance are the already mentioned circumstances surrounding the first sacrifice in the Forum Boarium, namely Dio's reference to the *prodigium* of lightning striking the Capitol near the temple of Apollo in 228, which led the Romans to fear the Gauls (F 50 *ap. Exc. de sent.* 128). It would be difficult to establish whether the presence of Apollo in such a scenario of supernatural menace at a time of Gallic threat stems from earlier Roman sources or is an adaptation of a Greek device, but since there was no temple of Apollo on Capitoline Hill at the time of the narrative, the connection may have been made in a Greek source, perhaps influenced by the literary example of the Delphic episode.<sup>353</sup> There may be grounds for arguing that the Capitoline symbolism, at least against the Gauls, could at times be combined with the Apollinian galatomachy, not just Jupiter.

There seem to be some grounds for arguing that victories over the Gauls, and the successful preservation of the Republic and its most sacred locales were harnessed to serve patrician propaganda—which in turn appears to have generated a plebeian backlash.<sup>354</sup> The earliest heroic acts against the barbarians were quite conceivably propagated as part of family traditions and encomiastic partisanship narrowly defined. Such narratives of patrician families would have been easy to apply to the fundamental argument of the patrician elite: that the

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<sup>352</sup> Plutarch quotes four elegiac disticha from the poet Simylus (*De Tarpeia* 724 SH) regarding this version of the story in *Rom.* 17.6-7; with some support from *Schol. in Luc.* 1.96 WEBER: *Tarpeia* [...] *a Gallis quondam interfecta*. The motivation of Tarpeia in Simylus' version was a romantic one, which could hark back to the novelistic, romantic, and tragic narratives of Hellenism, though Simylus himself may have been as late as an Augustan figure. In any case, and as noted by MARTINI 1998, 21 fn. 73, the whole episode seems to parallel or echo an episode in the *Galatica* (Γαλατικά) of Clitophon, quoted in the pseudo-Plutarchan *Parallela Minora* 15 (Clitoph. *ap.* [Plut.] *Mor.* 309B-C). In the story of Clitophon, Brennus obtains the romantically motivated help of a certain Demonic to enter Ephesus with his warriors, the gold ornaments of whom then cause the death of the maiden by their sheer amount. According to the parallelism of the work, immediately after Clitophon's fragment, the *Par. Min.* quotes the conventional version of Tarpeia's story, with Sabines as the invaders, and Aristides of Miletus' *Italica* as its source. Stobaeus' *Florilegium* appears to preserve the story in a slightly different wording, but attributes it, perhaps following a confusion in transcribing the source text (possibly *Par. Min.*) to 'Clitophon's *Italica*.' The proposition of BRENK 1979, 171 (see also fn. 9) that Celts were chosen by Simylus because they would have been more familiar to his Greek readers than Sabines may have some value. HORSFALL 1981, 305 suggests that Tarpeia may have been a traitorous figure in the original stories about the defence of Capitol in 390, who was then forced backwards in narrative time to the Romulean era by the introduction of Manlius into the tradition.

<sup>353</sup> The connection of the episode with the fame of the Sibylline books and the legendary seer's link with Apollo are noted in TWYMAN 1997, 8f. For the rite of burying Gauls and Greeks, see below p. 160-62.

<sup>354</sup> One telling instance of these sectarian concerns surfaces in the aftermath of the Gallic Sack, when Livy 6.1 describes Cn. Marcius the plebeian tribune immediately indicting Q. Fabius, who had been elected (by the plebeians: 5.36.10) a consular tribune after his actions *contra ius gentium* at Clusium, and who happened to die, possibly by his own hand, before an almost certain harsh sentence. Next, the elected military tribunes immediately addressed religious measures, though some of their decisions were kept secret from the public by the pontifices in order to make the plebs dependent upon themselves (6.1.10).

Roman official cults, their last bastion of privilege, was central to the survival of the city and the state.<sup>355</sup> Elements that begin as stories of personal heroism on the part of various members of the Valerii, Claudii, Fabii and Manlii thus surface in later republican historiography, in contexts where the tradition is visibly coloured by the bitter power struggle between plebeians and patricians. Examples of social partisanship seem to litter the vestiges of galatomachic narratives in Roman literature, although they are hardly restricted to these. Some prominent themes include senatorial attempts to highlight their fundamental input in reinforcing traditional Roman cults, which made the rebirth of the city possible,<sup>356</sup> plebeian attempts to disqualify patrician pretensions by foregrounding plebeian heroes of pronounced piety,<sup>357</sup> and the apparent patrician counterargument to this by portraying the plebs as overly occupied by petty concerns and too easily swayed by trivialities.<sup>358</sup> The symbolism that accreted to the figure of Camillus may demonstrate the need to personalize and propagandize acts of overcoming both external danger and internal religious insecurity.<sup>359</sup> Religion was crucial to

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<sup>355</sup> For the state religion as the longest-surviving source of prerogatives for the *patres*, see p. 108 above. LINDERSKI 1986, 244-48; *ibid.* 1993, 55. On the level of rhetoric, the state religion would remain the notional privilege of the highest senatorial echelons for a long time, even though it had lost its exclusive patrician nature long earlier: a good example is the very beginning of Cicero's *Dom.* 1.1: see the commentary of NISBET 1939 *ad loc.*, making clear that Cicero equates the leaders of state and highest controllers of religion with a clear attempt to please his audience (the *pontifices*); also LINDERSKI 1990, 43. GOAR 1978, 46 noted that Cicero also may have been repeating an 'axiom of conservative statecraft'; perhaps even hinting at the possible loss of the divine favour if Clodius' innovation was upheld.

<sup>356</sup> Elements of senatorial, if not downright patrician, entrenchment in the Livian form of the narrative might include the senators basically prepared to extradite the Fabii: 5.36.9; the self-sacrificing senators: 5.41; Fabius Dorsuo: 5.46.2f. Cf. VAAHTERA 2000, 262. DAVIES 2004, 74 notes that in Livy, the treatment of the senate is largely in accord with his program of exemplarity, and the actions of the *patres conscripti* as an authority are seldom criticized. Even in 5.37.1, when reporting the alleged lack of Roman responses to the *tanta moles mali* mounting after Clusium, Livy simply points to the way of *fortuna* to blind human understanding in order to achieve its ends (*ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non volit*).

<sup>357</sup> Aius Locutius speaking to a plebeian and being ignored by senators: 5.32.6f., 50.5; the rash brothers Fabii: 5.36.1-6; patrician generals at Allia disregarding proper sacrifice: 5.38.1; the plebeian Lucius Albinus saves the cultic *sacra* to Caere; 5.40.9f. (cf. UNGERN-STERNBERG 2000, 212). The stress is upon *discrimen divinarum humanarumque rerum*, which may have been an important argument in the plebeian campaign to open up the sacral offices to other than patrician holders: even the plebeians could be trusted to distinguish between the two, just as Albinus correctly identifies the threat to cultic purity that his family in the cart poses, and promptly compels them to dismount. As noted by RAAFLAUB 1986, 218f., the plebeians perceived themselves as bound into a community by the sacred oaths allegedly taken at Mons Sacer during the first *secessio* (494 BCE). This perception of their old, religiously sanctioned cohesion must surely date from during the 'Conflict of the Orders', and would accordingly have contributed to the Middle Republican narrative traditions of the Gallic Sack.

<sup>358</sup> Fabii elected as military tribunes by the plebeians: 5.36.10f.; Livy agrees with the assessment of the Gauls about the illegality of such an act, and the impression of inappropriateness is emphasized by the first sentences of 5.36, though from the point of view of Romans actually being unable to remedy the situation for as long as the *fortuna* was against them.

<sup>359</sup> For the origins of the narrative figure of Camillus as he appears in Livy, see BRUUN 2000. Camillus' name has connotations to the Latin word *camillus* 'a young attendant of a priest' (on the *camilli* being selected from among the aristocratic youth, MITCHELL 1986, 147; for discussion of etymology BRUUN 2000, 47-54), which may bear some relevance to the senatorial religious entrenchment. The 'original' Roman figure of Furius may have been combined with another figure more widely known in Central Italy, M. Camillus (*ibid.* 57-65), partly on account of the efforts of *gens Furia* (*ibid.* 6-65). Livy's narrative allusions to Augustus via Camillus: HELLEGOUARC'H 1970, 124; other exemplary figures: SANTORO L'HOIR 1990, 232-41. The figure of Camillus as a *fatalis dux* in Livy

these arguments of divine providence and retribution, which depended on religious propriety and could take the form of a barbarian menace; but underlying these religiously couched arguments were the tensions of a class struggle.<sup>360</sup> Partly it may have been due to of these two mutually enhancing crisis narratives that the Gallic Sack emerged as the paradigmatic, indeed foundational, moment of early Roman self-definition.

The social struggle and the instrumentalization of galatomachy to serve the needs of plebeians and patricians, comes across something unique to Rome (largely because a corresponding dynamism is absent in the Greek monarchies). Even so, the forms of galatomachic celebration themselves, it can be argued, were in a large part informed by contemporary examples in the Hellenic sphere proper—of which Rome was becoming an increasingly well-connected part. Manlius Capitolinus and the threat he posed to his fellow patricians prefigures such strongmen of the Late Republic as Marius and Caesar.<sup>361</sup> All three reveal the problematic relationship that the Roman elite had to negotiate between celebrating their barbarian victories through models that essentially stemmed from monarchies, and the Republican demands of the political system and the society they operated within. As we shall see, in Rome the supreme power and vast prestige associated with victories over northern barbarians was much more of a double-edged sword than in the eastern monarchies, where a galatomachic pedigree could more easily be adapted to royal narratives of divine favour and providentiality. Some figures, such as M. Minucius Rufus (see p. 155f.), seem to have successfully negotiated their programme of glorifying their victories over northerners both at home and abroad, but this may have required a pronounced effort to cast this as a religious duty in order to avoid political repercussions.

As we have seen, the battle of Sentinum and the consequent subjugation of the Senones, the tribe accused of sacking Rome, seems to have given rise to the iconic pictorial depictions at Civitalba.<sup>362</sup> Livy points to a tradition according to which the Senones encircled and utterly destroyed a Roman vanguard near Clusium just before the battle at Sentinum, with the heads of the Roman dead suspended from the manes of the Gallic horses and impaled on spears. This all sounds suspiciously conventional—not to mention convenient—and may well

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partakes in associations that another *fatalis dux* of his work, Scipio Africanus, evoked: DAVIES 2004, 109; cf. LEVENE 1993, 182 on religious *vota* abounding around the figure of Camillus.

<sup>360</sup> LINDERSKI 1986, 253, also *ibid.* 1990, *passim*; also RAAFLAUB 1986, esp. 201-10 on the presentation of the 'Conflict of Orders' in the Later Republican historiography.

<sup>361</sup> The historical exemplarities of Manlius Capitolinus' trial and their links with the preoccupations of Livy's own age (including Sallustius' Catilina) are well examined in KREBS 2012, 141-45.

<sup>362</sup> Senones responsible for the loss at Allia and the Sack of Rome: Livy 5.34.5, 35.3; Diod. 14.113.3; Plut. *Cam.* 15.2 (though in Simyl. *De Tarpeia* 724 *SH ap.* Plut. *Rom.* 17.7 says they were 'Boii and the numberless tribes of Celts'). Regarding the location of the battle, see discussion in OAKLEY 2005, 314. For Civitalba, cf. above p. 101.

represent a spurious debacle constructed as a parallel to the earlier battle at Clusium.<sup>363</sup> Polybius refers to the treatment of the Senones only very briefly, but he too makes it clear that most of them were killed and the rest dispossessed of their country.<sup>364</sup> He also implies that Roman intentions were not lost on the Gauls, either: the Boii in particular were alarmed after the Roman citizen allotment of Picenum by what they perceived as new Roman policy of expulsion and extermination instead of old wars for supremacy and sovereignty.<sup>365</sup> The Romans seem to have treated the Senones with particular severity.<sup>366</sup> Indeed, it can be surmised that the tradition of the Senones having been the group that sacked Rome may well have been formed during the time of most intense warlike contact, taking place “in the century or so after 390” (OAKLEY 2005, 209 *ad loc.*), which probably would also have witnessed the creation of Roman patrician family traditions featuring galatromachy.

The calculated action justified by the *exemplum* of the sack was duly passed down in the literary tradition, and finally resurfaces in the anonymous commentaries on the works of Prudentius.<sup>367</sup> A perplexing passage meant to elucidate *Against Symmachus* 2.688 brings together five elements: Liber, the motif of Gallic hospitality, a Greek etymology for the name of the Senones, their cruel treatment after the eventual Roman conquest, and an aetiology of the *Galli* of Magna Mater. When Liber returned victorious from his Eastern campaign, he was entertained most hospitably by coastal Gauls in Italy (Gallic hospitality being something of a

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<sup>363</sup> Livy 10. 26.7-12. The source of Livy is difficult to pinpoint in this occasion, but according to his account ‘another tradition’ reports that the enemies were Umbrians, not Gauls (an opinion dismissed by Livy on account of the pronounced Gallic fears in the minds of the Romans at the time), and that the surrounded Roman foraging party was commanded by L. Manlius Torquatus. How these variant tradition are related to each other is largely beyond reconstruction, but it may be that Gauls were substituted by Umbrians in a tradition that was sympathetic to Manlii Torquati, and could not bear to have a member of the family to have lost to Gauls. Just. 24.5.5 may hint at the topicality of the ‘head on a spear’ trope.

<sup>364</sup> Polyb. 2.19.9. Polybius also refers to a Roman tradition, possibly from Pictor, about the Senones having killed the Roman envoys sent to them by Curius Dentatus in 283 (Polyb. 2.19.7-11; Livy *Per.* 12; on the Polybian passage BERGER 1992, 119). The claim of Roman envoys being hacked to pieces and their remains scattered (App. *Sam.* 6 *ap. Exc. de leg.* 13 has the Gallic leader Britomaris acting in revenge of his father) may be designed to correspond to what the Fabian envoys did at Clusium, being similarly portrayed as violating the universal sacred laws of protecting ambassadors. It could easily fit with the probable aim of Fabius Pictor to mitigate a tradition of Gallic-Roman dealings that was unflattering to his family. App. *Samm.* 6 notes that the revenge by the consul Cornelius Dolabella was swift and savage, with Britomaris’ son being spared only for torture and triumphal procession: discussed in ROSENSTEIN 2012, 36ff. The suicide of the rest of the Senones and the moralizing final clause about their just punishment for impiety (App. *Sam.* 6, *Celt.* 11.4 *ap. Exc. de leg.* 5) are worthy of note.

<sup>365</sup> Polyb. 2.21.9. HARRIS 1979, 197ff. examines the Roman claim, and its probable origin as a propaganda tool to justify harsh policies in the North. by It is telling, however, that the obligation for the victorious Romans to show restraint and clemency seems to apply seldom to Gauls—perhaps along similar notions of the enemy having to deserve this as with the case of Carthage: cf. KONSTAN 2001, *passim*, but e.g. 92-6, and regarding a Polybian context, though in Graeco-Macedonian setting, about certain adversaries engendering deserved ὀργή: *ibid.* 87.

<sup>366</sup> Although other groups were cruelly treated, too: TWYMAN 1997, 6, particularly regarding the last years of the 200-191 war against the Boii.

<sup>367</sup> *Comm. anon. in Prudent.* p. 168 BURNAM C. *Symm. ad 2.688: Liber quando de bello Indico victor revertebatur, a Gallis maritimis humanissime hospitio susceptus est: unde eos Xenones appellavit; nam ξένος Graece hospes dicitur, et ξενοδοχεῖον hospitale. postea vero mutata X id est cbi in s, Senones dicti sunt. hi Romanis infestissimi fuerunt. at illi victoria potiti omnes quos ex illis tenere possent, castrari decreverunt: proinde galli castrati dicuntur.*



topos at least from the Hellenistic era onwards); he came to call his hosts *Xenones*, from the Greek ξενοδοχεῖον. The initial consonant is noted to have mutated to *S*, giving *Senones*. When the Romans vanquished this folk they treated them harshly, castrating every male they could lay hands upon—this is said to be the reason for calling eunuchs *Galli*. While the date of the commentaries on Prudentius is not secure, the general appearance is of a happy collage of obscure facts and speculation from late imperial sources.<sup>368</sup> Be that as it may, it is perhaps telling that the Greek language was once again needed to furnish an etymology for an Italian population group.<sup>369</sup>

### Playwrights

As with the Greeks, we might expect with the Romans too that evidence from the dramatic arts, particularly comedy, will demonstrate clearer signs of 'demotic colouring' than the theoretical or historical literature of the age. The overall tone of the plays, however, is not uncomplicatedly Roman, but rather exhibits a layered display of Greek stories, characters and models giving shape to episodes of Roman history. By this means, aspects of lighter Hellenistic Greek literature came to influence certain Roman portrayals of the Gauls in a secondary fashion. Plautus' *Aulularia* includes a well-known reference to the role of Apollo as the guardian of the *thensauri*. Euclio, the nervous old miser who has hidden the eponymous pot of gold, overhears the talk of a few servants preparing his daughter's wedding, and immediately thinks he is being robbed of his treasure. Hurrying back to the house, he invokes the help of Apollo, imploring the god to nail down the thieves with his arrows.<sup>370</sup> As the word *thensaurarios* itself testifies, the Greek examples are close to the surface in Plautus' verse.<sup>371</sup> Together with the recognized function of Apollo as the proven guardian against treasure-thieves, this heightens the possibility that the original reference was to the Gallic attack against Delphi.<sup>372</sup> The comedic effect in the Greek original—if indeed the reference stems from

<sup>368</sup> Isidorus, at any rate, seems to have given a shorter version of the same etymology: *Galli autem Senones antiquitus Xenones dicebatur, quod Liberum hospitio recepissent; postea X in S litteram commutata est* (Isid. *Etym.* 9.2.106). Some antiquarian source, perhaps late Republican or early Imperial, would be tempting to posit for Isidore; in any case it seems that the commentator of Prudentius elaborated, in a rather sensationalist fashion, on Isidorus' account. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.1.5 features a Celtic etymology with a change of letter, too.

<sup>369</sup> The *Ager Gallicus* seems to have attracted such etymologies: Serv. *Ad Aen.* 6.825 explains the name 'Pisaurum' to derive from the *aurum* paid to the Senones in order to save Rome; also Isid. *Orig.* 17.4.10; and cf. p. 114. The unlikelihood of the tradition is noted by COARELLI 2000, 204f., but its essence is not much more random than many other such connections.

<sup>370</sup> Plaut. *Aul.* 391-97: *Apollo, quaeso subveni mi atque adiuva, confige sagittis fures thensaurarios, si cui in re tali iam subvenisti antidbac.*

<sup>371</sup> Though the word itself is a hapax, as noted by WAGNER 1876, 122 *ad loc.*

<sup>372</sup> This consideration is perhaps strengthened by the point of STOCKERT 1983, 114 *ad* 394ff. about the role of Apollo in hymns typically being of this protective kind; *ibid.* 115 *ad* 396 also contains speculation about whether this likely reference to the Delphic defence stems from the Menandrian exemplars—which Stockert considers to lack references to the incident.

such—could have been heightened by an allusion to a historical incident that was usually treated in an elevated style. It is difficult to assess the effect of this on a Roman audience.<sup>373</sup>

The Roman *fabulae praetextae* at least had a historical Roman subject matter, and we know of several written by members of the aristocratic *gentes* which apparently dealt with battles against the Gauls.<sup>374</sup> Varro mentions that Naevius (*ca.* 270-201 BCE) produced a play *Clastidium*, among the very first *praetextae*—it probably narrated the victory of Marcus Marcellus over the Gauls at the eponymous battle.<sup>375</sup> Camillus, who later was almost monopolized as the paradigmatic patrician hero against the Gauls, was probably a subject of historical *praetexta* plays—even perhaps a whole Greek-style three-part cycle of them, ending with a more light-hearted piece involving the origin of the Nonae Caprotinae.<sup>376</sup> Religious elements incorporated in such plays would have contributed their share to the panegyric nature of the plays; and the patrician panegyric mode itself would have tended to highlight piety and providentiality in connection with fighting the northern barbarians.

Accius (*ca.* 170-86 BCE) is known to have written a play *Aeneadae*, also known as *Decius* from its protagonist, Publius Decius Mus.<sup>377</sup> We have a few fragments which mention Gauls, as is to be expected in a play probably centred around the battle of Sentinum, where a coalition of Umbrians and Gallic Senones was beaten back. It is moreover significant that the temple at Civitalba, with its friezes showcasing a Greek-inspired galatomachic epiphany, was probably built after the battle and had some notional connection with it.<sup>378</sup> Fragment 3 of *Aeneadae* mentions Gallic violence (*vis Gallica*) and exhorts (presumably Decius Mus) to expiate the 'paternal blood' by shedding that of the enemy. This has apparently been preceded in F 2

<sup>373</sup> WAGNER 1876, 122 *ad loc.* was baffled about any possible relevance to the Romans, though he, too, thought the Delphic episode is the most likely Greek reference point. The epistemic significance to the Roman audience may have been generated by the possible timeframe of Plautus' adaptation, which, though hypothetical, would probably have been close to the wars against the Boii in the 190s BCE: STOCKERT 1983, 28.

<sup>374</sup> For the subject matter of *praetextae*, see FLOWER 1995: they dealt with Roman aristocrats performing the necessary acts to support the state (171); most of the surviving *praetextae* also have a connection with triumphal themes (180). The aristocratic appeal of Republican epic is demonstrated by GOLDBERG 1995, 109f., 123f., 132.

<sup>375</sup> Varro *Ling.* 7.107, 9.78. On Naevius' *Clastidium* as one of the first historical tragedies: WISEMAN 1998, 52. The dedication of the temple to Honos and Virtus which Marcellus swore in connection with the battle (Livy 27.25.7, 29.11.13; Plut. *Marv.* 28.1; Val. Max. 1.1.8) may imply that the barbarian adversary was seen as not possessing these crucial qualities, but the *praetexta* is not known to have treated the theme extensively. FLOWER 1995, 184 suggests that the *praetexta* was first performed at the dedication of the said temple. On the other hand, the knowledge of it would have formed a part of the background information for the audience of the piece. The previous temple to Honos was dedicated by Fabius Maximus Verrucosus in 233 BCE after the defeat of another Northern Italian group, the Ligurians (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61).

<sup>376</sup> As discussed on the basis of earlier suggestions by WISEMAN 1998, 9-10; for the significance of the *praetexta* on Camillus for the later tradition on him, see BRUUN 2000, 66ff., noting among other things that Livy 5.21.8f. appears to testify for such a scenic version of Camillus' career having included slightly miraculous elements with religious overtones. FLOWER 1995, 180 notes that the play is an example of *imperium*-holding aristocrat ensuring a victory for the Roman people by his personal *virtus* and good relations between humans and gods (*pax deorum*).

<sup>377</sup> Non. 32, 105, 139, 177, 203, 256, 272, 295, 332, 393, 777, 811.

<sup>378</sup> Cf. p. 101, 111; UGGERI *s.v.* 'Sentinum' BNP.

by a temple resonating with clamour, although whether this is caused by hostile and temple-robbing Gauls or by propitiatory local people, is not clear. Fragment 8 of the same play apparently refers to *Galli* moving forth in a threatening fashion with a tumult of chanting voices.<sup>379</sup> This last element is comparable to other impressions of Republican Romans, such as Quadrigarius F 73 (CHASSIGNET *ap.* Non. p. 206, 21 L). Indeed, judging by Polyb. 2.29.6, the Roman fear of Gallic noise had entered the literary tradition already with Fabius Pictor, and it is subsequently met with frequently in accounts based on Republican Roman sources.<sup>380</sup>

### 3. THE CIMBRI AND THE TEUTONES

The years from 112 to 101 BCE did much to reactivate Roman fears of northern barbarians. The impact of the threat of the Cimbri, the Teutones, and other associated groups has already been referred to; but both in terms of religious motifs and because of their general effects on Roman barbarography, the Cimbric wars deserve a chapter of their own. On the other hand, the political repercussions arising from the Roman defeats at the hands of these northerners, as well as their eventual vanquishing, seem to continue many of the earlier Republican themes linking religion and internal politics. Certain ideas often suggested in subsequent scholarship on the Cimbric wars, however, will be called into question, including the notions that the Cimbri represented 'German' groups in any meaningful way. It is crucial to note that during the invasion itself, separate conceptual categories of 'Gauls' and 'Germans' had not yet been articulated. Even if the term Γερμανοί was used by Posidonius, which in itself is highly dubious, there is nothing to suggest that the ethnonym was known to the Romans at the time of the Cimbri.<sup>381</sup> Plutarch's biography of Marius, in which the name

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<sup>379</sup> Acc. *Dec.* F 2 *ap.* Non. 504.29 *clamore et gemitu templum resonit caelitum*, F 3 TRF *ap.* Non. 224.10 *lue patrium hostili fusum sanguen sanguine*, F 8 *ap.* Non. 139.20 *Galli voce canora fremitu peragrant minitabiliter*. The reading of RIBBECK 1852 (originally in TRF), *Caleti*, is difficult to sustain in the context of Sentinum: what would inhabitants of Cales do there, involved in such barbarian behaviour? ROL 2.552-9 gives a more recent ordering of the Accian fragments. In any case, the presence of a temple filled with clamour may bear a connection with Greek exemplars: cf. Just. 24.5.9 on fearful Macedonians praying to the *nomina sicuti numina* of Alexander and Philip, 24.6.8 on the effects of *clamor* and *tubarum sonus* in Delphic topography; Callim. *Hymn* 4, 181-5 and Diod. 22.9.4 *ap. Exc. de sent.* 250 on Gauls at a Delphic temple (see above p. 54 fn. 119).

<sup>380</sup> Such as Diod. 5.30.3; Livy 5.37.5, 39.5; or Plut. *Mar.* 20.3.

<sup>381</sup> Pos. F 73 *ap.* Ath. 4.153E. The opinion that Posidonius was the first author to use the ethnonym Γερμανοί is a problematic one, though often encountered: HANSEN 1989 (on the basis of emending Tac. *Germ.* 2.5 from *a victore ob metum* to *viatore*, with the assumption that such a 'traveller' would automatically be Posidonius); TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 87, citing MAZZARINO 1957, who in fact argues for a first attestation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, predating Posidonius; also NIPPEL 2007, 42. Cf. GÜNNEWIG 1998, 25; and POLVERINI 2008, 63 with the conclusion that even if Caesar was not the first one to introduce the ethnonym, he clearly consolidated it; and

Κίμβροι is said to be derived from a German word for brigands, can only be read in the context of later imperial—or, at the earliest, Augustan—perceptions about the northern ethnography.<sup>382</sup> In the following I point out the haziness prevailing in ethnicizing the Cimbri and Teutones, with the aim of demonstrating the long-standing ambiguity of our sources.

The ethnographic confusion regarding the nature of the Cimbri proved long-lasting: for Appian the Cimbri were an Celtic people, and the view is echoed still by Dio.<sup>383</sup> Latin writers occasionally agree—Florus, for instance, locates their origins “in the furthest confines of Gaul”. Ambivalence would continue down to the late Imperial period, exemplified by Eutropius, and should be borne in mind when we encounter instances of haziness in distinctions between different northern barbarians groups.<sup>384</sup> In any case, by Florus' time it seems to have become quite standard to consider the Cimbri as a *gens nova*, which would have fit in well with the by then established, though slightly poetical, notion of Germania as an *alter orbis*. We have no way of knowing whether Livy had already denoted them as thus, but at least in the *Periochae* he is reported as calling them *gens vaga*; this is consistent with the far-reaching ravages attributed to the Galatae-Cimmerians-Cimbri by Diodorus only slightly earlier.<sup>385</sup> It is

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MARTIN 2011, 451-71. The different options are laid out concerning the Posidonian F 73 *ap.* Ath. 4.153E in KIDD 1988, I 322-26; see also the sober analysis in LUND 1991, 1963f. The crucial point here is to note that content-wise there is nothing new in Pos. F 73: the Γερμανοί eat roasted joints of meat and drink milk and unmixed wine. These elements are topical and not ethnographic (except in the most accommodating sense of the term). And since Athenaeus provides this only attestation of the word Γερμανοί in a Posidonian context, it may be his addition (as noted by PEKKANEN 1974, 39), and related to the noted Greek ambiguity during the Imperial era about the distinction between Κελτοί and Γερμανοί (cf. p. 121). Since the ethnonym of the Persian Carmanians was occasionally given in forms very close to that later associated with the European Γερμανοί, such as in Hdt. 1.125, it is quite possible that the ‘Germanic’ references in Athenaeus (F 73) and Eustathius (F 277B) have resulted from textual corruption. On the other hand, Ath. 2.45F (Pos. F 283) does cite Posidonius about the Carmanian drinking habits, so not all ethnonyms had been switched. Even so, the contents of F 73, 283, and 277 correspond well on the level of *topoi*, and could have all belonged to a single ‘ethnographical’ section. The *topoi* in Strabo's Carmanian ethnography (15.2.14) are quite similar to the septentriographic ones (a scarcity of horses, the only god worshipped being Ares, heads of the enemies brought to the king), though it must be stressed that the geographer only cites Onesicritus and Nearchus as his named sources, not Posidonius.

<sup>382</sup> Plut. *Mar.* 11.5; cf. Diod. 5.32.4 (p. 122). SASSI 2001, 136 notes the comparative ease with which Plutarch's age seemed to derive the ‘Germanicity’ of the Κίμβροι from their physical typology; *loc. cit.* fn. 134 moreover agrees that in Marius' own age, which Plutarch is ostensibly writing of, the inference of ethnic affiliation must have been a much more complex matter.

<sup>383</sup> App. *BCiv.* 1.4.29; Cass. Dio 39.49.1-2 with the Rhine separating Γαλάται in the west and Celts in the east, and 44.42.4 much more indistinctively, with the enslavement of Gaul sending Ambrones and Cimbri against the Romans. ZECCHINI 1979, 65-6 notes that such influential Greek historians as Diodorus, Dionysius, Appian, or Cassius Dio do not seem to have accepted the Caesarian division of Germans and Celts along the Rhine. In the case of individuals, a similar confusion could reign: for instance, the early procurator of Gaul, Licinus, was said by Dio (54.21.3: ὁ δὲ δὴ Λίκινος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἦν) to have been a ‘Galates’, but is called a German by the scholiast to Juvenal (*Schol. in Juv. vet. ad* 1.109 WESSNER 11-12: *ex Germania puer captus*); for Licinus and his ruthless money-grabbing when holding his post, see BÉNABOU 1967. For Appian, Germans could plausibly be motivated by a belief in the rebirth of souls in a way that the Caesarian tradition affixed to Gauls: *Celt.* 4 (θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως).

<sup>384</sup> Flor. 3.3 *Cimbri, Teutoni atque Tigurini ab extremis Galliae profugj*; Eutr. 4.10f.

<sup>385</sup> Livy *Per.* 63 *gens vaga*; Flor. 1.45.12 *gens nova*. VALGIGLIO 1955, 6 infers from Florus and Orosius (5.16) that Livy, too, considered the Cimbri as Gauls, which makes sense in that most identifications of Cimbri as ‘Gauls’

perhaps ironic that the ambivalence of ancient sources gave way to a stark certainty in some modern source books as to the precise 'ethnic' affiliations of these wandering peoples.<sup>386</sup>

Whatever the true contribution of Posidonius' work to the ethnographic tradition on the Celts—examined in a separate chapter of its own—his fragments provide glimpses of a nearly contemporary source concerning the impact of the Cimbric invasion on Graeco-Roman attitudes towards the northern barbarians.<sup>387</sup> This is not surprising, considering that he travelled both in Narbonensis and Liguria in the 90s BCE, and headed the Rhodian embassy to Rome in 87-6; he was in a good position to gauge the feelings and narratives occasioned by the recent *tumultus*.<sup>388</sup> The question of what Posidonius wrote about the Cimbri is furthermore complicated by the fact that those citing him were obviously writing at a time when the involvement of the Romans with various northern groups was motivated not only by the new dimensions of the Empire's northern borders, but also by somewhat augmented geographical and ethnographical knowledge, such as the existence of the Jutland peninsula.<sup>389</sup> Most importantly, the alarm aroused by the renewed barbarian threat kept many of the motifs of northern barbarian iconosphere alive until the Caesarian wars of conquest.<sup>390</sup>

It has long been recognized that Caesar uses allusions to the Cimbric invasion in justifying his own involvement in Gaul.<sup>391</sup> First, when faced with the Helvetian delegation requesting passage through Roman territory, he portrays himself as recalling the death of consul Cassius Longinus at the hands of the Tigurini in 107 BCE, with Longinus' army being forced to pass under the yoke.<sup>392</sup> Caesar's rationale for denying the request resembles what Posidonius wrote about the Helvetii: they could not be trusted to resist their urge to pillage the rich lands they would have been traversing. For the Roman audience of the time, to doubt

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derive from early sources (Verr. Flacc. *ap. Fest.* 37; Cic. *Prov. cons.* 13.32, *Orat.* 2.66; Sall. *Iug.* 114.1; Flor. 3.3, and, tellingly, App. *Celt.* 4, *Ill.* 4).

<sup>386</sup> E.g. TOMASCHITZ 2002 includes the sources referring to the participation of the purportedly 'Celtic' Tigurini in the wandering of the Cimbri and Teutones (188-94), but omits the Cimbric manifestations themselves of the trope of a 'people on the move'—influential in narratives of the Cimbri, and drawing even more strength from their *exemplum*. If a modern understanding/construction of 'ethnicities' among ancient groups is projected into the source texts, a sampling on that basis can obscure the dynamics of the literary motifs involved.

<sup>387</sup> Posidonius' view on Cimbri is examined *in extenso* in the same chapter (pp. 180-88).

<sup>388</sup> Cic. *Phil.* 8.3 derived *tumultus* from *timor multus*; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 7.3.25; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 2.485; Isid. *Orig.* 18.1.7.

<sup>389</sup> Also, as his discussion of the Delphic treasure of Tolistobogii and its robbery from Tolosa by Caepio demonstrates, Strabo used Timagenes to augment his reading of Posidonius regarding this period. Pomponius Mela's information of the homeland of the Cimbri near the *sinus Codanus* (3.31) belongs to the same phase of increased precision of northern oceanic topography; cf. also Plin. *HN* 2.167. See e.g. VALGIGLIO 1955, 3-4.

<sup>390</sup> Indeed, if the interpretation of TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 58 is correct regarding the first Roman defeat by the Cimbri in 113 BCE, at least Papirius Carbo, the commander of the Roman expedition to Noreia appears to have acted in a relatively careless way—perhaps indicating that the *metus* of northerners had lessened up until that time.

<sup>391</sup> E.g. by KREMER 1994, with a summing of Caesar's authorial strategy with regard to the contemporary Roman image of Gauls: 258-63. See also HARMAND 1973 (mostly giving an 'ethnographical' description of pre-Caesarian Gaul on the basis of Caesar); GARDNER 1983; BARLOW 1998; KREBS 2006; SCHADEE 2008; OSGOOD 2009.

<sup>392</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 1.7.4-6; also in 1.12.4-6, 30.2; Livy *Epit.* 65.

the extent of self-discipline in a barbarian host appeared as simple prudence. With the Helvetii defeated, another invasive group of northerners is ready to enter the scene. Caesar purports to relay a speech addressed to him by Divitiacus the Aeduan, seeking Roman help against Ariovistus, leader of the *Germani*. The prediction is that without Roman help, all the Gauls would be expelled from Gaul and all the Germans would cross the Rhine (*BGall.* 1.31.11). Caesar has the Aeduan imply that in such a case the Gauls would be forced to seek new lands and become the next wandering group of northerners. Caesar, after responding, explains that he was motivated to help the Aedui by his wish to prevent the Germans from growing accustomed to crossing the Rhine into Gaul, where they would become a danger to Rome (1.33.3-4). The ghosts of the Cimbric wars are heavily present, and Caesar says as much: *neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent*. Northerners could not help their own nature, and must not be allowed temptations.<sup>393</sup>

The *exemplum* of the Cimbric War was made more salient by the fact that prior to Caesar's war in Gaul, the Romans considered the Cimbri and Teutones as Gauls.<sup>394</sup> But for Caesar this could not be so. The ethnographical division along the Rhine was emphasized, and even the Gauls could use the Cimbric wars as an exemplary landmark or horizon of sorts. In his set-piece speech put into the mouth of Critognatus, the Arvernian encourages the besieged Gauls in Alesia to withstand the enemy by the same means by which their forefathers outlasted the Cimbri: by sustaining themselves by cannibalism.<sup>395</sup> Critognatus argues that the current peril is more serious than the Cimbric one: instead of temporary pillage, the Romans mean to conquer the land. This Romanocentric projection of the Cimbric exemplar can work in another way, too. In his far from disinterested description of Belgic fortitude Caesar implies—via the Remi, allies of Rome—that the best testimony to this bravery was the Belgic resistance to the Cimbric invasion. Here, as in other instances, Caesar creates a regime of

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<sup>393</sup> Later, during the civil war between the parties of Marius and Sulla, an outbreak of fire in the Capitol was, at least according to the source of Appian (*BC* 1.83), interpreted as a divine punishment foretelling a ruin for Italy and the fall of the city, though without explicitly mentioning which enemy would be the agent of this. Nonetheless, the combination of internal dissension and a fire in the central sanctuary would no doubt have been interpreted as potentially opening a way for a northern invasion; this would explain why Livy and Tacitus (see p. 242) could still with a relative self-explanatoriness include testimonies of such reactions in their histories, though ultimately connected with different historical circumstances. For their audiences to be able to relate to the sense of religious panic, a some sort of understanding of the historical rationale was probably needed, and the Roman nervousness in the wake of the Cimbric wars seems a plausible factor in propagating such perceptions.

<sup>394</sup> The chronologically closest testimony to the actual events is Sall. *Ing.* 114.1.

<sup>395</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 7.77.12-14. The topical nature of Critognatus' speech is highlighted by observations on the use of the theme of anthropophagy during a siege as a exercise in deliberative oratory (*suasoriae*): RANKIN 1969, 384 with examples. In deciding to avoid Critognatus' advice until all other hope was gone (7.78.1), Caesar's Gauls may in fact be passing a sort of cultural test—revealing their potential to progress.

knowledge where by his interrogation of Gauls, and the extraction of accurate information from them, he is able to bring order and correct judgment to a situation in which the Gallic proliferation of rumours creates confusion and chaos.<sup>396</sup> The drawing of an ethnographic boundary along the Rhine serves partly the same aim, and the 'Germanicity' of Cimbri served as a crucial component in Caesar's agenda.<sup>397</sup>

Cicero, however, still thought of the Cimbri as Gauls—and no wonder, since this was no doubt still the prevalent notion among his Roman contemporaries. In *De provinciis consularibus* he evokes *Gallorum maximas copias*, regarding Caesar's achievements as remarkable in that he has been the first to carry the war into the homelands of these northerners.<sup>398</sup> Cicero demonstrates the possible dynamics of the Roman elite's interaction with Greek theoreticians such as Posidonius: not only was he quite likely to read what was written in Greek about the northerners, but the cultivated members of the elite would also have been the most probable channel between Posidonius and Roman oral traditions. Indeed, one may wonder about the relationship between Cicero's *Tusculan disputations* 3.65 and Posidonian philosophy; in discussing the relationship between true wisdom and the mere appearance of virtue, Cicero gives the example on the one hand of the Greeks, who are not of great courage in battle, but who through wisdom are able to bear illness with manly spirit; on the other the Cimbri and Celtiberians, who excel in battle, but lament when affected by sickness.<sup>399</sup> As we have seen, Posidonius did not shirk from unflattering characterizations of even Greeks, and it is easy to imagine him expressing something so closely approaching the Stoic idea.<sup>400</sup> Even so, to present barbarians as an inversion of all normal moral behaviour need not be anything but a generalized trope.

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<sup>396</sup> Cimbri and Belgae: Caes. *BGall.* 2.4.1ff. Mastering information: e.g. in 4.5.2f. See BERTRAND 1997, 114.

<sup>397</sup> LUND 1990, 94, recapitulating his demonstration that Caesar's definition of *Germani* is purely geographical (cf. also *ibid.* 1991, 1971-74); for the political expediency of such a division see GÜNNEWIG 1998, 9 fn. 7; CHRISTENSEN 2002, 15; AMES 2008, 50-53. WELLS 2011, 211 notes that the Rhine does not conform with any archaeological distinction between groups to the east and west of it. At the very least the ethnonym *Germani* was consolidated into active use by Caesar (who also is the securest first extant user of the ethnonym: LUND 1991, 1964ff.), even if it did not catch immediate acceptance (cf. POLVERINI 2008, 63). Many Greek writers who otherwise were aware and used Caesar's work, did not adopt this distinction immediately, as MAZZARINO 1957, 77 already observed. See p. 121.

<sup>398</sup> Cic. *Prov. cons.* 13.32f. on Gaul having always caused unease in Romans; cf. *Orat.* 2.66. See ROSE 1995, 396f.

<sup>399</sup> This is echoed even on verbal level by Val. Max. 2.6.11 *avara et feneratoria Gallorum philosophia, alacris et fortis Cimbrorum et Celtiberorum, qui in acie gaudio exultabant tamquam gloriose et feliciter vita excessuri, lamentabatur in morbo, quasi turpiter et miserabiliter perituri*. It should be noted that the combination of Cimbri and Celtiberians is essentially the old, familiar pairing of 'Celts and Iberians' met from Plato onwards throughout the history of Greek pseudo-ethnographic references (cf. p. 46 fn. 83, 50).

<sup>400</sup> Not a new idea, but proposed already by PERL 1980, 316. Whereas many older reconstructions of Posidonius' influence and, especially, fragments, are too overconfident overall (cf. the edition of THEILER 1982), in this case some sort of intellectual influence could cautiously be postulated. On the other hand, Posidonius' Stoicism can be used to support the derivation of many different elements from his writings: in the case of the druidic doctrines, see WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 144.

Sallust famously ends his *Bellum Iugurthinum* by reflecting on the impact of the defeat of Q. Servilius Caepio and Cn. Mallius at the hands of Cimbri and Teutones (*Iug.* 114.1). Although Sallust is usually regarded a staunch supporter of Caesar, the barbarian enemies are called Gauls (*advorsum Gallos*).<sup>401</sup> This simply demonstrates that Caesar's ethnographical realignment of the Cimbri did not gain authority overnight. The fear engendered by the defeat is described, rather conventionally, as having gripped the whole of Italy; this is explained by the existential nature of the Romans' wars against Gauls.<sup>402</sup> Cicero, giving his *De provinciis consularibus* in 56 BCE, was on the whole of a similar opinion about the danger posed by the *Galli*. Thus, while Sallust is suspect of echoing Caesarian propaganda, and writing with the hindsight of Caesar's achievements, the arguments were clearly already in place before the subjugation of Gaul, and were shared by Cicero's audience.<sup>403</sup> In *De provinciis*, the vast Gallic area is portrayed as filled by peoples hostile to Romans; moreover, there has never been any Roman who has not thought of the Gauls as the chief source of fear for the empire, or has not wished to subjugate and tame them.<sup>404</sup> The resurgent fear of the northerners, though stemming most immediately from the Cimbric War, was easily transferable on the level of rhetoric to the whole wide array of 'Gauls'. Later, a Sallustian tone can perhaps be detected in Tacitus' *Germania*, which recalls the Cimbric wars in retrospect (the work was published in 98), and compares them to other calamities that Rome had faced.<sup>405</sup> Tacitus enumerates the many consular armies destroyed by Germanic forces, and notes that there is nothing comparable that the East has ever thrown against Romans.<sup>406</sup> Looming behind such perceptions is Caesar's Cimbric 'scare factor'.

Timagenes—preserved by Strabo 4.1.13, who uses both him and Posidonius—was writing during the Augustan era, in what has been thought as a 'philobarbarian' register. He appears to have provided at least some currency to the rather racy version, in which temple

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<sup>401</sup> This seems to astonish PAUL 1984, 257—even though there is little reason to expect Sallust blindly following Caesar's projection of northern identities into the recent past of Rome. As another example, it seems that in Verg. *Ecl.* 1.62 the rhetorical switch between Arar and Tigris only works if Arar was thought to flow in *Germania*—inasmuch as its exact location was very important at all. Certainly, 'Germania' could also be explained as metonymy for Gaul (as done by GETTY 1979, xxxix) but it could hardly work if the northern geography had been of much relevance to the Roman audience.

<sup>402</sup> Sall. *Iug.* 114.1: *alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse, cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare*. Cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.38: *sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret*; also implied in Plut. *Mar.* 1.3, 3.2-3.

<sup>403</sup> Although it has been noted by ROSE 1995, 391 that in terms of general aim, Cicero was in *De provinciis* certainly voicing the overall stance of the triumvirs, however far from his own convictions. This probably does not have much bearing upon the form of the speech, which rather was dictated by the audience.

<sup>404</sup> Cic. *Prov. cons.* 13.33.

<sup>405</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 37. Regarding the publication date of *Germania*: ASH 2006, 30, 48f.

<sup>406</sup> Importantly, and highlighting an authorial strategy that is properly discussed below (cf. p. 248f.), Tacitus casts the uprising of Julius Civilis as a 'Germanic' disturbance in this case. Even during the Imperial tranquillity, the *Germani* still had seized the occasion of Roman discord and civil war, and aimed at the possession of Gaul.



robbery, cursed treasure, and the disgraced Caepiones provided entertaining and moralizing details.<sup>407</sup> Timagenes may actually have attempted to turn the motif of supernatural vengeance, affixed to the Gauls after the Delphic episode, upon the Romans themselves.<sup>408</sup> Strabo in turn prefers the sober assessment of Posidonius which seems to have discouraged attributing Delphic origins to the *aurum Tolosanum*; seeking instead to explain the accumulation of treasures in terms of religious devotion and the fame of the temples at Tolosa (F 273 *ap.* Str. 4.1.13). That Posidonius had opted for a de-mythologizing and relatively balanced assessment of events may be connected with his observational detachment from the Roman experience: he had neither the need to show Romans as temple robbers just as bad as the barbarians (which may have been Timagenes' aim), nor any wish to postulate acts of divine retribution in the actions of northerners.<sup>409</sup> By the time Cassius Dio was writing, however, the Delphic provenance of the treasure seems to have been consolidated despite the scepticism of the Posidonian/Strabonian version.<sup>410</sup> Obviously it made the whole story much more interesting.

In particular the Greek sources demonstrate how slow the Caesarian insistence on 'fixing' the Cimbri was to take root in the face of the entrenched ethnographical notion of the northerners' commonality.<sup>411</sup> The Cimbri are nearly always considered either Celts or Germans; attribution to one or the other of these groups seems largely to depend on the sources used by a given author, with perhaps the time of writing playing an additional though not always significant role. Diodorus is clearly speaking of Gauls in 5.32.2-3, when he switches rather abruptly from describing the women of the Galatae to the ferocity of the northernmost tribes near Scythia, and further (by way of the alleged cannibalism of the British and the inhabitants of the island of Iris: 5.32.3) to the common knowledge (διαβεβοημένης δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς καὶ ἀγριότητος) concerning the warlike Galatian character. According to Diodorus "some say" that the Galatae were the ancient Cimmerians, which name in turn had degenerated into that of Cimbri: in this case the 'some' seems to be Posidonius or someone

<sup>407</sup> The connections of these versions with the Roman internal politics of the 2nd century have been discussed in NACHTERGAEL 1977, 99-107. About the 'filobarbarismo' of Timagenes, SORDI 1979.

<sup>408</sup> Cf. WOOLF 2011A, 75f. If Timagenes was critical towards Rome, this would have been his polemic choice.

<sup>409</sup> Though Posidonius' account of the *aurum Tolosanum* would have preceded that of Timagenes, this surviving example of discrepancies should warn us from regarding Posidonius as the single, insightful and authoritative first witness for things attributed to his works. Thus, WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 145 on Posidonius standing behind Timagenes' Gallic information, and through the latter, Ammianus' excursus, appears simplistic.

<sup>410</sup> Cass. Dio 27.90 *ap. Exc. hist.* 1 c. 2 p. 268.1.

<sup>411</sup> VALGIGLIO 1955, 6-7, with an enumeration of the relevant *loci*. He makes the reasonable distinction between earliest identifications, with Gallic identity prevalent, and the slowly spreading consensus of a Germanic extraction (which, it might be added, was essentially a Caesarian construction). Faulty is only his preconceived notion that by this development Romans 'compresero la verità' (7), and his consequent need to explain away such an inherently hazy expression as Oros. 5.16 (*Cimbri et Teutoni et Tigurini et Ambrones Gallorum Germanorum gentes*), as he attempts to do in p. 8 fn. 8. Orosius may simply be using both ethnonyms in an attempt to gloss over the ambivalent use of both names, as appears to be done in the anonymous *De physiognomonia* 9 ANDRÉ: *hic Celto, id est Germano, est similis*.

else acquainted with his theory of Cimbric origins.<sup>412</sup> They are accused of looting and hybriatic contempt for other nations. After alluding to the sack of Rome and Delphi and immigration to Asia Minor, demonstrating a fairly seamless switch back to unambiguously 'Celtic' groups, Diodorus ends his account by describing their outrageous sacrificial customs (ἀκολούθως δὲ τῇ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀγριότητι καὶ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐκτόπως ἀσεβοῦσι) and widespread homosexuality (5.32.6f.). Criminals destined for sacrifice are held prisoner for five years (a detail apparently derived from Caesar *B Gall.* 1.53.5-7 or from information popularized after his wars); this is followed by the definitely Caesarean motif of a giant pyre (5.32.6). The motif of impaling is likewise mentioned.

Whether or not Diodorus had mined Posidonius for the bulk of his ethnographical details,<sup>413</sup> many of his statements need not be derived from any such single source: rather they are a prime example of the 'tacit knowledge' that was widely shared within the contemporary society. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that Posidonius appears as a strong contender for the 'Cimmerian explanation' of early Cimbric history. Strabo's account of the Cimbric migration comments disapprovingly on earlier theories regarding both the identity of the Cimbri and the reason behind their wanderings. An unnamed writer had told of Cimbri taking up arms against flood-tides, and Ephorus had said that the Celts endured the tidal destructions of their homes as a training in virtue.<sup>414</sup> A side remark is reserved to Cleitarchus, who may have written about either group that not even a horseman could outgallop the rush of the sea. Both earlier writers had discussed the Κελτοί at a time when northern ethnography was insufficiently salient to require much detail, and a good story was always welcome.<sup>415</sup> Strabo clearly prefers both Posidonius' censorship of such tales and his culturally motivated explanation of how the ravaging and wandering Cimbri had reached Lake Maeotis; this is proven by the name of 'Cimmerian Bosphorus' given to that body of water (7.2.2). Strabo further cites Posidonius as providing a comparatively detailed narration of the route taken by

<sup>412</sup> Diod. 5.32.4. Cf. p. 116 above.

<sup>413</sup> Cf. above p. 49 fn. 99 on the possibility of Ephorus being a major source for Diodorus' Celts. In any case, Diod. 5.32.3-6 bears similarity with the more elaborated description in Str. 7.2.3, which similarly is preceded by the speculation about the name of the Cimbri—though this in itself is no proof that the sacrificial descriptions would straightforwardly stem from Posidonius.

<sup>414</sup> Str. 7.2.1-3. But who, one wonders, is behind Amm. 15.9.4 (*Drasidae memorant re vera fuisse populi partem indigenam, sed alios quoque ab insulis extimis conflucisse et tractibus transrhenanis, crebritate bellorum et adlutione fervidi maris sedibus suis expulsos*)? If Timagenes, as in much of the rest of Ammianus' Gallic ethnography, it was a relatively new idea to make Gauls actually leave their homelands in the way that Cimbri were popularly imagined to have done, and to ascribe this theory to the Druids. In this scenario, the discussion about the migration of Cimbri that had been given high profile by Posidonius became in Timagenes harmonised with the Aristotelian speculation, yet with the additional inclusion of the Druids.

<sup>415</sup> Some scholars, such as GRILLI 1986, would like to see the indistinctness of the Εὐρώπη/Κελτική—equation as a relic of an earlier age, attested to by Herodotus and other early sources, and moreover as a reflection of Ἰππεία occupata dai Celti in età più antica (dalla Vistola al Reno), an unnecessary conjecture (*ibid.* 140).

the Cimbri in their European wanderings, as we have seen in the context of Posidonius' enigmatic 'Hyperboreans' in the Alps (see p. 180f. below).

Strabo, even if depending largely upon Posidonius—with the likely addition (both directly and by way of Posidonius) of Roman information and impressions—demonstrates well the stereotypical and general nature of the few extant descriptions of the religiosity of the Cimbri and Teutones. The few such instances concerning this new northern barbarian menace follow conventionally along post-Caesarian lines, and are in accordance with already firmly established notions of what could be expected of northerners.<sup>416</sup> Strabo writes of a sacrificial custom of the oracular priestesses (προμάντιες ἰέρειαι) who accompany the wives of the Cimbri on the war trail.<sup>417</sup> The passage in Strabo is distinguished by KIDD 1988, II 932 from the preceding F 272 of Posidonius, since it is not governed by the earlier φησὶ (7.2.2), but by διηγούνται. Here it is tempting to postulate Roman sources as informing Greek writing. The priestesses are described as barefoot and gray-haired, clad in white cloaks of flax fastened with brooches and girdles of bronze. There is no reason to regard these details as anything other than a mildly archaized garb, appropriate to barbarians but generally close to the models of what the Romans thought their own priestesses of old might have worn. The swords brandished by these oracular women anchor them more closely to the barbarian sphere, as does the sacrificial ritual described next: prisoners of war are crowned with wreaths (a standard Graeco-Roman preparatory act with an animal victim) and are led to a large vessel of bronze mounted on a platform. The women bend the prisoners over the cauldron and cut their throats; the blood acts as the medium from which the prophecy is drawn, while some of the ἰέρειαι split open the bodies and search for omens of victory by a rather conventional *extispicium*.<sup>418</sup> If we ignore the fact that the victims are human and the element of

<sup>416</sup> This is quite understandable in the kind of warlike context where the first contact took place, and can be compared with the sparse mentions of the Celts' rites that the sources to the Delphic attack furnish.

<sup>417</sup> Str. 7.2.3. Both words are standard, and used of Greek female figures involved in prophecy, as well. Regarding the nomenclature of ecstatic vs. technical mantic practitioners, FLOWER 2008, 22-72; BREMMER 2010, 13-16.

<sup>418</sup> This resembles the παράδοξον καὶ ἄπιστον mode of sacrifice described in Diod. 5.31.3 in the midst of his Gallic 'ethnography'. In matters of great concern the Gallic diviners (who are not explicitly the same as the preceding Druids: χρώνται δὲ καὶ μάντεσιν) sacrifice a human by stabbing him above his diaphragm, and tell the future from the twitching of his limbs, his way of collapsing, and the flow of blood. The passage as a whole mentions that Gauls use and revere diviners, to whom all the people is subservient, and that they use auguries (both *alites* and *oscines* to use the Roman terminology) and sacrificial animals to tell the future. Whereas the notion of the bulk of the population being in thrall to the religious specialists who are needed for all rites is probably related to Caes. (*BGall.* 6.14 and 16), and the claim of criminals being reserved for long periods for execution (5.32.6) may be an elaboration of Caes. *BGall.* 1.53.5-7 (with another cross-over between Germani and Galli), the description of modes of prophecy have so much in common with Cicero, Trogus-Justin, and Strabo (4.4.5 among Gauls, 3.3.6 among Lusitanians, and 7.2.3 among Cimbri) that the claim of Diodorus simply following Posidonius—or, indeed, any single source author—in his Gallic ethnography seems even more unlikely than before. The similarities between the human sacrifice of Strabo's Cimbric women and Diodorus' Gallic diviners, moreover, might point to the influence of a much more diffused yet topical set of images regarding the northern

haematomancy (although blood is prominent in descriptions of barbarian 'altars' from at least the Taurian descriptions and Herodotus' Scythians onwards), there is nothing here that a Roman writer could not have concocted on the basis of his own native traditions and prior literary influence (especially the formula of the 'Cimmerian Bosphorus').

Cauldrons are again used by Strabo in a passage which demonstrates an Augustan desire to treat the Cimbri as both an *exemplum* and a symbol of the providential Augustan peace. Before starting the actual F 272 of Posidonius, Strabo 7.2.1 comments on the unlikelihood of inundation theories as the reason for their migration. As his most recent theory Strabo tells his readers that the Cimbri actually still inhabit their original peninsular homeland by the Northern Ocean. In proof of this, Strabo notes that they sent their most sacred cauldron to Augustus as a gift, asking him for friendship and for forgiveness of their people's past wrongs. Augustus, in keeping with his ideology of *renovatio*, is said to have granted their wish, something which is corroborated by his *Res Gestae* (26.4). The earlier, Greek *exemplum* of Alexander meeting with the Celts on the Danube, which probably entered the tradition through Ptolemy I or Aristobulus, can perhaps be suggested as a literary model. Another tendency, exemplified by the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, is the consolidation of Caesar's construction of the Cimbri as a Germanic people (RG 26). And now that the Cimbri had been cast as *Germani*, it became possible for Augustus to use their *exemplum* plausibly in order to gain political leverage from the fears stoked by the *clades Variana*.<sup>419</sup>

Trogus' work may have incorporated certain ideas that had gained currency during the Cimbric Wars, but in his case these have already become enmeshed with the Caesarian 'corrections' with regards to northern ethnography. In Book 38 of the *Philippic Histories*, within a reported speech by Mithridates, Trogus presents the attack of the Cimbri in close connection with the convulsions of the Social War. This is preceded by the Transalpine Gallic invasion of Italy, adduced as an *exemplum* for Mithridates' hopes of victory, for the king had enlisted the fearsome power of the Galatians to his side.<sup>420</sup> The Cimbri, for their part, are

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foes' rituals. One source author, let it be stressed again, is extremely unlikely. According to MARCO SIMÓN (1999, 4) Tac. *Ann.* 14.30 refers to a similar practice of *extispicium* among the Britanni, but the whole passage about the Roman sack of Anglesey is so topical as to call into question such an interpretation; indeed, it is possible that the sacred grove of Nerthus on the island of the Ocean which Tacitus described in *Germ.* 40 may have later helped him to elaborate the Anglesey narrative with topical elements.

<sup>419</sup> TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 239. Cass. Dio 62.1.1-2 tells that to Augustus only a divine wrath could explain the magnitude of the Varian disaster. Augustus' nervousness in what it came to even the already subjugated Gallic area was commented upon by DRINKWATER 1975, 140, and the scoring of easy PR-victories of this kind over the northerners would no doubt have appealed to him, particularly in the wake of the *clades Variana*. BENARIO 1985 on the personified blame upon Varus.

<sup>420</sup> Just. 38.4.6-15. See also DEMOUGEOT 1978, 936 and fn. 132. This imaginary rationale of Rome's enemies is close to the motif of *coniuratio barbarica*, which since the Second Punic War (Hannibal is referred to in 38.4.6) had

described as *immensa milia ferorum atque inimitium populorum*, originating in Germania and inundating Italy *more procellae* (38.4.15). Especially at a time of internal Italian turmoil, the notion of a northern invasion penetrating through the Alps would have appeared a terrifying prospect for the Roman elite. The increased epistemic centrality of the Alps as a conceptual border after the Cimbric Wars (see p. 180) is a far from unique development in antiquity, and Roman attention had already been directed to the northern borders of Italy on several previous occasions.<sup>421</sup> Along with the resurgence of by the notion of the Alps as the protective wall of Italy, perhaps the most enduring conceptual heritage left by the Cimbric invasion would have been the *furor Cimbricus* or *Teutonicus* that we still find in Lucan and Juvenal.<sup>422</sup>

Trogus implies that the defeat of Servilius Caepio at the hands of the Cimbri (105 BCE) was a supernatural punishment for his pillaging of the sacred treasure of the Tectosages, originally from Delphi.<sup>423</sup> On the one hand, the narrative continues the motif of the cursed treasure—a curse was apparently perceived as afflicting the spoils taken from Delphi by the Gauls; on the other hand, the fact that Caepio was prosecuted for sacrilege and banished, may attest to an unease felt by that the Romans regarding the close conjunction of Caepio's venality at Tolosa and the onslaught of the Cimbri and Teutones.<sup>424</sup> Trogus, who seems to have portrayed most of Gallic history rather more sympathetically than most of his predecessors or contemporaries, actually describes the Gauls as being able to deflect the curse of their sacrilegious gold by correctly interpreting an oracular response and rededicating the treasure by the appropriate rites.<sup>425</sup> Indeed, elsewhere (24.4.3) Trogus notes that the Gauls were particularly adept (*praeter ceteros callent*) in augury—something that his contemporaries might have found surprising. It has been argued that underlying some of the elements in Caepio's story is political factionalism among Roman families: as a member of the 'old elite',

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been an easily resurfacing element in the Roman elite's thinking of foreign threats. Cf. App. *BCiv.* 1.83 on the Roman fear that the Capitoline fire of 83 BCE would lead to an invasion of Italy and the ruin of Rome.

<sup>421</sup> On the Alps as conceptual border in Middle Republican sources: WILLIAMS 2001, 55ff., 78, 132, 180. A Late Antique parallel elucidating the epistemic significance of mountain barriers, especially when they are compromised, is the pronounced presence of the Caucasus (breached by the Huns in 390-1) in Orosius' *Historia*, for which see MERRILLS 2005, 87. Structurally we are dealing with a kind of 'Wellsian shock', if such an anachronous term is allowed in the context of Late Imperial historiography.

<sup>422</sup> On the Alps, see p. 174 fn. 31, 175f. with examples; in Livy, too, judging by Flor. 1.38 *per Alpes, id est claustra Italiae*. That operations against Cimbri and Teutones were much affected by the Alps, is borne out in the resume of campaigns by VALGIGLIO 1955, 16-19. For the later instances of *furor*, Lucan 1.254; Juv. 15.124.

<sup>423</sup> Just. 32.3.8-11, seen by RICHTER 1987, 212 to derive from Posidonius; this is probably not the case, since Posidonius expressly reasoned against the alleged Delphic provenance of the treasure: F 273 *ap. Str.* 4.1.13.

<sup>424</sup> Although Livy's literary construction of Roman impiety triggering a barbarian 'corrective' tumult is, obviously, later than the Cimbric debacle, the structural pattern itself used by Livy may well stem from Roman feelings that were current already at the early first century BCE. Of the prosecution of Caepio: Gell. *NA* 3.9.7; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.74; Just. 32.3.9-11; Oros. 5.15.25.

<sup>425</sup> Just. 32.3.9-10: *Tectosagi autem, cum in antiquam patriam Tolosam venissent comprehensisque pestifera lue essent, non prius sanitatem recipere quam aruspicum responsis moniti aurum argentumque bellis sacrilegisque quaesitum in Tolosensem lacum mergerent, quod omne magno post tempore Caepio Romanus consul abstulit.*

Caepio may have been over-conscious of his need to take a stand against northerners, and certainly his refusal to collaborate with Mallius Maximus at Arausio may have had something to do with this—as may his charging without orders.<sup>426</sup> At the very least, it should be noted that the politicization of barbaromachy continued to be a powerful trait among the Roman elite even at a time when Greek writers began to be rather more oblivious to it. Notably, both Timagenes and Trogus wrote after Caesar's wars, and may reflect a certain resurgent eagerness on the part of elite Roman families to debate their respective merits in fighting the Gauls.<sup>427</sup>

The interpretation of the Cimbric menace as an act of divine retribution was still current around the time Livy wrote, as demonstrated by Trogus' treatment of Caepio.<sup>428</sup> It is therefore quite possible that the famously prominent theme of divine ire against the Romans and their reacquired favour that permeates Livy's Book 5 was suggested to him by contemporary currents of thought. After Livy, the idea of a providential victory over the northern invaders was part of the narrative package not only about the temporally remote Gallic invasion, but also about the much more recent Cimbric one. If Valerius Maximus is not exaggerating when he writes that the arrival in Rome of the news concerning Marius' victory over the Cimbri made people pour libations to him as to the gods themselves (8.15.7), we have another instance where the northern barbarian threat (more precisely, its being averted) results in what might perhaps be called extreme acts of religious behaviour.<sup>429</sup> Earlier on, Valerius provides another good example of dealing with the western and northern barbarian groups (Gauls, Cimbri, and Celtiberians) as some sort of meaningful assemblage (2.6.11). Plutarch famously remarks that Marius was hailed as the third founder of Rome through an explicit association with the Gallic attack.<sup>430</sup> Plutarch also hints at the care that Marius took

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<sup>426</sup> TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 65f.

<sup>427</sup> The patrician backlash, again highlighting their barbaromachic pedigrees, may to a certain extent have also been triggered by the victories over Cimbri and Teutones by Marius, a *novus homo*, who then could tap into the glorificatory *exemplum* of Camillus. GAERTNER 2008 explores the possibility that the refashioning of Camillus into a pious 'second founder' of Rome, the most providentially located city in Italy, could have had something to do with Cicero's post-exilic rhetorical self-presentation (42-48). If so, Cicero in the 60s may have emulated a trope already tested by another *novus homo* before him; cf. TAKÁCS 2009, 34f.

<sup>428</sup> Unfortunately the extant books of Livy do not cover the time period in question, so inferences from contemporaries and the *Periochae* are our only guide. *Per.* 67 points to Livy's use of (at least) Valerius Antias as the source for these events. Caepio's possessions are called *damnati bona*, but this should not be over-interpreted.

<sup>429</sup> Cic. *Pron. cons.* 32 demonstrates how close the cult of personality of Marius came to pretensions of divinity: *ipse ille C. Marius, cuius divina atque eximia virtus magnis populi Romani luctibus funeribusque subvenit, influentis in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit*, though obviously rhetorical and implying an even greater achievement by Caesar. Among the more conventional religious obligations, it may be relevant that after his victory over the Cimbri and Teutones Marius dedicated a temple to the same pair of divinities (Honos and Virtus: Fest. 344 M; Vitruv. 3.2.5) that Marcellus had honoured after defeating the Insubres at Clastidium. Maybe these personifications, in themselves suitable for all commemoration of military victories, had become a minor tradition in themselves within the Roman conceptions of what was needed to triumph over the northerners.

<sup>430</sup> Plut. *Mar.* 27.9. That the Galatian torso from the 'Agora of the Italians' on Delos seems to be a product of the first century BCE (HANNESTAD 1993, 27 n. 63), could perhaps be interpreted in connection with the Roman

not to usurp wholesale the prerogative of triumphing over the northerners: he expressly declined the wish of the populace to celebrate two triumphs for the battle of Vercellae, instead giving his rival Lutatius Catulus the credit due him (27.10). Not that this prevented their eventual falling-out.

There might also be attempt by outsiders to take advantage of the religious *metus* aroused in the Romans by the Cimbri. Diodorus (36.13.3) and Plutarch (*Mar.* 17.5-6) record the embassy to Rome by Battaces, the high priest of Cybele at Pessinous, who according to Diodorus arrived in 102 to demand acts of expiation for an offence against the Magna Mater Deum. In Plutarch's version he claimed to be able to ensure Roman victory over the invading barbarians, and the senate voted to dedicate a shrine to her.<sup>431</sup> Diodorus relays a particular charge of defilement of the goddess' temple, and the demand that purification should come from the state. It is conceivable that Roman nervousness in cases where religious lapses coincided with northern defeats was so well known that the priest-elite of the temple state thought they might get away with a bit of officially funded refurbishing.<sup>432</sup> Diodorus describes how Battaces' rich garb and outlandish accessories immediately put off the Romans; despite this, he was able to create a mood of religious awe in the population of the city. Asked for details about his promise, he continues his attempts to evoke holy dread; this time, however, Aulus Pompeius, a tribune, gets irritated and sends Battaces back to his lodgings. Immediately afterwards Pompeius is seized by a fierce fever, which three days later claims his life; an incident which is said to have affected the crowds profoundly.<sup>433</sup> The priest is granted special permission regarding his royal outfit, he is laden with gifts, and is escorted upon his departure by a large mass of the populace. One wonders whether his gamble could have been pulled off during a less religiously hysterical time; especially as the Roman elite apparently was in this case compelled to take into account the feelings of the majority.

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generals of the 2nd and 1st centuries exhibiting a clear desire to be associated as the defenders of Greece from the savage northerners. STEWART 2004, 236 makes the suggestion that it might be connected with Marius' victories of 102/1 over the northern invaders, which in relation to its find location seems a plausible possibility, though MARSZAL 2000, 216 is unconvinced.

<sup>431</sup> Battaces' prediction of Roman victory over the Cimbri (Plut. *Mar.* 17.5). VIRGILIO 1981, 123 fn. 329 remarks that this element of prophesying a Roman victory may be influenced by the tradition of a Pessinuntean prophecy about Vulso's victory over the Galatians (see p. 220 fn. 212).

<sup>432</sup> For other hypotheses about Battaces' intentions see VIRGILIO 1981, 124. The conflicting interests of Roman taxation and the traditional rights of local priesthoods (see GORDON 1990B, 241) may also have been a factor.

<sup>433</sup> Diod. 36.13.2f.; Plut. *Mar.* 17.5-6.

#### 4. SCIONS OF HERACLES, ENEMIES OF THE GODS: EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGIOSITY DOWN TO THE CIMBRIC WARS

##### a. EPISTEMIC FOUNDATION OF RELIGIOUS 'BOREALISM'

As we have seen, the iconosphere of northern barbarography was in many ways an older construct than the Celtic attack on Delphi. Some of its elements had been developing since the Homeric epic, and Herodotus' contributions to the assemblage of ideas were to prove extremely influential.<sup>434</sup> When it comes to the religious components of the northern iconosphere, however, the Delphic experience and its aftermath did shape the subsequent tradition in a fundamental way. It would be simplifying to regard 'the Celts' as somehow archetypal barbarians, but they were undeniably important carriers of many signifying motifs of northern barbarism. Here I attempt a thematic charting of the earlier Graeco-Roman strata of religiously articulated or morally expressed northern barbarography. I first review the common Graeco-Roman epistemic foundation underlying descriptions of northerners and their religiosity, followed by a more particular examination of three prominent themes: the mythical, aetiological and exemplary significance of Heracles-Hercules; the triumphalistic propaganda which fused religiously tinged imagery with politics both in the Hellenistic monarchies and in Rome; and lastly, the influential assemblage of images which connected the spoliation of sanctuaries, divine epiphany, and the extraordinary need for piety induced by the threat of the northerners. Together, all these themes coalesced in a common literary heritage of religious barbarography which served the cultured elite of both Greece and Rome as 'good to think with'—for a remarkably long time.

The ease with which most of the literary topoi on the religiosity of northern barbarian groups could be so freely applied to Thracians, Scythians, Celts, Germans, Celtiberians and other groups, stems from the structural plausibility of the epistemic regime they represented. This also explains their long life, in conjunction with the formal traditionalism of most of ancient literature and the consequent stability of the way ethnographical information was treated. The same familiar traits were available when any new outgroup from the European continent became salient in the Greek consciousness: first the Scythians, then to some extent

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<sup>434</sup> The enduring power of Herodoteanisms has been noted, for instance, by NORDEN 1922, 48-53; MOMIGLIANO 1958; MURRAY 1972, 202-13; HARTOG 1988, 370-77; MATTHEWS 1989, 334; CHRIST 1993; MERRILLS 2005, 18, 283.



the Κελτοί and Ἰβηρες,<sup>435</sup> then certainly the Γαλάται, and later a range of associated groups which in the course of historical development were encountered in the context of the Roman Empire. The Romans, for their part, largely co-opted—or purposefully appropriated—the terms of discourse along with much of Greek historiographical and rhetorical teaching. The existence of a 'borealistic' assemblage of imagery was enough to condition the input from any new relationship between the Greeks or Romans and barbarian groups.<sup>436</sup>

As noted by WILLIAMS 2001, 219, prejudice requires nothing more than plausibility in order to prosper; in this sense the borealistic 'what-is-known' becomes epistemically hegemonic when it interacts with the realities of meeting with new societies. In ethnography and geography the limits of plausibility can become stretched; and while reverence towards literary forebears and received information is ubiquitous, many writers were engaged in describing the geographical locales of the former 'edges'. The expansion of Rome would have highlighted this need. The Ocean would remain a mysterious and 'open' domain, but in the west teratological creatures and 'natural wonders' were replaced to a large extent by ethnographical elements.<sup>437</sup> In terms of the two subtypes of barbarian defamiliarization, the technique of 'hybridization' was replaced by the 'anomaly of absence'.<sup>438</sup> Like half-the trope of men-half-animals, this superficially 'ethnographical' mode questioned the full humanity of foreign groups by describing their combination of ostensibly 'Hellenic' cultural traits with others that were considered bestial by Graeco-Roman audiences. Like the hairless, headless or one-legged monstrosities, some barbarians lacked institutions or *mores* which were seen as fundamental to proper human existence. The term ἐξωκεανίζειν might be applied to this tendency to locate the most astonishing τεράστια at the utmost corners of the world.<sup>439</sup>

To point out that the religious practices of such far-off, teratologically described groups are structured around the themes of lack and/or excess is, no doubt, quite true; but such a statement is too broad to possess much explanatory power. Indeed, it does not say

<sup>435</sup> For the classicizing pairing of Κελτοί and Ἰβηρες, see p. 46, 142 fn. 489, 232 fn. 270, 298 fn. 7, 316 fn. 61.

<sup>436</sup> For 'borealism', see KREBS 2011B and above p. 14; for understanding the consequent manifestations in the written records as 'septentriography', see p. 14f. in the Introduction.

<sup>437</sup> Caesar's nod towards the traditional themes in describing the fauna of the Hercynian forest (*BGall.* 6.25-8) may be seen as one of the last attempts of find marvels of nature in the west; though from this should be excepted the treatises on the Ocean. On the other hand, the 'teratological compass' was also realigned by Caesar in the European continent: the north-eastern direction became the most promising one for outlandish things.

<sup>438</sup> The teratological 'monsters' are divided in these two types by LENFANT 1999, 207.

<sup>439</sup> See ROMM 1992, 187-96. LOVEJOY & BOAS 1935, for a long time the benchmark study of, among other themes, the 'primitivism' of far-off barbarian peoples, could not very compellingly account for the theme of τεράστια within the paradigm of their (otherwise still partly applicable) model of 'soft' and 'hard' primitivism (7-11). Indeed, the characterization of the Herodotean Issedones (4.26.2), who seem to mix these two modes in their treatment of the dead, demonstrates that in paradoxographic accounts of the ultimate inhabitants of the dynamics is less clear-cut than they thought. Cf. also BROWN 1955; GOMBRICH 1966; HARBSMEIER 2010, 284-89.

much as to whether northerners in particular were perceived as possessing any specifically idiosyncratic traits in common. During the period prior to the Cimbric Wars, however, the cluster of imagery demonstrating the idea of practicing a barbarized, faulty or nefarious form of religion was comparatively simple. It appears to have been structured around the motifs of human sacrifice, harsh morals, non-conventional methods of burial, absence of divine representations, and hostility towards Mediterranean religion. Some of these elements even coloured Hellenistic speculation about barbarian philosophers.<sup>440</sup>

Human sacrifice is no doubt one of the most frequently used and damning religious motifs in all negative portrayals of outgroups.<sup>441</sup> Though also met with in Greek myths, the thought pattern of perceiving imagined cultural traits of one's ancestors still being practiced by contemporary barbarian groups allowed the proliferation of this motif in connection with Thracians, Scythians, and Celts. Hand in hand with the idea of human sacrifice goes that of the eating of human flesh. Herodotus' Book 4 was indubitably rather influential here, too: not only are the Issedones described as ritually devouring their parents, but the Androphagi exhibit a more stereotypical cannibalism. Analogously, the Hyperboreans, with their piety and pacifism, exhibit an equally thaumasiographic religiosity among the northerners—a group characteristic which contrasts with the surrounding peoples; this could have influenced certain traits of later descriptions of some northern groups (see p. 197, 254, 290, 310 fn. 46).

The harsh morality of the northerners was probably suggested to the Greeks by the bleak northern climate, and was easy to combine with almost all other stereotypes concerning their religious propensities. This notion seems particularly to lie behind the motif of dipping newborn infants in a cold river.<sup>442</sup> Burial methods and their perceived lack (as in Pausanias), on the other hand, could perhaps be combined with the ascription to the northerners of a very primitive material level of religion. Here the absence of anthropomorphic representations of the gods is perhaps the most relevant element. A few references to the northerners' simple religious structures are already found, such as the sword-topped pile of wood which serves both as the structural basis of the Scythians cult of Ares, and as the most defining symbol of Scythian religion (Hdt. 4.62). On the other hand, the perceived unemotional attitude of the northerners towards their own dead comrades could also be a consequence of this general

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<sup>440</sup> One example of the harshness of even most famous northern barbarian philosophers is Diod. 9.26.2-5, where Anacharsis the Scythian demonstrates to Croesus that the most savage animals are also the ones most deserving admiration because of their freedom and natural state.

<sup>441</sup> MARCO SIMÓN 1999, 1 with bibliography, 5 fn. 36 with some relevant ancient *loci*; *ibid.* 2007, 158f.; RIVES 1995, who is particularly strong about the accusations of human sacrifice and the concomitant 'magic' as a label for 'internal enemies': 70-90; SHAW 2000, e.g. 387; BONFANTE 2011A, 13f.

<sup>442</sup> See 86f., 231f., 239 fn. 293, 288 fn. 481.

moral harshness. Hostility towards the Greek gods, cults, and temples naturally appears after the episode at Delphi, and becomes one of the most eagerly appropriated motifs among the Romans. This element could be explained in part by the lack of such religious paraphernalia among the northerners; how, then, could the barbarians appreciate and revere sacred buildings and holy images? In effect, the epistemic 'borealism' in the minds of the audience fit in easily with that important component of the topos of the *urbs capta*, the sacking of temples.<sup>443</sup> The barbarian greed for gold, often morally condemned, was certainly an important factor as well; nor can it be doubted that temples were in fact an attractive target for raiding bands.<sup>444</sup>

One apparent absence from this early assemblage of images would seem to be the close association with woodland and holy groves. In connection with continental barbarians, this element apparently became a prominent theme only in the wake of Rome's closer involvement in Transalpine Gaul—perhaps as late as after Caesar's Gallic wars. From here, the motif could have been retrospectively applied to earlier instances; with the conjunction of Caesar's influential description of the Druids and older references to the Hyperboreans as living in groves (and the Argippaei under their respective trees, Hdt. 4.23), the tradition of the northerners' religion as centred upon holy woods would have emerged considerably strengthened. Although stereotypically conventional, the notion was undoubtedly entirely plausible—after all, there were holy groves aplenty among the Greeks and Romans, and since forests were a much more prominent feature of the landscape up north, it was only natural to suppose the primitive and unnerving religion of the northerners to take place in close connection with them.<sup>445</sup> Since the theme truly came into its own only after Caesar, it will be taken up later in this thesis (e.g. p. 197, 228 fn. 251, 237, 284ff., 287-90).

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<sup>443</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 8.68 notes that setting fire to houses and temples is a good motif for the speaker to engender pathos, while 8.69 reminds the orator to refer to a wholesale *profanorum sacrorumque direptio*.

<sup>444</sup> Since no religious system can easily accommodate the notion of their divinities passively allowing their own sanctuaries to be despoiled, the motif of a celestial punishment of the marauders is not only widespread, but structurally necessary. Yet here, too, the use of the trope was prefigured by the Herodotean *exemplum* of Enarees suffering from a divine retribution because of their sacking of Aphrodite's sanctuary: Hdt. 1.105.2-4, 4.67.2.

<sup>445</sup> The theme of tree worship is used in a moralizing fashion, famously, by Hdt. 7.31 (cf. Ael. *VH* 2.14), but as the story is connected with the Persian king, it need not be considered here. Reverence towards trees was not as such a marker of barbarism (cf. the *Ficus Ruminalis* on the Forum: Plin. *HN* 15.77), but the northerners' practice was far from either singular holy trees in sacred locales, or from the holy groves of classical sanctuaries. The Roman view of their own sacred or oracular woods (such as that from which Aius Locutius emanated, or locales associated with Faunus) did, however, include quite consistently associations of deep age and archaic ritual life: BRIQUEL 1993 *passim*. As demonstrated by SCHEID 1993, the *lucus* could be an unsettling and somewhat liminal place even when it was located in a 'Roman' landscape (17-20), ostensibly as a part of 'ingroup' religiosity. This can be compared to a certain extent with the Greek and Roman way of relating to their own furthest past: it was a savage, incomprehensible setting that bore striking similarity with the barbarians of the present (ROMM 1992, 47; EVANS 2008, 80-7, 148-50; on Romans CORNELL 1995, 59; cf. some comparable dynamics noted in HALL 2005, 263). In the case of contemporary (mostly imaginary) barbarian groves, the 'soft archaism' was replaced

Yet it is not only a disregard towards religion that the Gauls of literature exhibit from the Hellenistic era onwards; in many instances their actions are also motivated by intense superstition; as for example when Polybius describes the Galatian mercenaries of Attalus as refusing to continue their march after witnessing a lunar eclipse near the Megistus river in Mysia.<sup>446</sup> The notion of superstitious behaviour towards natural phenomena and omens seems to stand in stark contrast with the northerners' proverbial (since Aristotle) bravery, which leads them to resist even forces of nature. This duality of barbarian reactions is mostly explained by the template of 'lack and excess', while gullibility—essentially, inability to read the divine will correctly—is a stock motif in many iconospheres of a hostile character. The practical appeal of this trait was no doubt clear to Hellenistic writers: while the royal elite of the age found the theme of providential help from the gods quite suitable for their purposes, many historians sought to explain their feats by appealing to the superstitious fear that easily took hold of the unstable and foolish barbarians. With the increased presence of northern barbarians in the historiography of the Hellenistic and Roman eras, it is hardly surprising that this theme is much more in evidence. Not only did the barbarians increasingly take part in the actions described, but descriptions of their partaking could be made to serve several narrative and propagandistic aims. The passage in Polybius, for instance, uses the motifs of Gauls travelling (even when employed as mercenaries) with their families and wagons—a true people on the move, as we have seen above—and the constant threat of their switching sides.<sup>447</sup> It may have been comforting for the Hellenistic Greeks to know that such dangerous subordinates could be controlled at least through the manipulation of omens.

When not crippled by superstition, and definitely when at liberty to pursue their faulty religiosity, northerners were often characterized by their *ferocia*.<sup>448</sup> Though not a religious element in itself, to Greeks and Romans *ferocia* explained the barbarian propensity to underperform in most other aspects of their culture, aside from warfare. *Ferocia* as a characteristic of northern barbarians has been examined to a certain extent in the earlier

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with a 'hard' one—to borrow the dichotomy of LOVEJOY & BOAS 1935. On the forested localities of northern religion imparting a prominent similarity between 'Gallic' and 'Germanic' religiosities: MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 156.

<sup>446</sup> Polyb. 5.78. Another Galatian mindful of omens, though with a positive moral assessment: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.27 on king Deiotarus' acts being dictated by omens. In the case of occasional superstitiousness in following omens, we are probably dealing with a case of Graeco-Roman observations being conditioned by the shared belief that such behaviour was to be expected and prepared for when dealing with Galatians.

<sup>447</sup> The Polybian ethnographical assemblage about the Gauls is condensed in BERGER 1992, 113-15; about their faithlessness, e.g. *ibid.* 119-20. For the tradition of topically representing 'the Celts' as a migrating people, see the passages collected in TOMASCHITZ 2002—something that should alert students of historical processes to the pitfalls of using the trope of 'people on the move' to draw any firm conclusions.

<sup>448</sup> Among the Greek terms used in a similar way are ἀγριότης (e.g. Polyb. 9.24.5; Diod. 5.32.4, 6; Str. 7.1.2, 3.6) and the adjectival θηριώδης (e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1145A; Diod. 3.56.3, 9.26.5; Str. 3.3.8, 4.16f.).

scholarship.<sup>449</sup> Perhaps the most monumental contribution giving particular attention to this element has been DAUGE 1981, a study that for all its learning and detailed categorization manages to over-simplify the image of the barbarian around the dual motifs of *feritas* and *vanitas*, to which all other characteristics are subordinate. Certainly, the religiosity of the barbarians as an assemblage of literary stereotypes was connected with the *ferocia* or *feritas* of those groups, but this is far from the whole story: *feritas* as a barbarian trait could hardly by itself sustain the intense existential fear displayed in particular by our Roman sources. This reaction was undoubtedly heightened by the Cimbric wars, but some of its manifestations are of older origin and were not simply part of the cultural-political posturing and jostling for the prestige of providentiality.

Both Justin and Livy allude to the great fear engendered in the Greeks by the *Galli* of the Balkans and Asia Minor. Trogus, his epitomator Justin, or perhaps already Trogus' source (who may have been Duris) reported that the very name of the *Galli* motivated even unmolested monarchs to buy peace from the ravagers.<sup>450</sup> Livy, in describing conditions in Western Asia before the campaign of Manlius Vulso against the Galatians, states that the Galatians had influence on their neighbours (*omnibus quae cis Taurum incolunt gentibus*) through the fear they inspired in them. He adds that the terror of their fame, together with their burgeoning numbers, compelled even the Seleucids to appease them through tribute.<sup>451</sup> But is this fear that of their sources and the era they are describing, or does it stem from the insecurities and inherited notions of their own age, or perhaps both? Livy's sources for Vulso's campaign include Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias, both of whom he cites in support of the figures for slain Gauls. Both writers would have benefited from portraying the Greeks as intensely afraid of the northerners; but since the same is stated already by Polybius, it is best to consider the whole issue a heavily politicized one, and subject to rhetorical emphasis and elaboration.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>449</sup> For a case study on Livy's use of *ferocia*, see PEYRE 1970; for *ferocia* and *feritas* generally, DAUGE 1981, 428-31.

<sup>450</sup> If this expression was paired already in Trogus or his source with the following moralizing assessment of Ptolemy Ceraunus, we are probably dealing with a propagandistic Hellenistic structure which is meant to highlight Ceraunus' senseless character, possibly addled by *parricidiorum Furiis* (Just. 24.3.10, 4.8). Duris was suggested as Trogus' source by RICHTER 1987, 121-3, 211; he could be a suitably moralizing commentator of Hellenistic politics around Asia Minor.

<sup>451</sup> Livy 38.16.10-13; cf. Just. 25.2. On the Gallic fecundity, a derivative of the 'numberless northerners' trope: cf. p. 35 fn. 32, 75 fn. 217, 245, 260 fn. 380, 271 fn. 423.

<sup>452</sup> Quadr. F 67 CHASSIGNET *ap. loc. cit.*. In such cases, the layers of annalistic material in Polybius, and his subsequent recirculation and reworking by Livy (in addition to his own direct use of the annalists) complicates the reconstruction of components leading to the extant form of narrative: see BRISCOE 1973, 470f.

Polybius, though commenting on the Greek fear of the Celts, is clearly presenting the Roman fear of a Gallic invasion as a prominent motivation for their political decisions before and during the Second Punic War.<sup>453</sup> Apparently the later Greek writers became fascinated by the idea that a barbarian people, so long ago conquered, could influence Roman actions through fear. Plutarch (*Marc.* 3) explains the bizarre sacrifice at the Forum Boarium by the Roman fear of the Celts.<sup>454</sup> The famous statement in Appian, that priests and old men were exempt from military service except in the case of Gallic *tumultus*, bears out the way in which the intense Roman fear had entered the literary tradition—besides being a valuable source for a reaction that tangentially approaches religiosity.<sup>455</sup> If we consider the sentiment genuine, it would appear that a Gallic *tumultus* was regarded as existential from a remarkably early date, as also attested by Cicero *Phil.* 8.3 (*itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticum, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimum, praeterea nullum nominabant*). In discussing the duel of Torquatus and the Gaul, Livy explains the existence at the time of a dictator by the ongoing Gallic war—*magis ut belli Gallici causa dictatorem creatum arbitrer inclinatus animus* (7.9.6); he goes on to record the (not necessary historical) action by Quinctius Poenus of administering the oaths to every youth of military age in order to bolster the Roman army. A back-projection, in all likelihood, but a telling one.

That a collective *metus* was a social or historiographical construction rather than a spontaneous reaction seems quite likely—after all, much of the other Roman thinking about the conflict with the Gauls had become enmeshed with politics.<sup>456</sup> Principal among the contributions that de-emphasize the fear felt by the Romans towards the Gauls of Northern Italy is HARRIS 1979; he regards the strong religious reactions to the barbarian threat as stemming from internal Roman factors, and argues for a consciously aggressive policy on the

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<sup>453</sup> Polyb. 2.22.7-11; cf. 2.13.1-7, 21.7-9. For well expressed scepticism towards (at least Livian) expressions of Roman terror as a motivation for military action, see HARRIS 1979, 176 n.1; indeed, LUCE 1971, 152ff. pointed out the amount of rhetorical exaggeration in Livy's narrative, especially in descriptions of Roman reactions to Gauls (in Book 5). Considering Polybius' likely sources among the Roman elite (VAAHTERA 2000, 262f.) there would have been ample opportunities for him to encounter politicized arguments taking advantage of Rome's success against the Gauls.

<sup>454</sup> See below p. 160ff. This ancient conjecture has been followed by some modern scholars, e.g. see CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 191f. TWYMAN 1997, 7 suggests that the motif of fear as the Romans' motivation stems from Fabius Pictor, which is not impossible in the light of his apparent description of the Roman emotions when faced with the Gallic host at Telamon. VÁRHELYI 2007, 281ff. interprets the victims' identities to symbolically represent Rome's former enemies, and the ritual as one meant to ward off hostile spirits of vengeance (298ff.).

<sup>455</sup> App. *BCiv.* 2.150; Plut. *Cam.* 41.7. BELLEN 1985, 11; KREMER 1994, 62-8; both are criticized as too innocent by GRUEN 2011A, 146, who considers *metus Gallicus* a 'convenient ploy' used in politicized writing. Also MOMIGLIANO 1975, 64.

<sup>456</sup> See JACOBS 2010, 123-26 on the Roman internal debate about the benefits of *metus hostilis*.

part of the Senate already in the 230s BCE.<sup>457</sup> No doubt the 'Gallic threat' in the form of *tumultus* was an artefact of Roman perception (and possible elite manipulation), and so to some extent was the *metus* which such occasions were said to generate. Even so, aggressive policy and intense fear surely need not be mutually exclusive, and legitimating back-projections can only be effective if they are believable to at least some extent.<sup>458</sup> The long-standing notion of northerners as being particularly fecund and numerous should also be taken into account: if this was 'commonly known' about the Gauls, it is not surprising that an attempt to bolster this supposed numerical inequality was attempted on the part of the Romans.<sup>459</sup> At least according to Polybius, the strength of the Gallic host before Telamon was a major source of panic—but the fact that it was a pan-Italian panic is no doubt a projection of Roman notions of hegemony.<sup>460</sup> It is possible, however, that the Roman eagerness since the battle of Sentinum to swell the ranks of citizens able to serve in the army (remarked upon by ROSENSTEIN 2012, 82 with references) may partly be explained by the Gallic menace—or, to read it slightly less innocently, was justified with reference to the Gallic menace by the Roman elite (at least to the Italian communities in the midst of which colonies were planted, portions of which were granted citizenship *sine suffragio*).

During the Augustan era the expression of the Roman fear of the Gauls takes on a certain formulaic character, almost proverbiality: *Gallorum autem nomen, quod semper Romanos terruit*.<sup>461</sup> To be sure, not all of the Republican Roman fear of the Gauls need be a historically accurate reflection of past attitudes; most of our sources were writing after the even more alarming (and recent) troubles with the Cimbri and Teutones, which had brought new salience

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<sup>457</sup> HARRIS 1979, 198 fn. 4 depends upon the interpretation of CICHORIUS 1922 of the famous human sacrifices in the Forum Boarium as solely stemming from the Vestal trials and the consequent religious unease (which in itself has been recognized as unsatisfactory: cf. ECKSTEIN 1982, 71).

<sup>458</sup> Moreover, HARRIS 1979, 211 does admit that certain expressions of fear as a Roman policy motivator, such as in Polyb. 18.11.2 (for year 197) may 'offer a genuine insight into the Roman attitude.' On other occasions (*ibid.* 193) it seems reasonably clear that Romans simply justified their initiation of hostilities by the common trope of a 'Gallic invasion', which in the case of Polyb. 2.21.1-6, Zonar. 8.18 is claimed suspiciously to have fragmented already at Ariminum.

<sup>459</sup> In Livy 24.47.7 the Gauls are motivated into action by the perceived paucity of Roman numbers.

<sup>460</sup> Polyb. 2.23.7-12. The Gallic numbers in 225 are discussed in ROSENSTEIN 2012, 72f. A pan-Italian effort of mobilizing against the Gauls is relayed by Eutr. 3.5 and Oros. 4.13.6-7, which CHASSIGNET classes as Pictor F 30A-B. Plut. *Marv.* 8.6 implies that the Roman propaganda following the victory was likewise addressed to a wide selection of Italian communities.

<sup>461</sup> Just. 38.4.9; cf. Sall. *Ing.* 114. CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 192 interpreted the increasingly formulaic nature of the Late Republican and Early Imperial references in terms of the '*metus Gallicus*' disappearing, conflating this with the contemporary Roman references to shared Trojan origins. More importantly, the rhetorical force of the 'menace from the North' was clearly applicable during the very same period when CRACCO RUGGINI 1987 envisions the *metus* having lost its grip.

to the imagery.<sup>462</sup> Besides, the dynamic was more complex than merely a spontaneous fear pervading the whole of the society, even if the *metus Gallicus* was a genuine feeling and not an aristocratic tool for socio-political compulsion (cf. above, also p. 161). But an important and undeniable corollary of our sources is that the Republican Romans both imagined their forefathers and admitted themselves as being forcefully affected by the impact of their northern barbarian enemies. This is true all the way to the Gallic War of Caesar, and is testified to not only by his authorial strategies in the *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*, but also by contemporary comments by Cicero.<sup>463</sup> After Caesar and the subjugation of the Gauls, a certain self-congratulation may quite soon have been replaced by a renewed unease, either of the Gauls being re-barbarized or of the *Germani* attempting to emulate the Cimbric *exemplum*.

#### b. HERACLES-HERCULES AND THE EUROPEAN BARBARIANS

While the relationship between Heracles-Hercules and the western barbarians did not necessarily or consistently involve an account of the latter's moral or religious capacities, the links between aetiology, genealogy, and mythology forged in the context of the hero's western travels form a major current in Graeco-Roman conceptualizations of the western barbarians' nature.<sup>464</sup> As we shall see here, these conceptualizations were used in relating Mediterranean societies and their norms to the perceived morality and religiosity of the northerners. Another clearly emerging thread is the potential of the Heracles theme for panegyristic use, something still relevant in the Imperial context (see below p. 346-51).

A particular characteristic of the Herculean myths and narratives was the ease with which they were gradually transposed to new, more remote areas. Pliny the Elder famously writes in *HN* 5.31, upon noting the former placement of the Hesperides in Cyrenaica, that the "fables of the Greeks" wander around (*vagantibus Graeciae fabulis*). An early example of similar

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<sup>462</sup> So, though KREMER 1994, 330 is justified in summing up his study by claiming that for Livy no group of enemy was as feared as the Gauls, it was the Gauls as viewed by the post-Cimbric (and in Livy's case post-Gallic Wars) Roman mind who appeared in hindsight as such an ominous, yet providentially avoided, menace.

<sup>463</sup> Cic. *Att.* 1.19.2 seems to refer to a Late Republican form of actions in a *tumultus*: in March of year 60 BCE he mentions that the disturbance in Gaul engendered much *metus*; the Aedui had been beaten (*pugnam nuper malam pugnauerunt*; for the expression cf. Sall. *Iug.* 114.1 *male pugnatum* similarly in the context of Gaul, but the Cimbri as adversaries), leading to a new levy in Rome, exemptions from service being suspended, and legates being sent to Gaul. The scare-mongering by Caesar in Book 1 of his *Bellum Gallicum*, with its frequent enumeration of the barbarian manpower, was certainly intentional: for more see TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 110-18.

<sup>464</sup> Cf. JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN 1989, 251-302, *ead.* 1992; PLÁCIDO 1993; WEBSTER 1994, 3-6; LIGHTFOOT 1999, 531ff.; WOLF 2011A, 8-12, 19ff., 26-29, 41ff., 105-9. See also MALKIN 2011, 106, 119 on extending mythogeographies.



recognition among the Greeks is provided by Hecataeus of Miletus, whom Arrian quotes as saying that Geryon had nothing to do with Iberia, but was king of the Amphilochians.<sup>465</sup> This knowledge of Heracles' Geryonean labour having taken place in Epirus rather than the far-off west may have stemmed from early localizations of the myth.<sup>466</sup> After the Western Mediterranean opened up to the Greeks, the idea that a long-extolled feat of a travelling hero had taken place in a mountainous but otherwise quite accessible—and, most importantly, close-by—peripheral area in Western Greece would have appeared relatively underwhelming. A generation after Hecataeus, Herodotus (or a source of his) changed Heracles' route to include Scythia; here the hero encountered a prodigy—half-woman, half-snake (connected with the figure of Echidna, though not named)—who declined to hand his horses back until the obliging hero had slept with her.<sup>467</sup> The youngest of the triplets born of this union was Scythes, the eponymous ancestor of the Scythian kings. This motif may have influenced later narratives of Heracles' amorous encounters in the Gallic lands.<sup>468</sup> The violent subjugation of western barbarians by Heracles was known at least by the time Aeschylus wrote *Prometheus Solutus*; in F 199 *ap. Str.* 4.1.7, the hero vanquishes the Ligurians by crushing them with large stones, ever since visible on the plain of Crau near Marseille.<sup>469</sup> While Heracles obviously appeared as a divine defender of Greek cities against barbarian invaders (as in the Cyzicene relief), he was quite prepared to unleash his disciplining actions upon foreigners in their own abodes as well.

The important thing is to recognize the tendentiousness of such relocalizations. What to an Ionian geographer would have seemed to be still reasonably western land would no

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<sup>465</sup> Hecat. Mil. *FGrH* 1 F 26 *ap. Arr. Anab.* 2.16.5. Discussed e.g. in RAMIN 1979, 109; JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN 1992, 266f. does not regard the piece as a documentation of 'les débuts timides de la geste occidentale d'Héraclès', but instead as a rationalization of the far-western mythical setting.

<sup>466</sup> Cf. BRAUN 2004, 287, with further exploration of the Herculean geography in 296-303. Also Athanadas *BNJ* 303 F 1 *ap. Antonin. Lib. Met.* 4.6, mentioning Κελτοί along with Chaones, Thesprotas and Epirotas, may bear some relation to such rationalizations (though the Κελτοί of manuscripts is often emended into Κελαίθους). Athanadas' date in the third century BCE (RZEPKA in *BNJ* 303) would perhaps suit such re-interpretations. WEBSTER 1994, 3, while attributing the information in *Liberalis* to Nicander of Colophon and hence to the 150s BCE, notes that the Greek tradition of Heracles as a wanderer in the far west is in all likelihood 'extremely early', which it probably is; the earliest stratum of such wanderings, however, are likely to have been much closer to the Greek mainland than the latest form of the exploits—indeed, WEBSTER even keeps open the possibility that this type of myth could predate the Greek colonization of the West. This may be corroborated by the few fragments of Heracles' earlier, narrower travels.

<sup>467</sup> Hdt. 4.9-10. The figure is named as 'Echidna' only by Diod. 2.43.3; cf. *IG* 14.1293A 96.

<sup>468</sup> Most closely modelled after the Herodotean episode is the story of Kelto, her son Keltos, and the bow of Heracles, preserved in *EtMag s.v. Κελτοί*: cf. LIGHTFOOT 1999, 533. The *Etymologicum Magnum* derives the Britons, too, from the same Kelto: *EtMag s.v. Βρεττανοί* "Ἔθνος ἀπὸ Κελτοῦς τῆς Βρεττάνου θυγατρὸς. With a different mother Heracles is reported to have begotten Hyllus, who then became the eponymic king of the Ὑλλεῖς, ἔθνος Κελτικόν (*EtMag s.v. Ὑλλεῖς*). *Etymologicum Gudianum* presents the mother of Keltos as Sterope the Atlantid: *EtGud s.v. Κελτική*, which seems to derive from the same tradition as Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.1.4-5, or from Dionysius himself. For the episode of snake-woman and Heracles also HARTOG 1988, 23-16.

<sup>469</sup> BRAUN 2004, 299.

doubt have appeared to audiences from Athens or perhaps Sicily as an increasingly trivial theatre for Heracles' deeds. Herodotus, for his part, was quite interested in Scythia, and saw it as expedient to relocate some of Heracles' offspring in those northern lands. And while Hercules was certainly among the most useful of travelling heroes in forging contacts with newly accessible areas, he was not the only one; a similar interpretation is possible with regard to the northern cults of Achilles in the Black Sea area.<sup>470</sup> Negative confirmation of the same technique is provided by Diodorus, according to whom neither Dionysus, Heracles, nor any other hero or leader is mentioned as having invaded Britain.<sup>471</sup> He seems to have envisioned the invasion of Britain by Caesar, deified by his deed, as a fitting closure to his *Bibliotheca*, as though by reaching the conceivable ends of the world, the spread of Roman rule had brought to an end the course of history initiated by the travelling heroes of Greece.<sup>472</sup>

The material evidence can be made to argue for the appeal of Heracles' pacificatory function. For instance, the Istanbul Archaeological Museum preserves a relief plate from Cyzicus (inv. 564), dating from perhaps 277 BCE and showing Heracles slaying a vanquished Celt; the relief was linked by LAUNEY 1944 to the help sent by Philetaerus to the city of Cyzicus. This help is possibly mentioned in the inscribed list of civic commemorations conferred upon the Pergamene dynast by the Mysian polis.<sup>473</sup> Through depictions like the Cyzicene relief, the semi-divine hero is easy to interpret, along the formulation of JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN 1992, 278 as "le modèle paradigmatique de la guerre conduit, au nom de la civilisation, contre les Barbares". She also dates the accentuation of this role to the period of

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<sup>470</sup> On the establishment of the Achilles-cult on the Leuke in connection with the increased Milesian presence in the Pontic: RUSYAEVA 2003, 4, 11; on the broader connections between Achilles and the Scythian region see SKINNER 2012, 166f. One should not, however, dismiss the possibility that much of the alleged fondness of the Euxinian communities for the worship of Achilles is, in fact, a literary artefact: BÄBLER 2002, 320 approaches this implication (regarding Dio Chrysostom; on whom cf. also SKINNER 2012, 175) but admits that the islands of Leuke and Berezan did seem to host genuine cults.

<sup>471</sup> Diod. 5.21.2. The observation may, at least potentially, reflect the lack of mythical connections to Britain among Diodorus source authors, the primary among whom for this lengthy discussions of islands is Timaeus; hence the passage is listed in *FGH* 544 as F 164. On the other hand this is part of Diodorus' own aim to portray Caesar's reaching of Britain as the last great feat of 'travelling heroes' (cf. BRACCESI 1996, 193).

<sup>472</sup> Diod. 1.4.5-7. On Diodorus' appreciation of Caesar's deeds and his ensuing deification: SACKS 1990, 180-4. In Diodorus' conception, the impact of Caesar's actions in the West appears to be mimicking the deeds of Heracles, and hence meriting his becoming a god (cf. *ibid.* 179). This sentiment of usefulness leading to worship as a god is not limited to Greek euhemeristic accounts (cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.11, *Nat. D.* 3.61). That this appreciation of *utilitas* does not preclude religious sentiments, cf. POUTHIER 1981, 212-15.

<sup>473</sup> The inscription: SMITH & RUSTAFJAEEL 1902, 193. See LAUNEY 1944, esp. 223-6, with the interpretation that the relief is an *ante eventum* dedication imploring help from Heracles in the face of advancing barbarians, in the hopes that the ἀλεξίκακος divinity would safeguard the town. In any case it seems that the relief is the earliest datable image of a Gaul from the Greek East: MARSZAL 2000, 197. Concerning the comparatively late Attalid myth of descent from Heracles, the possibly ahistorical illegitimate son of Alexander the Great, and further back in time from the original Heracles through his son Telephus, see KOSMETATOU 2003, 167; SCHEER 2003, 220-26, with the particular remark that Telephus was well-suited to the Attalid needs in that he defended his Mysian kingdom against outsider enemies (224).

Greek colonization. While such a dating is improbably early for “war in the name of civilization”, small-scale hostilities in different theatres of colonized πόλεις might have reinforced the heroic model of Heracles; and the wars against the Galatae undoubtedly made Heracles much more salient as well.<sup>474</sup> This early use of Heracles was probably quite similar to that prevalent in later, Hellenistic and Republican times in that it consisted of a combination of pacifying the barbarians and pushing further the conceived geographical borders of the οἰκουμένη. Heracles was thus useful both in expanding and (re)defining the borders of the Greek mental geography through his travels, and in helping the Greeks to conceptualize both their functional relations and notional affiliations with foreign groups.

A similar process of transposing earlier mythical locations to the new European fringe may lie behind the passages of Protarchus and Callimachus that identify the Alps with the Rhipaeian mountains, which in some authors divide the land of the Hyperboreans from the rest of the οἰκουμένη.<sup>475</sup> While the Rhipaeian mountains were probably originally imagined as situated somewhere much closer to Greece, a consistent association between the Celts and the Hyperboreans does not need to enter the picture at any point, especially as no contemporary barbarian group is named in the fragments at all.<sup>476</sup> The linking of traditional, even mythical, ethnonyms to later groups, as we have already seen, is one of the constants of the ancient ethnographic register.<sup>477</sup> But such reattributions were usually of an antiquarian nature, despite being embedded in a geographic frame; no fixed relationship between the mythical inhabitants

<sup>474</sup> For instance, Heracles is shown smiting Gauls in Aetolian coins—which is apt as he was also the ancestral god of the Aetolians; NACHTERGAEL 1977, 48, 202f.; REINACH 1911B, 187-221; HANNESTAD 1993, 17. If the Greek colonization period had an effect on outgroup/ingroup –perceptions, this took place via an increased ingroup salience: NIPPEL 2007, 33f.

<sup>475</sup> Protarch. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὑπερβόρειοι, Ael. Her. *Prosod. cath.* 1.114-15; Callim. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.* BRIDGMAN 2005A, e.g. 64, 103 ff. chooses to ignore the well-established correction by RUHNKEN (cf. MEINEKE 1849, *ad loc.*) of ‘Kallimakhos’ instead of the MS reading of ‘Antimakhos’, and to interpret the author as fifth century BCE Antimachus of Colophon. Accepting the fragment as Callimachean should be preferred, especially since he is cited in the company of Protarchus also by Ael. Her. *loc. cit.*, making the grammarian a plausible source of both fragments for Stephanus.

<sup>476</sup> *Contra* BRIDGMAN 2005A, 64. Thrace seems a likely referent locality for the early mytheme; Boreas (above/behind whose influence the Hyperboreans were implied to live) is naturally described as blowing from Thrace in Hom. *Il.* 9.5; *Schol. in Od.* 14.533; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.179-85 on the Pangaion hills as the home of the Boreads; Pl. *Phdr.* 229 mentioning Rhodope; and later Ov. *Met.* 6.710; Val. Flacc. 1.575. On the other hand, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὑπερβόρειοι quotes younger contemporary of Herodotus, Damastes of Sigeum (*FGH* 5 F 1), for situating the Rhipaeans above the Arimaspians, who are above Issedones and Scyths; the Hyperboreans live above the Rhipaeans beside ‘the other sea’ (ὕπερ δὲ τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα Ὑπερβορέους καθήκειν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν), which should not be interpreted as the Baltic as RAMIN 1979, 61 does. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century Thrace would have been felt to be too mundane an area (cf. XYDOPOULOS 2007, 697) for the Rhipaeans and the Hyperboreans sheltered by them to be located there. Another, rather more whimsical relocation may have been behind the pictorial theme of ‘Pygmies in Italy’; cf. HARARI 2004, 188.

<sup>477</sup> This tendency finds good parallels in the later tradition; e.g. the antiquarian writers of Medieval Ireland used the old-fashioned ethnonym *Cruithni* (usually meaning Picts, but also applied to an Irish area known as Dál nAraide) for much longer than for instance annalists, and in particular used it to describe the Irish, not Scottish, location: ANDERSON 1987, 12.

and contemporary peoples had to be mandatorily articulated—although on other occasions such links are indeed designated.<sup>478</sup> The flexibility of the Hyperboreans is again demonstrated by the location given by Pseudo-Apollodorus to the Hesperides: they are not to be situated in Libya, but near the Atlas (apparently the mountains) in the land of the Hyperboreans.<sup>479</sup>

In the Roman period, we meet with other cases in which the Herculean mythical topography is extended outwards to keep up with the widening scope of geographical knowledge. In *Germania*, Tacitus transposes the Pillars of Hercules to the Frisian coast by the North Sea, having already made mention of the hero's travels in Germania, the nations of which venerated him most highly and made him the pre-eminent subject of their *baritus*, or warsongs.<sup>480</sup> Although expressing scepticism regarding the authenticity of Hercules' involvement with the North, Tacitus nevertheless supports the validity of the Herculean *exemplum*, by noting that the audacity of Drusus Germanicus in exploring the Ocean was equal to that of the hero, even though pursuit of such an aim bordered on the sacrilegious.<sup>481</sup> Tacitus refers repeatedly to the inhabitants of Germania worshipping Hercules: in *Ann.* 2.12 the Germans assemble in a sacred grove of Hercules to resist Germanicus, and the obvious allusion in *Germ.* 9.1 to Caesar's list of Gallic divinities includes the detail that Hercules and Mars receive animal sacrifices among the Germans. The earlier Tacitean passage associating Hercules with Germania (*ibid.* 3.3) also mentions Odysseus as a hero of old who seems to

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<sup>478</sup> BRIDGMAN himself provides an example of this (2005A, 72) by mentioning Megasthenes transposing the Hyperboreans to the sources of the Indus and the Ganges (Str. 15.1.57), which may have resulted from interpreting the Hindu Kush or the Pamirs as the Rhipaeian mountains (cf. also Ctesias: GÓMEZ ESPELOSIN 1994, 216). Other examples of comparable attributions would include the possible mention of Epizephyrioi, Epiknemidioi and Ozolai (all Locrian Greek groups; cf. Philosteph. Cyr. F 33 *ap. Schol. Pind. Ol.* 3.28 on Hyperboreans as Thessalians) as Hyperborean ἔθνη by Hecataeus of Abdera *FGrH* 265 F 10 *ap. Schol. Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 2.675 (the interpretation in BRIDGMAN 2005A, 67 that Hecataeus incorporated the three groups into Hyperboreans on account of their fervent dedication to Apollo seems far-fetched). Another example is provided by the transfer of the cult of Achilles northwards to the Black Sea area (RUSYAEVA 2003); PEARSON 1987, 62 notes that the Homeric Cimmerians are relocated by Ephorus to Italy, to the area of Lake Avernus, where they lived in caves and hence saw 'no light of the day' (Eph. *FGrH* 70 F 134 *ap. Str.* 5.4.5; cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.14-19); cf. PARMIGGIANI 2011, 685f.

<sup>479</sup> [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.5.11.

<sup>480</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 34.2f. on the Pillars, 3.1 on Hercules' travels in Germany. ROYMANS 2009, 224 is correct in noting that such references to Herculean myths reflect primarily a Roman perspective, but his further point about them being 'creations by Roman soldiers who were active in Germania' is simply improvable.

<sup>481</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 34.2f. The mythologization of the Ocean as an animate enemy of Drusus' fleet seems to have already been present in Albinovanus Pedo's epic poem: see ROMM 1992, 143ff. noting further that Tacitus opted wholesale for this presentation of the Ocean as Drusus' nemesis; cf. MURPHY 2004, 176f., with his whole chapter putting forth several pertinent observations, particularly on Seneca's visions of an oceanic eschatology (184-88). Since Germania was according to Tacitus preserved from outside influences by the Ocean, it would have been apt to see a 'Germanicus' having to deal with that entity (cf. O'GORMAN 1993, 138f.). The *exemplum* was no doubt compelling. It might be speculated whether Caligula's desire to triumph over the Ocean (see p. 291) in 40 CE was in some hazy way connected with his desire to outdo the exploits of his grandfather, just like his manoeuvring along the Rhenish border would probably have stemmed at least partly from some notional desire to emulate his father. The superstitious fear of the Ocean was in all likelihood a real sentiment. Earlier, Cicero had jokingly written to the advocate Trebatius who was accompanying Caesar to the island (*Fam.* 7.10.2); he seems to jest about Trebatius' refusal to swim in the Ocean, though the younger man was a keen swimmer.

have sojourned in the Germanic lands, as attested by Greek inscriptions found in tumuli, evidently along the Germano-Raetian border.<sup>482</sup> In his brief discussion of first inhabitants of Britain, Tacitus leaves open the question of whether heroic feet had “walk[ed] upon Englands mountains green”—a Blakean fancy *avant la lettre*.<sup>483</sup>

Another influential thematic cluster enabled by Heracles' travels in the west was the genealogical register deriving several western peoples from his offspring, largely along the lines witnessed in Herodotus' treatment of the hero's amorous encounter with the anguipede woman (4.8ff.). This phase of constructing connections between the Celts/Gauls and the Greek mythological past is largely the product of the Hellenistic period, and stems first and foremost from the need to localize (in both spatial and mytho-historical terms) the role of the western barbarians in the Greek worldview.<sup>484</sup> Making the great cultural hero the ancestor of northern barbarians, with perceived hostile intentions against Mediterranean societies and cults alike, was nevertheless an option that seems to have suited only some writers. Livy, for instance, does not associate Hercules with Gallic origins, probably because this would have glorified the enemy.<sup>485</sup> Pompeius Trogus, on the other hand, himself hailing from the conquered Gaul, was ostensibly quite proud to report how the Gauls crossed the Alps *prima post Herculem*.<sup>486</sup> Timagenes, a likely source for Trogus, was clearly interested in the Alps, partly

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<sup>482</sup> A conjectural, though interesting, suggestion by REINACH 1891, 165 as to the derivation of this information should perhaps be mentioned; he regards it possible that this stems from Hecataeus of Abdera (as—possibly—attested in Diod. 2.47.4) via Pliny's German history; Pliny, for his part, appears to have cited Hecataeus in *HN* (e.g. 4.94, on Hecataeus' Hyperborean information 6.55). His knowledge of the Greek sceptic, however, was not necessarily direct. REINACH moreover (166) suggests that Pliny is the conduit of the Hecataeus-originated motif to Solinus, who pushed the boundaries of Odysseus' travels all the way to Caledonia, where an altar inscribed in Greek letters testifies to this (Solin. 22.1).

<sup>483</sup> Tac. *Agr.* 11. For William Blake, the preface to *Milton a Poem* (copy A, ca. 1811, British Museum) BENTLEY 2.

<sup>484</sup> ROYMANS 2009, 226 suggests that Herculean descent myths for Gauls date only as late as from the period between Caesar's Gallic wars and Augustus' death, which would suit his ethnogenesistic viewpoint well; on the other hand WOOLF 2011A endorses the same rough time frame (e.g. 21-3) without having to embrace ethnogenesis theory. Though some of the earliest attestations of these aetiologies (such as Parth. *Narr.* 30 on Keltine and her son Keltos, and Diod. 5.24.2-3 on Galates son of Hercules) postdate the subjugation of Comatan Gaul only slightly (cf. LIGHTFOOT 1999, 215, setting the parameters for dating the Ἑρωτικά Παθήματα as 52 and 27/6 BCE), their inclusion probably does reflect the need to locate the Gallic past in terms of familiar mythology. Parthenius, Timagenes and Diodorus fit rather comfortably into the longer tradition of Hellenistic aetiologies that had long been inventing similar minor characters and well-researched mythologizations; concerning Parthenius cf. LIGHTFOOT 1999, e.g. 531, 533 ('looks like typical Hellenistic romanticization').

<sup>485</sup> Cf. SORDI 1979, 56.

<sup>486</sup> Just. 24.4.4. The Herculean crossing of the Alps as an *exemplum* is presented as *materies gloriae* to Hannibal in Corn. Nep. *Hann.* 3.4, with the added detail that *nemo unquam cum exercitu* had crossed them between Hercules and Hannibal. This resembles the idea in Diodorus of Hercules as a military leader campaigning in the West (see SULIMANI 2011, 212-20). The spatial context of Alps may have been given particular emphasis (particularly in Trogus' time, a bit later than Diodorus) by Augustus' involvement with the politics there: GRUEN 1996, 169-71. For historical exemplarity in the Augustan geographical imagination, see DUECK 2000. No doubt the Augustan treaties to accommodate client kings could in a pinch be poetically thought as 'subjugating tyrants' along the lines of Hercules, and Trogus' *cui ea res virtutis admirationem et immortalitatis fidem dedit* (24.4.4) may imply the expected apotheosis of Augustus (which also is the likely subtext of Herculean allusions in Vergil, as stated by HEIDEN 1987, 663). On Livy's affixing of heroic epithets and flattering *exempla* to Augustus: SANTORO L'HOIR 1990, 233-

on account of the Hellenistic mythogeographic usages, partly because of their contemporary salience—both Caesarian and Augustan.<sup>487</sup>

Dionysius of Halicarnassus offers an entirely conventional aetiology that derives the name of Κελτική from a giant by the name of Κελτός, a ruler of that land: this may be connected with what Timagenes apparently wrote about the tyrant Tauriscus who oppressed the Gaul before Heracles.<sup>488</sup> Giving another possible aetiology, Dionysius further derives both the Celts and the Iberians from the eponymous offspring of Heracles and Asterope, the daughter of Atlas.<sup>489</sup> This joint origin of Iberians and Celts harks back to the generalizations of early references such as those of Plato and Aristotle; more importantly, however, it may constitute another element in a tradition with Hellenistic origins but a newfound Augustan prominence, elaborated upon by Diodorus.<sup>490</sup> In a lengthy section in his euhemerized treatment of the Heroic Age, Diodorus connects Heracles with western foundations with telling foreshadowing of later great men.<sup>491</sup> Having beaten Geryon's armies, Heracles set up his eponymous Pillars, gifted part of Geryon's cattle to a particularly pious local dignitary, and

37; GAERTNER 2008, 38 tones down the Augustan connections of such titulature by shifting their presence in the narrative tradition to the 60s BCE, which would highlight the connection with Marius (and the Cimbric wars)—though in Gaertner's mind Cicero looms as the most likely propagator (*ibid.* 42-48), fashioning not Marius but himself as the new Camillus: and as noted by LEVENE 1993, 2, 12, the religious rhetoric of Cicero's era would have been formative to Livy, underlying his later Augustan influences; cf. also TAKÁCS 24-32, 40-50.

<sup>487</sup> Trogus' introduction of the Hercules-theme (cf. Just. *Praef.*1 on Trogus' own *labor*) can be explained in terms of Hellenizing aetiologies of the kind that Timagenes seems to have been interested in, judging by Timag. *FGRH* 88 F 2 *ap. Amm.* 15.9. A further evidence for this element coming from Timagenes (or being linked to him through either borrowing or common contemporary context) is the fact that in Ammianus' geographic outline of Gaul (15.10.1, still apparently "Timagenian") Gaul is portrayed to be isolated *ob suggestus montium arduos et borrorum nivali semper obductos* in a way that may have highlighted the particular and unique nature of its people (cf. Tac. *Germ.* 2 on Germans' similar situation): also, the details about Cottius (15.10) are best explained through an Augustan source on the Alpine area. Additionally, Cottius would have been an interesting figure for Ammianus, who focused upon the joining of Gauls and Romans. Diod. 4.19.3-4 includes the same element, with an euhemerized Heracles crossing the Alps with his army (cf. the *Dorienses antiquiorem secutos Herculem* in Ammianus). Timagenes was probably available to Diodorus (KIDD 1988, I 309), and in any case the Augustan salience would have made the subject suitable for lengthy treatment through mythologized *exempla*: SULIMANI 2011, 218f.

<sup>488</sup> Timag. *ap. Amm.* 15.9.6. As noted by KELLY 2008, 264, the emphasis on Hercules in this stage of Ammianus' narrative probably also has to do with the exemplar provided by the hero to Julian. Naturally, there is nothing to preclude the use of the same information by two chronologically separated authors for very different reasons.

<sup>489</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.1.4f. Cf. *Lex. Zonar. s.v. Κελτοί*: ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Κελτοῦ, υἱοῦ Ἡρακλέος; Eust. *In Dionys. Per.* 281: Κελτός γὰρ καὶ Ἰβηρ, παῖδες Ἡρακλέος ἀπὸ βαρβάρου γυναικός, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἔθνη οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἰβηρες. Eustathius' separate derivation of the Celts from Heracles and the Galatae from Apollo (*ibid.* 69) hints at the outdated nature of these ethnographic labels at the time—comparable to his pairing of 'Celts and Iberians' along the lines of Plato (see p. 46, 50, 142, 167, 232, 298, 316). The significance of aetiological accounts relating to the Gallic area has been increasingly examined: first by RANKIN 1987, 81f., then by WEBSTER 1994, 3-6; and recently by WOOLF 2011A, 19-31, 38-44.

<sup>490</sup> Indeed, there are good reasons to claim that the Herculean connections in the west were a particular trait of the Augustan age, though partly this may stem from accidents of preservation; even so, Diodorus, Timagenes, Trogus, and Parthenius all use the motif of Heracles' travels and tyrant-fighting in the West during a period when the demi-god was to a certain extent presented as a model for Augustus' pacificatory acts: about such openness of signification HEIDEN 1987, e.g. 663ff.

<sup>491</sup> Diod. 4.8-39. On Diodorus' euhemerizing stance: SACKS 1990, 68f., with the whole chapter (55-82) concerned with the role of heroic benefactors in Diodorus' history—a thoroughly Hellenistic element.

handed the rulership of Iberia over to the noblest among the natives. Then he continued with his host to Κελτική, where he founded Alesia, a city with a mixed population.<sup>492</sup> Because of an imbalance between the proportions of the two groups, the civilized descendants of Heracles' followers were gradually 'barbarized' (ἐκβαρβαρωθῆναι), until—it is implied—the city's conqueror, Caesar, laid the groundwork for its re-civilizing.<sup>493</sup> Structuring the story of Gallic civilization around the triumphant careers of two Mediterranean heroes, both of whom were later deified (4.19.2), is noteworthy.

WOOLF 2011A, 21 remarks that such a quick (re)barbarization, between Hercules and Caesar, of even those Gauls with an alleged Greek ancestry would have boded ill for the Gallo-Roman civilization itself, but the most immediate concern for both Diodorus and the later users of the same motif was the rhetorical benefit to be gained from this claim. Ammianus, as will be seen, used Timagenes' Gallic aetiologies that shared many things with Diodorus, but the perspective provided by the intervening centuries made him portray Caesar's actions in Gaul as constituting the final forging of a lasting link (cf. p. 326).<sup>494</sup> It is easy to see why the Herculean *exemplum* was reanimated during the Later Empire, and its assimilation with the Caesarean legacy takes on additional symbolic depth in Themistius' correspondence with Julian, when the philosophical young Caesar took up the challenging task of pacifying the Rhenish border.<sup>495</sup> By Julian's lifetime, Hercules had become the stock figure for all philanthropic rulers to imitate.<sup>496</sup> Moreover, what Timagenes saw in Heracles'

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<sup>492</sup> Heracles' acts in Iberia: Diod. 4.18.5, 19.1 (cf. 5.24.2f.). Diodorus derives the name 'Alesia' from the Greek word for wandering (4.19.1, a handy aetiological bridge between the archetypal wandering hero and the proverbially migratory northerners); there seems no reason to date this aetiology earlier than Caesar's conquest (cf. WEBSTER 1994, 4; WOOLF 2011A, 21). It is possible that Timagenes was behind it, in the way he may have been behind Trogus' mention of Hercules' heroic crossing of the Alps (Just. 24.4.3). Heracles was for Diodorus a founder of cities not only in Gaul but as far away as in India (cf. Megasth. *ap.* Diod. 2.39 on the founding of Palibothra); cf. SCHEER 2003, 219 on the association of Heracles' journeys with the campaign of Alexander (though SPENCER 2002 highlights Alexander's competition with both Heracles and Dionysius: 77, 169), which parallels Caesar's association with Hercules-Heracles' in the west.

<sup>493</sup> Cf. similarly in Flor. 38.17.12. WEBSTER 1994, 4, immediately before discussing the passage of Diodorus, is correct in dividing the literary tropes dealing with Heracles in the West to the two groups of the hero as a civilizer and the hero as forefather (cf. *ead.* 5-6). The civilizer aspect is surely more prominent in the post-Caesarian symbolism which also may have emphasized Alesia as representing the Gaul as a whole; this is interestingly related to colonial discourse by *ead.* 5. That Diodorus' comparison of Caesar with Heracles amounts to high praise: SACKS 1990, 179; for the technique of joining the two figures, see SULIMANI 2011, 70f., and on the barbarization of the Alesians, e.g. 315, 328.

<sup>494</sup> Ammianus, of course, has an entirely different relationship with the notion of Roman power than did Diodorus and Timagenes, neither of whom had much reason to love Roman rule: SACKS 1990, 136.

<sup>495</sup> See below p. 346-51; also p. 325ff. on the echoes of Caesarean exemplarity in the sympathetic narratives (Themistius, Libanius, Ammianus) of Julian's Gallic tenure (cf. p. 350 fn. 179). The versatility of Herculean panegyrics is well demonstrated when one notes that in addition to the military but pacifying aspect of the hero-deity, in these cases (mostly for Julian's own interests), aspects of *Hercules Philosophicus* are included: for this Stoically articulated guise, see SIMON 1955, 79; on Julian *ibid.* 143-55.

<sup>496</sup> See MACMULLEN 1963B, 223.

involvement in Gaul is further enriched by the exemplarity of the hero in Ammianus' narrative as a precursor to Julian, along the lines of third-century panegyrics.<sup>497</sup>

But Heracles-Hercules did not shape the West via his descendants alone: authors saw his travels reflected in topographical and cultic evidence, as well. Trogus' note about the crossing of the Alps first by Hercules, then the Gauls, may be relevant in this context, as well. Some, as always, chose to investigate the topographical claims more thoroughly. One of the latter, the geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus (*ap. Str.* 3.1.4), refuted Ephorus' report of a temple and altar to Heracles on Cabo de São Vicente (spoken of as τὸ ἱερόν ἄκρωτήριον). The impetus for such creations as Diodorus' report on the founding of Alesia (from whatever source he got it) seems most likely to have taken place during a relatively short period of time after the Roman conquest, with the epistemic aim of subsuming local histories to the well-known Graeco-Roman narratives.<sup>498</sup> Even so, some of these links between travelling heroes and remote and comparatively inconsequential geographical locales, seem to have functioned despite their apparent triviality. For instance, Artemidorus' claim functions on a rather similar level as the already mentioned localization by Timaeus (*BNJ* 566 F 85 *ap. Diod.* 4.56.4), as to the Dioscuri being particularly worshipped among the inhabitants of the Oceanic littoral.

A unique treatment of the theme of Hercules and the Gauls is preserved in Lucian's *Hercules*, a kind of rhetorical warm-up discourse or prologue (προλαλιά) with which Lucian apparently purported to justify (whether mockingly or not) his continued sophistic performances in old age.<sup>499</sup> *Hercules* builds on a premise similar to that of Lucian's other dialogue on cultural translations, *Toxaris*, where too a Greek interlocutor probes the question of the barbarian perception of Greek mythological figures; it also demonstrates the persistence of literary Herculean references down to the Imperial era in contexts other than panegyrics (for which see pp. 346-51). Other works by the Syrian sophist point to the conclusion that was quite familiar with current rhetorical-literary stereotypes about northerners, or perhaps more

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<sup>497</sup> KELLY 2008, 264 on Heracles as *exemplum* to Julian in Ammianus. For Maximian Herculius, see p. 318ff. BOWDER 1978, 118 observes that under Julian, the mints at Arles and Siscia minted coinage bearing both the eagle of Jupiter and the Herculean club, something she suggests as referring to the imagery of the Tetrarchs. This may partly explain the emphasis on Herculean symbolism in both Ammianus and Libanius.

<sup>498</sup> On Diodorus' tale of the founding of Alesia see SULIMANI 2011, 278f., relating the mythohistorical aetiology to Caesar's foundations of cities in the Gallic area; also WOOLF 2011A, 19-21, and *passim* on this crucial period with rapid elaborations more generally. In this, as an epistemic process the 'tales of the barbarians' are comparable to the *interpretatio* (see WEBSTER 1995A, 156f.): both are initiated by the incoming conquerors.

<sup>499</sup> Lucian *Her.* 1. Although it should be noted that just as *Somnus* cannot necessarily be read as a truthful account of Lucian's own 'epiphany' of following the *paideia*, so the *Hercules* cannot as such be regarded as a truthful source to either Lucian's own feelings or, more importantly, the Gallic religion. The latter has however been the case for well over a century, with mixed results: see fn. 501 below. For Lucian's prologues see BRACHT BRANHAM 1985, making very clear the artful and calculated nature of the pieces.



narrowly Gauls.<sup>500</sup> Thus, when he explains—perhaps jestingly, perhaps in earnest—that Hercules, called Ogmios by the Gauls, is portrayed in a Gallic image or frieze as a wrinkled old man on account of the Celts' disdain for the Greek gods, his audience would undoubtedly have thought it possible for Celts to feel that way.<sup>501</sup> Lucian's next comment, on the other hand, is surely whimsical, although it does testify to the rhetorical longevity of the topos of 'Hercules-in-the-West': the sophist suggests that the Celts may have wanted to punish Hercules in this way on account of the latter's invasion of their land in traversing and plundering most of the Western peoples. The intuition of Lucian's narrative self, however, is disproved when his puzzlement is relieved by a learned Celt, who in good Greek explains the philosophy behind the image. Underlying this explanation is presumably the admission that the Gauls could possess a sophisticated theology of their own; not unnatural in an age and register which appreciated the Druids as a quaint example of barbarian philosophers.<sup>502</sup> The *argute loqui* motif concerning the Gallic verbal dexterity is likewise in evidence.<sup>503</sup>

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<sup>500</sup> Lucian *Alex.* 27, about Severianus as ὁ ἡλίθιος ἐκεῖνος Κελτὸς. All in all, Lucian's intimate knowledge of rhetorical elements and his apparent familiarity with the conventions of the novel form (cf. *Verae Historiae*) probably mean that he was quite well aware what his audience would have believed about the Κελτοί or Γαλάται. Cf. the 'ethnic slurs' much used by Polemo, p. 168f., 272f. Perceptions of boorish gullibility and a superstitious mind would have come together in Lucian's jibe.

<sup>501</sup> Lucian *Herc.* 1: ὤμην οὖν ἐφ' ὕβρει τῶν Ἑλληνίων θεῶν τοιαῦτα παρανομεῖν τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐς τὴν μορφήν τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀμυνομένους αὐτὸν τῇ γραφῇ. Regarding the ἐφ' ὕβρει -conjecture, see BADER 1996, 162f. The rest of the characteristics of the image—a Charonian, grotesque Hercules, tanned as an old seadog, yet also sporting all the appurtenances traditionally associated with the hero, and moreover the strange display of chains affixing a group of joyful followers from their ears to tip of Hercules' tongue—have fed the vigorous Ogmios scholarship within Celtic studies: e.g. BENOIT 1952 and 1953 with a wide review of earlier contributions; others include ROSS 1959, 43f. fn. 11; LE ROUX 1960; LAVAGNE 1979, 186; for an exhaustive bibliography and a summation of previous studies see HOFENEDER 2011, 84-96. For a recent reading, relating the passage to the processes of *interpretatio*, see RIVES 2011, 176 (though omitting from the equation the wholly rhetorical nature of Lucian's text). Structurally speaking, these elements do not appear to relate easily to the standard topos of northern physiognomy, and while the description may be rooted upon a real physical monument, this is increasingly seen as unlikely. The piece seems, indeed, like a physiognomical vignette (cf. ELSNER 2007, 204f. in SWAIN & AL. 2007) and Lucian need not even have invented it himself, instead perhaps having heard the description second-hand. In such a case, the piece may reveal the metapresence of Favorinus in a rather different way than in the suggested identification of the 'not untrained Celt' (speaking excellent Greek) as Favorinus (HOFENEDER 2006). To be sure, Favorinus' occupation with the power and virtues of words, as well as his use of the Greek culture as a measuring stick, come abundantly clear in the contribution of BEALL 2001, 89-90, 94. That Lucian needed a civilized acquaintance to appear in the scene can be partly explained by the reluctance of sophists of the age to project themselves as disconnected travellers: MONTIGLIO 2005, 216—while portraying himself travelling abroad, Lucian wanted to make it clear he was well networked even in West. See also NASRALLAH 2005 about the relationship of the High Empire literary elite to travel, esp. 293-8 on Lucian. If Athens was for Lucian and other 'genuine philosophers' the magnetic centre of the world, yet plagued by philosophasters (*ead.* 298), maybe the fringes of the empire were the testing ground for true philosophers and a source for most striking and memorable *exempla*. As noted by ELSNER 2007, 205, in the end the Ogmios of the piece turn out to be an emblem of Lucian himself.

<sup>502</sup> Celtic grudge against Heracles: Lucian *Herc.* 1: τὴν χώραν ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθεν λείαν ἐλαύνων, ὅποτε τὰς Γηρυόνου ἀγγέλας ζητῶν κατέδραμε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐσπερίων γενῶν. On the 'barbarian wise men', cf. p. 310-17 below.

<sup>503</sup> Cf. p. 83 fn. 248, 106f. above. Although this, too, can be over-interpreted, such as by FREEMAN 2006, 143, who reads Ogmios' connection with eloquence as a reference to the bardic tradition—but if this should be the case, should not most reflections of the *argute loqui* -topos be interpreted as bardic references? This seems too

## c. RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA AND GALATOMACHIC TRIUMPHALISM

From the Hellenistic Era onwards, the elites were quick to grasp the value of the recently encountered barbarian groups. The victories over the Κελτοί and Γαλάται in particular were eagerly seized upon, but this eagerness was due only in part to the often repeated Greek distress regarding such ferocious adversaries. Another powerful element in the use of barbaromachy was the legitimating force conferred upon rulers and dynasties by divine favour and by their position as defenders of Greeks. The subject πόλεις, for their part, combined a no doubt genuine relief with an opportunistic seeking of patronage in their religiously articulated dedications to such sovereigns. In such a climate, there is no doubt that “[v]ictories against the Gauls could [...] become grossly exaggerated, taken out of their original context, and reinterpreted as examples of royal military prowess”.<sup>504</sup> It is no wonder, then, that most Hellenistic dynasties appear to have furnished their own versions of galatomachy.<sup>505</sup> As a negative affirmation of the same dynamism, usurpers and other figures who ended up maligned in the historical tradition could be further portrayed as allying themselves with the invasive barbarians; Diodorus, for instance, wrote about Apollodorus, a cruel, greedy and sacrilegious usurper in Gela, who recruited Gauls so as to make use of their savagery in punishing his opponents.<sup>506</sup>

The Romans, for their part, embraced the triumphalistic and political potential inherent in celebrations of Gallic victories quite early on; their use of *exempla*, however, seems to be largely conditioned by Greek models, at least judging by cases where religious sentiments are involved.<sup>507</sup> Perhaps learning from such Greek rhetorical indictments as echoed by Polybius and Justin, Roman generals sought to combine their own glorification with a conspicuous highlighting of the Roman contribution to fighting off northern barbarian

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tenuous. Other instances of Hercules, not Hermes, being connected with logos are examined in SIMON 1955, 95-106: the notion seems influenced by Stoicism.

<sup>504</sup> KOSMETATOU 2003, 171.

<sup>505</sup> E.g. NACHTERGAEL 1977, 176: ‘Quelques années à peine après l’invasion de la Grèce, rares étaient les dynastes qui ne pussent prétendre avoir triomphé des Barbares’; cf. also HANNESTAD 1993, 19-21; STROBEL 1994 *in toto*; MARSZAL 2000, 198; and MITCHELL 2003, 283f., who notes that the appearance of Galatians in the Greek lands in the generations after Alexander was a stroke of providential luck for the rulers—he further points that the construction of the Galatian threat as a unified and formidable menace should be taken into account.

<sup>506</sup> Diod. 22.5.1-2 *ap. Exc. de virt. et vit.* 1.199.

<sup>507</sup> Although, as demonstrated by KOORTBOJIAN 2002, media such as the Roman triumphal paintings in temples and aristocratic tombs could negotiate quite subtle combinations of political agendas, issues of identity, and historical exemplarity (see e.g. 42-8; cf. also HOLLIDAY 1997).

invaders of Greece: we will encounter a prime example a bit further on in the form of the monumental inscription of Minucius Rufus at Delphi.<sup>508</sup> Often both Greek and Roman programmes of artistic or literary kind assumed the language of religiously motivated providentiality. The subject matter of this section and the next, examining the notions of divine epiphany and talismanic sanctuaries, thus often overlap and dovetail in many instances. Taken together, they form perhaps the most enduring contribution of the Hellenistic era to borealist discourse.

Pyrrhus of Epirus dedicated Gallic shields to the temple of Athena Itonis, though at the same time he used Gauls' services as mercenaries.<sup>509</sup> Pausanias goes on to give the inscription of Pyrrhus' dedication of Macedonian shields to Dodonian Zeus; the poem indicts Macedonians as "ravagers of golden Asia and enslavers of Greece". Macedonian or Celt, Pyrrhus found it expedient to tap into Greek sentiments of resentment.<sup>510</sup> One intriguing opinion is conserved by Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 26.9), to the effect that Pyrrhus himself considered his victories over Gauls to be the most glorious among his successes. It would be tempting to derive this snippet from Pyrrhus' own autobiographical *ὑπομνήματα*, which we know he wrote.<sup>511</sup> Such associations between Hellenistic monarchs and barbarian mercenaries could be a double-edged sword: particularly if their endeavours ended in failure, the barbarians in their employ could easily become a motif of a historical character assassination. This in fact happened with Antiochus Hierax and his Galatians, whose defeat at the hands of Attalus I was commemorated in the so-called 'Long Base' or 'Great Attalid Dedication' at Pergamon.<sup>512</sup> Attalus himself used the Aigosagi from Thrace as mercenaries against the Seleucid legate Achaeus, with some difficulty on account of their superstition and insubordination.<sup>513</sup> In Pyrrhus' case, the king's personal image may have been further tarnished by his pursuit in Italy of victory over the Romans at the same time (around 280 BCE) that the Celts were ravaging

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<sup>508</sup> See p. 155f.

<sup>509</sup> Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.9-12; cf. Paus. 1.13.1-3; also *Exc. de sent.* 252.

<sup>510</sup> Paus. 1.13.3. On the Macedonian yoke and its relationship to Greek portrayals of Galatian invasions, see RANKIN 1987, 83f. For Ptolemaic propaganda stressing their galatomachic providentiality, and its emphasis on the voluntary submission of disparate lands under the Macedonian domination (Callim. *Hymn* 4.165-70), see GIUSEPPETTI 2012, 482, 486f.

<sup>511</sup> MEISTER 1990, 85.

<sup>512</sup> Polyb. 4.48.7. MARSZAL 2000, 206f.; KOSMETATOU 2003, 162; the Great Dedication at Pergamon is dated by STEWART 2004, 212 table 8 to *ca.* 223-220, which would make it predate the Delphic dedication by some ten years, and the Acropolis dedication by more than twenty (with a possible *terminus ante quem* in 197 at the death of Attalus, though when taking into account the eagerness of his son Eumenes II of popularizing even the meagre galatomachic achievements of Philetærus, this is not decisive); more of the dating, *ibid.* 218-20.

<sup>513</sup> Polyb. 5.78. The astonishment of MARSZAL 2000, 209f. regarding the presence of Galatian mercenaries in the Pergamene campaign of 171 against king Perseus of Macedon seems unfounded. The Attalids were not above the other Hellenistic dynasties in simultaneously 'stress[ing] their achievements against this barbarian people' and using them to bolster their armies; as is noted by STEWART 2004, 228f.

much of Northern Greece: he returned only in 275, too late to reap much glory from fighting the northerners. The temple dedications of Gallic emblems, as well as his personal autobiographical account, could have been addressing this public relations issue.

While the Celts ended up playing an important role in Antigonus Gonatas' army in his fight against Pyrrhus, earlier the Antigonid king had derived much prestige from his victory over the Gauls at Lysimachia in 277 BCE.<sup>514</sup> In consolidating his rule over Macedonia, Antigonus apparently managed to capitalize upon his safeguarding of the country from Celts, in much the same way that Sosthenes (Just. 24.5.12ff.) had attempted to do; in addition, Antigonus benefited from the additional authority of representing an established dynasty. BARIGAZZI 1974 has argued that a much discussed papyrus fragment represents Aratus' *Hymn to Pan*, and points to a poetic celebration of the victory at Lysimachia.<sup>515</sup> The motif of Pan giving divine aid in a fight against Κελτοί or Γαλάται is occasionally met with (see p. 163 below), and there is nothing unlikely in the idea that the Antigonids too would have endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with Greek communities by associating their victories against the ravaging northerners with divine help.

Dynasts further east echoed the galatomachic register of their time as well. According to Appian's *Syriaca* 65, the title Σωτήρ of Antiochus I came from fighting off the Galatians. This victory has often been identified as the 'Elephant Battle' (variously dated between *ca.* 275 and 268 BCE), where Antiochus appears to have used the eponymous beasts against the barbarians to favourable effect; the precise details of the battle, however, are largely beyond reconstruction.<sup>516</sup> According to BAR-KOCHVA 1973, 1, on the other hand, the title of Σωτήρ was attached to Antiochus only long afterwards.<sup>517</sup> In any case, whether or not the victory of Antiochus I in the 'Elephant Battle' led directly to his being hailed as Σωτήρ, it apparently was commemorated in a monument, which may be represented in certain terracotta figurines produced at Myrina. The most likely candidates among the figurines belong to the type where a long, 'Celtic' shield is placed next to the beast's trunk.<sup>518</sup> Demonstrable politicised

<sup>514</sup> Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.6. See NACHTERGAEL 1977, 175-81; BARBANTANI 2001, 182; attestations of Gonatas' victory include *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 401; Just. 25.2.6; *Trog. Prol.* 25; *Diog. Laert.* 2.141.

<sup>515</sup> BARIGAZZI 1974, 225 and *passim*. Cf. p. 66f.

<sup>516</sup> BEVAN 1902, I 143 rightly recognized that the account of the battle in Lucian *Zenx.* 8-12 is largely fabulistic. As has been noted above (p. 67 fn. 179), it is possible that *SH* 958 might refer to this victory over Galatians. For a bibliography regarding the 'Elephant Battle', STROBEL 1994, 74 fn. 49.

<sup>517</sup> This variance in attributions is generated by the information ascribed by *Suda* to Simonides of Magnesia (*FGrH* 163 T 1 *s.v.* Σιμωνίδης), noting that it was Antiochus 'the Great' (i.e. Antiochus III) who obtained the victory over Gauls by elephants. The problem Simonides' patronage is also referred-to above (p. 67).

<sup>518</sup> REINACH 1910, 63f. on the terracottas of Myrina; BIENKOWSKI 1928, 141-50, fgs. 212f.; cf. BAR-KOCHVA 1973, 3. Also discussed in passing by MARSZAL 2000, 197.

parallelisms with the Delphic defence are also found further east in Asia Minor, such as an inscription at the dynastic ἱεροθέσιον of Antiochus of Commagene on the Nemrut Dağ.<sup>519</sup>

The early Ptolemaic use of galatomachic motives has been dealt with to some extent above (p. 63ff., 67ff.), but the geographical application of these motives straddled both the northern and the southern coast of the Eastern Mediterranean. As noted by BING, the dominance of the Ptolemies in the Aegean is dated to 286, after which both the Callimachean connection with Cos and pretensions to act as a safeguard to the cities of the littoral would have been politically most expedient.<sup>520</sup> The local sanctuaries, as so often the case, acted as a focal point for the monumentalization of Ptolemaic contributions against the barbarians, as demonstrated by the decoration with the Galatian shields motif in a temple for the Ptolemaic ruler cult at Limyra.<sup>521</sup> The epitaph of Neoptolemos at Tlos may attest to a similar preoccupation by the Ptolemies with sending prominent military representatives to the area to secure it from the Galatians.<sup>522</sup> It is possible, although difficult to demonstrate conclusively, that Neoptolemos may have been an officer in the Ptolemaic army described by Apollonius of Aphrodisias in Book 17 of his *History of Caria* as being driven to the sea by the Galatian newcomers.<sup>523</sup> In the epigraphic record, this courting of the Asiatic πόλεις is partly borne out by the letter from around 262-60 from Ptolemy II to the βουλή and δῆμος of the Milesians, in which he thanks the city profusely for its συμμαχία and φιλία.<sup>524</sup> The Callimachean

<sup>519</sup> WALDMANN 1973, 59-80.

<sup>520</sup> BING 2008, 92f. and fn. 5; the most recent examination of the hegemonic intentions (and achievements) of the Ptolemies in the area of Asia Minor is MEADOWS 2012, with plenty of new testimonies being employed and with much more exact dates. Miletus, for instance, switched its allegiance in 280-78, immediately after the battle of Corupedion (MEADOWS 2012, 116f.), and hence too early for the 'Gallic scare' to feature as an politicized element in the first phase of justifying the Ptolemaic rule. However, this says nothing of the usefulness of the fear factor in the later stages, after the Galatians had begun their harassment of the coastal cities and the Ptolemaic rule might have lost some of its first appeal, particularly after the pretense of protecting the interests of the cities of the area from Lysimachus—now dead—had become impossible (cf. *ibid.* 131ff.). Indeed, in order to furnish some sort of excuse for their continued presence in Lycia, Caria, Pamphylia (and even aspirations of 'protecting' Ionia), it is likely that the Ptolemies and their local representatives would have quickly recognized the usefulness of the Γαλάται. For Ptolemaic historiography, ZECCHINI 1990.

<sup>521</sup> MITCHELL 2003, 293.

<sup>522</sup> FGE 141 PAGE 1981, 448 giving the epitaph a vague overall dating of *ante* 43 CE, but goes on to use the combination of Ἀγριᾶνες and Γαλάται in the enemy forces to argue for a date following the Galatian invasion of Asia Minor in 278/7 BCE, which seems better than nothing. He moreover clarifies (449) the earlier confusion of Neoptolemus' victory apparently being over an alliance of Pisidians, Thracians and Galatians: instead, Πισίδας is a nominative, and should be interpreted to refer to a much more plausible defensive alliance of Lycians and Pisidians against the invaders. This does not, however, automatically refute Neoptolemus' possible connection with the Ptolemies, suggested by BARBANTANI 2001, 93, particularly as the name 'Kressos' of the inscription given in Stephanus is a hapax (FGE PAGE 1981, 449 n. 1) and an Alexandrian priesthood of the Sibling Deities is attested for a certain 'Neoptolemus son of Kraisios' (ROBERT 1983, 247-9).

<sup>523</sup> Apoll. Aphr. FGH 740 F 14 *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v.* Ἀγκυρα. According to Apollonius, the victorious Galatians bore the anchors of the Ptolemaic ships inland as their token of triumph, and 'in thanks of their victory' (μισθὸν τῆς νίκης) named their new city of Ancyra. This seems to envision ordinary ritual life among the Galatians at least in connection with war.

<sup>524</sup> *Milet* I.3, 139A (MCCABE & PLUNKETT 1984, 62).

presentation of the galatomachic colleagues Philadelphus and Apollo must certainly be linked with this rise of Ptolemaic interest in dominating coastal Asia Minor, which a recent study calls 'simply astonishing' in its swiftness.<sup>525</sup>

The kings endeavoured not only to contain the Galatian depredations, but also to pin them down. Part of this was achieved by epistemic means. An intriguing etymology for Γαιζήται, which the *Etymologicum Magnum* appears, on the authority of the polymath Euphorion (writing at the court of Antiochus III), to take as a synonym of Γαλάται—may be in part connected not only with the perceived interest of the Gauls in finding a land to settle, but perhaps also with a less clearly recognized, partly subliminal urge of the inhabitants of Asia Minor to wish for the settling down of the Gauls. This was achieved to a large extent after the Seleucid victory over the barbarians, which probably led to the consolidation of the future Galatia as the abode of the invaders.<sup>526</sup> While it is difficult to say whether Euphorion's etymology was primarily a learned allusion or part of a celebratory composition (as noted by BARBANTANI 2001, 184), it is not impossible to imagine how a celebration of the Seleucid achievement against the roaming barbarians could have included an etymologically masked reference to a settlement that even the barbarians themselves, deep down, could be perceived as seeking. A similar preoccupation with the land-grabbing of the Gauls is betrayed by the *post eventum* prophecy attributed by Zosimus to an Epirote seeress Phaennis.<sup>527</sup> The motifs of disturbing the sacred treasures and taking hold of the land seem to emerge as two prominent Hellenistic themes in the unease generated by the barbarian enemy. The barbarian invaders are also characterized as migratory (as opposed to the peaceful Greek farmers) in the Delphic Hymn by Limenius.<sup>528</sup> It was this element which the Middle Republican Roman writers found quite attractive in applying the motif of the 'Gallic invasion' to Italian history.<sup>529</sup>

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<sup>525</sup> MEADOWS 2012, 116. See also GIUSEPPETTI 2012, 478f., 486f. for the intimate joining of divine partnership to the considerations of political expediency in Callimachus' references to Philadelphus and his galatomachy.

<sup>526</sup> An older study of the consolidation of the Galatian settlement is MORAUX 1957, supporting a theory of Galatian settlement as soon as four years after their arrival in Anatolia; despite its age his study has certain advantages over later, ethnogenesis-influenced accounts of e.g. STROBEL 2009, esp. 122-31. NACHTERGAEL 1977 provides a balanced account of the process, as do DARBYSHIRE & AL. 2000.

<sup>527</sup> Zos. 2.37.1: referring to Leonnorius, one of the leaders of Γαλάται that migrated to Asia Minor, as λέοντα μέγαν, γαμφώνυχα, δεινόν, ὅς ποτε κινήσει πατρίας κειμήλια χώρας, γαῖαν δ' αἰρήσει μόχθων ἄτερ. For an interpretation of the passage of Zosimus, see PARKE 1982; the piece is dated too early (310s) by HATT 1984, 81, not acknowledging its *post eventum* nature. A few lines later in the prophetic utterance there is a possible reference to Leonnorius' fellow Galatian leader, Lutorios, as λύκος. Animal metaphors are nothing particularly exceptional in descriptions of barbarians, especially those formed along the tradition of 'borealism'.

<sup>528</sup> FANTUZZI 2010, 193.

<sup>529</sup> WILLIAMS 2001, 100-40, 207-12, mounting the most sustained critical examination of the Roman narratives of Gallic invasion from outside Italy, and with good reason emphasizes the dissociating potential of such claims regarding the purported invasive arrivistes.

As we have already seen above, traditions concerning the Cimbri and Teutones strongly partook in the theme of a migrating, aggressive barbarian group, of the type encountered above in connection with Hellenistic conceptualizations of the appearance of the Κελτοί in the geographical imagination of the Greeks. This notion was well-known to Romans, and its propagandistic appeal is relatively easy to see.<sup>530</sup> By deriving the presence of any barbarian outgroup in the Greek or Roman conceptual 'home sphere' from a migration of greater or lesser antiquity, their outsider status and foreignness was accentuated in a way that allowed for easy justification of their possible subjugation or expulsion. This was applied to the Galatians, the groups of Northern Italy, and much, much later to the Goths.<sup>531</sup> Moreover, since the wars against the Cimbri and Teutones predate most of our sources (with the exception of Polybius) discussing the Gallic migration into Italy, there is a good likelihood that this experience coloured all Late Republican and Early Imperial re-readings of earlier Republican writing on the Gallic wars, possibly including the spotlight on their northern origins. Polybius, for his part, does not dwell upon any crossing of the Alps by migrating Gauls: he merely notes that the Gauls had been close neighbours and associates of the Etruscans before expelling them from the Po valley.<sup>532</sup>

The Delphic example of establishing games in honour of the deliverance from the Celts was imitated by the Attalids of Pergamon. Attalus I instituted the Βασιλεια games at Nakrasa after his victory over the Gauls and his assumption of the royal title in 241 or 240 BCE.<sup>533</sup> Once more, the testimony of *SH* 958 could be evoked, if only it were possible to securely establish a historical connection for the piece—or rather, to decisively pick one among several more or less plausible candidates. Alas, this is not possible. The Pergamene context, it may be noted, is about as satisfactory as most other suggestions, and some pictorial

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<sup>530</sup> Livy 38.17.3, in explaining the presence of Galatians in Asia Minor, characterizes them as *ferox natio pervagata bello prope orbem terrarum*. Cf. Just. 24.4.1; Str. 12.5.1.

<sup>531</sup> Galatae and the Hellenistic references: see p. 74f. fn. 214-17, 149 fn. 522 above; on Cisalpine Gauls see WILLIAMS 2001, *loc. cit. supra*. References to the migratory nature and wanderings of the 'Celts' have been assembled by TOMASCHITZ 2002. In the case of Goths, the narrative/polemic strategies of the Justinianic propaganda (with its vestiges in Jordanes: see GOFFART 1988, 20-111, *ibid.* 2002, 37; MAAS 1992B, 83-96; AMORY 1997, 300-3; but cf. MERRILLS 2005, 32;) can be interpreted through a similar wish to 'externalise' a barbarian group from the 'original' Mediterranean sphere.

<sup>532</sup> Polyb. 2.17.3-8. This despite the fact that Polybius, too, recognized the value of the Alps as an 'Acropolis of Italy' (3.54.2); rather, he may have been comparatively freer of the Roman nervousness in what it came to northern invasions. In the context of Gaesatae and the battle of Telamon, Polybius does tell of Italian Gauls seeking help from their Transalpine kin: 2.22.1-3, but it is recognized that his narrative of the battle used Fabius Pictor as a primary source: WALBANK 1957, 184; WILLIAMS 2001, 19. Pictor, for his part, highlighted the Transalpine origin of the Gauls vanquished at Telamon, at least according to Pictor F 30 Chassignet *ap.* Eutr. 3.5: *L. Aemilio consule ingentes Gallorum copiae Alpes transierunt. Sed pro Romanis tota Italia consensit traditumque est a Fabio historico, qui ei bello interfuit, part of his tactic of highlighting the Italian unity under Roman leadership.* WILLIAMS 2001, 60-2, 104f. about the Polybian account of Celtic conquest of the plain of Po.

<sup>533</sup> OGIS 268. See HORNBLLOWER 1981, 238; KOSMETATOU 2003, 161. MORAUX 1957, 61 suggested that the Pergamene monarchs sponsored a narrative according to which they were the first ones to beat the Γαλάται.

commemorations of Attalid victories link Galatians with Persians in a way that resembles the close association of the two in *SH* 958.<sup>534</sup> More securely, there is no doubt that Attalus' refusal to pay tribute to the Galatians and his later victory over them were important sources of prestige for him, and came to form one of the founding narratives of the whole dynasty. Among the visual testimonies, the associated sculptures and their visual narratives have received much attention; thus only a few general remarks and examples are made at present.<sup>535</sup>

The Attalid monuments at Pergamon, probably the most influential pictorial testimony to Hellenistic royal barbaromachy, described the battle in terms of agonism and hard-won victory.<sup>536</sup> No wonder, then, that an intriguing story included in Polyaeus' book of stratagems (4.20) told how Attalus, in preparing for a battle against a larger force of Γαλάται, quite literally extended his helping hand to fate. He ordered Sudinos the Chaldaean to perform the sacrifice, and having written upon his hand the inverted text βασιλέως νίκη in black, surreptitiously pressed his hand against some relevant part of the victim's innards. Thus he was able to show his troops an unambiguously favourable message from the gods, and the new-found confidence of the soldiers carried the day. Although such an aphorism hardly represents solid evidence for 'real' notions motivating a Hellenistic army, the story still tells of a need for very strong signals of divine favour in fighting against the Galatians.

That a dynasty whose own origin was at best only half-Greek would be so eager to portray themselves as defenders of Hellenicity is not in itself very surprising. In the end, however, although a barbaromachic pedigree became one of the dynasty's defining features, this stance developed only gradually in Attalid self-portrayal.<sup>537</sup> The back-projected significance of the Γαλάται to the dynasty is perhaps best summed up by Polybius, who reports that Attalus I truly showed himself a king by his victory over the Gauls, which was the

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<sup>534</sup> For the Attalid pictorial representations of Persians in their victory monuments, see FERRIS 2000, 8-15; STEWART 2004. For *SH* 958, see above p. 66 fn. 178, 67 fn. 181, 68 fn. 184. Pergamon was suggested already by POWELL in his comments to *Coll. Alex.* 132, relating the piece with what the *Suda* has to say on Musaeus, and has lately been resurrected as an option by KOSMETATOU 2003, 171.

<sup>535</sup> Attalus' refusal of tribute: Livy 38.16.14. On the Pergamene propaganda through culture see CHAMOIX 1988; GRUEN 2000; MARSZAL 2000 with a healthy dose of scepticism towards interpretations of galatomachic iconography that emphasize the role of Attalid propaganda; STEWART 2004, an examination of the originals, Roman copies, and reception of the Pergamene and Athenian dedications of Attalus, particularly 206-32 (see also *ibid.* 2000).

<sup>536</sup> POLLITT 1986, 96-97: the words ἀγών and μάχη are used in the place of a simple statement of νίκη.

<sup>537</sup> The origins of Philetaerus: KOSMETATOU 2003, 159f., in the same volume SCHEER 2003, 221. The existence of recognitions of Philetaerus' contributions against the Γαλάται (modest as they were), and the subsequent increasing and innovative use of galatomachy as propaganda speaks for the notion of the Attalids gradually discovering the potential of such themes in justifying their rule; cf. KOSMETATOU 2003, 167 on their subtle propaganda and mindfulness of their own peculiar situation. See also p. 69 fn. 188, 138f. above. On the pictorial development of barbaromachic monumentalization all the way to 'the Akropolis Dedications' fully developed mythohistorical quartet', e.g. STEWART 2004, 212.



foundation of his success.<sup>538</sup> The Galatian victories of Attalus were commemorated at Delos, Athens, and Delphi.<sup>539</sup> Another element connected with Delphic myth-making is the prophecy by a certain Phaennis, said by Pausanias to predate the Gallic invasion by a generation; the prophecy invokes Zeus as the divinity responsible for helping Attalus defend the inhabitants of the Asian littoral by inflicting a 'destructive day' upon the barbarians.<sup>540</sup> Attalus' successor, Eumenes II, was similarly commemorated for his victories at both Delphi and Miletus, as well as his capital.<sup>541</sup>

The statue of the Attalid general Epigenes that adorned the Pergamene dedicatory group at the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos may also have included the figure of a Gaul lying prone beneath the victor; in which case it might well be compared in form to the Ptolemaic terracotta statue at the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>542</sup> The Hellenistic type of a triumphal rider would obviously have been adopted to expound the martial excellence of the Epigoni in a manner that also recalled the equestrian poses of Alexander.<sup>543</sup> Finally, the monumental frieze portraying Gigantomachy, constructed by Eumenes II at the Great Altar of Pergamon beginning in the late 180s, is usually regarded as a symbolic iconographic reference to earlier Pergamene victories over the **Γαλάται**.<sup>544</sup> While the Attalid technique of propounding their galatomachic providentiality does seem clearly attested, the idea that the Pergamene dynasty

<sup>538</sup> Polyb. 18.41.7. This probably refers to him obtaining the title of βασιλεύς after his victory over the Galatians; his title Σωτήρ is likewise connected with the same victory; see HANNESTAD 1993, 21ff.; MITCHELL 2003, 284. Earlier Attalus had dedicated a statue to Athena (*OGIS* 269) after gaining victory over the Gauls around 240 at the sources of river Caïcus; though BARBANTANI 2001, 215f. is not necessarily correct when suggesting that (possibly 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE) *IMT Kaikos* 829, an epitaph for Sotas of Elea who died fighting Celts, might refer to the Pergamene victory at the sources of the river.

<sup>539</sup> Delos: see below. Athens: Paus. 1.25.2; STEWART 2004, 210 reconstructs the political scene around the year 200 and the joint Attalid-Athenian effort against Philip V of Macedon, which could have occasioned the Acropolis dedication (*ibid.* 221-3, 226, with the point that the Macedonian's reputation suffered particularly from the use of Galatians as mercenaries: 223 fn. 138). The report of Livy 31.30 transmits the Athenians' fear and revulsion at the time: Philip is effectively portrayed as an enemy of men and gods alike, exactly in the tradition of Giants, Persians, and Celts (*circa ea omnia templa Philippum infestos circumtulisse ignes; semusta, truncata simulacra deum inter prostratos iacere postes templorum*). Delphi: BRINGMANN & VON STEUBEN 1995, 143-8, dating some of the Attalid dedications at Delphi to around 210-9, when Attalus was honoured with a generalship in the Aetolian League—an entity with a very real interest in Galatian monumentalization at Delphi; this monument may have mirrored a similar stoa already in the sanctuary, dedicated after the original Gallic attack. See MITCHELL 2001, 286; cf. already WOODHOUSE 1897, 147f. That the whole complex of Stoa of Attalus I at Delphi was probably intended to celebrate galatomachic victories is suggested by STEWART 2004, 210.

<sup>540</sup> Paus. 10.15.2f. Phaennis is an obscure figure, a female soothsayer whose only other mention is as 'Phaennis of Epirus' in Zos. 2.37 about a very similar (and obviously retrospective) prophecy about the Gauls in Asia Minor; see PARKE 1982, 441-2. Pausanias mentions that she was the daughter of the king of Chaones (10.13.10), and as PARKE notes (442), Zosimus' source Eunapius had probably come across her in reading Pausanias.

<sup>541</sup> *OGIS* 305, 763, respectively. See HANNESTAD 1993, 25. See also p. 69 fn. 188, 147 fn. 512 on the later Attalid emphasis on the galatomachic prestige of the dynastic founders.

<sup>542</sup> Though MARSZAL 2000, 205f. lists the Epigenes-dedication (*IG* XI.4.1109) as separate from a statuary monument to Attalus I himself (*IG* XI.4.1110), which is perhaps more likely to have borne the equestrian statue, he does not believe that Epigenes was depicted as riding down an enemy (206). The Ashmolean miniature terracotta: Mus. Ashm. inv. 1987.189. Ptolemaic artistic depictions of Gauls were catalogued by REINACH 1910.

<sup>543</sup> E.g. see REINACH 1910, 68 fig. 28.

<sup>544</sup> KOSMETATOU 2003, 164f. The epiphanic aspects of the gigantomachy are discussed by PLATT 2011, 136-9.

achieved pre-eminence in the field of galatomachic propaganda above other dynasties may simply derive from the uneven state of preservation of our evidence, and from the spectacular manifestations taken on by galatomachy at Pergamon.<sup>545</sup> If the material and literary fragments are assessed for what they are, there is no telling if Ptolemaic, Aetolian, and Antigonid galatomachic narratives did not actually present the Attalids with competing accounts.<sup>546</sup>

The *exemplum* of Celtic attacks and their successful holding off also became politicized in the context of Graeco-Roman diplomacy. Polybius makes a disparaging comment in an aside concerning his countrymen's alarm over prospective Gallic invasions: he implies that he has partly narrated the course of Rome's Northern Italian wars, "second to no war in history" in terms of numbers and the desperation of the combatants, to act as a model for the Greeks to emulate.<sup>547</sup> It was no doubt rather flattering for Polybius' Roman patrons to see their galatomachic pedigree so highly valued in a time when the Galatian wars were still commemorated at the Σωτηρία-festivals of Delphi and in ostentatious Pergamene sculpture. He further explains that in giving a lengthy account of the said wars his aim has been to show that even large barbarian invasions can be withstood, and that in this sense the historians writing about the Persian and Galatian attacks to Greece had done a great service to the freedom of Hellas (35.5-7). Polybius goes on to note that even in his own lifetime the Greeks had been alarmed by the prospect of a Galatian invasion. This must refer to a general Greek nervousness during the second century BCE about barbarian incursions from the Balkans, including those of the Scordisci, Maedi, and Bessi.<sup>548</sup>

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<sup>545</sup> Expressed e.g. in MOMIGLIANO 1975, 62. The 'priority of Pergamon in the representation of the Gauls' is rejected with good reasons in MARSZAL 2000, esp. 197, 200ff., 211. On the other hand, as suggested quite plausibly by FERRIS 2012, 188, the preservation of the copies of Attalid galatomachy in Rome, ostensibly in the *Horti Sallustiani* connected with Caesar, would in itself imply that the high impact of the Pergamene version was a fact already during the Late Republic (see e.g. KUTTNER 1995, 160 fn. 8, 170), with the consequent pictorial recontextualization by such a later galatomachist as Caesar.

<sup>546</sup> The comparably more prominent reception of the Attalid galatomachy as compared to other Hellenistic dynasties is noted in KOSMETATOU 2003, 170. The observation by HANNESTAD 1993, 18f. that the mainland Greeks opted for traditional, indeed classical, ways of celebrating their victories over the Γαλάται, seems quite correct; indeed, it is the new Hellenistic monarchies that found more creative uses and methods of commemorating the barbarian victories through imagery: *ead.* 21. Cf. CHAMOUX 1988, 493.

<sup>547</sup> Polyb. 2.35.9, 2. BERGER 1992, 109, fn. 10 notes that in Polybius' usage of βάρβαρος the northerners (whom he calls 'Celts') feature prominently—though this may also depend on the state of preservation of his text.

<sup>548</sup> Polyb. 2.35.9; cf. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 710. The relatively intense interest of Posidonius in the Scordisci (MARTIN 2011, 409) may be partly explained by this rise in salience. The Balkan tribes came to possess an enduring reputation of wildness: even as late as Ammianus, the memory of the campaigns against these 'peoples until then invincible, roaming without rites or laws' (*vagantesque sine cultu vel legibus* 27.4.10). Ammianus also presents some wholly topical information concerning the ancient customs of the Odrysae: they were savage beyond all others, and so addicted to shedding human blood that if at their feasts there happened to be no enemies to execute, they fell upon each other as a dessert after all the drinking and eating (27.4.9). The northerners' banquets, the Caesarian need for someone to be executed, and the dissension among Thracians which already Herodotus mentions (5.3.1; cf. Thuc. 2.97.6) all work in the background.

Justin's *Epitome* bears witness to another instance where the politicized *exemplum* of the Gallic wars was used with rhetorical gusto. This is the haughty retort of the Aetolians to a Roman embassy: the embassy had been sent by the senate in response to the plea for assistance by the Acarnanians soon after 260 BCE.<sup>549</sup> The Romans had apparently expressed their demands through a mytho-historical *exemplum*: that the Aetolians should withdraw their garrisons from Acarnania, since the latter were the only people of Greece who had not contributed forces to the Trojan War, directed as it was against the ancestors of Romans, and thus well deserved their freedom.<sup>550</sup> The overt double standard of this retroactive Roman justification would probably have struck the Aetolians as exceedingly crude, and they responded through an *exemplum* of their own. The Romans are told to mind their place, as it was they who had been unable to defend themselves against the Gauls, and had had to ransom their city back with gold. The Gauls' numerically superior invasion of Greece, on the other hand, had been completely decimated without external help, with only a fraction of their domestic forces. Italy, in contrast, had been almost entirely occupied by the Gauls, and Romans should have expelled the Gauls from Italy before threatening the Aetolians.<sup>551</sup> The response then proceeds to berate the Romans for their lowly origins, and for having a city and a society founded on acts of rape and fratricide. Finally, the dual *exemplum* of the Gauls and the Macedonians is again evoked to highlight Aetolian defiance and martial valour.<sup>552</sup>

As the Republican Era progressed and geopolitics enabled the Romans to more believably portray themselves as fighting on behalf of Greek safety against the northerners, certain members of the Roman elite succeeded in casting themselves in the mould of Hellenistic rulers, with divine sanction for the fight against the Gauls. The most remarkable monument embodying such narratives must be the pediment for an equestrian statue at Delphi containing a bilingual inscription in honour of M. Minucius Rufus.<sup>553</sup> Serving as consul

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<sup>549</sup> Just. 28.2. The dramatic date of the passage is remarkably early in terms of Galatians being used as a standard of military success, but as *exprobantes dicentesque prius illis portas adversus Karthaginenses aperiendas, quas clausurit metus Punici belli* in 28.2.2 is a clear allusion to the Second Punic War *ante eventum*, the mentality conveyed by the Aetolian response should probably be considered as that of the Later Republic (see YARROW 2006, 285f.). If the allusion to the Second Punic War is a later elaboration, the anti-Roman stance of this passage could possibly derive from a Greek historian sufficiently well-equipped with pro-Aetolian propaganda, most likely centred on Delphi.

<sup>550</sup> Just. 28.1.5. Of this use of the Trojan *exemplum*, see GRUEN 1992, 45.

<sup>551</sup> Just. 28.2.3-7. The statement may be negotiating with the Hellenistic perceptions of Galatians seeking new lands, a migratory people whose quest for homeland is reflected in the sources examined above p. 74f. Later, Caesar applied the notion to Germani (TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 110-18), with Strabo citing his 'Posidonian' references to Cimbric migrations under Caesar's influence (see p. 122).

<sup>552</sup> Just. 28.2.12f.; cf. Paus. 1.3.3, though in the case of Pyrrhus.

<sup>553</sup> SIG<sup>3</sup> 710 A-B (CIL I<sup>2</sup> 692). Other sources for Minucius' campaign include Vell. Pat. 2.8.3; Frontin. *Str.* 2.4.3; Flor. 1.39.3-5; Eutr. 4.27.5. For the phrase Σκορδίσκους Γαλάτας used in the Minucius-inscription, cf. Str. 7.2.2, 7.5.6; cf. Livy *Per.* 63 (Livius Drusus, *cos.* 112, fighting *adversus Scordiscos, gentem a Gallis oriundam*); also Cass.

in 110 BCE, Minucius had scored victories over “Galatian Scordisci and Bessi as well as the rest of the Thracians”, in honour of which the Delphic polis had set up a monument to Apollo in memory of Minucius’ deeds. The emphasis on the Apollonian association and the representation of a victory over the Galatians as εὐεργεσία are in accord with the Greek form of galatomachic commemoration, but may also be due to the religious unease aroused among the Romans by the Scordiscan incursion.<sup>554</sup> Minucius was proclaimed *imperator* for his victory, and the spoils he had captured were used to fund the *Porticus Minucia*.<sup>555</sup> It does not seem that he had to deal with any serious repercussions for these celebrations of a northern victory, but the existence of such a victory may in itself indicate a desire on the part of a family which had a relatively recently risen to prominence to garner prestige by a traditionally patrician means.<sup>556</sup> It should be noted that Minucius’ victory over the Scordisci took place at a time when Italy was still threatened by the Cimbri; this no doubt had heightened the old fear of the northerners’ tumult and the associated religious sentiments among the Romans.

d. THEANDRIC IMBALANCE, DIVINE EPIPHANY AND TALISMANIC SANCTUARIES

Impiety, and the resulting fall of the insolent, obviously form a long-standing motif in Greek literature—indeed, it can perhaps be found in most oral or literary traditions about a profaned or disregarded sacrality.<sup>557</sup> Herodotus’ example in making the retributive motif so central in Greek historiography is worth noting.<sup>558</sup> Crucially, however, it was only in conjunction with historical developments that the imagery of Greek or Roman divinities smiting the northern barbarian invaders came to hold such a lasting position in the minds, literature and pictorial environments of the societies in question. That the Delphic incident remained the touchstone for what could be expected of the northern barbarians is demonstrated by Cicero’s denouncement of the *Galli* as “waging war against every people’s *religio*” (*Font.* 30). This must have resonated with his audience, and there is much evidence that

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Dio 22.74.1. The paired formulation (cf. *IVP* 1 20, 23) seems to have become quite conventional when denoting ‘Galatian’ groups in the Greek east, which works against the suggestion of STROBEL 2009, 119 that finding this form in epigraphy testifies for Galatian self-perceptions.

<sup>554</sup> See below p. 154ff., 184, 304f.; and ECKSTEIN 1982, 73.

<sup>555</sup> *MRR* 1.543, 3.144; on *Porticus Minucia* see *Cic. Phil.* 2.84; *Vell. Pat.* 2.8.3.

<sup>556</sup> For the political rise of the Minucii, and the role monuments played in this, see WISEMAN 1996, with particularly notable points on p. 63 regarding the false triumphs of Minucii. Marcus’ (grand?) father Q. Minucius Rufus had campaigned against Boii and Ligurians in 197 BCE, for which he celebrated an *ovatio*: *MRR* 1.332f.

<sup>557</sup> The early phases and some of the comparative material of the retributive motif in literature are skimmed in TROMPF 2000, 3-20, and its early Greek examples in 20-33.

<sup>558</sup> TROMPF 2000, 26f., noting Thucydides’ reluctance to acknowledge divinely operated retribution in history.

not all statements of the northerners' impiety were simply rhetorical in nature or a form of comforting literary traditionalism. They could have been effective with the audience only if they generated no marked epistemic dissonance. In fighting the northerners, some Greeks and many Romans were clearly demonstrating their own piety, redeeming their past lapses, and defending by any means possible the 'correct' relationship between gods and men.<sup>559</sup> Livy, on the other hand, shows the Bastarnian allies of Philip V, in attacking the Thracians, as suffering a similar storm as the one that smote the Gauls at Delphi.<sup>560</sup>

The problem with the northerners was apparently their inability to maintain correct interaction with the supernatural. Either they were entirely devoid of religious sentiment and proper morality, or they were prone to be swayed by even minor omens and natural phenomena. Such invaders of the 'normal' rocked the equilibrium of the theandric relationship; vice versa, an imbalance in that relationship, according to some of our sources, seems almost to have invited a barbarian invasion. Indeed, the northerners were not perceived merely as perpetrators of outrages against the gods and their temples. With remarkable frequency the narratives of their attacks link them to a lack of piety among their Greek or Roman adversaries. An archetypal figure among such characters might be Ptolemy Ceraunus, whose death at the hands of the Galatae takes on in Memnon's rendition an almost sacrificial nature: the Galatians are described as having "shredded him to pieces" in a way that resembles a Dionysian victim of omophagy.<sup>561</sup> Justin is not quite as metaphorical, but even clearer than Memnon as to Ceraunus' demise being the result of his faulty morality.<sup>562</sup> The moralizing tone expressed in rather similar terms by both Justin and Memnon opens up the question of a possible common source concerning the notion of Ceraunus' antics as a lightning rod calling down the nemesis of Gallic invasion.<sup>563</sup> If so, the earlier source could be Nymphis, the local

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<sup>559</sup> Occasionally, the narrative demands could probably also exceed the extent to which borealistic imagery was shared among prospective audiences. As observed by LUCE 1971, 152f., in Livy's narrative of Book 5, the Roman stumble towards the depths of impiety is structured around a clear but unexplained lack of action in crucial moments (examples include 5.37.1f., 37.3, 38.1f., 38.6f.). It may be that in Livy's work the narrative demands for the Romans' dramatic misfortune went so far that they could not have been backed up by any believable rationale (cf. LUCE 1971, 154 'balanced structure at the expense of probability' [...] 'makes exciting reading, but little sense'; cf. 182-86): hence, the historian simply chose to state that no preparatory measures were taken, that the military tribunes belittled the danger, that all proper conduct was bypassed before the battle at Allia, and that the Romans just panicked at the battle.

<sup>560</sup> Livy 40.58.1-7. The result is a panicky retreat from the mountain where the Thracians are taking refuge, with heavy losses to the attackers and a belief among the Bastarnae that they are being punished by the gods and *caelumque in se ruere*. The latter motif in particular seems to be in connection with the sources of Str. 7.3.8 (broadly coeval with Livy's time of writing) and Arr. *Anab.* 1.4.6 on the Celts meeting Alexander, possibly a detail regarded plausible on account of the shared Balkanian setting of the incidents. On Delphi and Rome tarnishing both Philip and Perseus with the accusation of an alliance with 'Gauls' and Bastarnae: WILLIAMS 2001, 163.

<sup>561</sup> Memn. F 14 *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 224.8.8: διασπαραχθείς.

<sup>562</sup> Just. 24.3.10, 4.8, 5.1-6 *Ptolomeus multis vulneribus sauciis capitur.*

<sup>563</sup> Also MORAUX 1957, 68 fn. 34.

historian of Heraclea, and the reasons for the indictment of Ptolemy's character largely political. If this should be the case, moralizing character assessments could have been present in galatomachic narratives at a remarkably early stage. Another possible and equally plausible source, however, is Hieronymus of Cardia; for him, Ptolemy Ceraunus would essentially have been an usurper in the succession of Macedonian Antigonids. Hence the court historian would have had few inhibitions in judging the rash young king in harsh terms.

Extreme reactions and religious commemoration in the context of fighting against the Gauls is much in evidence among Romans, who took very seriously the defeat at the River Allia; at least if Late Republican tradition-building is to be credited.<sup>564</sup> Famously, the *dies Alliensis* on 18 July was considered a *dies ater* and unsuitable for most official acts.<sup>565</sup> The formal reason for this in Livy is that Sulpicius, the consular tribune, had not offered an acceptable sacrifice on 16 July, the day after the Ides, so that divine favour was withheld from the Romans in the following battle (6.1.11). This formulation accords well with Livy's interpretation of the crucial role of religion in defining Roman success and failure, especially in the context of Book 5.<sup>566</sup> The exemplary power of the Allian defeat was also apt to be hijacked; Livy notes that in addition to the defeats at Cremera and Allia coinciding on that day, the Praenestines chose to do battle against the Romans near Allia on the same day in 380.<sup>567</sup> The Romans, however, apparently mastered their fears, recognized that no Latin enemy could be as bad as the Gauls, and in the process reinforced their mastery over their own historical exempla.<sup>568</sup> In further proof of the gravity of the Allian *exemplum*, since the defeat had taken

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<sup>564</sup> However, as noted by LUCE 1971, 159, in Livy's narrative structure the battle is but one episode in the general downward trend of the Roman fortunes; this manages to reduce the importance of the battle itself.

<sup>565</sup> Livy 6.1.11; Verr. Flacc. F 3 *De verb sign.*; Tac. *Ann.* 15.41, *Hist.* 2.91; Suet. *Vit.* 11.2; cf. *ILS* 140 1.25. Interestingly, Tac. *Hist.* 2.91 derives the *dies Alliensis* from the even earlier defeat of the Fabii in the battle of Cremera; the same is stated by Livy 6.1.11, and Plutarch *Cam.* 19.1 (the latter two with the explicit information that after Allia the day was renamed): cf. UNGERN-STERNBERG 2000, 209f. In these cases, the defeat at Cremera is the nefarious *exemplum*, and the great fault of the Romans was to suppose that engaging in battle with the barbarians on such a day would end well. Tacitus takes up the matter in the context of Vitellius breaking the taboo: he issued a proclamation concerning public religious ceremonies in his role as Pontifex Maximus on the July 18<sup>th</sup>, and hence demonstrated himself to be *adeo omnis humani divinique iuris expertus* (Tac. *loc. cit.*; MORGAN 2000, 35-38 with the point that Tacitus' mention of Allia may well be designed to forefigure the closely following burning of the Capitol). The historical authenticity of the defeat at Cremera is questioned e.g. by FORSYTHE 1994, 320 fn. 72, who suspects it of being a parallel creation to Allia and Thermopylae.

<sup>566</sup> Although, as noted by WOODMAN 1988, 132, Livy's choice for the cause of the Roman misfortunes did not remain the same for the whole of his work: during later threats of (self-)destruction, other reasons are cited.

<sup>567</sup> Livy 6.28.5-6. The rationale of the Praenestines was to have the Romans so strongly reminded of their previous debacle that they would have *species profecto iis ibi truces Gallorum sonumque vocis in oculis atque auribus fore*. Though this may partly be Livian elaboration, the Praenestines are provoked into action by the realization that the Roman plebeians and patricians were in each others' throats—a situation resembling the one before the Gallic Sack. As noted by KREMER 1994, 63, the *exemplum* of Allia was also imagined as being recognized by the Samnites after the surrender at the Caudine Forks in Livy 9.6.13; further incidents of exemplary function are examined in *ibid.* 63-4.

<sup>568</sup> Livy 6.28.7-29.7, culminating in the surrender of the city of Praeneste, thus completing the reversal of the *exemplum* in a way that is suspiciously fortuitous. The Praenestine statue of Jupiter Imperator is carried to the

place soon after a censor had died in office and his elected suffect had performed the *lustrum*, this combination was deemed inauspicious; henceforth a dead censor meant completion of the five-year census cycle without a *lustrum* and with the censorship vacant (Livy 5.31.6).

Similarly, after the Gauls had been beaten back, it fell—at least in Livy's impressive construction—to the admirably religious figure of Camillus to make certain that the Romans would continue to adhere to their newfound piety (*omnium primum, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor*). The whole of passage 5.50 is devoted to the description of Camillus' acts, including the restoration of temples polluted by the enemy (apparently simply by their presence) by purificatory rites, the details of which would need to be ascertained by the *duumviri*. Cordial relations with Caere were to be established on account of their helping to maintain the integrity of the Roman *sacra* and priesthood.<sup>569</sup> Similarly, Jupiter was given thanks through the institution of the Capitoline Games (5.50.4) although it is difficult to say if they incorporated elements from the Delphic Σωτηρία during the Republican Period. Camillus' speech at the end of Book 5 recapitulates most of the elements that Livy had written into the preceding narrative. Step by step, the Romans have let warnings and opportunities for redemption go unheeded: Aius Locutius warns them in vain, then the Fabii act *contra ius gentium* (5.51.7-8). The *fatalis dux* speaks impassionedly against the suggestion that with so much of the city destroyed, it might be better to migrate to Veii and start all over again. Camillus proclaims that even if the cults of Rome had not been established in the city, the transfer would be against the workings of *numen* lately evidenced so clearly.<sup>570</sup> All Roman success in the Gallic episode has been predetermined by their correct worship, and all adversity by its lack (*omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa spernentibus*: 5.51.5). In the hour of their direst need, the Romans have at last rediscovered their religious duties, and have

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Capitol in the ensuing triumph. The episode and the wrangling about who could appropriate the exemplary history: CHAPLIN 2000, 73f.; cf. SCHULTZE 2012, 132 on the Roman perception of early Republican generations producing a mass of *exempla*.

<sup>569</sup> Interestingly, as noted by WILDFANG 2006, 86, the transfer of the cultic *sacra* to Caere features the only mention of Vestals between the founding of the Republic and the beginning of the First Punic War, besides the *crimen incesti*. He goes on to remark that far from being a late element of dubious historicity, we have the confirmation of it in Arist. F 610 ROSE *ap.* Plut. *Cam.* 22. This is broadly true, although if Plutarch is referring to a pseudepigraphic work, it might postdate the real Aristotle by many centuries. The motif of evacuating the cultic material does, additionally, seem to be modelled after what had happened in Delphi (Diod. 22.9.5; Paus. 10.22.12). The version preserved in Str. 5.2.3 and Diod. 14.117.7 about the Caeretans defeating the departing Gauls and sending the gold back to Rome would have highlighted the close relations well, but could not be reconciled with Livy's design. Caere and Rome had, however, been allies already before the fall of Veii, so the Gallic motivation for the good relations seems a back-dated rationale: cf. CORNELL 1995, 312f., 317 (on Camillus being used in the narrative to obscure the historical role of Caere); also MOMIGLIANO 1986B, 191 on the Fabii and certain other aristocratic families of the fourth century sending their members to Caere to learn Etruscan.

<sup>570</sup> Livy 5.51.4 *equidem si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per manus religiones nullae essent, tamen tam evidens numen hac tempestate rebus adfuit Romanis ut omnem negligentiam divini cultus exemptam hominibus putem*. This seems another case of Livy's technique of hinting at *coniurationes* of 'alternative Romes' (see DAVIES 2004, 82).

sought safety in the Capitol (5.51.9). It was this, and the preservation of the cults, that ensured a new beginning for Rome.<sup>571</sup>

Livy projects many things back onto Camillus' speech, but other Republican displays of religiosity could also function as a canvas. Among one of the more mysterious and much-discussed Roman sacrificial rituals is the famous burial alive of two pairs of Greek and Celtic prisoners, respectively, in the Forum Boarium.<sup>572</sup> Though little new light can be cast upon the ritual itself, the Romans' recourse to it will nonetheless enable us to draw a few insights as to the magico-religious implications of a Gallic threat in the Republican Roman perception.<sup>573</sup> The original sacrifice, and the precedent for later sacrifices, is mentioned as having taken place in 228 BCE, but Livy gives a famous account of a recurrence of the same rite in 216, apparently uneasy as to the un-Roman character of the act (*minime Romano sacro*).<sup>574</sup> Both times seem to be associated with a Gallic threat from the Northern Italy, or at any rate from northern barbarians: already in 229/8 there had been increasing difficulty with the Illyrians, and in 225 a war began against the Boii and the Insubres, with its famous culmination in the battle of

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<sup>571</sup> Cf. UNGERN-STERNBERG 2000, 211-15, 222. Livy's dramaturgy is connected with the earlier Roman narratives of the same symbolism by SORDI 1984, e.g. 85, whereas the use of religious exemplars in Camillus' speech is examined by CHAPLIN 2000, 86ff. The most salient trope is, of course, the *urbs capta*, and KRAUS 1994 has demonstrated very well Livy's negotiation with the most crucial historical *exemplum*, the sack of Troy (e.g. 271-82). There may also be merit in the suggestion of MOMIGLIANO 1986A, 106 that Livy is in part reacting here to the alleged designs by Caesar to abandon Rome as the capital; hence his argument would be even more crucially steeped in the contemporary concerns than his apparent collusion with the *imperium sine fine dedi* – ideology of the Augustan age implies. KRAUS 1994, 285f. also notes that Camillus' refounding has a curious open-ended quality, which seems designed to allow for Augustus to perfect the *forma urbis*. GAERTNER 2008 examines critically the 'Augustan' readings of Livy's Camillus, though perhaps with a certain overconfidence in distinguishing layers of transmission in the tradition (e.g. 30-35; cf. 51f. on Augustus' Camillus-like act of preventing the transfer of capital to Alexandria, which Mark Antony was accused of planning).

<sup>572</sup> Among studies treating this ritual, see e.g. FRASCHETTI 1981; ECKSTEIN 1982; TWYMAN 1997; BELLEN 1985, 12-15; NDIAYE 2000; VÁRHELYI 2007; SCHULTZ 2010.

<sup>573</sup> The surprising inclusion of a Greek pair is explained by FRASCHETTI 1981, 96-112 as a relic from the time of an alliance between the Gauls and Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse around 350 BCE (Just. 20.5.4-6, cf. Livy 7.25.3), which might have been directed against the Romano-Carthaginian treaty of 348; ECKSTEIN 1982, 70 notes that Greek Syracuse was actually Rome's ally at the time of the sacrifice of 216; TWYMAN 1997, 9 fn. 50 brings up the possibility of a historical conjunction of the Pyrrhic threat with the great Gallic invasion of 282, which is another reasonable suggestion. VÁRHELYI 2007, 291ff. suggests an originally Etruscan ritual, and points out that the bloodless nature of the sacrifice may have been a Late Republican re-imagination of the rite, meant to stand in opposition to the bloody rites of the barbarians (290; Livy's comment *minime Romano sacro* is likewise located in the context of Augustan 'restoration' by NDIAYE 2000, 126, also interpreting at least some instances of this sacrifice as bloody ones, though it is not clear which). SCHULTZ 2010, 532-35 notes that Livy's treatment of the sacrifice of 216 makes a clear distinction between killing of Vestals (a correct response to *prodigium*) and the human sacrifice at Forum Boarium, which was *sacrificia extraordinaria*.

<sup>574</sup> In 228 BCE: Plut. *Mar.* 5; Cass. Dio *ap. Tzet.* In *Lycoph. Alex.* 603, *ap. Exc. de sent.* 128, *ap. Zonar.* 8.19; Oros. 4.13.3-4; in 216 BCE: Livy 22.57.2-6. According to Plin. *HN* 30.12, a *senatus consultum* in 97 BCE forbade human sacrifice. See DAVIES 2004, 68f. about the singular nature of this episode in Livy: it is the only time when the *decemviri* are implied to have erred, and an external correction (from Delphi, wherefrom the response of Apollo is brought by Fabius Pictor) is needed. Dio's fragments, particularly that in Tzetzes, give a different and garbled version, where a Greek and Gallic androgyne were buried, since a prophecy had told that the city would be occupied by these two peoples (the prophecy is clearer in Zonaras).



Telamon.<sup>575</sup> A Sibylline oracle warned that the city would be in danger of falling to foreigners when lightning struck near the temple of Apollo; according to Dio, the rite of burying a Gallic couple and a Greek couple symbolically allowed these foreigners to take possession of a part of the city, thus fulfilling the prophecy.<sup>576</sup> In 216 the sacrifice was ordered after the battle of Cannae, where a large part of Hannibal's army was composed of Gaulish and Cisalpine barbarian mercenaries. The religious panic in Rome after the defeat is well encapsulated by Polybius (3.112.6-9).

Based on his reading of Polyb. 6.56.9, TWYMAN 1997 proposes an explanation that envisions the Roman elite using this prominently unconventional ritual act to create a *metus Gallicus*, in an attempt to gain political advantage; although he also allows for a "shared popular superstition" involving the senate as well.<sup>577</sup> Additionally, it may be noted in this connection that the consul for the year 228 (if that is indeed when the first sacrifice is to be dated) was Quintus Fabius Maximus, of a family with a long and apparently rather loudly popularized history of galatomachic pedigree.<sup>578</sup> While it is possible, and even likely, that the elite attempted to proclaim their role as ritual specialists, leaders in war, and bearers of ancient galatomachic pedigrees at a time of widespread unease regarding the barbarian threat, it could hardly have had the desired effect without an underlying narrative of a previous Gallic threat—possibly already of a partly magico-religious nature. With the Gallic adversaries there must have been the potential for such a ritual accentuation of religiously tinged uneasiness; one that does not appear to have existed in the case for instance of Rome's more familiar enemies within Italy.<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>575</sup> On the impact of the 225 war to Roman notions of *metus Gallicus*, cf. BELLEN 1985, 15-18; ROSENSTEIN 2012, 71ff., about the battle of Telamon itself *ibid.* 116ff.

<sup>576</sup> Cass. Dio F 50 *ap. Exc. de sent.* 128, Zonar. 8.19, Tzetz. *In Lycoph. Alex.* 602 on the prophecy; on the burial rite at Forum Boarium Zonar. 8.19; Plut. *Mar.* 2.3-4.

<sup>577</sup> TWYMAN 1997, 10. That the ritual is an innovation of the 220s was earlier proposed by ECKSTEIN 1982, 69. He also forcefully defends the notion of the sacrificial ritual being directed by the senate against omens warning of a military defeat in the hands of Gauls of Northern Italy (*ibid.* e.g. 81).

<sup>578</sup> On the Fabii cf. p. 91 fn. 281; as well as BADIAN 1966, 5. TWYMAN 1997, 5 notes that the rivalry between Q. Fabius Maximus of the established elite and C. Flaminius, enjoying popular support (and having to endure propaganda against himself: HARRIS 1979, 198), might have been the effective reason for a senatorial creation of a ritual that reinforced their cautious policy in the north; in any case he quite rightly brings to fore (*loc. cit.*) the testimony that Polybius (2.21.7-9) had gotten from Fabius Pictor regarding the Gauls having been provoked to action by Flaminius' agrarian program. But we have no conclusive evidence that Livy's *minime Romano sacro* would stem from Pictor's exact attitude (as claimed by TWYMAN 1997, 10; but cf. VÁRHELYI 2007, 290), and the fact that he was away in Delphi in 216 (WILLIAMS 2001, 165) when the second sacrifice of this type was ordered is no evidence to the contrary. *Contra* TWYMAN, to send a member of a noted galatomachic family to the sanctuary of Apollo while at the same time in Rome a very dire rite was enacted was in all likelihood what it seems to be: a pair of decisive religious acts in a time of crisis, rather than a ruse to lure away a senator who would have (could he have?) opposed the rite. The two incidents are likewise seen as interconnected by ECKSTEIN 1982, 74f.

<sup>579</sup> Indeed, both Greeks and Gauls were foreigners from somewhere else than Italy, and it is conceivable that the notion of *terra Italia* had something to do with the sacrifice; cf. FRASCHETTI 1981, 54-7. Linked to this is the fact

While the context of military threat is crucial to the sacrificial rite and has rightly been emphasized in a number of studies, the act additionally transmits an intense spirit of religious insecurity.<sup>580</sup> Livy reinforces the notion of a religious crisis: before the news of the debacle at Cannae arrived in the city, a Vestal virgin was found to have lapsed, and was meted out the traditional punishment of being buried alive. Later, after the disastrous battle, the *decemviri sacris faciundis* examined the Sibylline Books and ordered the burial alive of Greeks and Gauls.<sup>581</sup> Most remarkably, in 114, slightly before the Scordisci of Balkans—the tribe whose vanquishing was later commemorated in Delphi by Marcus Minucius Rufus—scored a threatening victory over the consul Porcius Cato, a Vestal called Helvia was first struck dead by lightning, after which three of her former colleagues were found to be guilty of incest and were sacrificed. This, together with the military defeat that soon followed, set off a religious hysteria in the city, and the Scordisci were able to raid as far as Delphi.<sup>582</sup> Based on Livy (*Per.* 20), TWYMAN 1997 suggests that already the archetype of the ritual had taken place in the context of a Vestal lapse, around 229-8 BCE. Not every Vestal scandal, however, required human sacrifice in addition to the punishment of the guilty parties, and the links of the sacrifice of 228 with a Vestal scandal are quite slight.<sup>583</sup> The lack of precise correspondences make it unlikely that the ritual of burying Gauls and Greeks was intrinsically connected with the Vestals, but the later historical repetitions of the rite seem to support the idea that Vestal scandals seriously aggravated a perceived threat from the northerners. If the connection existed, it could have been part of the undeclared subtext for Cicero's references to the Vestal Fonteia in his *Pro Fonteio* (see below p. 202f.).

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that the neighbours of Romans appear to have known of their *metus* of Gauls (or perceived by the Romans to know of their Achilles' heel), and tried to take advantage of it: the battle against the Praenestines in 380 BCE is a case in point: discussed in CHAPLIN 2000, 73f.; see above p. 158.

<sup>580</sup> Military crisis was first emphasized by FOWLER 1911, 320; the notion of military threat was recently examined in a more modulated fashion by ECKSTEIN 1982. The first to bring the internal explanations to the fore was CICHORIUS 1922, 7-16, with his focus on the trials of Vestals and the consequently felt religious vulnerability—he also noted the formal similarity between the manners of sacrifice of the Vestals and the Gauls and Greeks, rearticulated by FRASCETTI 1981, 72f. As commented upon by ECKSTEIN 1982, 70f., this unfortunately left without explanation the particular choice of Gauls and Greeks to be sacrificed. The Vestal burials during Republic are discussed in WILDFANG 2006, 79-86.

<sup>581</sup> Livy 22.57.2-6. The ritual of 216 is examined by ECKSTEIN 1982, 73-5. TWYMAN 1997, 4 notes that in effect the sacrilege discovered and punished earlier in the year only became perceived as an omen by the senators after Cannae. One wonders if the tradition of Tarpeia's traitorous love of an enemy (see p. 109) was in any way related (perhaps as an *exemplum*) to the Roman care to keep the consecrated virgins virginal in times of foreign threat.

<sup>582</sup> ECKSTEIN 1982, 73. Flor 1.35.4 on the defeat of consul Cato; Jul. Obs. 37, Oros. 5.15.20-1 on the death of Helvia; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 83 also on the execution of Vestals; that this was execution and not human sacrifice in the minds of the Romans has been demonstrated by SCHULTZ 2010, 532-41. More fully on the Vestal scandal of 114/3, see ECKSTEIN 1982, 71-3. Regarding other hostilities with barbarians to the north around the years 115-110, cf. FRASCETTI 1981, 80f.

<sup>583</sup> TWYMAN 1997, 3f.; *contra* ECKSTEIN 1982, 74-9 (cf. 82-7). For lapsed Vestals in Livy, DAVIES 2004, 66f.

It has already been noted how quickly the motif of divine intervention was introduced in Greek commemorations of the Delphic defence. In addition to the Delphic Apollo, the supporting forces of heroes and goddesses seem to have been variously identified.<sup>584</sup> Not surprisingly, in most subsequent cases of a divinity acting in defence of a sanctuary we find local cults feature quite prominently. Heracles, Apollo and Hermes warned the inhabitants of the Phrygian town of Themisonion of the approach of the barbarians, while the locally revered Marsyas saved Celaenae with the waters of his riverine domain and flute music.<sup>585</sup> The victory of Antigonus Gonatas at Lysimachia, on the other hand, was to partly attributed to Pan.<sup>586</sup> Heracles, as we have seen, was employed in the characterizations of northern peoples predominantly through genealogical connections and through his travels. The Cyzicene relief plate (Ist. Arch. Mus. 564) discussed above (138), however, may show the semi-divine hero in something approaching an epiphany. Ancestral divinities of various elite families could also be evoked: Philetaerus' galatomachic achievements were emphasized by the later Attalids in association with several divinities.<sup>587</sup> Apollo was not the only option for galatomachic thanksgiving, though he would have attracted natural thanks in towns and sanctuaries where he was the pre-eminent apotropaic protector, such as Miletus and its great sanctuary at Didyma; the latter was attacked in 277/6 according to an inscription unearthed there, with a detailed list of donations, possibly intended to replace stolen temple treasures.<sup>588</sup> Not surprisingly, the fate of the inhabitants of such a famous polis—and one with a rather lively tradition of fiction writing—entered the shared historical consciousness of the Greeks.<sup>589</sup>

Triumphalistic commemorations centred around particular sanctuaries have already been examined insofar as they pertain to the politicized aspect of religious galatomachy.<sup>590</sup> The

<sup>584</sup> For the assistant deities at the Delphic epiphany, see above p. 54. On identifying the divinities in the Civitalba frieze see VERZAR 1978 and FERRIS 2000,15f.; for the galatomachic divinities in the Greek east see below.

<sup>585</sup> Paus. 10.32.4f. on Themisonion; 10.30.9 on Celaenae. Local traditions have been claimed as the likeliest source for these details: *On Phrygia* 800 BNJ F 1-4 and 'Commentary' by FAVUZZI. All fragments of the work are mythological or mythographical in nature, while fragments 8A-D all refer to an author called Timotheos.

<sup>586</sup> Diog. Laert. 2.17.141; Just. 25.2.6-8 (cf. Trog. *Prolog.* 25). A godling somewhat akin to Marsyas and Pan, and likewise scoring some galatomachic points was the Egyptian dwarf-god Bes, occasionally portrayed in terracotta statuettes with what resembles the conventional iconography of 'Celtic' shields: see NACHTERGAEL 1977, 190f.; cf. REINACH 1910, 40-7 on 'Satyristic' depictions of Galatae. Occasionally, such as in terracotta representations of Gauls from Egypt, the barbarians seem to obtain iconographic elements which are also met in depictions of Bes, such as heavy brows, buffy cheeks, and a leering mouth: e.g. BIENKOWSKI 1928, 137 fg. 205A-B.

<sup>587</sup> At Delos a series of dedications to Philetaerus by certain Sosicrates and under the influence of Attalus I was set up in commemoration of his victories over 'hard in battle' Γαλάται, though here the names of Ares and Hephaestus are mere figures of speech: *IG XI* 4.1105; discussed also in MARSZAL 2000, 206. In the Mysian city of Aigai Philetaerus promoted his dedication to Apollo Chresterius (*OGIS* 312, 748) already when alive.

<sup>588</sup> *IDidyma* 426. Miletus itself was regarded in the literary tradition as having suffered a Galatian raid, possibly for the purpose of gaining slaves: Parth. *Narr.* 8; Anyte *ap. Anth. Gr.* 7.492; Jer. *Adv. Ion.* 1.41.

<sup>589</sup> Apollo was also thanked in Thyatira, where Argeios, his wife, and their son Phanocritos were relieved to have been saved from the imprisonment by the Galatians (*TAM V* 2.881) Cf. LOICQ-BERGER 1984, 52.

<sup>590</sup> See p. 146-56 above, as well as the current section.

Roman construction of the defence of the Capitol as a focal narrative in the early stages of the Republic might be seen as just one more, and poignantly symbolic, instance of appropriating the Delphic galatomachy; and here the role of Pictor may have been central.<sup>591</sup> But the transfer to Rome of the notion of Apollo's power against the Gauls took place through many channels: monumental commemoration, Greek influence on Roman comedy, and poetic allusions. With Apollo as perhaps the most prominent galatomachic god in the fully fledged Hellenistic-Roman poetic tradition after Callimachus' influential example, we are not surprised to read that Propertius describes the god's most famous feat of barbarian-bashing to have adorned the doors of his new temple at Palatium.<sup>592</sup> Since the Delphic defence, the temple had become the most natural focal point for the epiphany of a galatomachic divinity. Indeed, the Caesars' reliefs and the Civitalba frieze may also attest to the adoption of this motif into the Italian imagery, too—although in them Apollo is prominent only by his absence.<sup>593</sup> It is more likely that the Gauls, as a common enemy to all of Italy (another motif of which already Pictor had taken advantage) were commemorated in Republican Italy as a whole in ways that differed from those primarily used among the Roman elite; who even in the case of patrician families would have had a different, perhaps more literary relationship with the *Galli*.

When a divine epiphany against the northern barbarians is described in Roman material or literary remains, it is likely to be part of the Greek package. Livy, much though he might have enjoyed it, probably could not have incorporated a divine epiphany in his Gallic narrative for structural reasons. Since the Gallic invasion had been enabled by the Roman impiety, and was only gradually overcome by the redemptive and pious deeds of heroes both patrician and plebeian, to involve a divine epiphany would have spoiled the salvatory process. In its stead, the omen of Aius Locutius comes as close to an epiphany as was possible, while quasi-epiphanic moments in the human sphere abound: Dorsuo, Manlius, and the appearance of Camillus himself.<sup>594</sup> Livy recounts how, after the ransom had been arranged with the occupying Gauls, the Romans ended up not having to deliver their riches, for both men and the gods (again, the united theandric axis) deemed it unsuitable for Romans to live as though

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<sup>591</sup> SORDI 1984, 83-6; she moreover considers (86ff.) a possible Herodotean model for Pictor.

<sup>592</sup> Prop. 2.31.13 *deiectos Parnassi vertice Gallos*.

<sup>593</sup> That said, the poor state of preservation at least in the Civitalba frieze makes it possible that Apollo had made an appearance in another part of the scene, as pointed out by FERRIS 2000, 16.

<sup>594</sup> The prominent presence of heroic mortals, arguably deriving from the perceived momentousness of the events and the need of elite families and lower social groups alike to project their contributions to that template, could effectively have come to dominate the narrative to such an extent that only the most impersonal of supernatural actors could be admitted into the late form of the tradition. BRIQUEL 1993, 78f. suggests that Aius Locutius a type of *prodigium* that is often connected with forested areas, and indeed the vocal phenomenon is described as projecting from a *lucus*; on the other hand, any possible conclusion of such omens representing a 'primitive' form of prophetic message seems to be undermined by Verg. *Georg.* 1.476f. about a *vox ingens* heard at Caesar's death *per lucos*, a probable literary creation (included by BRIQUEL 1993, 81).

indebted for their lives. Providentially, Camillus reappears and inflicts a crushing defeat upon the barbarians, fate having reversed itself and divine favour again siding with the Romans.<sup>595</sup>

While not accompanied by the personal attendance of the gods, the first Gallic war was projected into several physical locales in the Roman cityscape—hence commemorating and immortalizing the struggle. Livy reports that the Gauls themselves, or alternatively Camillus, had burned the dead Gauls on a site in the Campus Martius (hence called 'Busta Gallica'), where a ritual to appease their spirits was enacted by the Vestals.<sup>596</sup> Another cultic site with an established commemorative function allegedly stemming from the *maxima clades* (Cic. *Div.* 1.101) was the shrine to Aius Locutius by the *Lucus Vestae*—set up to expiate the fact that the senators did not heed the prophetic voice warning of a danger to the city. Livy's report on the founding of the *Ludi Capitolini* gives one example of how the Gallic Sack served as an origin; he derives the games from the Senate decree following the retreat of the Gauls, honouring Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the preservation of the Capitoline.<sup>597</sup> Livy's Republican source may have been influenced by the idea of Greek religious festivals, particularly the Σωτηρία-celebrations set up after the divine deliverance of Delphi. The sacral participation of only the Capitoline inhabitants, from the only part of the city saved from the polluting barbarians, is noteworthy. As has been noted by SORDI on the basis of PETER's conception of the extent of Pictorian fragments—particularly F 12—the symbolic omen of *Caput Oli* as an emblem of Capitol's magico-religious centrality was known to Pictor.<sup>598</sup>

The Capitoline Jupiter quite understandably received some glory for his role as the force behind the defeat of the Gauls, just as Apollo did at Delphi. This remained so for the duration of the Republic, and—as we shall see—even longer at least on a notional level. The

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<sup>595</sup> Livy 5.49.1-2: *sed dii et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos [...] iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant*. This use of the technique of peripeteia is examined in LUCE 1971, 151f., who locates the exact point of reversal towards recovery at 5.39.8, with *neque insequenti die similis illi quae ad Alliam tam pavide fugerat civitas fuit*, and a second peripeteia at 5.49.1, serving as a counterpoint to Allia as Camillus appears during the weighing of the gold. In both Roman decline and recovery, a moral change precedes the one that follows on the level of action, but as noted by DAVIES 2004, 115, the appearance of Camillus is brought about by an indistinct *fors* (*forte quadam* 5.49.1), not *fatum* as at Clusium, or *fortuna* as in Camillus' first victory over Gauls at Ardea was (for the Livian *fortuna*, see KAJANTO 1957, 64-91). The latter discrepancy, at any rate, may imply that Camillus' victory at Ardea was merited by his own probity, and not a necessary result of any general restoration of the *pax deorum*. The fate of the Roman gold reveals particular range of variation among the narratives about the Gallic sack: before the heightened role of Camillus, it was the Caeretans who defeated the northward-bound Gauls and gave the gold back to Romans (Str. 5.2.3; Diod. 14.117.7); cf. CORNELL 1995, 317. Just. 43.5.9 seems to reveal Trogus' emphasis on a Romano-Massalian bond, while at least the Livii Drusi appear to have drawn ancestral glory from being the ones to win the gold back (Suet. *Tib.* 3.2).

<sup>596</sup> Livy 5.48.3, 22.14.11; cf. Varro *Ling.* 5.157. See GAGÉ 1955, 77f.; cf. also BELLEN 1985, 14f. fn 47.

<sup>597</sup> Livy 5.50.4. For what little is known about the Capitoline Games, see SCULLARD 1981, 194f.

<sup>598</sup> SORDI 1984, 82f., 91. Although the originator of the myth of Aulus' Head is not particularly relevant, the notion of Capitolium's preservation, supernatural confirmation of the centrality of a 'national' sanctuary, and the institution of sacred games in honour of its safeguarding from the barbarians could all plausibly derive from Pictor's own contact with the way the Gallic defeat were commemorated at Delphi.

Capitolium's ritual significance and archaeology have received plentiful attention in modern scholarship, and the symbolism of its defence both for Roman mythopoeia and for family traditions has not been neglected either.<sup>599</sup> The patrician families were particularly eager to associate themselves with the father of the gods, and it is hardly a surprise when Claudius Quadrigarius reports that another member of the *gens Claudia*, M. Claudius Marcellus, followed his victory over the Gauls in 196 by smelting all the barbarians' gold torques into a single huge one, which he then devoted in the Capitoline sanctuary. In the first place, Marcellus had been transferred to Italy because of a fear of the Celts, even though he was waging a war against Philip V of Macedon. It may be that the dramatic dedication had something to do with the unease occasioned by the war with the Insubres; in addition, such a dedication might be meant as an antidote to the widespread condemnation of the looting of Syracusan treasures by his father.<sup>600</sup> It is possible that the Gallic torques once again function in Livy as a vehicle for assessing the restraint of a Roman general.<sup>601</sup>

All in all, it would appear that a military threat from the northerners was in many instances perceived in Rome as a particularly hazardous time for the theandric relationship, and extraordinary ritual acts were not uncommon at such times in order to secure the divine favour. Yet, such extraordinary acts could also bring pollution in their wake, at least in the eyes of much later chroniclers of the event. Orosius, who is understandably writing programmatically about the earlier pagan Rome, shows the Romans having to cope with the reversed fallout of their sacrificial ritual of 228, in the form of dire battles against the Gauls of the Po valley.<sup>602</sup>

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<sup>599</sup> E.g. HÖLKESKAMP 2001 on Capitolium's importance for Roman self-identification.

<sup>600</sup> On Marcellus' devotion of torques: Quadr. *ap.* Livy 33.36.13; on his transfer to Italy *διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν φόβον*: Polyb. 18.11.2. M. Claudius Marcellus the Elder accused of impiety: GRUEN 1992, 94-99.

<sup>601</sup> As noted by GRUEN 1992, 98, Livy in 25.40.2 laments how the looting of sacred and profane objects from Syracuse by Marcellus set forth a development of increasing indifference towards the divines, even those of the Romans themselves; Gruen, however, simply sees this referring to Livy's own lifetime, although the serious consequences of neglecting the gods forms a strong current through Livy's whole historical work. Though possibly anachronistic as a major source of unease, the actions of Marcellus the Younger could be related to remonstrances against his father's *luxuria* and even possible *impietas*.

<sup>602</sup> Oros. 4.13.3-5. As noted by ECKSTEIN 1982, 78. Plutarch (*Marv.* 3.4) attests to the same fear of pollution when reporting that the Romans performed ceremonies in November in memory of the sacrificed foreigners.

## PART II—NEW FRONTIERS, THE SAME OLD BARBARIANS? RELIGIOUS 'BOREALISM' FROM THE LATE REPUBLIC TO THE HIGH EMPIRE

### 1. BEGINNINGS OF NORTHERN RELIGIOUS ETHNOGRAPHY

#### a. THE GREEK THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In his *Contra Apionem*, Flavius Josephus is far from impressed by “even the most accurate writers” on Γαλάται and Iberians; he criticizes Ephorus, and indicts such ignorant writers for considering hugely widespread western groups to constitute a single polity.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, they write about practices they have no evidence these peoples have engaged in, all for the sake of appearing knowledgeable. In addition to wishing purposefully to denigrate the sources used by Apion, Josephus, of course, was writing with the wisdom of hindsight: his time was much better informed regarding European ethnography than even his most diligent predecessors.<sup>2</sup> The Romans and their realm had made an immeasurable difference, though Strabo does not fail to remark that they had not always filled in the blanks of the Greek knowledge (3.4.19). While the Κελτοί (among others) are conventionally seen as having emerged as an object of ‘proto-scientific’ enquiry in the context of Roman hegemony, enabling the Greeks to satisfy their curiosity concerning western barbarian societies, they had in fact received attention from observation-based writers already earlier.<sup>3</sup> Even so, the application of Greek climatological models to various barbarian peoples evolved over time, becoming more nuanced and interwoven with physiognomy and astrology, so that it reaches the Imperial Era as a complex yet flexible construct.<sup>4</sup>

The theoretical framework that ended up in much of Roman writing during the later Republic already possessed, as we have seen, a long history in the Greek sphere of geography

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph. *Ap.* 1.68: τοὺς τοσοῦτο μέρος τῆς ἐσπερίου γῆς κατοικοῦντας. Interestingly, he takes as example the Celts and Iberians (*Ap.* 1.67), which together with his critique of Ephorus brings immediately to mind Strabo (4.4.6) with his similar stance, and raises the question whether Josephus in fact lifted this point straight from the more recent geographer. See PARMEGGIANI 2011, 233 fn. 407.

<sup>2</sup> And, as noted by FREEMAN 1996, 36, Josephus would furthermore have wanted to downplay the ability of Greek historians to accurately portray marginal nations, such as Jews. As a community with a long pedigree of exceptionalism, it would no doubt have chafed Hellenizing Jews to find themselves bundled up with a wide selection of Easterners.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. MOMIGLIANO 1975, 59; FREEMAN 2006, 52-66.

<sup>4</sup> As well as going on to constitute a formidable interpretative framework in later ages, from Ibn Khaldūn to Montesquieu: for a brief summation, see BELLER *s.v.* ‘Climate’ in BELLER & LEERSSEN 2007, 298-304.

and ethnography. The early Greek conception of the world seems to have favoured a symmetrical positioning of barbarian macro-groups in the periphery surrounding the Mediterranean. Ephorus seems to have arrived at this model by a straightforward fourfold division, with Scythians in the North, Celts in the West, Ethiopians in the South, and Indians in the East; thus facilitating a simple pattern of ethnogeographical categorization (Eph. *ap.* Str. 1.2.28). While Ephorus' division wielded long-standing influence—it was later adopted by the Christian geographer Cosmas Indicopleustes—a more complex image had already been formulated in the Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Waters, Places*. While the treatise, dating from the fifth century BCE, contains only few remarks about the morality of the northerners, and none about their religiosity, the subsequent influence of the developing theoretical complex of climatic determinism in describing northern peoples was pervasive and long-lasting.<sup>5</sup> While the Greeks were not the only theory-builders to postulate a hierarchy of zones with ethical implications in regard with ethnography, the influence of their contribution came to wield tremendous and durable influence.<sup>6</sup> Rooted in thinking that influenced both Herodotus and the Hippocratic writers, the climatic model was contributed to by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1327B 20ff.), and influenced the writers of the Imperial Era (see p. 228, 231f., 265, 272ff.).

The study of ancient physiognomy (φυσιογνωμονία), as a set of tenets for deriving the personality of an individual or the characteristics of a nation from their physical traits, is complicated by the convoluted and second-hand transmission of datable works. The Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* is probably a product of the later Peripatetics, and Polemo's *Physiognomonica* from the period of Hadrian must be pieced together from fragments, the fourth-century adaptation by Adamantius, and an Arabic translation.<sup>7</sup> Finally, there is the anonymous Late Imperial treatise of physiognomics in Latin, compiled from the two above-mentioned works, as well as a lost study by a writer named Loxus.<sup>8</sup> It was noted already by EVANS 1969, 11 that Loxus appears to have substituted the Celts where earlier physiognomists

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<sup>5</sup> Moral assessments in *De aera* are rather obliquely expressed, and mostly centred upon the sexual feebleness of the Scythians, which is given a divine origin yet at the same time is presented as depending upon the climate; see CHIASSON 2001, 45-55, comparing the Hippocratic treatise with Herodotus' Scythian 'ethnography'.

<sup>6</sup> For a Chinese parallel, see KIM 2009, 92 on the *Wufu* (五服), the division of world into five hierarchical zones, which was moreover projected back into earlier history during the Han dynasty; cf. DI COSMO 2002, 1-12. For the *longue durée* of the Greek climatic zones –model, see JOHNSON 1960 with much about its reception; ROMM 2010 *passim*; DUECK 2012, 84-90.

<sup>7</sup> On Pseudo-Aristotle's *Physiognomics*, EVANS 1969, 10; on the life and career of Polemo, including his feud with Favorinus of Arles: *ead.* 11ff.; on Adamantius and his use of Polemo: *ead.* 74-83. On Polemo's *Physiognomics* see now SWAIN & AL. 2007.

<sup>8</sup> On the date of Loxus: the *SPGL* editor FÖRSTER (1893, I cxxxii) suggests later third century CE on stylistic grounds; MISENER 1923, wishes to see him as a much earlier figure of late fifth or early fourth century BCE, and justifies this by complicated doctrinal reasoning (11); EVANS 1969, 11 agrees with Förster, partly because of Loxus' mention of the Κελτοί in places where Pseudo-Aristotle has mentioned Scythians.



(that is, judging by Pseudo-Aristotle) had written about Scythians. While she goes on to suggest the impact of the Celtic invasion of 280 BCE as a possible *terminus post quem* for the treatise (and she is surely correct in rejecting the implausibly early date of MISENER), the elements in themselves are entirely conventional, and do not in themselves seem to reflect any acute Greek shock reaction.<sup>9</sup> It is nonetheless quite likely that in a Hellenistic work the salience of the Celts would have been higher than that of the Scythians. The uses of physiognomics could, however, be much more personal in nature than mere broad generalizations of the barbarians' overall character, as we see for example in Polemo and his use of northern stereotypes.<sup>10</sup>

Eratosthenes, though working within the framework of climatic zones, rejected the simplistic and inherently oppositional division of humankind into barbarians and Hellenes. For him, as for Posidonius, it was to be expected that both barbarians and Hellenes could be either good and bad, depending on their cultural level.<sup>11</sup> Here he probably prefigured Posidonius' apparently similar notions, where natural and cultural factors are combined.<sup>12</sup> The inclusion of cultural explanations gave the necessary leeway to ethnographical characterizations; the same, as we shall see below, was true of the supplementation of the climatic theory with astrological elements. In particular the discrepancies perceived in the civilizational level of peoples situated within the same 'zone', such as the Iberians and the Greeks, were a structural aberration that might well have bothered theorists such as Eratosthenes. These discrepancies could be explained away by introducing either cultural determinants (as in Posidonius and Strabo) or astrological ones (as in Vitruvius, Bardesanes and Ptolemy).<sup>13</sup> This resulted in a remarkably nuanced assemblage of elements, within which

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<sup>9</sup> E.g. the mention of Κελτοί in Polem. *Physiogn.* p. 184 FÖRSTER 1893, I 384f. in a conventional list which includes Libyans, Aethiopians and Iberians (probably lifted from earlier literature); cf. Adamant. *Physiogn.* 2.31, though 2.37 pairs Scythians with Celts when discussing the implications of yellow or pale hair (a conventional pairing that seems to have been updated to 'Slavs and Turks' in the Arabic tradition: 'Leiden Polemo' 41 HOYLAND 2007, 431f.).

<sup>10</sup> See p. 272f. The case of Polemo also demonstrates the intimate connection of physiognomy with rhetorics (cf. also Max. Tyr. *Dialex.* 25.3; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 4.87f.): to be able to attack the enemy's physical characteristics and use them to draw negative implications about his moral and mental propensities would have been most useful, and for instance Cicero was clearly not above such quips (see GRUEN 2011A, 132; ISAAC 2011, 491). Hence, the physiognomic stereotypes occupy a middle position between theoretical constructions and commonly recognized ethnic slurs (ethnophaulisms), which would have become even more pertinent in the context of the cosmopolitan Roman empire. That ethnic slurs can be particularly levelled against groups with whom the speaker or his society has close contacts, is noted e.g. by SCHNEIDER 2004, 135 (on a general level); in modern contexts, but with some potential for comparison: PALMORE 1962; BIRNBAUM 1971, 249-52. To some extent, this kind of dynamic explains why the Hellenistic and Imperial eras would have been the most fruitful periods for physiognomic treatises (if anything can be concluded from the surviving examples: EVANS 1969, 4).

<sup>11</sup> At least in Str. 6.1.4. See THOLLARD 1987, 29-31; BROZE & AL. 2006, 138; SULIMANI 2011, 319-30.

<sup>12</sup> BICKERMANN 1952, 77; BALDRY 1962, 191-94; SWAIN 1996, 205 (based on MALITZ 1983); DUECK 2012, 42f.

<sup>13</sup> Posidonius, Bardesanes and Ptolemy will all be discussed below (from p. 177, 275 and 274, respectively), but as an example of the Late Republican theoretical approach there is nothing as impressive as Vitruvius'

ideologically charged regional variations could be justified: a good example are the Romans' positive attributes that stand out among generally negatively described European groups.<sup>14</sup> Assessments of morality or religiosity are present in all of these theoretical regimens.

Polybius encapsulates many aspects of the interplay between Greek theories and Roman connections in writings dealing with northerners' moral and religious condition.<sup>15</sup> As a theoretical historian, he taps into a wide array of theoretically buttressed Greek beliefs on the nature of European barbarians; but he also makes use of Roman sources that are barely accessible to us otherwise.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Polybius happened to be writing in a tradition that is widely seen by modern scholars to have been strongly shaped by Posidonius' contributions quite soon afterwards. Polybius' writings on the Gauls could just as well be discussed in the next section, in conjunction with the widening horizons brought about by the spread of Roman power; but he is well suited to act as a connecting element between vanished Republican sources, with their Greek influences, and the self-consciously Greek enquiry into European barbarians. The latter was only partly conditioned by the necessities of Roman power, though no doubt in large part enabled by it. While Polybius has appropriately been observed to represent the earliest exposition of a relatively full-fledged 'image of Celts' (KREMER 1994, 264), his importance in the field of galatography stems above all from his illustrating of the interplay between Roman domination, Greek enquiry, and an increasingly shared literary tradition. In this he has been compared to Posidonius, though the true extent of both writers' reception in the subsequent tradition of northern barbarography is difficult to assess.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, if both authors have been seen as providing a 'full' ethnography of the Celts/Gauls, this is largely because their contemporaries found such material salient, not because their information about these groups was particularly deep or revolutionary.

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romanocentric discussion of the physical and mental properties of peoples in different climes (Vitr. 6.1.3-12, with the astrological elements introduced in 11). Even a note of divine providentiality is introduced in 6.1.11, where a *divina mens* is said to have made Rome ideally suited *egregia temperataque religione* to rule the world; essentially this is a theoretical back-up for themes paraded in the historical register by Livy, and in the poetic register by Vergil (whose *Eclogae* were already in circulation by Vitruvius' time of writing). For Strabo's climatology, similarly elaborated in a context of Augustan ideology: DICKS 1956; JOHNSON 1960, 471; and *passim* in several of the contributions in DUECK & AL. 2005. Later, Pliny the Elder's view of the romanocentric 'natural order' exhibits comparable elements, and despite its Flavian context has many links with the moralizing way *orbis terrarum* was portrayed in Augustus' propaganda: NAAS 2002, 416-43 (also cf. MURPHY 2004, 176).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. p. 274 below; also cf. Bardesanes on the people of Edessa (283).

<sup>15</sup> On Polybius' moral and intellectual assessment of the Gauls, BERGER 1992.

<sup>16</sup> On Polybius' highly theoretical viewpoint: CLARKE 1999, 77-128, especially 79-97 about the role and location of geography in Polybius' conception of historiography, which (128) sought to unify both geography and history; WILLIAMS 2001, 53f., 71f. on Polybius' antiquarianism, 20ff., 58-66 on his geographical method in the description of Northern Italy.

<sup>17</sup> Comparison of Polybius with Posidonius: NOCK 1959, 4f.; CLARKE 1999, 129.

We have already seen in earlier contexts that myths formed good vehicles for the incorporation of recently salient population groups in mental geographies, and Greek authors applied this to the Italian 'Celts' as well. A mythologizing aetiology preserved only in Servius Auctus could conceivably have stemmed already from the pre-Cimbric period of Greek characterizations of Gauls.<sup>18</sup> In setting out different origins for Pisa, the commentator notes how the eponymous Pisis, son of the Hyperborean Apollo and king of the Celts (*Celtarum*) founded the city after killing a Samnite king and in collaboration with the latter's widow (Serv. *Ad Aen.* 10.179). The element of an eponymous son of a Greek divinity resembles the Herculean origins often ascribed by Roman authors to Gallic groups, but this particularity of Apollo as a Hyperborean, in connection with a group of northern barbarians, is worthy of note.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that Herodotus' Scythian origin myth involving Heracles and the snake woman (cf. Hdt. 4.8ff.; Diod. 2.43.3) wielded an indirect formal influence on Servius' source(s), the *alii*.<sup>20</sup> His mention of the Samnites also opens up some paths for tentative interpretation; the alliance between the Samnites and the Senones was known to several historians, due most crucially to the battle of Sentinum (295 BCE).<sup>21</sup> The information is therefore likely to have arisen in connection with discussions about the relationship between Rome's enemies in that battle. Also noteworthy is the relatively rare Latin ethnonym *Celtae*, which may possibly point to a source originally written in Greek; particularly if we bear in mind Duris' discussion of the battle of Sentinum (above p. 108f.), and Posidonius' mention of Hyperboreans in the Alps (below p. 180f.).

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<sup>18</sup> Otherwise it is entirely possible that this information derives from the same Hellenistic aetiologies that often postulated Heracles as the ancestor of Gauls. Only a little later, in *Ad Aen.* 10.198, Servius gives a Herculean origin for Mantua, named after Manto daughter of Hercules, who had founded Felsina-Bononia on Gallic lands. Possibly the author behind this rare Apolline derivation was interested in the connection of Apollo to amber, and the consequent focus on Northern Italy (as was, for instance, Pherec. *FGrH* 3 F 74 *ap.* Hyg. *Fab.* 154). For a late Apolline origin for the Gauls, see the next footnote.

<sup>19</sup> Apolline aetiologies are, surprisingly, not very frequent in defining the origins of northern groups. See, however, the unprovenanced report in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γαλεῶται, which tells that the Sicilian family of seers was named after Galeotes, son of Apollo and Themisto, the daughter of the king Zabios of Hyperboreans ('Celtic' connections are in this case probably uncalled-for, *contra* BRACCESI 1996, 188). One late (and, tellingly, Christian) source for this type of origin myth is Eust. *In Dionys. Per.*, which in explaining Dionysius' Ἰβηρικὸς πόντος (69; Eustathius also gives the Ocean the name Γαλατική θάλασσα) mentions the Γαλάται being so called after 'a certain Galatos, son of Apollo'. Interestingly, Eustathius derives the Γαλάται from Apollo and Κελτοί (like Ἰβηρες) from Heracles (*ibid.* 281).

<sup>20</sup> Source in the *BNJ* as 'Anon. *De Etruria* (706)', possibly used by such writers as Dion. Hal. *Dinarch.* 10, Porph. *Abst.* 2.17, probably in addition to (and possibly in an even more complex interplay with) Cato's *Origines*. Cato, however, appears to have called Gauls *Galli*, not *Celtae* (cf. Cato *Orig.* F 2.2: *pleraque Gallia duas res industrissime persequitur, rem militare et argute loqui*).

<sup>21</sup> Polyb. 2.19.6.

## b. WIDENING HORIZONS IN LATE REPUBLICAN ROME

In this period of increased Roman involvement both with the Greeks and with northern peoples, the exemplary value of handling the wild and fickle barbarians seems to have played some role in a discourse that certainly had something in common with the artistic-epigraphic programme of the Attalids; namely, that it harnessed the motif of overcoming the barbarians to claim the notional title of 'defender of the Hellenes'. At the same time, new areas in the West were brought under Roman rule, with the consequence that members of the educated elites of both Greek and Latin background ended up in the provinces, and while there possibly constituted an important horizon for the formation of new 'knowledge' about the barbarians; these processes on the ethnographical 'middle ground' have been examined by WOOLF 2011A.<sup>22</sup> One significant problem, however, is to account for the way their creations (if they were that) ended up so soon after their apparent time of composition within the large and comparatively literary (i.e. non-autoptic) works of Strabo, Diodorus, and Dionysius.<sup>23</sup>

From relatively early on, Romans seem to have entertained some notion of a role shared with the Massalian Greeks: acting as a bulwark of Mediterranean civilization against the northern wilderness.<sup>24</sup> This notional *amicitia* or even *foedus* appears to have been backdated to at least the fourth century BCE and the Gallic onslaught upon Rome, and was certainly used as

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<sup>22</sup> WOOLF regards these erudite yet locally inspired writes as crucial to the creation of new links between Greek (or increasingly Graeco-Roman) mythical tales and local population groups (27f., 111-14). Another contribution on a similar class of informants (though perhaps more itinerant, yet also more confined to the Greek east) is CLARKE 2005 (e.g. 115-7 on the local focus of these histories; 127 on the continuity of this type of historiography under the Empire), who pays close attention to testimonies of 'parochial tales' and the literary actors who created and transmitted such information. CLARKE 1999, her previous study about the interaction of Greek historiographical and ethnogeographical writing in the context of the Roman power is an important contribution. If there is any coherent group to be credited with giving rise and visibility to the new 'barbarian tales' (WOOLF *op. cit.*), the little known and largely vanished writers in the provinces are an attractive candidate, though one that is very difficult to say anything certain about. That this kind of writers could be interested in religious themes seems likely, though surviving examples (e.g. those given in WOOLF 2011A, 116f.) are too late to demonstrate transmission activity under the Late Republic. WEBSTER's study of the dynamics of *interpretatio* also points to the fundamental role of 'a Latin-literate, often non-indigenous, élite' in forging new links between the provincial religious traditions and the central, hegemonizing paradigm (1995A, 156f.; for a view *contra*, see RIVES 2011, 180).

<sup>23</sup> WOOLF 2011A, examining the provincial 'middle ground' (8-31) and the libraries at the centre of the growing empire (66-79) separately, does not propose mechanisms that would have enabled the relatively speedy transmission of information from the provinces to the centre. The flow of information to the other direction was, in all likelihood, a natural result of the higher education of the time. That so-called 'epichoric', sometimes travelling, historians were locally celebrated is clear from the examples given by CLARKE 2005, 114, 116, 118, 122, but whether the prestige and diffusion of their works was great enough to reach Rome, for instance, is another matter (though see *ead.* 2005, 122; some mechanisms of transmission are suggested in 124-8). It cannot be denied that by the time of the Second Sophistic such prodigiously learned provincials as Favorinus of Arelate clearly had their views known both by friends (Gellius) and enemies (Polemon), but figures like him and Pausanias (of whose contribution e.g. PRETZLER 2004, and ALCOCK 1996, 262) are too late to account for the Late Republican or Augustan phase. Timagenes may better encapsulate the dynamics of that period (p. 81f., 120).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. BENEDICT 1942, 39f.; MOMIGLIANO 1975, 56f.

a pretext for wars in the Provincia in the 120s.<sup>25</sup> Justin, for instance, tells us that the Massaliots, having been spared from a Gallic attack by the intervention of their goddess Athene (43.5.1-8), heard through some deputies of theirs who were returning from Delphi, that Rome had been sacked and torched by the Gauls (5.8). This caused public mourning in Massalia, and the people of that city collected a fund to be sent to aid in the ransom demanded by the Gauls. In gratitude the Romans granted the Massaliots an exemption from taxes (which is puzzling, unless it refers to Massaliote traders), as well as honours for their representatives and a *foedus aequo iure percussum* (5.10). SORDI 1960, 21-2 has suggested that since the strongest evidence for this sense of alliance is found in Strabo (4.1.5-180), Justin (43.3.4, 5.3, 10), and Ammianus (15.11.14), Timagenes could well have presented a particularly strongly linked narrative of Roman and Massaliote fates. Timagenes' take, however, is unlikely to have been too condemnatory against the barbarians, if the oft-repeated opinion of SORDI as to his 'philobarbarism' is true.<sup>26</sup> Others would have been less reticent to celebrate this alliance against the continental barbarians. Already before Timagenes' time, Cicero had affixed this manifest destiny to other cities of the Provençal coast as well.<sup>27</sup> As noted by HARRIS 1979, 150, the wars against the Gallic groups in the 120s appear to be a rather natural context for the incorporation of Transalpine Gaul into the realm.

Trogus either invented or came across a tale of how a Gallic threat against Massalia was overcome via a dream vision received by the Gallic leader. The subject no doubt suited his interest in the interaction between Gaul and Rome. The story may be connected with the notion of the Gauls as intensely superstitious and prone to see omens and supernatural threats everywhere. Trogus himself had noted in a relatively positive sense that the *Galli* are pre-eminent in the study of bird omens, and in the second century BCE Nicander of Colophon seems to have written about the Celts seeking dream omens by sleeping among the graves of heroes.<sup>28</sup> Describing Massalia's rise to prominence (*gloria virente floreret*), and the ensuing chagrin

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<sup>25</sup> For which HARRIS 1979, 248, referring Livy *Per.* 60; Flor. 1.37.3.

<sup>26</sup> SORDI 1979, *ead.* 1982.

<sup>27</sup> In Cic. *Font.* 13 Narbo is characterized as *specula populi Romani ac propugnaculum istis ipsis nationibus oppositum et obiectum*, and in *Phil.* 3.13 the Narbonensis as a whole is *provinciae Galliae [...] illud firmamentum imperii populi Romani*. The notion of Narbo as a frontier against the northerners in Cicero's *Pro Fonteio* is briefly examined by KREMER 1994, 87-8; JANTZ 1995, 21; BURNS 2003, 43; and the Gallic aspects of the Massaliote-Roman *foedus* already earlier by DEWITT 1940, 609f, 613ff. In Just. 43.4.1 (*adeoque magnus et hominibus et rebus inpositus est nitor, ut non Graecia in Galliam emigrasse, sed Gallia in Graeciam translata videretur*) the role of Massalia as the civilizer of the Gallic area is pronounced, and either Trogus or Timagenes (cf. ZECCHINI 1984, 125f.) may be behind the broadly similar notion of civilizational advancement of Gaul in Amm. 15.9.8, following Greek immigration and leading to *hominibus paulatim excultis vigere studia laudabilium doctrinarum*.

<sup>28</sup> Nic. Col. *ap. Tert. De anim.* 57. This motif of enduring reverence towards omens among the barbarians partly represents the notion of a Golden Age -type religiosity still persisting somewhere, but never in the commentator's own society: a topical example of this is Ael. *VH* 2.31, which likewise mentions the Celts.

of Ligurians and Gauls, Trogus told of a dangerous period when a Gallic chief named Catumandus was given the high command to destroy the city utterly. The Gauls had already begun their siege of the city when Catumandus had a menacing dream in which a stern-looking woman who called herself a goddess frightened him (*per quietem specie torvae mulieris, quae se deam dicebat, exterritus*). He immediately made peace with the Massaliots. Having requested permission to enter the city in order to pray to their gods (*ut intrare illi urbem et deos eorum adorare liceret*), he came upon a statue of Minerva in a portico and exclaimed that here was the divinity who had terrified him in his sleep and made him desist from his warlike intention. It was precisely in thanksgiving for this intervention, according to Trogus, that the Massaliote embassy was sent to Delphi to bear gifts to Apollo; the same embassy upon their return voyage entered into an alliance with the Romans.<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps in conjunction with the Roman sense of the southern Gallic colonies forming some sort of frontier against the barbarians, the influential notion arose during the Middle Republican period of the Alps as a definitive border and even a veritable wall of Italy, as referred to above (p. 106).<sup>30</sup> Just as in the case of the Massaliote connection, here too the significance of the Alpine *tutamen* would doubtless have been accentuated by the Hannibalic invasion.<sup>31</sup> The notion is expressed succinctly already by Cato, if Servius is quoting him faithfully: *Alpes muri vice tuebantur Italiam*.<sup>32</sup> Though partly a simple descriptive choice of words, it is difficult to imagine that the metaphor of *murus* would have been lost in an age when Cato was much concerned with the origins of Italian population groups and whether they were intruders from outside.<sup>33</sup> The same Alpine safeguard is later envisaged in connection with a Gallic invasion by Cicero, who certainly must be granted to have been in touch with the common concerns of his time. In *Against Piso*, the orator claims that the victories of Caesar have made it unnecessary for the Alps to even exist, since Italy no longer needed such natural

<sup>29</sup> Catumandus' dream, the salvation of Massalia, and the alliance with Romans during the return: Just. 43.5.4-8.

<sup>30</sup> In the Greek sphere, we may have an interesting indication of the trauma of barbarian invaders penetrating a formerly safe barrier of mountains, since Plut. *Phoc.* 33.7 mentions that the mountains of Acrouion were later known as 'Galates', possibly reflecting the famous Galatian invasion.

<sup>31</sup> Perhaps reflected in Corn. Nep. *Hann.* 3.4. It is telling, moreover, that the account given by Timagenes regarding the crossing of the Alps by the migrating Celts seems to have gone on to influence not only Ammianus' and Justin's account of the same event, but also Livy's narrative, first regarding the Gallic invasion of Italy (5.33.5ff.), and secondly the crossing of the Alps by Hannibal (21.30); this is demonstrated by SORDI 1979, 49-53. These later accounts (including Diodorus) would have been inspired by the salience of the Alpine area in the propaganda of both Caesar and Augustus (see p. 141 fn. 486f. above, and p. 175f. below).

<sup>32</sup> Cato F 85 PETER *ap.* Serv. *Ad Aen.* 10.13. The edition of Roman annalists by CHASSIGNET 1996 does not include Cato on account of his non-annalistic structure (*ead.* xv-xvi). The *muri vice* of Cato is echoed by Polybius' idea (3.54.2) of Alps as a common acropolis for the whole of Italy, when viewed next to each other (from some imaginary vantage point, possibly in a map)—the visuality of the image conjured up by Polybius' words has been commented upon by CLARKE 1999, 101.

<sup>33</sup> These notions have been expertly examined by WILLIAMS 2001, 55-7, 66f. 98f.

barriers—a hyperbole that drew its strength from the audience's shared knowledge about the symbolic and practical significance of the mountain chain. Caesar is also said to have pacified the Germans to such an extent that the Rhine had become similarly redundant.<sup>34</sup> Though an obvious rhetorical exaggeration, the formulation nonetheless recognizes the providentiality of Italy's situation and natural topography, in what can almost be seen to prefigure the outrageously glorified *Saturnia tellus* of the Augustan age. In the idealized, providential state of the world as shaped by Rome, extreme natural features become redundant. Around the same time Caesar may have been aiming at a purposeful turning of the tables on the Gauls, who were well known to have crossed the Alps in the past, but now were greatly alarmed and astonished by the Roman army's winter feat of crossing the snowy pass over the Cévennes (*Cebenna*).<sup>35</sup> By crossing mountain chains, however, a commander could easily become associated with menacing *exempla*. For instance, when the civil war had already begun and Caesar was marching towards Rome, Cicero would implicitly compare his army with the barbarians in a letter to Atticus.<sup>36</sup>

The Alps were quite central to Augustan historians, as well, with probably quite a lot of residual salience from the era of Caesar.<sup>37</sup> The Hannibalic crossing was still well remembered, and may have required a certain stress on Augustus' Alpine policies in order to firmly reappropriate the Roman prerogative of crossing them. In Livy the Gauls dispossessed

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<sup>34</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 81 on the unnecessary Alps: *cuius ergo imperium, non Alpium vallum contra ascensum transgressionemque Gallorum [...] obicio et oppono; perfecit ille ut, si montes resedissent, amnes exaruisent, non naturae praesidio sed victoria sua rebusque gestis Italiam munitam haberemus*; on Rhine's redundancy: *non Rheni fossam gurgitibus illis redundantem Germanorum immanissimis gentibus*. Cic. *Prov. cons.* 32 presents just as glowing appreciation of Caesar's achievements: what differentiates Caesar from his predecessors, even the *divina atque excimia virtus* of Marius, is his desire not only to repulse the Gauls, but to reduce them to servitude.

<sup>35</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 7.8.2f. The *materies gloriae* to Caesar is emphasised by the Cebenna being to the Gauls 'like a wall' (*se Cebenna ut muro munitos existimabant*), their own version of Alps. The snowy passes signified safety for Romans, too; hence perhaps explaining the inclusion in *Furius Bibaculus'* lost epic *Annales Belli Gallici* (F 8A *ap.* Pompon. Porph. *Ad Hor. Sat.* 2.5.41 HOLDER) of the line about snow that had been 'spat' upon the Alps by Jupiter (*Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes*). Cf. SULIMANI 2011, 344 about the likely Caesarian inspiration for the emphasis on Hercules' crossing of the Alps. While the choice of words was eccentric, and was deplored by many ancient commentators as a grave stylistic fault, at least it points to the idea of divine providentiality being associated with snow-blocked Alpine passes during the last century BCE—which after the Cimbric wars was certainly understandable. Lately the fragments have been examined by KRUSCHWITZ 2010, who moreover notes the possible parallel with Caesar's crossing of the Cebenna and *BGall.* 7.8.2 (*ibid.* 301f.).

<sup>36</sup> Cic. *Att.* 7.13.3; and already earlier in 7.11.1. If Caesar recognized that his long sojourn in the north and intimate association with barbarian allies would give his enemies some rhetorical leverage, this would certainly partly explain a phenomenon observed by BELL 1995, 753f.; namely, that Caesar avoided introducing Gallic foreign terminology in his excursus (apart from five technical terms: *soldurii*, *ambacti*, *druides*, *vergovretus*, and *essedum*), which was probably his stylistic decision, too (cf. Caes. *ap.* Gell. *NA* 1.10.4). It is relatively clear that Caesar's invasion of Italy obtains elements of the Gallic invasion in Luc. 2.534ff., as noted by GAERTNER 2008, 49, but it would be hasty to conclude that Lucan preserved elements of Late Republican factional propaganda (or, indeed, of Livy's treatment of the Civil War, as *ibid. loc. cit.* suggests).

<sup>37</sup> SULIMANI 2011, 344, thinks that Diodorus' emphasis on Hercules and his crossing of the Alps stems from Caesar's movements into and out of Gaul (but cf. p. 142f. above). E.g. Diod. 14.113.1 in an entirely conventional description of the Gallic invasion in a tradition that had been forming since the Middle Republic (the topicalities and models of which have been examined in WILLIAMS 2001, 100-39, 185-222).

by the consul M. Claudius Marcellus complain to the senate about their treatment, but receive a response denouncing their crossing of the Alps as improper, especially as it was followed by dispossessing the inhabitants of Italy. Livy also reports that the senate sent envoys to inform the Transalpine barbarian tribes that the Alps were to be regarded as a Roman border.<sup>38</sup> There is little doubt that the wars against the Cimbri and Teutones had emphasized this interest in the geographical security provided by the *Alpium vallum*, since the mobile barbarian menace involved the whole of the mountain chain from Noricum to Alpillen.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, as has often been noted, Caesar relied much upon the scare factor of barbarian movements near the Alps.<sup>40</sup> It is this reinforced appreciation for the Alps that undoubtedly motivated all three—Cicero, Trogus and Livy; and the last two could additionally look to Augustus' pacificatory activities in the Alpine area, highlighting his accomplishments in securing the *Saturnia tellus*.<sup>41</sup> Trogus described the passage of the Gauls migrating over the Alps with an emphasis on the unprecedented nature of the feat, and a more or less securely identified parallel account is given by Livy.<sup>42</sup> Similar parallels, though less verbally obvious, can be observed in the description of the Gallic invasion of the Balkans.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Hannibal e.g. in Corn. Nep. *Hann.* 3.4 with only Hercules preceding this feat; Livy 39.54 on Claudius Marcellus, 39.55.1ff. on the senatorial envoys.

<sup>39</sup> Immediately after the defeat of Arausio the old fears of northerners wanting to plunder Italy, and particularly Rome, seem to have re-awakened: TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 66 (with sources) regards the fears unrealistic.

<sup>40</sup> TERNES 1980, 62; GARDNER 1983, *in toto*; TORIGIAN 1998, 52; SCHADEE 2008, 162 fn. 19 thinks Caesar uses the motif of Gallic threat less than he could have done, and underemploys even the Cimbric one, but maybe issues of balanced narrative and the need to portray himself as unaffected by the fear prevented Caesar from going further; about the general situation in Gaul: ZECCHINI 1978, 211-22. Cf. also RIGGSBY 2006, 177, and also 154 about the few retrospective glances towards history in the *BGall.* having mostly to do either with the Cimbric invasions or other defeats against northerners in the Transalpine area (but cf. HALL 1998, 11 somewhat *contra*).

<sup>41</sup> This may have been part of the context of *Tropaeum Alpium* at La Turbie and the Arch of Susa: VOTA 2004, 39f.; CRESCI MARRONE 2004, 53, 55; cf. FERRIS 2000, 42f. The Herculean *exemplum* in Trogus (Just. 24.4.4) with its overtones of apotheosis would fit easily with Augustus' policies: cf. HEIDEN 1987; cf. also GRANDSDEN 1976, 39f. noting that in Vergil, the figures bringing civilization and rule of law back to Italy are Saturn, Hercules, Vulcan and Augustus. For the role of Hercules in Livy's vision of the Roman history, and his possible readiness to use the hero as an *exemplum* to accept the deification of Augustus: LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 360 and fn. 29; but cf. LEVENE 1993, 128, 245ff. with qualifications.

<sup>42</sup> Just. 24.4.1-3; cf. Livy 5.34.2-4. The verbal echoes include Gauls moving in *abundante multitudine* (Justin)/*abundans multitudo* (Livy) and directing their migration *ducibus avibus, nam augurandi studio [...] callent* (Justin)/*auguriis* (Livy). These were long ago proposed by SORDI 1979, 47-50 to stem from Timagenes.

<sup>43</sup> Just. 24.4.1-5 contains much of the same elements which Livy has condensed into 38.16.1: *Galli, magna hominum vis, seu inopia agri seu praediae spe, nullam gentem, per quam ituri essent, parem armis rati, Brenno duce Dardanos pervenerunt. A much more obvious parallel is Just. 24.4.7 tantusque terror Gallici nominis erat, ut etiam reges non lacessiti ultro pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur; Livy 38.16.13 tantusque terror eorum nominis erat [...] ut Syriae quoque ad postremum reges stipendium dare non abnuerent*, which moreover bears similarity to Just. 25.2.8-10.



## c. 'HOME IS WHERE THE HEADS ARE'—POSIDONIUS AND HIS ETHNOGRAPHY

The importance of Posidonius of Apamea for the study of ancient barbarians stems from two claims. First, he is envisioned to have played a crucial role in the transfer of the Greek theoretical framework of ethnography to the Romans.<sup>44</sup> Secondly, Posidonius is thought to have produced an unprecedentedly influential ethnography of the Celts, much more objective and 'scientific' than anything previously written.<sup>45</sup> Regarding both of these claims, it is both regrettable and convenient that the output of this Rhodes-based polymath is preserved only in fragments—which has enabled widely varying conjectures regarding his personal philosophical stance and principles of writing.<sup>46</sup> The same applies to the attribution and extent of his fragments, which has occupied several editors and given rise to not a few controversies.<sup>47</sup> Debates such as that between TIERNEY 1960 and NASH 1976 have resolved some aspects of the problem satisfactorily, but without providing a realistic estimate of Posidonius' actual potential to act as a fundamental contributor to northern ethnography.<sup>48</sup> In

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<sup>44</sup> The fundamental role of Posidonian ethnography is frequently stressed, especially regarding the northerners, e.g. MOMIGLIANO 1975, 67-73; DOBESCH 1995, 60f.; FREEMAN 2000, 24f.; MARTIN 2011, 23-34, 49, 68f. FREEMAN 2006 is devoted to contextualizing Posidonius and his Gallic ethnography, but this is accomplished by relatively uncritical means. SASSI 2001, 128 of a Posidonian synthesis of Greek ethnography (which may be a correct way of looking at his contribution). While his importance can on no account be dismissed, he may have been given some undue prominence in a situation where the even more complete loss of his contemporaries has perhaps blurred the picture of cultural lessons that the Late Republican Rome drew from the Greek literary elite.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. BICKERMANN 1952, 77; BALDRY 1962, 193f.; DODDS 1973, 19 'the first true field anthropologist'; Posidonius lauded as a relativist cultural observer in MOMIGLIANO 1975, 68f.; CLARK 1999, 115; submitted to a meticulous look in CLARKE 1999, 185-90; FREEMAN 2006, 4: 'a marvel of ethnic study that became a best-seller across the Mediterranean world', and e.g. 148: 'Posidonius has a great deal to say about Druids and Celtic religion'. Even if it would be nice to think he did, it is not possible to arrive at this conclusion on the basis of his fragments. The need for corrective is succinctly stated by NASH 1976, 111, although her caution seems to have had less effect than her more specific attack upon TIERNEY 1960 and his view on Caesar's dependency on Posidonius (although even this latter view is still supported in WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 145).

<sup>46</sup> FREEMAN 2006 attempts to flesh out the early milieu and schooling of Posidonius (10-17), but much of this is unnecessary speculation, in addition to dealing with the kind of fundamental learning that almost every Hellenistic author would have displayed. That said, the classic study of KASTER 1988 on the role of grammarians, though properly dealing with Late Antiquity, should alert us to the fact that many stereotypical notions and the habit of processing new information through literary exemplars could be disseminated at through the curriculum of 'elemental schooling.' Posidonius' advanced studies on Rhodes, however, are mentioned by T 1A KIDD *ap. Suda s.v. Ποσειδώνιος*.

<sup>47</sup> See already on p. 10. To sum things up, the 1982 edition of THEILER should not perhaps be judged too harshly since it was published posthumously, yet its spacious view of Posidonius secure fragments has enabled too trusting and preconditioned studies about the writer's significance to go on (MALITZ 1983 being but one example). The critical interpretation of the extent of Posidonius-fragments by EDELSTEIN & KIDD (1972-99) is fundamental for dismantling the mythology that has accrued around the Rhodian polymath, and ascribing to him only such sections on European ethnography that explicitly mention him as a source. Sadly, RANKIN 1987 avoids the implications of the minimalistic view, and on several occasions relates to Posidonius passages that are either wholly topical, general, or derived from authors that cannot be demonstrated to have been Posidonius (e.g. 50: Lucan, 52: Strabo, 69: Diodorus treated as Posidonius' opinion).

<sup>48</sup> Examples of crediting Posidonius' remarkable but not exceptional study with significance that may possibly be overstating his uniqueness include TIERNEY 1960, e.g. 201 (though his vast review of previous references to Celts should have made him aware of the topical nature of even Posidonius' 'Celtic ethnography', and to some extent,

this chapter and the next, I make use of the rigorous definition of Posidonian fragments (EDELSTEIN & KIDD, see above p. 10) to support the argument that Posidonius was hardly alone, revolutionary or monopolistic in writing about the European barbarians during the last century of the Roman Republic, and that moreover his 'Celtic ethnography' was more literary and less autoptically 'scientific' in nature than has commonly been recognized, especially in Celtic scholarship. Posidonius did travel to the Atlantic coast to observe the tidal movements, and is known to have visited both Massalia and Rome; but he was no explorer, and he certainly did not travel as extensively in Gaul as has occasionally been claimed.<sup>49</sup>

With regard to the first claim for Posidonius' crucial role, scepticism is necessary regarding his ethnography as an empirical, factual undertaking, based on the philosopher's own travels in the West and with no use for mythogeography or wonder-writing. In fact, his reputation was not untarnished by accusations of bad judgement in assessing his sources, and of including implausibilities.<sup>50</sup> Strabo, though making extensive use of Posidonius, nonetheless criticizes the Apamean on several occasions for his credulousness, stating in particular that his predecessor's great reputation made it hard to forgive those instances where he included improbable things.<sup>51</sup> It is worth bearing in mind that Posidonius wrote in an age with a keen interest in the weird and wonderful, as manifested in the characters of far-away peoples; an age, moreover, when paradoxography seems to have enjoyed something of a boom. Nor was the division between 'serious' writers and reporters of miracles as clear-cut as it is sometimes thought to be, and the inadequacy of modern generic distinctions when applied to Posidonius' works has certainly been well demonstrated.<sup>52</sup> Though Rhodes, thanks in no small part to

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e.g. 192f. he shows this); MOMIGLIANO 1975, 71; HATT 1984, 82; LOICQ-BERGER 1984, 50; also the openly tendentious RUGGERI 2000 and FREEMAN 2006; much in MARTIN 2011 supports the old view, too: e.g. 23-34, 51-69. This tendency to include anything potentially and excitingly 'Posidonian' originated apparently with TRÜDINGER 1918, was manifest in NORDEN 1922, and has influenced several editions of Posidonian fragments, most tellingly in JACOBY's original *FGH* 97 and even quite lately in THEILER 1982, which at least in the field of ethnography seems to include nearly anything suitable and not already attributed to some other author, as long as the information derives from a set of authors 'generally understood' to have used Posidonius. This study will use the minimalistic standard edition of EDELSTEIN & KIDD (1972, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. in 1989), which leaves out everything not explicitly attributed to Posidonius. THOMAS 1982, 2 criticized 'panposidonianism' in the context of Posidonius' philosophical influence; this may partly have been necessary for his argument (cf. *ibid.* 117-8).

<sup>49</sup> On Posidonius' dating: KIDD 1988, 1 for T 4-7 and esp. T 14-18, with the conventional dating of Posidonius' 'Grand Tour to the West' to the 90s BCE. This would be natural a *terminus post quem* for his writings giving information on western barbarians. It is unlikely that Posidonius ventured deep into Narbonensis: KIDD 1988 I 17f. on T 19, 20 on T 23, and claims like HATT 1984, 82 'Posidonius, qui avoit séjourné longtemps en Gaule' are not only highly conjectural, but also emblematic of the wistful thinking often met in connection with Posidonius (cf. e.g. FREEMAN 2006, 121f.); MARTIN 2011, 61f. For an early admonitory voice, see NASH 1976, 120.

<sup>50</sup> This much is noted already by Cicero, when he expresses his polite criticism in *De fato* 5-7: *quaedam etiam Posidonius (pace magistri dixerim) comminisci videtur; sunt quidem absurda.*

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Str. 1.2.1, and 2.3.5 for a comparison between Posidonius and 'wonder-writing' Pytheas, Euhemerus and Antiphanes. Cf. THOLLARD 1987, 22 fn. 25.

<sup>52</sup> For a simplifying dichotomy, see e.g. GEUS 2000, *passim*, but e.g. 63, with Theopompus, Hecataeus and Euhemerus contrasted confidently with Eratosthenes, Apollodorus and Strabo. Besides, to claim that the 'less

Posidonius himself, has in modern perceptions had the reputation of a theoretical and methodological hub of the Hellenistic intellectual world, a look at the third-century BCE thaumasiographic historian Eudoxus of Rhodes affords a glimpse of what some audiences wanted to learn about the Κελτοί. Though an earlier author than Posidonius, Eudoxus certainly wrote after the establishment of the Galatians in Asia Minor.<sup>53</sup> Eudoxus' fragment in the *Historiae Mirabiles* of Apollonius is even more bizarre: he is reported to have told of a Celtic ἔθνος which "sees not by day, but by night".<sup>54</sup> Faced with such Hellenistic narratives, it is small wonder that Posidonius felt it necessary to reiterate his claims of autopsy with remarkable regularity.<sup>55</sup> These claims of autopsy have in turn been favoured by modern writers who, despite acknowledging that Posidonius hardly wandered far from Massalia and the Narbonensis coast, wish to see his ethnography as being of great information value.<sup>56</sup>

Claims of autopsy were certainly a wholly conventional device in historiography, but there were also other techniques for adding authenticating touches, and some of these can appear to the modern reader as curiously close to detailed anthropological observations. Parthenius is a case in point: his romantic narrative of the tragic anti-heroine Herippe, deriving at least partly from Aristodemus of Nysa—a rhetorical writer from around the turn of the first

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factual' authors only became cited during a later age (GEUS takes Diodorus as an example) is problematic when the patchy record of Hellenistic ethnography, geography, and historiography is taken into account. For the problems of attributing distinct genres to Posidonius' works: CLARKE 1999, 171-85.

<sup>53</sup> Eudox. *FGrH* 79 F 4 *ap.* Ael. *NA* 17.19 seems to have reported that the 'eastern Γαλάται' combat invasions of locusts by charming birds by prayers and sacrifice, getting them to wipe the insects away; moreover they protect these birds from capture on the pain of death. Notably, the motif of the Celts' close sacral interaction with birds appears also in Justin 24.4.3, and it is possible (but not necessary) that these are interlinked motifs.

<sup>54</sup> Eudox. F 2 *ap.* Apoll. *Mirab.* 24: ὁ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ βλέπει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα ὄρᾶν. Perhaps they are meant to be only able to see in the darkness of the night, in a classic inversion of an ingroup normality; the interpretation of MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 174f., which takes the baffling piece as a reference to the importance of night-time to Celtic rituals seems decidedly too literalist a reading. On the possible parallel in Antonius Diogenes, see p. 85 above. The Homeric Cimmerians who live in eternal darkness spring to mind as a possible distant inspiration for this strange group of Κελτοί, as was suggested by FREEMAN 1994, 92. Ephorus had explained Cimmerians as underground-dwelling caretakers of the oracle at Cumae: *FGrH* 70 F 134A *ap.* Str. 5.4.5. The entry in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γέρμαρα (examined for wholly different reasons by MAZZARINO 1957, 78f.) seems related, too: Κελτικῆς ἔθνος, ὁ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ βλέπει, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης περὶ θαυμασίων, τοὺς δὲ Λωτοφάγους καθεύδειν ἑξάμηνον. MAZZARINO 1957, 79 thinks this piece of pseudo-Aristotelian thaumasiography is connected to a current of thought linking Homeric peoples with contemporary northern groups (though his particular attention to Pytheas is perhaps not relevant); a link to the Homeric Κιμμέριοι seems plausible on the level of motifs.

<sup>55</sup> On the Hellenistic and later cross-breeding between historiography and novels: RUIZ-MORENO 1996, 42-48. On the other hand, if Strabo knew the rather trivial details told about the rites in the northern islands by Artemidorus of Ephesus (cf. p. 256) only via Posidonius, as suggested by HOFENEDER 2005, 110, this would further highlight that Posidonius was quite happy to include things for which there could have been no autoptic justifications even by himself or his source. The observation of MARINCOLA 1997, 85 on Posidonius adopting a 'Herodotean persona' for his own purposes of building a 'theory of human character' may have some pertinence, and would certainly explain some of his claims of autopsy.

<sup>56</sup> As done by FREEMAN 2006, 92f., e.g. envisioning Posidonius describing 'a world of the Celts full of war, head-hunting, and human sacrifice' although among these elements only head-hunting is something comparatively novel in connection with Celts; on the whole even this motif had been witnessed in earlier literature dealing with other groups, while the two other motifs are already quite topical in connection with the Celts.

century BCE (*ap. Parth. Narr.* 8)—contains several details which ‘Celticized’ the story for his audience.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, the narrative of Xanthus and Herippe exhibits many characteristics that are quite consistent with the framework of the Hellenistic novel (see p. 77f., 82f.), such as the interest in emotion, the sudden violence, and wide travels. The presence of an influential empiricist and synthesis-builder such as Posidonius within the sphere of theoretical and technical literature in no way precludes the simultaneous appeal of much more teratological accounts aimed at a more general readership. Nor does it preclude the transposition of such motifs from one register to another. It would be unwise to treat similar elements, found in two works that to modern scholars seem to differ in their genre, as reliable evidence in one case, and as conventional tropes in the other.

All in all, Posidonius treated mytho(geo)graphical material in rationalizing, perhaps even euhemeristic fashion, but he certainly did not abandon the mapping of a mythical geography in conjunction with his contemporary one. Among his preserved fragments dealing with the northern barbarians are passages that indicate this tendency to harmonize; one example which has received only little scholarly attention is provided by the *Scholium in Apollonium Rhodium*, citing Posidonius in situating the Hyperboreans around the Italian Alps.<sup>58</sup> This inclusion of Hyperboreans, though ignored in previous scholarship, can in fact be explained by way of Posidonius’ approach toward the rationalization of older mythogeographies. In detailing the peoples encountered by the westward-wandering Cimbri (F 272), Posidonius included the apparently incidental detail about how the Helvetii, “peaceable men rich in gold”, were induced to join the Cimbri, having witnessed the even greater amount of gold that the invaders had gained from their plunderings.<sup>59</sup> This is in all likelihood the

<sup>57</sup> Cf. p. 84. According to the suggestion of LOICQ-BERGER 1984, 50 Parthenius’ ‘factual’ information may derive to a large extent from Aristodemus, who may personally have known Posidonius. Though such a suggestion bears the distinct signs of over-Posidonizing many ‘commonly known’ Hellenistic motifs about the northerners, there is some merit to the suggestion.

<sup>58</sup> Pos. F 270 KIDD *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod. Argon.* 2.675: Ὑπερβορέων ἀνθρώπων· Ὑπερβορέους μὴ εἶναι τελέως φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος, ἐπεὶ εἰ εἰσὶν ὑπερβόρειοί τινες, πάντως καὶ ὑπερνώτιοι. Ποσειδώνιος δὲ εἶναί φησι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους, κατοικεῖν δὲ περὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις τῆς Ἰταλίας. This technique of relocating a mythogeographic group has a telling formal parallel in Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 134A *ap. Str.* 5.4.5, explaining the Cimmerians as formerly living underground near the plutonic oracle at Cumae and acting according to an ancestral custom whereby none should see the light of sun; later they were wiped out by a certain king angered by an oracular answer. The handling of previous material is similar in Ephorus and Posidonius: a proverbial characteristic in the Homeric conception of Cimmerians is given a rationalizing explanation, while their location is defined into the now conceptually incorporated lands, which nonetheless afforded more interpretational leeway by being nor wholly populated by long-standing Greek mythonarratives. Finally, an etymology seems to have been implied also in Ephorus: Κύμη or Κύμαι could plausibly enough be linked with the ethnonym Κιμμέριοι.

<sup>59</sup> Pos. F. 272 *ap. Str.* 7.2.2 KIDD. Helvetian gold was featured in more length than this: Athenaeus also quotes Posidonius in discussing metallurgy: F 240A *ap. Ath.* 6.233D-234C. Helvetians are compared with ‘some other Celts’, which neatly identifies their larger ethnic affiliation in Posidonius. The Herodotean models (3.115) for the motif of northerners rich in gold should not be discarded even in Posidonius (cf. MARINCOLA 1997, 85); in addition to Herodotus, Aesch. *Cbo.* 372ff.

original context of the Posidonian Hyperboreans cited by the scholiast: Posidonius was probably attempting to euhemerize the peaceable and bounteous Hyperboreans of old, living in their homeland behind a mountain wall, like the Helvetii of his own day.<sup>60</sup> Roman interest in Alpine geography had recently been heightened by the Cimbric threat, and this may have had something to do with Posidonius' enquiries.<sup>61</sup> In any case, Posidonius appears to have further etymologized the Rhipaeian mountains of Hyperborean fame into the Alps via the 'Olbian mountains', reinforcing his Cimmerians/Cimbri equation.<sup>62</sup> Strabo quoted Posidonius after the time when Caesar's Gallic war had been set in motion by the Helvetii, so Posidonius' original aetiology would have been rather beside the point, much like Ephorus' formerly philhellenic Celts in Book 4.<sup>63</sup> The origin of the Cimbri, the location of the Hyperboreans in the Alps, and the local provenance of the gold looted by Caepio at Tolosa all demonstrate Posidonius' desire to find rational explanations for received elements, while at the same time avoiding the dismantling of all previous tradition.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Essentially, Posidonius treated Herodotean discourse on Hyperboreans similarly to Herodotean discourse on Cimmerians: examining the previous evidence, looking for possible later day descendant groups, and forming his own, justified connection between the two. He ends up rehabilitating both Cimmerians and Hyperboreans with the more recent invasion of the Cimbri, which surely would have interested Roman intelligentsia very much. BRIDGMAN 2005A, 153 misses the point of Posidonius' euhemeristic innovation (as does RUGGERI 2000, 98f.); he simply notes that 'there could be a hint of identification of the Hyperboreans with the Celts here', but this perspective results entirely from his avowed intention of demonstrating that references to Hyperboreans are in fact references to Celts. Instead, in Posidonius' case a reference to Hyperboreans in the Alps was probably only one part of his argument to rehabilitate this mythical group with later ethnography—an aim even further reinforced by F 240 *ap. Ath.* 6.233D-234C about the identification of the Alps with the Rhipaeian Mountains of old (an etymological explanation via 'Olbian mountains' appears to have been included, according to F 240B *ap. Eust. Od.* § 89), which is likewise misunderstood by BRIDGMAN *loc. cit.*

<sup>61</sup> During the era immediately after the Cimbric wars, the Alps again heightened their symbolically potent role as a 'throat of Italy' for an enemy to attempt grasping (*in cervicibus iam Italiae*): the formulation is that of Pompey during the Sertorian War as reported in Sall. *Hist.* 2.98 MAURENBRECHER. Cf. SULIMANI 2011, 212-20.

<sup>62</sup> Posidonius was not the first to make the association between the mountain chains (cf. p. 139 above), but his theory was apparently the most elaborate so far. Pos. F 240A KIDD *ap. Ath.* 6.233D-234C, which is probably the base of F 240B *ap. Eust. Od.* § 89; of these the latter is more explicit regarding the etymological aspect. To state, like BRIDGMAN 2005A, 79 that Posidonius 'followed the tradition' that had started with Protarchus and 'Antimachus' (as BRIDGMAN problematically identifies the latter: see p. 139 fn. 474) is to pass by with a shrug a crucial clue to Posidonius' methods in contributing to northern ethnography.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Caes. *BGall.* 1.2.2 revealing a projection of the *metus* onto the Helvetii; see also TERNES 1980, 58. The last sentence in 7.2.2 about the demise of the Cimbri and their associates, is probably Strabo's. Besides, Strabo had already rehabilitated the Herodotean Hyperboreans in 1.3.22, where he presents Eratosthenes' criticism of Herodotus, yet ends up admitting that for poets it is permissible to speak of mythical peoples like Hyperboreans. Strabo interprets the 'Hyperboreans' broadly as simply the most northerly peoples, not ones literally living in a land where the north wind does not blow; thus, Helvetii as explained by Posidonius would not have fitted easily with Strabo's own attempt to reconcile the mythical with the geographical. Nonetheless, the epistemic attractiveness of Posidonius' interpretation regarding the Cimbri to Strabo is clear: it tied the relatively new and still acutely remembered barbarian group to the ancient devastations of a plausibly linked invaders. KIDD 1988, II 932 recognizes in Posidonius' story of the Helvetians' avarice only 'another ethical *aitia* for an historical event', which is certainly true; however, this instance would also appear to be the most natural locale for the puzzling information attributed to Posidonius in the *Scholia in Apollium Rhodium*.

<sup>64</sup> Another interesting corollary of this is the way Posidonius appears to have treated the 'real' culprits of the Delphic plunder. In F 240A *ap. Ath.* 6.234B, Posidonius is quoted for the absolute ban on gold that the Scordisci uphold—in its stead, they desire silver and obtain it by plunder. Clearly, Posidonius' moralizing interest in the

The drive to rationalize myths, shared by many Stoics, could also buttress the suggestion by CLARKE 1999, 183-5, that the causes of the Cimbric migration had been described by Posidonius in his *On Ocean* rather than the *Histories*; the mythicizing influence of the Oceanic context (cf. p. 253f.) could have called for a particularly investigative tone. Finally, it should be noted that Posidonius' own philosophy no doubt led him to take an interest in the emotions and their role in different societies—and as such he participated in a slightly differing mode of treatment in the wider Hellenistic current of studying barbarian emotions. Galen's *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* refers to Posidonius' work *περὶ παθῶν*, where he had expressed his view that all examination of moral questions, ethics, and virtues depends on the correct understanding of emotions. Essentially, if Strabo's account of the Celts' emotional propensities reflects those of Posidonius even in part, they do not appear to have been revolutionary: on the contrary, they would have been immediately recognizable to Plato.<sup>65</sup>

Locating Posidonius within the wider contemporary scene, with its teratologies and novelistic leanings, is necessary for reassessing the impact of his contribution to western ethnography, which has often counterproductively been presented as something unprecedented. As noted by KIDD in his commentary of Posidonius' fragments, "it would be ludicrous to suggest that the only written or oral source on the habits of the Gauls available to intelligent writers in the latter part of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. was Posidonius".<sup>66</sup> It will be necessary and beneficent to bear in mind the collective contribution of Posidonius' predecessors, particularly in connection with themes of religiosity and morals included in his famous 'Gallic ethnography'. Posidonius' reception appears to have benefited the most from the context he wrote in, with Romans in their post-Cimbric mode greedy for information regarding all

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regrettable effect that gold has on people featured stories of barbarians learning their lesson; though he may have further observed that instead of banning gold they should have banned the impiety of robbing temples, as this was the real reason of their near-extinction. Based on Pos. F 284B 4 *ap.* Sen. *Ep.* 90.11-13, it seems that in Posidonius' view, iron was not the morally questionable metal (though Seneca resists this view): gold was.

<sup>65</sup> Pos. F 30 KIDD *ap.* Gal. *PHP* 5.469; Str. 4.4.2. On Posidonius' tendency to veer towards Plato: Gal. *PHP* 4.390, 421. However, Galen also quotes Posidonius as promoting a non-orthodox view among Stoics that the source of evil is prevalently not external to the human mind, but stems from the mind itself: Pos. F 35C *ap.* Gal. *De sequela* 819-20. The small part of the tendency towards evil that *is* acquired, may be implied to be environmentally motivated; cf. KIDD 1999, 93 fn. 16 on moral qualities shaped environmentally.

<sup>66</sup> KIDD 1988 I, 309. One such potential but overlooked author is Agatharchides of Cnidus; the *On Europe* of this 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE geographer contained over forty books, and it is referred to by Strabo in a way that could point to second-hand knowledge, possibly through Posidonius. On the *On Europe*: Agatharch. Cnid. *FGrH* 86 F 5-17, cf. RICHTER 1987, 116; known by Strabo: *FGrH* 86 T 1 *ap.* Str. 14.2.15; Diodorus, too, used Agatharchides at least about the East: SULIMANI 2011, 131f., 169f. It must be noted, however, that among Posidonius' fragments Agatharchides is not mentioned, and Strabo can well have known about the Cnidian's writings himself but chosen not to tap into his information. According to RICHTER 1987, 141, on the other hand, Agatharchides is a possible source author to Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae*. CLARKE 1999, 183 fn. 91 notes that Agatharchides had been interested in the causes of mass migrations among the barbarians—something which links him at least with Posidonius' discussion of the Cimbri. Also, although OAKLEY 2009, 440 addresses the general handicaps of past over-zealous *Quellenforschung*, his observation fits well the scholarly wish to see Posidonius as a first attestation for many elements: 'they failed to recognize that extant as well as lost writers could innovate'.

northerners; very little of what is attributed to Posidonius is in any way unique or revolutionary in terms of European barbarography, but as it came from a contemporary, well-known scholar, it was no doubt eagerly read.<sup>67</sup>

What, then, can be said of the substance of Posidonius' 'Celtic ethnography', and the role of moral or religious elements therein? With Druids and their possible presence in Posidonius will be discussed in detail in the following chapter (189-99), the main element to be dealt with here is that of the 'religious depositions' of gold at Tolosa, and the famous depiction of head-hunting. But even these constituted original 'research' only to a limited extent. Posidonius' enquiry was limited both by the interests of his audience and the extent of his autopsy. As noted by KIDD, it is most unlikely that Posidonius would have travelled widely even within the bounds of Narbonensis: he stayed with a Greek Massaliote host by the name of Charmoleon, and was shown some nearby sights.<sup>68</sup> He need not have moved far to see the head trophies, which he may have witnessed in several nearby homesteads or sanctuaries. What Massalia was particularly suited for, however, was collecting tales and testing expectations regarding Gaul as a whole; thus, Posidonius may well have entertained the notion that he had been given a representative glimpse of the society and culture of that land.<sup>69</sup> At the very least it would have been a sensible and far from exceptional authorial strategy, even if both his own prior knowledge (and hence his questions) and that of his Greek Massaliote informants (no doubt most of them quite learned) would still have been largely informed by the Ephorean tradition.

In writing about the ritual deposition of precious metals (F 273) at Tolosa, Posidonius must have depended on Roman informants: on account of both chronology and geography he

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. RAWSON 1985, 259 on the Roman obsession about the northerners and the haziness of ethnic divisions even after the Cimbric war and during the period when Posidonius travelled in the west. That Posidonius' contribution essentially derives from the earlier Greek ethnography, but with added poignancy deriving from the Cimbric Wars, is noted also by TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 236f.

<sup>68</sup> For Charmoleon T 23 *ap. Str.* 3.4.17; KIDD 1988 I 17f. on T 19, 20 on T 23. NASH 1976, 120: 'his first-hand Celtic ethnography could have been compiled entirely in the south of France', certainly to the point. It is probably too far-fetched to connect IG XIV 2460 with the Charmoleon that hosted the philosopher. Regarding his input to Posidonius' ethnography, it can be noted that even FREEMAN 2006, 80, who otherwise would wish to imagine Posidonius as a scientifically minded observer (which he in the case of the tidal studies along the Spanish coast probably was, to an extent), agrees with the possibility that Charmoleon was an eager host who wished to treat the itinerant philosopher to a wide array of local lore and 'information' about the barbarians of the area. Here we are dealing quite clearly with the dynamic that WOOLF 2011A examines *passim*, with the scenario of Asclepiades of Myrleia in Spain (24-7; cf. CLARKE 1999, 319), in particular, bearing some similarities to Posidonius' possible Greek informants in the west. Not only were they eager to present their learned visitors with interesting historical connections and local myth versions (partly no doubt in order to avoid being lectured about their own local past by an outsider—or indeed an 'overly insider'—book-worm), as well as being 'suggestively interviewed' by the said visitors.

<sup>69</sup> Whether or not Strabo is following Posidonius' mode of exposition in his geography of Gaul, Massalia nonetheless formed for him the natural entry point to both Gaul and its description (in Str. 4.1.4-5): THOLLARD 1987, 66 (with p. 63 demolishing, quite rightly, theories of Strabo's structural dependency upon Posidonius).

could not have witnessed the scene himself. Even so, during his stay in Rome he would have found confirmation from the Romans themselves for such firmly consolidated ideas as the wealth of the Gauls in gold and silver. However, the fragment also remarks on the ‘superstitiousness’ (δεισιδαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων) characteristic of the locals—a formulation which appears to link the superstitious Γαλάται in Hellenistic sources and Caesar’s description of the Gauls as being *admodum dedita religionibus*. This ambivalent statement is followed by the same reference group (which at least in Strabo’s citation is implied to include all inhabitants of Κελτική) being characterized as ‘not extravagant’ in their way of life (καὶ οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις), which seemingly contradicts what most writers thought about the Celts and the Galli.<sup>70</sup> What he heard in Rome, and what he had read elsewhere, appear to have become intermingled in Posidonius’ work with the arguments he needed to support his theories: in this case that the Tolosan hoard was of local, not Delphic, provenance.<sup>71</sup>

The Roman elite’s preoccupation with the plundering northerners may have directed the Stoic’s enquiry; and inasmuch as the themes fitted his own philosophical mindset, he would probably have obliged his most obvious audience. The moral evaluation reached through reflections upon the barbarians’ relationship with precious metals was used by Posidonius in his treatment of the Helvetii (see above). Pos. F 240A *ap.* Ath. 6.234B-C combines the traditional—indeed Pictorian/Polybian (2.29)—element of northerners’ fascination with precious metals with perhaps more characteristically Posidonian moral analysis. Posidonius comments on the ban on gold adopted by the Scordisci after their botched attack against Delphi. Posidonius wryly observed that banning the metal associated with a terrible debacle while still perpetuating terrible things in the pursuit of silver seemed foolish, and that the Scordisci should instead have banned the custom of impious spoliation, for even after banning all metals they would probably continue fighting madly for food and other necessities. The underlying implication is, as in so many barbarian characterizations, that these peoples are unable to change the fundamentals of their behaviour. Posidonius’ moral criticism stems wholesale from his definition of piety (ὀσιότης), which is preserved by both Sextus Empiricus and Cicero.<sup>72</sup> The ethnic targeting is notable: among the Romans of

<sup>70</sup> Pos. F 273 *ap.* Str. 4.1.13. For the superstitiousness, cf. Polyb. 5.78, Caes. *BGall.* 6.16. The lack of extravagance in people of Κελτική may help us narrow down the extent of Posidonius’ F 274 so as to exclude the general early part of Str. 4.4.5 that stresses the love of display of the Celts.

<sup>71</sup> Posidonius’ contacts with the Roman elite were frequent and warm at least after his participation in the Rhodian embassy to Rome in 87-6 BCE: HOFENEDER 2005, 112.

<sup>72</sup> Sext. Emp. *Math.* 9.124; Cic. *Nat D.* 1.116 *est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos*. See WAGENVOORT 1980, 10. For the Stoicism of Cicero’s notion of piety, also PEASE 1955, I 510f. *ad loc.*, but without a clear stance about the derivation from Posidonius; Pease’s views are evaluated in GOAR 1978, 119 and joined with discussion about Cicero’s own convictions.



Posidonius' time, Scordisci and associated groups in the Balkans would have been the most salient northern barbarians along with the Cimbri (cf. p. 86 fn. 261, 154ff., 162, 184).

Strabo, in his account of the Celtic headhunting, cites Posidonius' own reaction to the display of human heads at Celtic houses.<sup>73</sup> If Posidonius made the claim of getting used to these displays, it was to establish his Stoic authority, and in fact does not imply more than two occasions: the first encounter was shocking, the second time he could expect the display and was not quite as perturbed.<sup>74</sup> The whole of this section in Strabo seems to consist of things attributed to Posidonius, supplemented by Caesarian material.<sup>75</sup> Strabo's ethnographical passage next seems to shift to what should be regarded as the Posidonian fragment *sensu stricto*.<sup>76</sup> In addition to their lack of sense (πρόσσειτι δὲ τῇ ἀνοίᾳ, which technically may represent a Strabonian transition phrase) they exhibit the "barbarous and outlandish" (καὶ τὸ βάρβαρον καὶ τὸ ἔκφυλον) custom common to many northern peoples (ὁ τοῖς προσβόρροις ἔθνεσι παρακολουθεῖ πλεῖστον): they collect the heads of foes slain in battle, hang them from the necks of their horses, and having thus brought them home they exhibit these heads at the entrances to their homes.<sup>77</sup> These talismans they prize enormously, and

<sup>73</sup> Pos. T 19 and F 274 KIDD *ap. Str.* 4.4.5: καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀηθίζεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρειν πράως διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. Such displays (of skulls if not fresh heads) might have been available for inspection in a number of places within Narbonensis. See KIDD 1988, II 937f. with some archaeologically-informed suggestions as to the locale of possible sites. The religious culture and ideology in the Southern Gaul was surveyed by CARRÉ 1981, though the evidence used is partly drawn from the period after Caesarian conquest, and with perhaps an over-emphasis on 'résistance à la romanisation' (138-40); regarding this problematic concept, WOOLF 1998, 1-23 should be consulted. Misinterpreting the passage is tempting: as just one example, FREEMAN 2006, 93 thinks Posidonius somehow witnessed 'activities the Romans would never have allowed in their territory'. There is, of course, no indication in Strabo's text that Posidonius witnessed actual, fresh human heads being nailed into doorjamb; that he saw heads need not be doubted, but it is not likely that Romans would have policed the removal of old, possibly sacrificial displays that had been in place from before the conquest.

<sup>74</sup> MOMIGLIANO 1975, 69 thought this demonstrated Posidonius' almost modern anthropological mentality.

<sup>75</sup> In 4.4.4 Strabo is quite clearly using Caesarian information from *B.Gall.* 6.13-16 in slightly altered order, but after the words φησὶ γοῦν Ποσειδώνιος αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν the attribution to Posidonius seems secure. The early part of the section 4.4.5 is generalized: the Celts are known for their simplicity, high spirits, foolishness and love of ornaments (τῶ δ' ἀπλῶ καὶ θυμικῶ πολὺ τὸ ἀνόητον καὶ ἀλαζονικὸν πρόσσειτι καὶ τὸ φιλόκοσμον). Next comes a description of their colourful clothing and copious jewellery, as well as their insufferability in victory—joined with quite as intense panic when defeated. These are likewise topical observations, with parallels from both Polybius and Caesar. Posidonius almost certainly had read Polybius, and would have known about the Celtic displays at Telamon: FREEMAN 2006, 102. Even so, Posidonius expressly calls the Celts 'not extravagant' in F 273 *ap. Str.* 4.1.13, and hence Strabo had probably looked elsewhere for a few words about their famous apparel. The Celts being κοῦφοι in Strabo (4.4.5)—linked to their excitability, fondness for ornaments, and lack of restraint in defeat or victory—is essentially the same as their *levitas animi* in Latin sources of the same era.

<sup>76</sup> Though EDELSTEIN & KIDD 1972, 239 (F 274) and KIDD 1988, II 937 correctly identified the fragment's extent, Strabo's broader Celtic ethnography is still occasionally attributed *en bloc* to Posidonius.

<sup>77</sup> Pos. F 274 *ap. Str.* 4.4.5: τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν ἀχένων τῶν ἵππων, κομίσαντας δὲ προσπατταλεῖν τοῖς προφυλαίσις. This mostly literary motif (see above 38 for a Herodotean model) has been examined in relation with the available pictorial evidence of similar customs among northern populations groups in a valuable article by KNAUER (2001, especially 291 where she discusses Livy 10.26.7-12). The term ἔκφυλον may well be a Posidonian one, though its use as a strong condemnation also fits quite well with Strabo's great preoccupation of examining the effects of Roman domination (and has been read as Strabonian by SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 9). Another likely allusion to this motif

refuse to ransom them back even for an equal weight of gold. What is clear that either Posidonius or Strabo treats a trait witnessed among 'the Celts' as typical of a wider set of northern barbarians—something that is telling in the context of the present study.

Very similar though more detailed information is cited by Diodorus, but there is some doubt as to whether most of his details stem from Posidonius or rather represent Diodorus' own elaboration partly informed by Caesar. His description mentions servants or attendants, who bear the bloodied enemy weapons away for their warrior masters; this may well be informed by Caesar's comment as to the large subservient population of serfs throughout Gaul. Departure from battle takes place to the tunes of a victory paean—a description probably stemming from Roman oral and written traditions, in which the clamour of the Gauls is rather prominently present.<sup>78</sup> The occasion of warriors returning from battle was something that Posidonius could not have witnessed himself, so at least in this he was again depending upon his informants—whether Massaliote Greeks, Romans or a local Gaul is impossible to say. Nor can written sources be dismissed. Romans had already had prior experience of Celtic headhunting; the case of Postumius' fate has been cited above, and Polybius preserves the mention, probably taken from Pictor, of Gaius Acilius' head being brought to the Gallic leaders during the battle at Telamon.<sup>79</sup> Even this, the most often cited piece of information attributed to Posidonius, could quite plausibly be founded on Roman oral or literary information that was made available to Posidonius in any of several possible locations in the course of his travels.<sup>80</sup>

It is worth noting that Posidonius largely refrains from condemning the moral aspects of such barbarian customs and rites—even the notion that Romans had put a stop to such

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from the Early Imperial period is Verg. *Aen.* 8.195ff., where decaying heads of the victims of Cacus adorn the entrance to the monster's lair; the possible connections with Gallic displays are taken up in BONFANTE 1984, 535f., but there is little benefit in claiming this as a genuine descendant of an originally 'Celtic' practice relayed by the Etruscans; that the literary element was quite current in the lifetime of Vergil, Strabo, and Diodorus should be explanation enough. GALINSKY 1966, 35 interprets the heads as just an internal allusion to Turnus.

<sup>78</sup> Diod. 5.29.4f. with τὰ δὲ σκῦλα τοῖς θεράπουσι παραδόντες ἡμαγμένα λαφυραγωγούσιν possibly informed by Caes. *BGall.* 6.13.1 *nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco*; further cf. ἐπιπαινίζοντες καὶ ἄδοντες ὕμνον ἐπινίκιον internally with Diod. 5.31.1; with Livy 7.10.9 *cum ingenti sonitu ensem deiecit*, and with other such passages on p. 104 fn. 332, 115 fn. 379. The view stemming from nineteenth-century positivism that Diodorus was unable or unwilling to impose his own views into a text, essentially lifting entire sections from source authors, is quite untenable, as succinctly summed up by SACKS 1990, 3-5, 7f.

<sup>79</sup> On Postumius: Livy 23.24.7 (see p. 198); Frontin. *Str.* 1.6.4; Zonar. 9.3; on Acilius: Polyb. 2.27.10. If the motif of taking the head of a losing Roman commander was not present in Pictor already, it may have been a Polybian addition, modelled e.g. after the fate of Ptolemy Ceraunus' head (though the only extant version of that narrative, in Troguus-Justin, postdates Polybius).

<sup>80</sup> The priority of Postumius-episode in head-hunting descriptions: FREEMAN 2006, 112. However, his suggestion that 'Scythians [...] may in fact have inspired the Gauls to take up the practice' is speculative and unnecessary—whether or not the practice was factually widespread among northerners, it was an enduring and conventional motif in descriptions of them. The motif of head-hunting illustrates well the problems of relating literary representations to 'real' cultural manifestations.

practices as they did not concur with accepted norms, may be Strabo's own addition.<sup>81</sup> Posidonius also did not reserve his reports of negative traits to barbarians.<sup>82</sup> He furthermore appears quite willing to grant certain desirable characteristics to barbarians otherwise engaged in 'most savage' behaviour; this may be implied by Diodorus, where Celts who boast of not having sold their precious heads even for such and such an amount of gold are noted to do so "with a certain barbarous magnanimity". It can be doubted whether Posidonius had actually witnessed such offers and boasting himself.<sup>83</sup> Posidonius' claim of autopsy with regard to the heads has been noted by most commentators, and corresponds to other similar claims throughout his writings. There is no need to dismiss them as a disingenuous authorial strategy; as noted above, the extent of Posidonius' autopsy would probably have been both determined by his prior learning and expectations, and directed by the actions and knowledge of his local contacts and informants, as well as his own literary purposes.<sup>84</sup> We may for instance ask: if his Massalian hosts took him to see the famous collected heads at some nearby Celtic household or shrine, did this take place because of his desire to substantiate rumours to this effect that he had heard earlier (or possibly read somewhere), or were his hosts singling out this curiosity as worth showing to their distant guest?

In this section I have suggested certain caveats regarding Posidonius' uniqueness in the field of Gallic ethnography, while attempting to contextualize his material pertaining to the religious and/or moral state of the northerners. Posidonius' information on 'Celts' was no doubt a useful collection of 'things known', but the main elements of his 'religious ethnography' of the northerners seem to have been widely circulated in his time. Headhunting

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<sup>81</sup> Str. 4.4.5 about how Romans halted these customs as well as forms of sacrifice and divination that went against their practices (τῶν κατὰ τὰς θυσίας καὶ μαντείας ὑπεναντίων τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν νομίμοις), can stem either from Posidonius or Strabo, but would perhaps be closer to the preoccupations of the latter. If, on the other hand, this was already noted by Posidonius, the heads would probably have been quite old at the time they were shown to him, an interpretation reinforced by Diodorus 5.29.5, which clarifies the way Gauls declined to part with the embalmed heads through enumerating how none of their forefathers had been persuaded to do so, either. Cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 83, where the Romans are about to punish the Hispanian Bletonesii for their human sacrifice, but after being informed that this had been done according to a custom, they simply forbade any such sacrifice in the future. For Plutarch's reaction, see SCHULTZ 2010, 534 ff.

<sup>82</sup> For the 'silliness' of Celts cf. the 'silly Athenians' in Pos. F 253 *ap.* Ath. 5.211D-215B. See KIDD 1988, I 310.

<sup>83</sup> Diod. 5.29.5: βάρβαρόν τινα μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. Posidonius' autopsy is taken for given in FREEMAN 2006, 102f., 111-14, with p. 93 sporting a re-imagining of the psychological effect of the display upon Posidonius, informed only by F 274; and p. 98 loading the heads with symbolism that seems to owe more to Str. 15.2.14 on the Carmanians. The fact that both Strabo and Diodorus refer to the prestige associated with the heads, and the consequent reluctance to sell them for gold should rather be seen as an indicator of its interestingness and 'aptness' in terms of northerners rather than any factual correspondence. If the northerners were greedy for gold, this was a good indication of the heads' supposed value.

<sup>84</sup> Posidonius' ideological emphasis on travelling is noted by MONTIGLIO 2005, 204f., but part of that emphasis may well have been a necessary building-block in constructing Stoic authority: for which technique in Seneca, see MONTIGLIO 2006.

had a strong Herodotean pedigree, with Roman traditions supporting the application of the trope to Gauls, and the Druids, if mentioned by Posidonius at all, were entering the writings of Greek doxographers during the very same period (see below). Posidonius' most original contributions may have been his novel theory of Cimbric origins (probably a subject that had not yet been much discussed among Greek writers), his insistence on the non-Delphic origin of the Tolosan treasure (an insistence that within its context probably appeared dull in comparison with the increasingly racy narratives about the incident), his claim of having himself witnessed the display of heads, and his probable discussion of the bards.<sup>85</sup> Feasting and its conspicuous aspects had already been covered to some extent by Phylarchus, decapitation had been included at least by Polybius, and the northerners' love of gold was a Herodotean element and a full-fledged trope at least by the time that most Posidonius-fragments were cited.<sup>86</sup>

While remarkably influential, and certainly used by several authors both first- and second-hand, it should nevertheless be kept in mind that Posidonius was merely the first—and by no means the most widely read—of the writers of the Late Roman Republic, the time at which the ethnography of Gallic religion most crucially took shape. He is also certainly not the best preserved. Indeed, the enduring lure of ascribing fundamental galatographic contributions to Posidonius stems precisely from his fragmentary preservation.<sup>87</sup> In the course of less than a century, first Polybius, then Posidonius, Timagenes, Caesar, Strabo and Diodorus all wrote about the Celts, the Gauls, and northern groups in general. In such a milieu information was freely borrowed, and much of what was previously merely orally transmitted information, incidental details, or parallelistic speculation was subsumed into the ethnographical register for no other reason than that they were 'good to think with.'

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<sup>85</sup> One may perhaps add the element of heroic duels and ritual beheadings at feasts, though the latter motif was met in Hellenistic novels around the same time (see the discussion of Parthenius, p. 81, though he is admittedly later than Posidonius), and general heroics could almost be postulated on the basis of the rationale 'Greek past is barbarian present' (for which cf. NIPPEL 2007, 38). Even CLARKE 1999, 364 accepts that the fragment may have a connection with the groups that Strabo (4.4.4) later describes as the three learned classes among the Celts.

<sup>86</sup> Feasting: Pos. F 67, cf. Phyl. *FGrH* 81 F 2 *ap.* Ath. 4.150D-F. Decapitation in Pos. F 68, 274, for Polybius, see fn. 79 above. Love of gold in Pos. F 272 regarding the Helvetii, and part of the subtext in F 240A and 273-4; on gold, Diod. 5.27.3; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.11f.; the trope subverted in Parth. *Narr.* 8 and Tac. *Germ.* 5.2f., 15.2. Silver in Diod. 5.27.4; Str. 4.4.5; Socr. 6.6.

<sup>87</sup> As noted above (p. 6, 10, 119 fn. 400, 177 fn. 47f.), some quite recent scholars using the inclusive edition of THEILER 1982 have been led into seeing Posidonius' input in a particularistic light: e.g. MALITZ 1983; KREMER 1994, 265; and HOFENEDER 2005, 112-57.

## d. THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK PHILOSOPHICAL SCHOOLS

Among the more important and long-lived motifs of northern ethnography that gained currency by its association with the speculation of philosophically minded Hellenistic scholars was the idea of the barbarian wise men. Above, we have seen that there existed several Greek traditions concerning northerners: the idea of their exceptional perception and wisdom coexisted with the equally prominent stereotype of their barely existent learning and general crudity. During the Hellenistic era, however, references to northerners' own traditions of learning emerge, with Greek accounts often betraying considerable influence from the better-known and more widely cited barbarian sages whom Alexander's conquest had brought within the scope of enquiry, such as the Indian gymnosophists and the Median Magi.<sup>88</sup>

While Polybius certainly had his own views regarding the philosophy of history, and did not shirk arranging his work to bring these to the fore,<sup>89</sup> it was slightly after his lifetime that the intensity of Greek influence upon Roman barbarography truly increased. Above has been noted the long-standing assumption that Posidonius played a crucial role in introducing northern wise men into Greek literature (p. 177 fn. 45). Posidonius may have had something to do with this development, but his contribution would have been far from unique. Other educated Greeks, such as Alexander Polyhistor and Timagenes, were intimately associated with making the Roman literary elite better acquainted with the theoretical foundation for characterizing northerners and their morality.<sup>90</sup> It would moreover be an oversimplification to assume that the Romans were merely passive receptors of such information; on the contrary, it seems that many of the subjects dealt with by the Greek writers were strongly connected with contemporary Roman concerns.<sup>91</sup> By the time of Cicero and Caesar, sections of the Roman elite were familiar enough with the Greek schools of philosophy—and willing enough,

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<sup>88</sup> That the likeliest context for the entrance of 'Druids' into the literary tradition was the Hellenistic Alexandria, see p. 191f., 193f. On the Hellenistic spread of knowledge and interest regarding the East, MOMIGLIANO 1975, 139-50; MARINCOLA 1997, 85; cf. ROMM 1992, 112-19. On the reception of these themes see also CLARK 1999; on an important representative of the Late Antique 'Persian ethnography' found in Ammianus, see TEITLER 1999 and DEN BOEFT 1999.

<sup>89</sup> Polyb. 3.36.1-6, 57.2-59.8; tellingly, Strabo identifies Polybius as a philosopher (1.1.1). CLARKE 1999, 77-97 about the historiographical theory of Polybius (especially in what it comes to the role of geography and ethnography); WILLIAMS 2001, 53f., 58f., 71f.

<sup>90</sup> And, since most of 'Posidonius' fragments' stem from the Augustan era or later, the notion of Posidonius as a distinct and pre-eminent contributor, to the exclusion of figures such as Polyhistor, Timagenes, and others, cannot be sustained.

<sup>91</sup> Summed up by MERRILLS 2005, 20ff., and DUECK 2012, 13-19, with CLARKE 1999 *in toto* the fullest available treatment. See also ALONSO-NÚÑEZ 2002, 69-112 on the boundaries of universal history being pushed outward by the expansion of Rome, but also extending beyond them, both spatially and temporally.

as in the case of Posidonius, to interact with them—for the adoption of relatively recent notions about 'philosophers' among the northerners (a constantly salient group in Roman minds) to be far from unthinkable.

The early stages of Greek thinking about the learning of the northerners have been referred-to above. What is clear that for the most part developments continued to take place in relative isolation from genuine ethnographical observations. Nicander of Colophon, for instance, was a Hellenistic writer professionally interested in modes of divination, since he held the post of an oracular functionary at the sanctuary of Apollo Clarius.<sup>92</sup> While it is not known whether Nicander gave a name to Celtic diviners, Tertullian cites an unnamed work by the Colophonian in his *De anima* in connection with nocturnal visions affording divinatory glimpses of the dead. According (ostensibly) to Nicander, in order to obtain such visions, the *Celtae* sleep near the graves of mighty individuals.<sup>93</sup> As a writer of the second century BCE, Nicander would be among the earlier writers to have referred to modes of divination practiced by the Celtic northerners, although his information is neither localized nor personified enough to judge whether his reference is anything beyond a pseudo-ethnographic snippet.

The Druids enter the literary tradition firmly in the context of the Greek East, more specifically the philosophical writings of the Hellenistic age, but it is questionable whether Posidonius actually named them.<sup>94</sup> Ostensibly the earliest reference to wise men among the Celts is contained in the very opening of Diogenes Laertius' compendium of philosophers' lives and beliefs. Diogenes starts by noting the claims (which he does not believe) that philosophy originated among the barbarians, such as the Magi of the Persians, the Chaldaei of Babylonians and Assyrians, the Gymnosophistae of the Indians; among the Celts and Galatae—as attested by Aristotle in his book *On Magic*, and the second-century doxographer Sotion in the 23<sup>rd</sup> book his history of philosophy—it was the Druids and the Σεμνόθεοι.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Nicandr. *Alexiph.* 9; *Suda s.v.* Νίκανδρος.

<sup>93</sup> Tert. *De anim.* 57: *Celtas apud virorum fortium busta eadem de causa abnoctare, ut Nicander affirmat.*

<sup>94</sup> The securest, minimal form of Posidonian fragments (EDELSTEIN & KIDD) does not contain a local name for the Celtic φυσιολόγοι. Hence it is somewhat astonishing to encounter such phrases as 'Posidonius had a great deal to say about the Druids' (FREEMAN 2006, 148, cf. 157; cf. MARTIN 2011, 305). KIDD 1988, I 317, however, does think it likely that Posidonius had known of the importance of Druids, and included them in his ethnography: that no mention is attestable must to him represent an accident of survival.

<sup>95</sup> Diog. Laert. *VP* 1.1-3. The name Σεμνόθεοι could be connected in some way with the ethnonym of a group of *Germani* called Semnones (whose ancient and grim holy grove is the subject of an impressive passage in Tac. *Germ.* 39), or they may bear some significance for the entry in Fulgentius' *Expositio sermonum antiquorum* (11: *Quid sint semones*), where he quotes Varro as an example, and explains the *semones* to have been a name used of a group of intermediary divinities (such as Priapus, Epona and Vertumnus) undeserving of a celestial abode, yet not humble enough to be considered simply terrestrial. It needs to be remarked, however, that Fulgentius has often been found less-than-reliable in his use of sources: TIMPANARO 1947, 199-200; WHITBREAD 1971, 158; on

Slightly further on, Diogenes writes briefly about the content of the Druids' teaching, which he bundles together with that of the Gymnosophists: both 'philosophize' through riddling apophthegms, and instruct men to revere the gods and live virtuously.<sup>96</sup> We should bear in mind that Diogenes himself wrote in the third century CE; thus not all the topical elements in his passage—riddling, reverence towards gods, practising manly virtue (ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν)—can be argued to represent their first attestation in Aristotle or Sotion. An even thornier question is their treatment of the Druids.

Even though his wording need not be taken to mean that both Aristotle and Sotion had treated all of the said groups, this is usually assumed to be Diogenes' implication. In any case, Diogenes did not class the *On Magic* attributed to Aristotle as a pseudepigraphic text, but it now seems to have been the work of some Hellenistic writer; one suggestion is the doxographer Antisthenes of Rhodes from the late third century BCE.<sup>97</sup> Sotion, on the other hand, can be characterized in slightly more detail: according to Athenaeus, he was an Alexandrian active during the second century BCE, and he appears to have written a work on the sequence of philosophers (Διαδοχαὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων) that is quite often cited by Diogenes—the Druids appear to have been treated in Book 13.<sup>98</sup> If Sotion really mentioned the Druids in this work, its doxographic emphasis on successive philosophers within their schools would probably have attempted to connect the Druids with some Greek or barbarian group. It is Pythagoras who most naturally springs to mind, as a few generations later he was apparently linked with the Druids by Sotion's fellow Alexandrian, Alexander Polyhistor.

If Sotion had not already connected the Druids with the doctrine of Pythagoras, this was probably accomplished by Polyhistor, the Milesian grammarian, who was active in Rome until 40 BCE. Among his copious works appear to have been two, the Φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαὶ and the Περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν, both of which could easily have featured the relationship between the Druids and the Pythagoreans.<sup>99</sup> While Pythagoras would have appeared to the

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Varro's book on priests being probably unmentioned outside Fulgentius' works, WHITBREAD 1971, 165. However that may be, Diogenes probably contributed the σεμόθεοι to the entry in the *Suda*, s.v. Δρυΐδαί.

<sup>96</sup> Diog. Laert. *VP* 1.6 αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀποφθεγομένους φιλοσοφῆσαι, σέβειν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν, σέβειν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν.

<sup>97</sup> MOMIGLIANO 1975, 59 on the basis of *Suda*. This is believable, especially as Diogenes quotes his doxographic predecessor in several instances, and could in this case be dependent on Antisthenes for his information.

<sup>98</sup> Diog. Laert. *VP* 1.1.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. BRUNAU 2006, 107ff., though still going on to entertain theories about actual doctrinal contact between Pythagoreans and Druids: 173-88. There is no reason to read the alleged connection as innocently as is done e.g. by HATT 1984, 85. KEYSER 2011, 52 is more to the point, though still appears to think about correspondences between Greek ideas and Celtic realities—though naturally the doctrine of transmigrating souls is in itself only present in written sources. Polyhistor's Διαδοχαὶ was clearly a well known work of doxography to Diogenes Laertius: e.g. 1.116, 2.19, 106, 3.4, 4.62. WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 146 follows CHADWICK 1966, 61 in attributing an

Alexandrian Sotion as a mildly quixotic western philosopher with already demonstrated connections to the barbarians (cf. Hdt. 4.95), Polyhistor was aware that Pythagoras and his famous wisdom had already been associated with Numa, the most pious of Roman kings, in an exchange that seems to have symbolized many aspects of Greek cultural dissemination among the early Romans.<sup>100</sup> Even so, the information quoted by Clement of Alexandria from Polyhistor’s *On Pythagorean Symbols*, as to Pythagoras consulting ‘Γαλάται’ and Brahmins in addition to being tutored by Zoroaster, may plausibly have originated with Sotion in an earlier milieu quite removed from Roman considerations, or ascribed to him by Polyhistor—whether truthfully or not.<sup>101</sup> All the relevant foreign groups referred to by Polyhistor (if we regard the Persian Magi as substitutes for Zoroaster, and equate the Gymnosophists with the Brahmins) are cited by Diogenes, who also crucially locates the Druids (and the Σεμύθιοι) “among the Celts and Γαλάται” on the authority of Sotion and the pseudo-Aristotelian *On Magic*.<sup>102</sup> All in all, Polyhistor’s attitude fits the remark by WEBSTER (1999, 4-5) that prior to the Caesarian conquest the Druids were principally conceived of as philosophers chiefly because a majority of the authors mentioning them would have regarded themselves as philosophers.

As noted in the preceding section, it is difficult to discern what (if any) new input Posidonius’ Gallic excursus contributed regarding philosophy and philosophers among the Celts. Certainly, we have sections in both Strabo and Diodorus which have usually been interpreted as representing a Posidonian contribution to the perception of Druids, but neither

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earlier literary source to Polyhistor’s inclusion of Druids in the list of learned barbarians, but this is meant to stress his reductionist view (resembling that of TIERNEY 1960) on Posidonius’ unique contribution to druidic descriptions. Polyhistor may have used elements that Sotion or the writer(s) of the *Pythagorean hypomnemata* (Diog. Laert. *VP* 8.25; cf. BRUNAUX 2006, 108f.) gave expression to before him, but for the reception of the information, Polyhistor was quite crucial.

<sup>100</sup> Pythagoras as Numa’s tutor: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59 arguing against the connection on chronological grounds (see SCHULTZE 2012, 129); Plut. *Num.* 1.2f., 8.4-10 envisioning Numa as a great cultural translator (Plut. *Num.* 22.4). But as noted by GOLDBERG 1995, 126f., the interest also stemmed from the Romans themselves.

<sup>101</sup> Alex. Polyh. *De Pythag. symb. ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 1.15.70.1. The positive attitude towards Druids in Polyhistor is also noted by HOFENEDER 2005, 76, though he considers Polyhistor to have inherited it instead of formulating it in a context which, he feels, was not as conducive to Celt-friendly interpretations. While the proposal has merit, the conventional image of Timagenes’ work—produced not much removed in time from the oeuvre of Polyhistor—supports the possibility of pro-barbarian history even in a Late Republican context. Whereas Roman considerations would hardly have affected Sotion, they would probably have precluded Posidonius from making such an implicitly flattering connection. Polyhistor, on the contrary, could have even come up with an explanation such as this in the milieu after Caesar’s Gallic War, which also is the context for such information as Diodorus’ aetiology for Alesia (WOOLF 2011A, 21ff.). Moreover, it may be possible that when Plin. *HN* 16.249 refers to the possibility that the Druids had gotten their name from a Greek explanation for their connection to oak trees (*ut inde appellati quoque interpretatione Graeca possint Druidae videri*), he is referring without explicit name-dropping to a Greek theoretician who had advanced such an etymology. Cf. p. 282f., 287 below.

<sup>102</sup> Diog. Laert. *VP* 1.1. One should not forget that L. Annaeus Cornutus’ *Theologiae Graecae compendium* had also contained a list of ‘wise peoples’ among whom doctrines about the gods had existed of old: the list seems ancestral to those found in Late Antiquity (see p. 310-17), containing the Magi, Phrygians, Egyptians, Celts, and Libyans (Corn. *Theol. Graec.* 26); BROZE & AL. 2006, 138f. regard Cornutus’ contribution to the idea of ‘sagesse primitive morcelée dans la mythologie grecque et dans les mythologies des peuples sages’ as significant (cf. the formulation in Iambl. *VP* 151).



author conclusively attributes these passages to Posidonius.<sup>103</sup> A certain philosophical outlook is evident in both writers, and certain moralizing points, such as Diod. 5.31.5, where “passion yields before wisdom” when Druids stop battles between Gallic armies, could quite plausibly stem from philosophical writers with theoretical and parallel-seeking tendencies—whether Alexandrian, Rhodian, or other. Posidonius had many colleagues who had better cause to treat Druids (and other barbarian learned figures) in their works, and by the time of Caesar and Diodorus the Druids had already become an ethnographical commonplace, influencing any possible ‘Posidonian’ contributions in the extant written records.<sup>104</sup>

Diodorus’ problematic relationship with the earlier galatographic tradition has been referred to above, and the same problems surface in his mentions of Druids. Caesar is strongly present in his ethnography, and it is more economical to assume a Caesarian influence on Diodorus than a Posidonian influence upon both, especially as we have no secure Posidonian fragments discussing the Druids.<sup>105</sup> Two Caesarian motifs stand out in particular: the Druids are described as holding the people at large in servitude to themselves, and they are said to be necessary for any sacrifice. It is entirely possible that the elaboration around these points simply represents Diodorus’ own endeavour to put some flesh on the bare bones from Caesar. The Druids’ power to stop battles may likewise be seen as just an illustration of their high authority among a people whose most typical characteristic is their bellicosity. Already earlier, Diodorus cites the Celtic belief in ‘the doctrine of Pythagoras’, i.e. the transmigration of souls,

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<sup>103</sup> Interpretations: notoriously accommodating TIERNEY 1960, 189-275, with broadly valid criticism by NASH 1975, 111-26; Diodorus’ information on Celts is used as an unproblematic window to Posidonius’ Gallic ethnography by MALITZ 1983, 169-98; and moreover by FREEMAN 2006, *passim*, in a way that bears clear similarities to Tierney’s recklessness. Also MARTIN 2011, 305-71, taking it as self-evident that Posidonius wrote about the Druids. MARCO SIMÓN 1999, 3 exemplifies the casual acceptance of Strabo and Diodorus as ‘los autores que transmiten los datos de Posidonio’ with regard to descriptions of Gallic religion; as does WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 144 (‘almost certainly the source’). It is far from this simple. Besides, Strabo at least exhibits an independent interest in barbarian philosophers at every direction: FRENCH 1994, 126-29.

<sup>104</sup> BELL 1995, 755, going on to point out that Caesar’s use of *druidae* lent the word additional literary respectability. Quite so, and with increased literary respectability the word and its referent group came closer to becoming a trope. Note, however, *ead.* 1995, 766 on the consolidation of Caesar’s vocabulary possibly owing more to Livy than the *Commentarii* themselves.

<sup>105</sup> The glossing of Druids as ‘philosophers’ in Diod. 5.31.2 is not a sufficient clue, as this may well be just Diodorus’ own gloss, perhaps stemming from recognition of their similarity to philosophers originating already from Sotion, or at the latest from Polyhistor (the latter source is acknowledged by SPICKERMANN *BNJ* s.v. ‘Druids’). A model for the doxographers may also have been provided by Theophrastus, who according to Porphy. *Abst.* 2.26 called Jews a nation of philosophers. Caesar, on the other hand, uses the word *druidae* without any introduction or glossing, which led BELL (1995, 755) to point out, quite rightly in my view, that the word was ostensibly already familiar to his readers. Whether the word had been introduced to the Roman consciousness through Polyhistor, Posidonius, or some entirely different source, is beyond conjecture.

and their consequent fearlessness in confronting death. The information itself is remarkably similar to Caesar and Strabo, neither of whom, however, expressly mentions Pythagoras.<sup>106</sup>

Who, then, is Diodorus' source for linking Celts—notably, not specifically Druids—with Pythagorean doctrine? Posidonius' undoubted fragments do not mention either Pythagoras or indeed Druids.<sup>107</sup> Diodorus' remark about the Celtic duels during feasts stemming from their 'Pythagorean beliefs' in metempsychosis is preceded by a relatively detailed description of Celtic feasting customs, remarkably similar to Posidonius' F 67.<sup>108</sup> As post-Caesarian writers, neither Diodorus nor Athenaeus, even if their sections on banquets are taken from Posidonius, necessarily derived the idea of metempsychosis from the Rhodian.<sup>109</sup> While Diodorus' use of Posidonius is virtually certain, another possibility for a source author known for certain to have linked Druids and Pythagoreans is Timagenes of Alexandria. As noted by KIDD, Timagenes was presumably available to Diodorus, a possibility which would account for the presence of the Pythagoras/Druids link in his text in a way that makes it unnecessary to claim a Posidonian derivation for this particular element.<sup>110</sup> Nor are the bards necessarily a Posidonian addition to Graeco-Roman knowledge regarding the Celts; another Timagenian echo in Diodorus' work can be suggested, namely his description of the bards. Ammianus may have translated Timagenes relatively faithfully, and both he and Diodorus describe the playing of lyres in connection with the bards.<sup>111</sup> While the precise nature of the

<sup>106</sup> Druids holding people in servitude: Diod. 5.31.3; cf. Caes. *BGall.* 6.13.1, 6, 14.4. On the druidic presence as necessary for sacrifices: Diod. 5.31.4; cf. Caes. *BGall.* 6.13.4. On the belief in transmigration of souls, Diod. 5.28.6; cf. Str. 3.4.18, 4.4.4; Caes. *BGall.* 6.14.5. In Str. 7.3.5 the tradition about Pythagoras' barbarian followers is applied along the Herodotean lines to Getae and Zalmoxis: Burebistas and his priestly accomplice Decaeneus are presented as contemporary peddlers of Pythagoras' doctrine already taught by Zalmoxis (for whose literary presence, see p. 41f. above, p. 315f. below). Notably, Strabo contextualizes Burebistas by referring to Caesar's plans against Dacians; an expectation of stiff resistance may be involved.

<sup>107</sup> Bards are more securely attested. Ath. 6.246C-D cites Posidonius in F 69 on the παράσιτοι and praise singers of the Celts. The fragment probably extends to a mention of the 'so-called bards' providing musical accompaniment to Celtic feasts, and are 'in fact poets who laud them in song'.

<sup>108</sup> Diod. 5.28.5f.; cf. Pos. F 67 KIDD *ap.* Ath. 4.151E-152F, also F 68 *ap.* Ath. 4.154A-C, though Athenaeus is more detailed than Diodorus. To regard Diod. 5.28.5f. as directly Posidonian is far too reckless: MARTIN 2011, 353 manages to accomplish this simply by using the inclusive view of Posidonius' fragments. His doxographic exploration of Posidonius' possible Pythagorean sympathies is long and forced (357-62), and avoids the simpler explanation of deriving the association with Pythagoras from some other author. It is hard to see what would have made Posidonius interested in Pythagoras (there are only T 91, 95 KIDD), and any discursive transfer from the bards with the feasting context to the Druids and their doctrine of transmigration, with a philosophical-religious emphasis, is not supported by the extant form of Posidonian fragments. For Diodorus, information from Polyhistor and Caesar facilitated this link.

<sup>109</sup> Especially as Athenaeus seems to include an anachronous mention of a 'theatre': 4.154C.

<sup>110</sup> KIDD 1988, I 309. A contrary opinion regarding the publication date of the *Bibliotheca* and Timagenes' falling out of imperial favour is presented in SACKS 1990, 136, largely on the basis of BOWERSOCK 1965.

<sup>111</sup> Amm. 15.9.8: *et bardī quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroīs composita versibus cum dulcibus lyrae modulīs cantitarunt*; cf. Diod. 5.31.2: οὔτοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λύραις ὁμοίων ἄδοντες οὐς μὲν ὑμνοῦσιν, οὐς δὲ βλασφημοῦσι. BARNES 1998, 97 simplifies the issue by imagining Diodorus, Strabo and Timagenes (*ap.* Amm. 15.12.1) all reproducing Posidonius' classification of the Gallic learned men even to the level of verbiage, but this is quite problematic, as we have seen, and may partly derive from his use of MALITZ 1983, who in turn

relationship between Diodorus and Timagenes is open to debate, both would have had the opportunity to read about the connection between Pythagoras and the Druids in Alexander Polyhistor's doxographic works. In addition to Polyhistor, other literary and oral sources would have been available in Rome regarding the introduction of civilization in the Gallic area; in the Augustan context, this was apparently portrayed as being led back to the fold of Mediterranean civilization, originating with the travels of the Greek mythical heroes (such as Heracles in Diodorus, Timagenes and Trogus).

Timagenes, whose approach to history has famously been called 'filobarbarismo' by SORDI, was quite probably the source not only for much of Ammianus Marcellinus' early Gallic history, but for his information on Druids as well. Another question is to what extent Ammianus' decidedly positive appraisal of the Druids stems already from Timagenes and the tone of his Alexandrian scholarship, which in itself was a distillation of several earlier sources.<sup>112</sup> The literary nature of Timagenes' account of Gallic history is perhaps attested by his account of the foundation of Massalia, both a traditional and a practical point of introduction of Gallic matters into works with a Greek viewpoint.<sup>113</sup> An element with both many precursors and contemporary salience are the Herculean aetiologies quoted from Timagenes by Ammianus.<sup>114</sup> Further, while Ammianus had almost certainly read Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*, his description of the field of enquiry of the Gallic learned men bears such clear resemblance (though with only few literal correspondences) to Caesar's discussion of Druids, while adding the bards and *euhages*, that Timagenian mediation is more than likely.<sup>115</sup>

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uses the extremely inclusive edition of possible Posidonian fragments by THEILER 1982, which basically treats the whole of Diod. 5.25-32 as Pos. F 169: cf. EDELSTEIN & KIDD 1972, which to be on the safe side omits the whole of Diodorus, though some of the information therein is probably Posidonian. Str. 4.4.4 does not mention Posidonius, but finds its closest parallels in Diod. 5.31.2 and Caes. *BGall.* 6.13. The relationship between Timagenes and Diodorus is further complicated by Diod. 5.32.2, where the large stature and great courage of Gallic women is commented upon: Timagenes' testimony in Ammianus might point to shared content also in Diodorus. NASH 1976, 113 reasonably avoids deciding whether Strabo used Posidonius or Timagenes the more.

<sup>112</sup> SORDI 1979, 34-5; for a likelier explanation of Ammianus' druidic assessment, see p. 311f. below. Ammianus' Gallic excursus: 15.9-12; on Timagenes as its crucial source, reputedly relaying many others: Amm. 15.9.2.

<sup>113</sup> Timag. *ap.* Str. 6.1-253; Just. 43.3.5; and Amm. 15.9.7. The notion of Massalia as a civilizing force among the Gauls in both Just. 43.4.1f. and Amm. 15.9.8 could possibly hark back to Timagenes' view about the relationship of the Gallic learned classes and Greek cultural influence.

<sup>114</sup> Amm. 15.9.6; a few lines earlier, the cryptic *alii Dorienses antiquiorem secutos Herculem oceani locos inhabitasse confines* may possibly stem from Timagenes, too, though it does not lend itself to interpretation, besides explaining for the ascetic and old-fashioned customs associated with Massalia (e.g. in Petron. *Sat.* F 1; *Schol. in Stat Theb.* 10.793; MOMIGLIANO 1975, 56). Additionally, there is the alternative reading through emendation of *Doriensis*, which would make the unnamed first inhabitants follow a Hercules that was explicitly earlier than the Dorian one mentioned later: among editors this was advocated in e.g. CLARK 1910 and SEYFARTH 1978, *contra* the *Dorienses* in e.g. GARDTHAUSEN 1874 and GALLETIER 1968.

<sup>115</sup> Amm. 15.9.8 *euhages vero scrutantes sublimia leges naturae pandere conabantur. inter eos drasidae ingeniis celsiores, [...] questionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt*; cf. Caes. *BGall.* 6.14 *multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant*. Much closer to Caesar's wording is Mela 3.15: *hi terrae mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus caeli ac siderum at quid dii velint, scire profitentur*. That Ammianus probably read Caesar: 15.12.6, unless only a general remark.

The Alexandrian was moreover cited by Strabo in his Gallic ethnography, though only once by name.<sup>116</sup> Even so, Timagenes' influence should not be overlooked among the emphasis on Posidonius' impact upon galatography.<sup>117</sup> Timagenes arrived in Rome after Posidonius (*ca.* 55 BCE as opposed to the 90s BCE), but any direct use of the Rhodian by Timagenes is not readily demonstrable.<sup>118</sup> Realistically, however, there need be no strict order of precedence or influence: both had roughly the same sources at their disposal, and both wrote in a tradition of ethnography that harked back to the models provided by Ephorus and was likewise continued by Diodorus and Nicolaus of Damascus.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, the northerners' salience, which for Posidonius had been generated by the Cimbri, would have been more or less unchanged, though more confident, in Timagenes' time on account of Caesar. Either or both could have described the Gallic learned 'orders' in more detail than previous authors, but Timagenes would have had the added incentive of Polyhistor's writings at his disposal.

Caesar's contributions to galatography will receive a chapter of their own, but a few points regarding his description of Druids should perhaps be mentioned here. Already DEWITT 1938, 322 noted that Caesar's discussion of Druids is curiously insulated within the ethnographical section of Book 6—the group does not feature elsewhere in the *Gallic War*. This, it might be ventured, points to the role of Druids even in Caesar's commentaries as rather an indicator of a mode (the ethnographic section) than an uncomplicated reflection of their political significance, which Caesar nonetheless stresses within his excursus.<sup>120</sup> The Pythagorean paradigm appears to lie behind such elements as the 'chief Druid', which

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<sup>116</sup> Str. 4.1.13; noted already by MOMIGLIANO 1975, 68.

<sup>117</sup> Already SORDI 1979, 39 suggested that Strabo and Ammianus got much of their Gallic ethnography from the same source, even though their accounts differ in some points. Ammianus is unlikely to have read Posidonius first-hand, and Strabo certainly knew Timagenes. On the other hand, there is no heuristic benefit in substituting over-Posidonization with over-Timagenism.

<sup>118</sup> On dating Posidonius' arrival in Rome: KIDD 1988, II 934. MARTIN 2011, 310 uses Jacoby's old view of Timagenes' extensive dependency from Posidonius (*FGH* 87, 2C p. 225). This is purposeful and too simplified.

<sup>119</sup> CORNELL 2010, 109f.

<sup>120</sup> This is also the essence of what DEWITT 1938 (324 and fn. 17) proposed: the obvious problem that this suggestion engendered was the inclusive trend of Posidonius-attributions which took centre stage for most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. TIERNEY 1960 vs. NASH 1976, with the latter emerging as a formative study on Posidonius' 'Gallic fragments', though by now quite dated for instance in its lack of appreciation of the generic elements and literariness of ancient ethnography: *ead.* 116). NASH was to a considerable extent occupied with 'rescuing' Caesar's descriptions of Gauls as a contemporary ethnography on its own right and with high degree of verisimilitude (cf. *ead.* 115f.). There is, as has been demonstrated above, no compelling reason to think of any single ethnographical source behind Caesar's for instance his motivation to include Druids—partly because the knowledge of their existence was widely diffused by his time, and partly because of the obvious advantage that highlighting their influence and the subservience of the Gallic *plebs* to Druids and *equites* brought. Soon after Posidonius' time, Druids seem to have been common motif within the 'Gallic' knowledge of both the Greek intelligentsia (cf. Timagenes and Alexander Polyhistor), and Roman elite (cf. Cicero and Caesar himself), and the minimalistic hypothesis would be that if he had mentioned the Druids at all, Posidonius was just the first among many attestors, not the original source for the motif.

presuppose a elaborately organized and hierarchical brotherhood or order.<sup>121</sup> The group is also described as having a distinct point of origin and propagation, with the implied possibility (fulfilled among Caesarian allusions in the narrative of Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.30) of extirpating the meddlesome order. While Caesar (unlike Tacitus in *Ann.* 14.30) does not connect Druidic activities with forest *expressis verbis*, this association was being made not long after him, and with some justification. At some point in the tradition of northern barbarography, the spreading consensus that the northerners' religion was typically associated with forests seems to have been connected even with the famously pious Hyperboreans, the inhabitants of the Land beyond the North Wind, for Mela reports in his *Chorographia* 3.37 that the Hyperboreans *habitant lucos silvasque*. It may be that this is his own innovation: he had already mentioned the Druids teaching their doctrines in remote wooded areas (3.19). After Mela, the same is repeated by Pliny: *domus iis nemora lucique* (HN 4.89) and—predictably—by Solinus (*Coll.* 26: *domus sunt nemora vel luci*), who also mentions that they obtain their food from trees (*loc. cit.: in diem victum arbores sumministrant*, but cf. Plin. HN 4.90). The last point is much older than the first, and may well have formed an associative kernel for it: already Herodotus had quoted Hellanicus as his authority for the idea that the Hyperboreans lived on acorns, which would imply at least relative proximity to oak trees.<sup>122</sup>

Under the influence of Greek theoretical structures during the Late Republican and Augustan periods, many pre-existing elements in Roman narratives about the Gauls began to conform increasingly with stock ethnographical or quasi-ethnographical descriptions. This development was probably underway at least since Polybius.<sup>123</sup> By Livy's time, the ethnographical knowledge of certain Gallic characteristics had clearly already turned into

<sup>121</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.13. While the notion of Druids as an 'order' is introduced into Latin literature by Caesar, and is not met in Diodorus or Strabo (as noted by WEBSTER 1999, 9 tbl. 3), Ammianus' passage on Druids organizing themselves into *sodaliciis [...] consortiis* on the authority of Pythagoras (15.9.8) is probably based either upon Timagenes' view (as much of Ammianus' Gallic excursus), or perhaps informed by Ammianus' reading of Caesar, only with the added reference to Pythagoras lifted from Timagenes. Behind Timagenes' passage could be Alexander Polyhistor and his view of a Pythagorean connection with the Druids. Finally, it should be noted that by Ammianus' time, the perception of 'brotherhoods of sages' among barbarian peoples had become commonplace (cf. p. 311), and judging by references to Polyhistor in several Christian writers the idea could have been available to Ammianus even beyond Timagenes (p. 313ff.).

<sup>122</sup> Hell. F 187B *ap.* Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15; *ibid.* F 187C *ap.* Theodor. *Graec. aff. cur.* 12.44. The element was propagated by Ovid *Met.* 1.103-6 (though the interpretation of EVANS 2008, 52 is too literal, her further point of previous utopian ages being infiltrated by later times is true on the general level). The primitivistic connections of the 'living on acorns' trope seem secure, although it is not easy to locate it in relation with 'hard' and 'soft' primitivism (for which see p. 8, 36 above).

<sup>123</sup> *Contra* NASH (1976, 116), it should be noted that a minimalistic explanation for common elements in Polybius, Posidonius and Caesar (the system of *clientela*, in this case) stems exactly from generic and other intrinsic factors of the Graeco-Roman 'ethnographic' tradition, not from projecting any given trait as a property of ancient Gallic society from an anachronistic comparison with the wholly different context of medieval Ireland. So, although her demolition of Tierney's reconstruction of Posidonius' fragments possesses a lasting value, her criticism towards his allegedly 'unhistorical' approach of taking into account the traditionalism of ancient writers (*loc. cit.*) comes across as disingenuous.

commonplaces; one such seems to have been the motif of headhunting, widely attested as a characteristic encoding savagery in descriptions of foreign societies.<sup>124</sup> Indeed, Livy's account of Manlius Torquatus' duel with a Gaul (7.9.6-10.13) emphasizes his refusal to decapitate his fallen foe—a telling juxtaposition of Roman reverence for the bodies even of their enemies, with the most notorious practice of warring Gauls. In narrating the Gallic ambush that resulted in the death of the praetor Lucius Postumius Albinus (in 216 BCE), Livy first places the scene of the debacle in a forest (the *Litana silva*), where felled trees are cleverly used to crush and block the Romans. This in itself could be seen as a stereotypical setting for a barbarian victory.<sup>125</sup> What follows is an even clearer topos: the spoils of war and Postumius' head are carried jubilantly to the holiest temple of the Boii, where the skull is cleaned and covered in gold, *ut mos iis est* (23.24.11), and used as a sacred vessel in libations by the priests and temple officials (*sacerdotibus ac templi antistitibus*). Here, Livy is not following the widespread perception of Celtic aniconic worship that does not take place in sacred structures.<sup>126</sup> In any case, the element of gilding the head of a vanquished general had probably entered the Roman literary tradition already in annalistic historiography; we have a fragment from the 33rd book of Cn. Gellius (second century BCE) mentioning a skull being cleaned and gilded.<sup>127</sup>

Diodorus Siculus too adds this touch of by now conventional exoticism to his description of the aftermath of the battle of Allia, with the Celts spending their first day after their victory cutting of the heads of the fallen Romans. By now the notion of decapitation had become such a topos that it was in all likelihood expected in a description of a famous battle against the Gauls. Diodorus seems to have added personal comments to his descriptions of

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<sup>124</sup> The most influential account in what it comes to Graeco-Roman tradition is certainly that of Hdt. 4.66, but the motif in itself is known widely. For instance, cf. how the interpretation by Sima Qian in the *Shiji* (ch. 123) wielded comparative influence within the Chinese tradition (e.g. Ban Gu, *Qian Han Shu* 96A).

<sup>125</sup> The ambush at Litana: Polyb. 3.118.6; Livy 23.24.6-13. See BRUNAUX 1993, 59, though his subsequent interpretations of the passage look simply and speculatively to what it might have signified to the Boii; a much more interesting, and definitely more easily answerable question is what the scene communicated to its Roman readers. The Postumii, without doubt including the *litteratus et disertus* (Cic. *Brut.* 81) historian A. Postumius Albinus (FGrH 812), must have remembered this less-than-glorious incident in their family tradition, and notably this same A. Postumius Albinus (cos. 151 BCE: Cic. *Acad.* 2.137, Polyb. 35.3.7) was in 143 a subordinate to Appius Claudius Pulcher in his war against the Salassi (Cass. Dio 22 F 74, Livy *Per.* 53), and may have played a part in an expiatory sacrifice against the Gauls: COARELLI 1997, 319. At least the Postumii themselves may have regarded this sort of engagement with traditional northern adversaries as advantageous negotiation with the earlier family history. Though neither Boii nor Salassi are mentioned in the preserved fragments of Postumius Albinus, it is difficult to envision him not dedicating particular attention to such groups.

<sup>126</sup> It should be noted that by Livy's time such an influential writer on Gauls as Caesar had already abandoned the motif of Gauls lacking anthropomorphic gods: in *BGall.* 6.17 Caesar writes that Mercury has *plurima simulacra* among the Gauls. Instead, Germans become the priestless, aniconic worshippers of natural forces (6.21); on Tacitus' abandonment of this topos, see below p. 236. In Roman writers, the idea of aniconic worship was connected with the perception of what the most ancient Roman religion had been like, expressed in Varro F 38 CARDAUNS *ap.* August. *De civ. D.* 4.31; cf. Plut. *Num.* 8.7.

<sup>127</sup> Cn. Gell. F 27 CHASSIGNET *ap.* Charis. *Gramm.* 1 p. 69B. The same sentence is recycled in Prisc. *Inst.* 7.37 as noted by HOFENEDER 2005, 101 fn. 521.

Gallic cruelty—unless the moralizing interjection in *Excerpta* as to the improbability of any god wishing to accept a human sacrifice is a post-Diodoran addition, possibly referring to some Pergamene debacle.<sup>128</sup> All in all, the information in Diodorus relating to Celts is particularly problematic, in that even in the extant sections of his ethnography—mainly in Book 5—the historian only rarely gives the names of his source authors.<sup>129</sup> Since Ephorus appears to have been his model in many aspects, including the West, it is possible that Diodorus' knowledge of the Celts represents a conglomerate of information and perceptions roughly from Ephorus to Caesar.<sup>130</sup> As sources for later times he is known to have used Timaeus, Hieronymus of Cardia, Polybius, Posidonius, and the Roman annalists.<sup>131</sup> The wealth of detailed information and topical motifs in Diodorus' ethnographic passage is thus very difficult to contextualize, and indeed it is likely that he had read quite widely on the subject of Celts before writing his account.<sup>132</sup> All things considered, Diodorus can be regarded as an excellent source for the study of general information on (and representations of) barbarians available to an antiquarian author of his generation, but practically no help at all in determining the extent and content of any particular author's contribution.

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<sup>128</sup> Diod. 14.115.5 on Allia; 31.13 *ap. Exc. de virt. et vit.* 2.1 p. 281.25sqq.: εἴ γέ τις τῶν θεῶν δέχεται τὰς τοιαύτας τιμὰς.

<sup>129</sup> The Diodoran passages on Celts are examined, for instance, in KREMER 1994, 266-78, but with certain handicaps stemming from his over-emphasis on Posidonius (e.g. 267 fn. 3, 271, etc.).

<sup>130</sup> Diod. 4.1.2-3 on Ephorus, cf. 5.1.4 on the West. Unlike Posidonius, Caesar is expressly referred to by name in Diodorus' Gallic ethnography: 5.25.4. NASH 1976, 113 on Diodorus' method being more focused than Strabo's, relying on a sole source for each passage (in the case of Gaul, Posidonius), can no longer be regarded as tenable.

<sup>131</sup> *RE* v s.v. 'Diodorus' (38), 666-69. SULIMANI 2011, 57-108 is an up-to-date discussion of Diodorus' sources.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. NASH 1976, 113 (also pointing out that Diodorus must clearly added post-Caesarian material), with the same sentiment echoed by KIDD 1988, I 309. To say that Gauls were a 'special topic' for which Diodorus was allegedly prone to use only one source at a time (NASH *op. loc. cit.*) is not, however, wholly convincing in the context in question: considering the wealth of information about them by the time he was writing, it is not certain that he was using Posidonius as his only, or even prime, source. He does not mention the Posidonius by name (NASH *op. loc. cit.*). The long-established but surely simplified view of Diodorus' handling of sources has been complicated by PEARSON 1984, esp. 19f., though he does not decisively depart from the conventional and convenient wisdom (much relied upon by arguments along the lines of 'single source' *Quellenforschung*) of the difficulties involved with a writer working with several open scrolls on a table. But surely there were plenty of other methods available for a historian, including dictation, the use of note-taking slaves, not sitting in front of a table for the whole time, etc., for which see e.g. PITCHER 2009, ch. 4. For a rehabilitation of Diodorus in particular, see PALM 1955, 63ff., 110-39; for his method, AMBAGLIO 1995.

## 2. THE EXPANDING MIDDLE GROUND OF THE LATE REPUBLICAN WORLD

### a. THE GAULS IN THE ERA OF CICERO, CAESAR, AND LIVY

Cicero’s copious literary output constitutes a valuable resource, among other purposes, for understanding popularly shared perceptions concerning the Gauls. His public or semi-public speeches are particularly relevant, as they may show us the orator making use of themes and motifs that he knew to be meaningful for his audience.<sup>133</sup> In Cicero’s rather more private correspondence and in other literary works the portrayal of Gauls is much more nuanced, though here too certain stock images do crop up.<sup>134</sup> The definition of *pietas*—the term which together with its opposite *impietas* structures much of Cicero’s discussion of the northerners’ religion—as *institia adversus deos* that he gives in *De Natura Deorum* appears to be that formulated in Greek by Posidonius, and there is no particular reason not to expect it to be shared by a wide set of his audience and readership.<sup>135</sup>

In *De Republica* Cicero gives an anachronistic list of groups or individuals famous for their human sacrifice: the Taurians, Busiris the king of Egypt, the Gauls, and the Carthaginians. All of these felt it was *et pium et diis immortalibus gratissimum* to sacrifice humans (*homines immolare*).<sup>136</sup> It is difficult to judge whether the Taurians and Busiris are for Cicero figures clearly associated with the mythical past—while their positioning at the start of the list may be an indication of a chronological ordering, at least for the sake of Cicero’s argument they can evidently be discussed on equal terms with Gauls and Carthaginians. The rationale behind Cicero’s stoically influenced thinking about *pietas* seems to be that if any person respects only his fellow citizens and not foreigners, the universal community of all humans

<sup>133</sup> The usefulness of widely shared evaluations in furthering one’s argument was already commented upon by Arist. *Rh.* 1366B-1367A, as noted by SASSI 2001, 76.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 150f. on ambivalence towards the Gallic religion found in Cicero’s works.

<sup>135</sup> Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.116. For the Posidonian origin: WAGENVOORT 1980, 10 *contra* the more careful PEASE 1955, I 511. *Nat. D.* 2.8 contrasts the Roman religious habits to those of *externae*, and stresses that while in many respects the Romans are equal or inferior to foreign groups, their *religio* (their *cultus deorum*) is far superior. PEASE 1958, II 566 *ad loc.* is probably correct in pointing out that the *religio* in the original context of Cicero’s passage may point to the pre-battle *auspicia*—bringing even closer the concrete link between correct religiosity and military providentiality. Here, the older Republican semantics of *superstitio* (for which CALDERONE 1972 is still mostly serviceable), seems quite closely associated (see e.g. *ibid.* 382-5 with examples from Cicero).

<sup>136</sup> Cic. *Rep.* 3.15. The Taurian geographical location north of the *Pontus Euxinus* is deconstructed by Cicero here according to the standard ancient etymology of the toponym: the human sacrifices make the sea actually ‘inhospitable’, ἄξεινος. The same information, probably taken from Cicero, is given in Min. Fel. *Out.* 30.4, and even Lact. *Div. inst.* 1.21.2-3 may be dependent; [Acro] *Ad Hor. Carm.* 3.4.33 *inhospitales: Britanni enim immolare hospites dicebantur* applies the inhospitability-theme to Britain. Busiris was used as a taunt about a cruel individual as late as in SHA *Max.* 8.5. Ammianus, characteristically, cites Taurians as sacrificers of humans (22.8.34), possibly on account of the newly salient ferocity of the Huns near the relevant area, though he modulates this by pointing out that in cities this practice has been discontinued (36).



will be destroyed; the perpetrators of this transgression are the ones who lack all piety towards the gods.<sup>137</sup> But since the *religio* of the Romans is superior to that of the other peoples, the right to define what is right and wrong seems to reside permanently with them.<sup>138</sup>

*Pro Fonteio* is perhaps the most cited piece of Roman anti-Gallic sentiment, and has in many instances been demonstrated to be riddled with topoi. The nature of these components, however, is more polemical and discriminatory than ethnographical; Cicero vehemently denounces his opponents from Gaul while defending Marcus Fonteius.<sup>139</sup> The role of religion in Cicero's defence of Fonteius makes it a crucial text for the subject of this thesis: the judges are being goaded, in no ambiguous terms, to disregard the testimony of these avaricious, inscrutable, impious foreigners, the enemies of the whole Roman state.<sup>140</sup> This makes it an invaluable, though not unproblematic, source for Roman mental representations between the Cimbric wars and Caesar's Gallic campaign. However polemical in intent, in form Cicero's rhetoric in *Pro Fonteio* approaches true 'hate speech', and can be compared with many similar instances of the crudest religiously articulated stereotypes being used to intensely judgmental and accusatory effect in denunciations of barbarians.<sup>141</sup> The jury before which Cicero gave his speech was, following the *lex Aurelia iudiciaria*, no longer composed solely of senators, but filled in two thirds of its number by *equites* and *tribuni aerarii*.<sup>142</sup> In a context like this, the typical characteristics learned as somewhat passive knowledge by the Roman elite both through their grammatical training and through oral family traditions could be converted via inflammatory

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<sup>137</sup> Cic. *Off.* 3.28. Cf. WAGENVOORT 1980, 11; the ensuing breakdown of human-divine relationship can be usefully discussed under the term 'théandrique', as in DAUGE 1981, 426, 429, 540f.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.8. The providential success of Roman arms became a forceful topos after Livy, but before Cicero it had mostly been expressed by Polybius (6.56.6-7; the derivation is regarded as direct and explicit by GOAR 1978, 89), with the reference to Posidonius *ap. Ath.* 274A offering a possible connection to Cicero himself: see PEASE 1958, II 566f. *ad loc.*

<sup>139</sup> On the piece, e.g. DEWITT 1942, 399-401; KREMER 1994, 83-104; HOFENEDER 2007, 155-60; DYCK 2012. Fonteius' charges were fiscal in nature: having acted as the propraetor of Narbonensis from 74 BCE, he was afterwards (probably in 69: DYCK 2012, 13f.) accused of financial mismanagement by Indutiomarus of the Allobroges. The outcome is unknown, but odds could have favoured Fonteius' acquittal: DYCK 2012, 15, fn. 20.

<sup>140</sup> Cic. *Font.* 32: *potestis igitur ignotos notis, iniquos aequis, alienigenas domesticis, cupidos moderatis, mercennarios gratuitis, impios religiosis, inimicissimos huic imperio ac nomini bonis ac fidelibus et sociis et civibus anteferre?*

<sup>141</sup> One such instance is quite Ciceronian in tone, and is found in Magnus Felix Ennodius' *Vita beati Antonii* (MGH AA 7.187) 13-14: *iam Franci Heruli Saxones multiplies crudelitatum species beluarum more peragebant; quae nationum diversitas superstitionis mancipata culturis deos suos humana credebant caede mulceri nec umquam propitiata se habere numina, nisi cum ea aequalium cruore placassent. cessare confidebant iram caelicolum innocentis effusione sanguinis, qui ut in gratiam redirent cum superis suis, propinquorum consueverant mortes offerre. quoscumque tamen religiosi titulus declarabat officii, hos quasi sereniore hostias immolabant, aestimantes quod piorum iugulis divinitatis cesaret indignatio et fieret materia gratiae locus offensae.*

<sup>142</sup> HOFENEDER 2007, 156. The *lex Aurelia* recognized as *terminus post quem* for *Pro Fonteio*: KREMER 1994, 83; who also surmises that the knights in the jury would probably have been sympathetic to Fonteius to begin with (84). This is difficult to substantiate, though generalized peer loyalty among the lower elite may have had some effect: the Fonteii were a non-consular plebeian family from Tusculum, who frequently held praetorships and acted as mint masters (*s.v.* 'Fonteius' BNP). Cicero does not seem to use particularly contrived arguments, instead apparently trusting that there were many stereotypical notions that he did not need to justify. Cf. CITRONI MARCHETTI 1995, 14; DYCK 2012, 14-15.

rhetoric into more overt discrimination. There is little doubt that Cicero carefully tailored his imagery, and the information featured in his statements, to what he knew the members of the jury knew. The same conclusion—as observed by HOFENEDER 2007, 157—is suggested by his calculated use of the generalized term *Galli* instead of more specific ethnonyms.

In one of the internal high points of *Pro Fonteio*, Cicero takes up the motif of irreconcilable religious animosity between the Gauls and the rest of humankind.<sup>143</sup> The Gauls are condemned as *hae nationes* which had embarked on the long journey from their homelands all the way to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi in order to loot and torment the common oracle of mankind.<sup>144</sup> The hazy commonality of *Galli*, their migratory ways, the intentionality of their campaign, and their audacity in attacking something that was held sacred by the whole mankind are all elements which would have been equally at home in Hellenistic writings and in Late Republican Rome. In addition to the Roman traditions concerning the nature of the Gauls, the Roman elite had by now become educated also about the Greek topoi as to what was to be expected of northern barbarians when religion was at stake.

On a personal level, the figure of Fonteius is argued to embody a whole range of Roman virtues (*Font.* 43), but piety is notably not among them. The piety of *gens Fonteia*, it seems, is at least for the purposes of Cicero's argument invested wholly in the person of Fonteia, a Vestal virgin and the sister of Fonteius. It may be regarded as a stroke of luck for Cicero's strategy that he was able to embody and personify the providentiality of Roman state in a close family member of the accused, and it is no wonder that the orator reserves her for the very end. After invoking actions that are proper to a Gallic war and are decreed by the *mos maiorum* (46), thus explicitly subsuming the current case within the history of animosity between Rome and the Gauls, Cicero highlights the option faced by the judges. Indutiomarus, the ruler of Allobroges and other Gauls, is contrasted with the holy Vestal (46): she is predominantly occupied by the *dis immortalibus placandis*, exactly what the Gauls are most

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<sup>143</sup> Cic. *Font.* 30: *quod ceterae pro religionibus suis bella suscipiunt, istae contra omnium religiones.* The point by HOFENEDER 2007, 158 about Cicero including other nations besides Greeks and Romans among those whose religions are waged war against by the Galli, probably reads too much into his rhetorical exaggeration. The Greeks and Romans would have been the only relevant, normative, reference group. Much more crucially pertaining to Cicero's agenda is Hofeneder's point (159) about Cicero imbuing the literary motif of Gallic wanderings with a nefarious and impious motive from the very onset forward: they were aiming all the time at Delphi. The Hellenistic forebears of even this rhetorical motif are, however, quite salient all the way from Callim. *Hymn* 4.174 and *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 398, 2-4 onwards, and it was also adopted by Romans: Cic. *Font.* 30; *App. Ill.* 4-5. Joined to this was the broader perception of northerners being in some essential way prone to mass migrations: Euph. Chalc. *ap. EtMag* s.v. Γαιζήται; *Tract. de mul.* GERA *Onomaris*; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 8.8; *Just.* 24.4.1; *Plut. Cam.* 15.

<sup>144</sup> Cic. *Font.* 30. In *Div.* 1.81, Cicero refers to a *nefarium bellum* which Brennus brought against the temple of Delphic Apollo. Yet Cicero's sentiment was hardly heart-felt and personal: he was quite prepared to condemn the spoliation of barbarian sanctuaries, too, if it meant an opportunity to disparage an enemy, such as in the case of *Pis.* 85: see YAVETZ 1998, 80.

incompetent at (31). The judges must not let the altars of the gods be enveloped by the lamentations of the virgin deprived of her brother. To drive his point home, Cicero cannot resist the image of the priestess' tears extinguishing the eternal flame (47). He brings up the power of the cult of Vesta, and the consequent favour of the gods, to sustain the whole of Rome: it would be hybriatic of the judges to risk upsetting this state of affairs (48).<sup>145</sup> Surely they could not descend to behaviour resembling that of the Gauls? The last sentence of the speech once again drives the message home; it should be clear to everyone that the prayers of a Vestal count for more than the threats of Gauls (49).

While the parallelism in Cicero's oration between the Gallic attacks against Delphi and the Capitol is intentional and emphatic, it is hardly original. By this time the influence of the 'Delphic paradigm' had been felt in Roman narratives for a very long time, and the not very distant attacks by the Cimbri and associated groups had—as demonstrated by Posidonius—in all probability lent increased power to the motif of a northern barbarian group on the move, seeking to plunder the (sacred) treasures of civilized peoples. It is in this context that Cicero's admonitory invocation of a *novum bellum Gallicum* should be interpreted.<sup>146</sup> The interplay of Gauls at court as opposed to Gauls on the field of battle is constantly kept in mind, and Cicero even claims that Fonteius would prefer to die in battle, fighting the Gauls who are now trying to hurt him by litigation (*Font.* 49).<sup>147</sup>

Divitiacus, the pro-Roman Aeduan whom Cicero calls a Druid, and the only 'Druid' of antiquity known by name, has attracted much scholarly attention. He is introduced as an example demonstrating that divination is practiced among uncivilized peoples as well as

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<sup>145</sup> Cic. *Font.* 46: *ut oportet bello Gallico, ut maiorum iura moresque praescribunt*; 47: *ne ille ignis aeternus [...] sacerdotis vestrae lacrimis extinctus esse dicatur*; 48: *cavete ne periculosum superbumque sit*. On Cicero's use of Fonteia and the imagery of a threatened Vestal, see NORTH 2000, 360-64; DYCK 2012, 32, 64, 78f.

<sup>146</sup> Cicero himself, while accusing Gauls of threatening the judges with a renewed Gallic war (*Font.* 33), may in fact be subtly threatening the judges with a loss of divine favour for Rome, should they pay heed to the accusations of impious Gauls (cf. DYCK 2012, 66). KREMER 1994, 98 ignores the fact that the Romans' fear of a Gallic war was not particularly dormant at the time; he may be deceived by the common modern attribution of Cimbri as 'Germans' into somehow overlooking the terrifying legacy of their attacks, still within living memory in the Roman minds. The wars against Allobroges in the 120s are a more distant and probably far less salient historical outbreak of northern aggression, although the scare that the Catilinarian affair had engendered may be more to the point (*ibid. loc. cit.* fn. 3 and p. 105-10). Notably, in seeking to prosecute Fonteius, Indutiomarus, the leader of the Allobroges, had apparently turned to the traditional Roman patrons of his people, the Fabii: a M. Fabius acted as a *subscriptor* in the case: DYCK 2012, 13, 62.

<sup>147</sup> The belligerence of Cicero's stance has been noted (DYCK 2012, 68f.); the warlike animosity between Romans and Gauls is emphasized, and Fonteius is implied to be more inclined to face the Gauls with a weapon in hand, like a true Roman, than having to endure their baseless accusations in court (*ibid.* 44, 47, 69). The presence of Gauls in the city of Rome and the forensic heart of the state is brought into contact with the associations of the old Gallic occupation: *ibid.* 44, 68; CITRONI MARCHETTI 1995, 25. Cicero achieves this partly by emphasizing the foreignness of the Gallic dress (*Font.* 33; cf. Lucil. *Sat.* 9 *ap.* Non. 227.33), a technique which itself was a conventional *locus* of invective rhetoric: CRAIG 2007, 336.

civilized ones.<sup>148</sup> Divitiacus is called a *hospitem tuum laudatoremque* by Quintus, the speaker in the passage, and he is reported to have claimed to possess knowledge regarding the natural world that is called φυσιολογία by the Greeks.<sup>149</sup> The Druid foretold the future partly through conjecture and partly through auguries.<sup>150</sup> Both elements, the study of nature and the use of auguries, are encountered on other occasions as well; as most of these references, however, are later than Cicero's reference, it is challenging to place them in their proper context. One should not forget that *De divinatione* was finished after Caesar's murder, and hence would have benefited from the Caesarian ethnography included in Book 6 of *Bellum Gallicum*.<sup>151</sup> Cicero's use of the Greek word φυσιολογία should probably be linked at least indirectly to its use by Strabo in his description of the learning of the Druids.<sup>152</sup> Just as Cicero's *naturae ratio* and Caesar's *rerum natura* seem to refer in Latin idiom to a recognized area of druidical learning, similarly the φυσιολογία represents a recognized Greek term for such enquiry. While ostensibly further obfuscating the origins of this element, recognition of the link may on the other hand shift the question of 'druidic φυσιολογία' purely to the level of translation. Whether the word was first used by Posidonius or by some other, probably later author, it is safe to say that by the time of Cicero and Caesar, not to mention Strabo, the Roman elite regarded it as fairly common knowledge that part of the Druids' enquiry was directed towards *natura*, and that this could perhaps be compared to similar pursuits among the Greeks.

<sup>148</sup> Cic. *Div.* 1.90: *eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, siquidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt.*

<sup>149</sup> It can be hypothesized (cf. HOFENEDER 2007, 176) that Quintus could have met with Divitiacus during his time as Caesar's legate (54-52 BCE), the most likely occasion of Divitiacus having acted as Cicero's *laudator* (*Div.* 1.90). It is usually supposed that the Aeduan had been Cicero's guest during the embassy of the Aedui to Rome in 61 BCE in order to enlist help against Ariovistus (Caes. *BGall.* 6.12). The word φυσιολογία may point to a Greek source for this testimony of the 'curriculum of the Druids', but generally it has been read all too trustingly in the past: cf. PIGGOTT 1968, 104; still quite uncomplicatedly in GREEN 1997, 50; as well as in FREEMAN 2006, 168f., and WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 146 interpreting the use of φυσιολόγοι by Str. 4.4.4 in order to argue for Cicero's dependency from Posidonius. Considering his connections to Cicero, Posidonius might seem a plausible source for this description of Divitiacus' learning (which would fit the uncharacteristically reckless speculation in MOMIGLIANO 1975, 70; the same was suggested already in TIERNEY 1960, 224). It is important to remember, however, that Cicero did not refrain from using Greek shorthands about things that Latin had no concise words for, that he was not wholly dependent upon Posidonius, and that in any case the direction of 'Gallic' information would rather have been from the Romans to Posidonius than vice versa. Strabo's usage seems quite conventional (cf. the same about Thales 14.1.7; technically but in Indographic context in 15.1.38; and on Brahmins 15.1.70).

<sup>150</sup> Cic. *Div.* 1.90: *partim auguriis, partim coniectura, quae essent futura, dicebat.* GOAR 1978, 100-3 noted that *De divinatione* does not echo Cicero's previous conservative belief in augury as the truth, but rather sees it as a cohesive social force. Thus depicting such a mixture of divinatory practices among a barbarian people need not mean a high level of appreciation (unlike, perhaps, the *augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent* of Just. 24.4.3).

<sup>151</sup> One particularly thinks of *BGall.* 6.14 *multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et inventuti tradunt.* Indeed, to make a 'Druid' tell of a combination of practices that included the 'social glue' that augury was seen as in *De divinatione* (GOAR 1987, 103), Cicero may be essentially using the Caesarian motif of emphasizing the druidic influence. The common interest in the sacral agents manipulating the lower orders, shared by both Cicero's portrayal Divitiacus and the Caesarian references to Druids, has been pointed out by DUNHAM 1995, 114, enabling the likely conclusion that with this motif we are likely dealing with an indication about the Roman elite's preoccupations during the Late Republic.

<sup>152</sup> Str. 4.4.4. Though there are no secure attestations regarding a discourse on the Druids in Posidonius' work, it has been common to derive this from the Rhodian polymath. Cf. HOFENEDER 2007, 177; MARTIN 2011, 325-33.

As Divitiacus' characterization testifies, Cicero's condemnation of barbarians was far from universal, and found many exceptions as the occasion demanded. He is engaged, first and foremost, in propping up something he loved vastly more than the *nomen populi Romani*: his own renown as the foremost orator of his day.<sup>153</sup> The point is reinforced by another positive estimation of a member of an otherwise disdained group: Deiotarus, tetrarch of the Galatian Tolistobogii, receives Cicero's praise both in *De haruspicum responso* (57 BCE), and in the eponymous speech *Pro rege Deiotaro* in his defence (45 BCE). *De haruspicum responso* stems from the struggle between Clodius and Cicero over the decommissioning of the temple of Libertas, dedicated on Clodius' initiative on the site of the former consul's razed house.<sup>154</sup> Arising out of the hostility between Cicero and Clodius, the speech also contains references to the power struggle between Deiotarus and the Trocmian tetrarch Brogitarus, his son-in-law and co-ruler.<sup>155</sup> Essentially, Cicero argues that the alarming noises heard in the Ager Latiniensis and examined by the *haruspices* did not refer to any supposed profanation on his own property, but actually to impieties against the Magna Mater both by Clodius at Rome and at Pessinous, where Brogitarus had been installed as the high priest; allegedly because Clodius had gifted the post to him.<sup>156</sup> Tellingly, as Cicero favours Deiotarus' point of view (the Galatian had been an ally of both Lucullus and Pompey), the tetrarch is never called by the word *barbarus* or any of its derivatives.<sup>157</sup> Simultaneously calling Brogitarus, who is described in negative terms, a 'barbarian' would probably have drawn too much attention to the discrepancy; thus the word

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<sup>153</sup> *Pro Fonteio* probably took place after the Verrine orations of 70 BCE against Quintus Hortensius' defence, which to some extent had cemented Cicero's reputation as a lawyer: KENNEDY 1994, 131. HOFENEDER 2007, 155 reminds us to keep in mind that in this case the Gauls were for Cicero first and foremost, 'Prozessgegner'. While this is certainly true, the fact that Cicero could build his defence upon a wide assemblage of images of wrong religiosity, is in itself a strong indication of the shared acceptance of the validity of such images.

<sup>154</sup> GOAR 1978, 56-63 sums up the background. LENAGHAN 1969, 58, 64, 79 notes that Cicero's strategy was in this case, too, to magnify a personal quarrel (very personal in the case of Clodius) into a threat not only to the Republic, but also to its very basis, the religion. GOAR 1978, 63 notes that Cicero masks the weaknesses in his argument by accusing Clodius of publicly polluting the festival of Megalensia in honour of Magna Mater.

<sup>155</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 29.27; Str. 12.5.2. The marriage of Adobogiona, Deiotarus' daughter, and Brogitarus is documented also in *IDidyma* 475 (MCCABE & PLUNKETT 1984, 78), *IK Kyme* 15; *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912), 294.20. The extreme impiety of Clodius is forcefully brought across e.g. in *Har. resp.* 9. In essence Cicero advocated that an omen should in this case be left unheeded (see, for instance, WILLIAM RASMUSSEN 2000, 11-20 who however argues against cynical interpretations of Cicero's motives), and thus he could have been vulnerable to accusations of impiety himself. Thus it no doubt helped his case to highlight his links to a staunch upholder of a famous cult centre in the East, Deiotarus. At the same time, Clodius and Brogitarus are accused of greed and impiety; e.g. the impiety of Clodius is stressed in *Har. resp.* 9. Cf. RUTLEDGE 2007, 181f.

<sup>156</sup> Cic. *Har. resp.* 28.18f. claims Brogitarus also bought his kingship from Clodius; see LENAGHAN 1969, 132ff.; VIRGILIO 1981, 125. Deiotarus is many times presented as behaving piously according to his own tradition: *quod cum Deiotarus religione sua castissime tueretur* (29), in a setting where Brogitarus, half-Greek and half-Gaul (28) is described as impious and nefarious (28: *Brogitaro Gallograeco, impuro homini et nefario*), while Deiotarus is touted as the guardian of the holy sanctuary at Pessinous (29: *quod Pessinuntem per scelus a te violatum et sacerdote sacrisque spoliatum reciperavit, ut in pristina religione servaret, quod caerimonias ab omni vetustate acceptas a Brogitaro pollui non sinit*). The ousting of Brogitarus from Pessinous is also referred to in Cic. *Sest.* 56.

<sup>157</sup> For Deiotarus and Pompey, see ADCOCK 1937.

is omitted altogether in characterizing the Galatian strongmen.<sup>158</sup> Instead, Brogitarus is disparaged by calling him 'Gallo-Graecian', impure, and nefarious: all to insinuate that Deiotarus' stewardship was for the best of the Pessinuntine sanctuary after the dominance of such a sordid figure—who besides had collaborated with Clodius, who in turn had undermined the army of Lucullus during the Third Mithridatic War.

The orator did use his eloquence on behalf of the elderly Galatian on one more occasion, after the latter had gotten rid of the tetrarch Castor of the Tectosages and had effectively become the sole ruler of the Galatians. In *Pro rege Deiotaro*, presented in front of Caesar himself in 45 BCE, Cicero defended Deiotarus against the accusation that he had plotted to assassinate the dictator. To be sure, Caesar had little reason to love the Galatian, for the latter had fought on the side of the Pompeians at Pharsalus—a choice which at least afterwards was justified by Deiotarus as having simply followed the auspices.<sup>159</sup> Cicero, on the other hand, may have spoken under genuine obligation of reciprocity: in the intervening years between *De haruspicum responso* and *Pro rege Deiotaro*, the tetrarch had come to Cicero's help when he was faced with the Parthian threat during his proconsulship of Cilicia in 51 BCE.<sup>160</sup> Just as Cicero had lambasted Brogitarus in his earlier speech, in this later instance he attempts to cast doubt on the integrity of Castor II, the grandson of Deiotarus, who was the most pre-eminent figure among the accusers of the old ruler—no doubt for political purposes of his own, and apparently having bribed a physician to act as an informer. Castor is *crudelis* [...] *ne dicam sceleratum et impium* (2), and has behaved *ab impietate et ab scelere*. Deiotarus, on the

<sup>158</sup> The only incidence of *barbarus* in *Har. resp.* 42 is used in an imprecise and general manner as Cicero describes the dealings of Clodius during his stay in the East under Lucullus.

<sup>159</sup> Cic. *Div.* 1.27 (cf. 2.78; Caes. *BCiv.* 3.4.3; App. *BCiv.* 2.71): Cicero approves of Deiotarus' conception of augury, with the *post eventum* wisdom that in backing the Pompeians the Galatian king had followed auguries for honour, not personal advancement. Later in his essay Cicero tells that he had in great length discussed with Deiotarus the respective practices of Galatian and Roman augury (2.76; in all likelihood Greek was the obvious choice of language for both). Here, Cicero indulges in apparently genuine astonishment with the strangeness of the Galatian practice: he notes that the methods are rather superstitious than artificial (*sunt non tam artificiosa quam superstitiosa*), and in many instances directly opposite to the Roman methods (*quantum differebat! ut quaedam essent etiam contraria*). Though Cicero does not expressly find fault in Deiotarus' praxis, he implies that the frequency of the Galatian's auspices struck himself as constant and perhaps excessive. Perhaps Cicero is even echoing Caesar's own Gauls who are *admodum deducta religionibus* (*BGall.* 6.16; *De din.* 2.76).

<sup>160</sup> Attested by Cic. *Fam.* 15.1.6-2.2; *Att.* 5.18.2, 6.1.14; *Phil.* 11.33-34. So, just like in the much later example of Ammianus Marcellinus and his glowing overall estimation of Gauls (cf. p. 324-27), Romans would evaluate the Gallic warlike character the highest in cases when they were most in need of it. Cf. also HEKSTER 2012, 200-1; THOLLARD 1987, 18 supposes something similar behind Augustus' policy toward the Astures and Cantabrians. Cicero himself, in personal correspondence, appears to have presented his defence of Deiotarus as a paltry little piece, mostly taken up as a simple and rough kind of gift to an old friend who has the habit of giving similar sort of gifts: *Fam.* 9.12.2. Cicero may here be making a joke about the revulsion of Cato Minor when Deiotarus had sought to win his friendship with rich and insistent gifts (*Plut. Cat. Min.* 15.1-3); another explanation would be that, writing to his peer, Cicero is downplaying his defence of a barbarian dynast.

contrary, is said to be of proven good faith and religious feeling.<sup>161</sup> Having welcomed Caesar as a friend to his *penates*, hearth and altars (8), how, Cicero asks, could such a pious character attempt the murder of his guest? To do so openly would have aroused against him every nation of the world (the *ius gentium* theme); to do so by poison would have endured the anger of Jupiter (18). Cicero's choice of religious obligations of hospitality as one foregrounded theme of the defence may partly have been motivated by the literary motif of proverbial Galatian/Gallic hospitality. Perhaps as one of Cicero's own favourite rhetorical devices, the motif of 'all nations' is brought up once again—similarly as in *Pro Fonteio*—in association with a Gallic character's lack of religious propriety; in this case, of course, the accusation is refuted.

In short, Cicero is thus typically utilitarian in his employment of stereotypes of Gallic religiosity.<sup>162</sup> He is prepared to cater to the most discriminatory thought-patterns and cherished prejudices of his Roman audiences—indeed, even stoking the flames of a *metus* of northerners, when it suits him in both his public speeches and his private correspondence.<sup>163</sup> On the other hand, he seems to exhibit little personal prejudice, at least when envisioning himself a philosopher of the Stoic cast. He was eager to laud the conquest of Gaul by Caesar with ostentatious praise, conjuring up the image of a vast continental expanse of land filled with groups that were either enemies to Roman rule or rebels against it, or indeed peoples previously utterly unknown or so savage and wild that their subjection seemed an impossible task.<sup>164</sup> Yet he apparently did not hesitate to polemically 'barbarize' Caesar to represent this northern danger after the Civil War had begun. With Cicero, the tendentiousness of the Late Republican use and abuse of a shared iconosphere of barbarian religion is vividly illustrated, as is the crucial difference that a change in the register of writing can effect in an author's output.

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<sup>161</sup> Cic. *Deiot.* 16: *fide et religione vitae defendendum puto [...] cui porro qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, Deiotari integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non audita est?* Deiotarus' religious credentials are likewise highly appraised in *De divinatione*, published after Caesar's murder and thus perhaps slightly less politically enmeshed. In *Div.* 15(26) Cicero remembers hearing from Deiotarus himself how this 'guest-friend' (like Divitiacus) of Cicero, a person always mindful of taking auspices, had departed on a journey long planned, but returned home after observing an admonitory bird omen in the form of eagle—the room in which he had been planning to lodge collapsed the following night (also *Div.* 2.20, with speculation on the role of fatalism in conjunction with auguries).

<sup>162</sup> Of his twofold attitude towards religious prodigies, see WILLIAM RASMUSSEN 2000, 17, who firmly believes that Cicero should not be seen as a hypocrite. Maybe so, but a lawyer he most certainly was.

<sup>163</sup> Cicero frequently uses negative stereotypes about population groups; e.g. his disdainful characterization based on cognomen 'Ligus' in *Har. resp.* 5: he jibes about Ligus being an animal, a beast, and easily bribed by acorns and other foodstuff (cf. also Cato 2.31-2 PETER). *Pis.* 53, on the other hand, uses discriminatory associations quite as gratuitously: Piso is called a *bracatae cognationis dedecus* on account of his family connections to Placentia.

<sup>164</sup> Cic. *Prov. cons.* 33. Cicero's contradictory statements about the Roman imperialism are expertly examined through Marxist theory by ROSE 1995, who also (e.g. 369) emphasizes Cicero's dependency upon many 'common-sense' rationales.

Caesar's *De bello Gallico* is unsurprisingly quite crucial in examining the Roman iconosphere of northern barbarians. In addition to its famous and much-discussed 'Gallic ethnography' in Book 6, it contains numerous minor allusions to the religious ethos and behaviour of these traditional enemies, who were in the process of being turned into provincials. The reception and influence of the work vis-à-vis almost all subsequent descriptions of Gallic and Germanic religious ethnography is an enormous subject, and can be treated here with barely the attention it deserves. The literary forebears and descendants of Caesar's description, as well as its relationship to contemporary perceptions will be given pride of place, with Gallic and German descriptions—a distinction practically created by Caesar himself—combed for references to religiosity.<sup>165</sup> The most important point to bear in mind with regard to Caesar's Gallic descriptions, however, is the political considerations that wholly permeate the account.<sup>166</sup> In addition, Caesar probably also included information about barbarian groups to enliven and vary his narrative—one common use for an ethnographical excursus in ancient historical works, and not unknown in geography either.<sup>167</sup> What Caesar wrote about the barbarians was thus meant to be outwardly diversionary, yet subservient to the overall aims of justifying and glorifying his achievement.

Geographical aspects of the war were in themselves a major source of glory for Caesar. DRINKWATER 1983, 8 noted that in the minds of contemporaries, due to the Romans' limited geographical knowledge about the area and the difficulty of transportation, the Transalpine

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<sup>165</sup> On Caesar's creation of Germans: CHASTAGNOL 1984, 97; WELLS 1995, 606; BARLOW 1998, 140, 144f.; KREBS 2006, 119-24; SCHADEE 2008, 167-71; WELLS 2011, 213ff. On Gauls in Caesar: GARDNER 1983; KREMER 1994, 133-63, with Book 6 discussed in 202-18; BARLOW 1998, *passim*; RIGGSBY 2006, 59-71; SCHADEE 2008, 158-65, 175-78; GRUEN 2011A, 141-58. For the slow acceptance of the division along the Rhine among Greek writers, see p. 116, 121; cf. also CHAPMAN 1992, 39f. though needlessly retaining Posidonius in the equation. On the slowness of scholarly criticism to call Caesar's division into question: TODD 1987, 45; GOFFART 2006, 3-6; KREBS 2011A, 88f.; see also CHAPMAN 1992, 203 with a nice demonstration of the later (pre-modern and modern) nationalistic dynamics at play.

<sup>166</sup> Recognized by most modern studies: e.g. STEVENS 1952; TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 80f., 236; most contributions in WELCH & POWELL 1998 are useful in contextualizing the Roman political context and demands for the *Gallic War*, esp. the Introduction by WELCH and the study of the work's publication by WISEMAN, defining two stages of publication, 58/7-55/4 for Books 1 to 4, and 53-1 for Books 5 to 7 (1998, 6). The article of POWELL 1998 reveals the Caesarian technique of turning questionable massacres into necessities (a subject also addressed *passim* in OSGOOD 2009), and that of BARLOW further delineating the way the general portrayed the Gallic political elite. See also RIGGSBY 2006, 104f., 126-32.

<sup>167</sup> BELL 1995, 753. Among Caesar's predecessors, Polybius and (in all likelihood) Posidonius had given accounts of the Κελτοί within works of historiography, though Polybius assimilates his description of the Po-valley Celts with the description of the land itself (as noted by CLARKE 1999, 87, and 107 within Polybius broader history of Italy; WILLIAMS 2001, 62-6. But as has been noted by SCHADEE 2008, 175, the fact of Caesar locating his most extensive ethnography as late as in the Book 6 of *BGall.*, after both of his most novel 'explorations' (Germania and Britain) had already taken place, points to other uses, too, than simple diversion or generic demands. She goes on to enumerate three: to explain the failure of his second foray into Germania, to salvage some novelty value despite having no new conquests to offer, and to further elaborate the difference he had constructed between Gauls and Germans (*loc. cit.*, and ff.). Especially the second of these motives would have been facilitated by having recourse to the inherited pool of (pseudo-)ethnographical topoi.



Gallic area itself appeared colossal, lending additional glory to Caesar's achievement. The Rhine and the island of Britain, for their part, were truly located on the borders of the imaginable world, lending force to Cicero's celebration of the completion of the world's conquest after the Gallic War.<sup>168</sup> The crossing of the Rhine, was clearly seen by Caesar himself as a formidable symbolic element in glorifying his achievement: the attention devoted to describing the bridge is proof of this.<sup>169</sup> Caesar is also constantly highlighting his speed of movement, no doubt partly a 'real' characteristic of his campaign, but also a narrative device to cast himself as dominating the vast barbarian land, and sometimes (as for instance at 2.31.2) as a source of superstitious fear among his opponents.

It has sometimes been suggested that at the beginning of his campaign Caesar was perhaps less well-informed about the realities of Gaul than has usually been assumed.<sup>170</sup> He may have even done some preparatory reading, and it is also possible that in preparing his commentaries for publication (the details of which are in themselves an open question), he added some literary references.<sup>171</sup> It is well known that the only Greek referred to in his *Commentarii* is Eratosthenes (*BGall.* 6.24.2), and the possible influence of Posidonius on his Gallic ethnography has been the subject of much scholarly dispute, with the debate arising from the work of TIERNEY 1960 and NASH 1976 still wielding considerable influence.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Cic. *Prov. cons.* 33: *nunc denique est perfectum, ut imperi nostri terrarumque illarum idem esset extremum*; and see RIGGSBY 2006, 23 on Cicero's subtle manipulation of the respective achievements of Pompey and Caesar, making the passage an intensely politicized one. During the Augustan era, as noted by ROMAN 1983, 263 the assessment of Britain's potential became much more calculated, but there is no doubt about the initial 'wow factor' of Caesar's raids (cf. GÜNNEWIG 1998, 259f.).

<sup>169</sup> See KREBS 2006, 125f. On the other hand, Caesar was surely aware that the act of bridging the Rhine would bring to mind the famous *exemplum* of Xerxes bridging the Hellespont (*Hdt.* 7.33-36), and hence the potential hybrid of such an act (cf. ISAAC 2004, 264f.; GRUEN 2011A, 16).

<sup>170</sup> This is argued by BERTRAND 1997, 107 on the basis of Caes. *BGall.* 1.2-7; recently cf. GRUEN 2011A, 141. The repeated references to Caesar's spatial (and ethnographic) mastery of the Gallic area (see KREBS 2006, 113-19, 127-33) may partly be an attempt to overcome this. Indeed, SCHADEE 2008, 176 has remarked that the differences between Caesar's two northern ethnographies in Books 1 and 6 derive from the profound change in Caesar's requirements (*contra* views that the accumulated ethnographic knowledge was the prime reason for difference, which by necessity was taken as basis by NASH 1976, 115, 120, though she, too, admitted that Caesar at least ordered his ethnographies through conventional categories: *ead.* 118), with Gaul becoming an area that had to be portrayed as civilizable (and Gauls becoming even technologically 'normalized' as the narrative progresses: RIGGSBY 2006, 82).

<sup>171</sup> For rhetorical standards affecting even the *commentarius*-form in at least Cicero's view (*Att.* 2.1.1f.): MCDONALD 1957, 234f. MARINCOLA 1997, 180 points out that with *BGall.* as the only representative of the genre, it is difficult to generalize about the *commentarii*; cf. 196ff., 206. See also WISEMAN 1998, 8 about how Caesar's choice of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person may have been determined by the need for the commentaries to be read out. Cf. also RIGGSBY 2006, 150-55.

<sup>172</sup> Caesar's reference to Eratosthenes may not specifically be to any of the conventionally attributed geographical works of Eratosthenes of Cyrene. Judging by the appearance within Caesar's ethnographical section in Book 6 he may actually have in mind the *Galatica* by the so-called Eratosthenes 'Junior' (*FGtH* 745 F 1-6) whose identity, however, may actually be a duplication of his more famous compatriot, and further obscured by the corrupted patronymic in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κυρήνη. Recently, the *Galatica* of the 'Younger' Eratosthenes has been attributed to his more famous Cyrenean namesake by GEUS 2002, 16-17, 333-35, on not at all unlikely grounds. On the other hand Str. 2.4.2 chides Eratosthenes for ignorance on the West and North of Europe, though this obviously

Eratosthenes was probably the best source for much-needed information as to the size and shape of the Gallic area, but would information from Posidonius have contributed something relevant for Caesar's reading?<sup>173</sup> On Gaul and its inhabitants he certainly would have had quite a lot of the sort of information called 'background knowledge' by LEE 1993, 2: common knowledge concerning the lay of the land, the people, and the climate that had accumulated to form a kind of conventional wisdom, 'what-is-generally-known', regarding the northern areas beyond the borders of the Republic.<sup>174</sup> Neither the subjugated Gauls in the Provincia, nor those in the northern continental expanse—recently enjoying a rise in salience because of the Cimbric wars—were an empty template.

Caesar's notions about the Gallic religious attitude and their innate lack of aptitude for religion seem to draw on the same pool of Roman common knowledge that informed Cicero's speeches. In his Gauls, Caesar certainly was not describing an unknown society of novel enemies. When most contemporary readers of Caesar's Book 6 reached the *natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus*, a very distinctive set of expectations was triggered in their minds.<sup>175</sup> This set forms the basis of Caesar's religious ethnography—if it indeed can be so denominated, since the passage casts its topical elements into a seemingly ethnographic way of presentation chiefly, one suspects, as a matter of catering to the demands directed at this sort of literary work.<sup>176</sup> The *natio est omnis* statement need not be read in opposition to the earlier

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stems from Strabo's post-Caesarian hindsight (cf. DILKE 1988, 196). Apart from the question of the author's identity, Caesar could have prepared for his Gallic campaign by going through a monograph dedicated to the Γαλάται, though NACHTERGAEL 1977, 55 thought Eratosthenes' *Galatica* dealt rather with the Galatians of Asia Minor. No doubt the work would have featured these Galatians at length, but one cannot exclude the possibility that Strabo had spotted Eratosthenes' purported ignorance, for instance, in an European section of his *Galatica*.

<sup>173</sup> MOMIGLIANO 1975, 71 was unreservedly optimistic, favouring the image of Caesar reading Posidonius 'on-the-go', at least for the sake of a nice turn of phrase. BERTRAND 1997, 112 notes that Caesar did not need to gain his possibly Posidonian bits of information beforehand, but could have used the Greek's writings to supplement his information when editing his reports for publication. And as noted on p. 210, Caesar could expect his audience to have had a rather salient assemblage of imagery about the Gauls already primed; cf. BURNS 2003, 134. NASH 1976, though valuably demonstrating that having Caesar derive his Gallic material from Posidonius is extremely implausible (116-26), underplayed the traditional, generic and literary aspects of Caesar's 'ethnography' in the hopes of being able to still use *BGall.* as a 'Celtological' source (esp. *ead.* 115, most purposefully). It is questionable whether Caesar had need for any particular geo-/ethnographic work on Gauls when he rounded out his Book 6, but even if he did not, this does not mean that his material can be used as an uncomplicated historical/anthropological source to Gauls (cf. SCHADEE 2008, 158 and *passim*). Caesarian contributions in the field of geography are examined by POLVERINI 2008, with Posidonius vs. Eratosthenes examined 64ff.

<sup>174</sup> On such 'everyone-knows-that-x' knowledge: SCHNEIDER 2004, 325f. DUNHAM 1995, 112 explains the similarities between Posidonius and Caesar by them being in Gaul only about a generation apart, and thus observing broadly similar social realities. However, the one-generation-between—explanation works quite as well when applied to the Roman background knowledge 'known' about the Gauls by most members of the elite.

<sup>175</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.16.1. It is not simply the 'Celtic *crudelitas*' which is invoked (or demonstrated) in the section about religion (cf. KREMER 1994, 210) but an assemblage of ideas that is both spacious and hazy, though generally associated with behaviour that is both archaic and inhumane.

<sup>176</sup> GRUEN 2011A, 155 points out that the expectations of Caesar's audience would have included hearing something about Druids. WOOLF 2011A, 87 notes that Gallic and Germanic ethnographies of Caesar present the widest gap in his work between the 'soldier's knowledge and that of the ethnographer': this seems justified. That

tradition of characterizing northerners' religiosity. Caesar is not, it seems, attempting to break free of the old conventional assemblage—except perhaps in the vague way of already wishing to portray the Gauls as less alien and more amenable to pacification than the Germans. Instead, he is both awakening familiar expectations among his audience, and at the same time taking advantage of the possible leeway afforded by Roman knowledge of Gallic religiosity.

The meaning of the word *religio* does naturally affect the significance of Caesar's phrasing—but as is well known, the semantic field of *religio* is notoriously broad.<sup>177</sup> Caesar's description of the divinities most worshipped by the Gauls (6.17.1f.) clearly emphasizes the similarity of their beliefs to those of the other peoples of the world (*de his eandem fere quam reliquae gentes habent opinionem*); it would thus hardly have been correct to denote this system as *superstitio*. While the Tacitean expression *interpretatio Romana* has been eagerly applied to Caesar's list of divinities (Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva), reinforced by Cicero's contemporary remarks as to every nation worshipping the same divinities under different names, Caesar may have chosen these particular theonyms quite purposefully; if so, they would represent *inventio* rather than *interpretatio*.<sup>178</sup> Personal religious feelings can quite safely be left out of the equation: either on stylistic grounds or by inclination, Caesar chose to omit almost all references to divinities, omens and auspices from his narrative.<sup>179</sup>

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Caesar's 'ethnography' of the Gauls consciously makes some motions towards traditional ethnographic requirements is clear, but (as noted by KREMER 1994, 211) the extent of these is much narrower than in Diodorus or Strabo. This is true, though Kremer seems to forget that both Strabo and Diodorus wrote after Caesar's wars of conquest, and would have had to cater for a greatly increased demand for ethnographic information regarding the Gauls—and both exhibit elements which almost certainly stem from Caesar, not e.g. Posidonius; *ibid.* 213 makes a similar assumption about the interests of Caesar's audience in 'Keltenethnographie', without recognizing that Caesar provided his extent of ethnographical information mostly for the sake of appearances and in a context where the Romans already 'knew' a great amount of things about the Gauls.

<sup>177</sup> E.g. *OLD s.v.* 'religiō'. That Caesar used *religio* may depend crucially from the breadth of associations that he wanted to arouse in his audience: and in part this breadth may have been necessitated by the emerging perception (apparent in Cicero among the Roman sources, and in all likelihood already quite developed among the Greek ones) that the Druids professed a nuanced, albeit slightly grim, philosophical creed. That would certainly have been more of a *religio*, however barbaric, than *superstitio* (GORDON 1990A, 194-97 on the centrality of priesthood for the Roman concept of *religio*). Since the word *superstitio* was at the time only emerging as denoting other peoples' religiosity, Caesar's use of *religio* would probably cover also the connotations of excess or lack that later came to constitute a large part of the meaning of *superstitio*. The word is used in connection with other peoples' religious practices for instance in Cic. *Leg.* 1.32, *Nat. D.* 1.45, and about nefarious nightly rites in *Clu.* 194; it comes quite clear that as a concept *superstitio* was already at the time of Cicero and Caesar differentiated from *religio* as properly understood (PEASE 1955, I 304).

<sup>178</sup> Problems of '*interpretatio*' have been examined in WEBSTER 1995A, emphasizing its nature as a post-conquest phenomenon. As an example of the approach within Celtic studies, one may cite MAIER 1996, who takes for granted that Caesar has 'interpreted' a native divinity through the theonym *Mercurius*, and who moreover spares not a single thought for the literary context of Caesar's commentaries; in connection with Mercury, one may note his suggestion (132) that Caesar's reference to the Gauls having the same ideas about the divinities as other nations does not govern the mention of Mercury. But the list of the god's portfolio itself seems to contradict this reading (since the *omnium inventor artium* is not as unique to the 'Gallic Mercury' as MAIER supposes).

<sup>179</sup> See MARINCOLA 1997, 209; HALL 1998, 19ff. (*ibid.* 21 even reads *BGall.* 1.50.4f. and 6.16.1 as implying that according to Caesar the Romans ought not to be overly religious).

It can thus be said that the dimensions of Caesar's description of Gallic religiosity are highly economical: he includes only the bare bones of the shared image of the northerners' ritual life. Whether he is implying that the Druids could pose a potential hindrance to Roman domination is a difficult question; it is possible that in stressing their political power in the ethnographical section of the *Commentarii* in Book 6, Caesar is seeking to lay most of the blame for the already proverbial Gallic ritual savagery at the doorstep of the Druids, implying that they constitute the severest hindrance to the absorption of Gauls. If so, the aim of demonstrating druidic influence was for Caesar merely a means toward an end; by isolating it among the other ethnographical elements, he could imply that it belonged to the past with the rest of the mostly literary elements he includes.<sup>180</sup> Caesar's most novel claim regarding Gallic origins, namely that they believe themselves to be *ab Dite patre prognatos*, is ascribed to Druids possibly in order to highlight their gloomy associations.<sup>181</sup> This programmatic step accomplished and the expectations of his audience to some extent fulfilled, Caesar then shifts into constructing a geographical division in order to distinguish between the Gauls and the Germans. This discrepancy between the two groups is strongly implied through religious elements.<sup>182</sup> Indeed, after the programmatic *Germani multum de hac consuetudine differunt*, religion is the first item on Caesar's list. The Germans know neither Druids nor sacrifices; in contrast with the relatively numerous Gallic pantheon, the divinities they serve are Sol, Vulcanus, and

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<sup>180</sup> As observed by SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 26, the description of the Druids is separated by Caesar even from his discussion of the Gallic religion—which may be an attempt to isolate a problematic element from the description of a religious system that in Caesar's view was basically similar to the ideas of the Romans (6.17.2 *de his eandem fere quam reliquae gentes habent opinionem*). In terms of whether Caesar's presentation bears much similarity to the actual social realities, is examined in a properly critical fashion by DUNHAM 1995, who notes that for Iron Age archaeologists to rely upon Caesar's portrayal of Gallic society is generally ill-advised (*passim*, but esp. 110, 115).

<sup>181</sup> BICKERMANN 1952, 75 regarded Caesar's way of pointing to the indigenous origin stories of the northerners (both in the case of Gauls and also the Britons, part of whom are autochthonous and part immigrants from among the Belgi) as a new methodological departure in terms of ethnography, but this may be too drastic. Rather, Caesar's usage stems from a variety of reasons: his general aims were not identical to the writers from whom the fullest ethnographical passages are preserved—on the contrary, he probably wanted to give a formal nod towards generic demands, but without straying from his propagandistic project; secondly, his avoidance of references to both other writers and mythological figures made it difficult to use the already existing narratives relating to the Gallic origins. Thirdly, by giving the 'druidic' origin story from Dis and the partly autochthonous and partly mixed origin of the British—which Tacitus then follows, not as BICKERMANN thought because of any 'new method' (75) but largely out of allusiveness—Caesar could aim at dissociating these groups from his general portrayal of the Gauls: for the case of Britons, see STEWART 1995, 2-4. The *Galli omnes*, though at the time misled by the Druids both in terms of historical origins and ritual practices, could on the shared basis of their cultic similarities with other peoples be acculturated once their priestly class had been discarded.

<sup>182</sup> KREMER 1994, 206f, 211, 215-17; SCHADEE 2008, 162 fn. 19 notes that Caesar is transferring old markers of Gallic barbarism to the Germani (cf. below 227); WOOLF 2011A, 87f. SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 26 proposed another useful angle of looking at Caesar's technique: when describing Gauls, Caesar does not yet construct the Gauls through their difference from Germani, but stresses their similarity to the Romans and Greeks—only after which he switches (with *Germani multum de hac consuetudine differunt*) to describing the Germanic lack of everything shared by the religiosity of these other peoples, Gauls included (*ibid.* 29ff.). Cf. SCHADEE 2008, 176.

Luna—indicating primeval worship of the elements.<sup>183</sup> In terms of tropes, the Germans of Caesar bear an essential similarity to the Κελτοί of Polybius.

Caesar is a prime example of the Romans' position when it comes to describing the northern barbarians' relationship with religion: he is engaged with an agenda quite far removed from such considerations, but insofar as discussing the cults and religiosity of Gauls and Germans can further his aims, he is willing to include elements that his audience knew to expect. Likewise, while he does construct a difference in religious practices between these two northern populations, it is again undeniable that he does so in order to forward his authorial strategy. The elements are in both cases entirely traditional. The druidic philosophy and the cruel sacrifices are the stuff of Hellenistic galatography, although Caesar added his own admonitory and to some extent explanatory element of druidic power to sway the minds of Gauls with their promise of a life after death—an element that henceforth formed an established part of the northern iconosphere in Roman literature.<sup>184</sup>

Livy should also be discussed in this chronological section in addition to the thematic scrutiny, for despite its wealth of elusive earlier material Livy's narrative of the Gallic Sack is firmly anchored in the contemporary (post-Caesarian) 'what-is-known'—as evidenced by such details as the division of Gaul into three parts, one of which is inhabited by *Celtae* (5.34.1). Two main sections necessitate a closer examination; the first of these, the latter part of Book 5, constitutes without doubt the most important sustained narrative account of the Gallic Sack.<sup>185</sup> While his work is the product of the Augustan Age, we know that he drew upon a great amount of earlier Republican material, to some extent stemming from annalistic sources; these in themselves draw their accounts from the oral traditions of the great Roman families.<sup>186</sup> Since Livy's program and methods have been exhaustively studied, a brief overview

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<sup>183</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.21.1f. On the rudimentary German religion as tendentious fiction, motivated by the imagery of what the most primitive barbarian culture would be like, see SCHADEE 2008, 176; KREBS 2011B, 203; WELLS 2011, 213f.; and cf. p. 222ff. below. THOMPSON 1965, 35 still tried to explain away the supposed lack of priests. On the discrepancies between Caesar and Tacitus leaving the way very much open to early modern interpreters: BORCHARDT 1971, e.g. 145.

<sup>184</sup> It was, for instance, applied to the Germans of Ariovistus by App. *Celt.* 1.3—tellingly, since Appian and other Greek writers were not quick to adopt the Caesarian distinction between Germans and Celts (cf. p. 121, 224). The notion of Druids being able to direct Gallic resistance has been carried on through a current of modern scholarship, leading to such confident allegations as in ARBEL 2009, 103.

<sup>185</sup> An enumeration of the sources to the Gallic Invasion is found in WILLIAMS 2001, 142-50.

<sup>186</sup> The Books 1 to 5 are for the most part of early Augustan date: traditionally articulated by SYME 1959, 28, 42-57; see a dose of scepticism in LUCE 1965, with a completion date for the first pentad between 27 and 23 BCE suggested, and a start around the time of Actium (238; see SYME 1959, 50f.); a conventional view in MILES 1995, 92f. but *contra* BURTON 2000 who suggests a date around 33-32 BCE (446). In any case, revisions influenced by the Augustan ideology seem likely (SYME 1959, 43, 46, 71; SANTORO L'HOIR 1990, 233); *contra* GAERTNER 2008,

of his account of the Gallic Invasion and the Sack of Rome can be provided here, with references to probable and important source authors as they have been identified by different commentators. To take Livy's account as some sort of basic form of the narrative would be misleading in the extreme; but as a probable approximation of what the Augustans would have thought plausible as to the actual course of events during the early fourth century BCE, it may come quite close to a representative assemblage of images, however layered chronologically they actually are.

Another important narrative motif influenced by Livy's contemporary perceptions of the *Galli* is his interpretation of their early history and wanderings.<sup>187</sup> Section 5.34.1-9 bears close comparison with what Pompeius Trogus wrote regarding the way Gauls determined the direction of their migrations, as well as the motif of crossing the Alps. Though Livy dates the original Gallic invasion of Italy back to the days of Tarquin the Elder, the fateful collision course begins (according to Livy) when an army of Gauls threatens the Etruscan town of Clusium, who appeal to their allies the Romans for help.<sup>188</sup> The Romans send three Fabii, the sons of Fabius Ambustus, as ambassadors to negotiate a peaceful solution to the impasse with a "nation hitherto unmet" (5.35.6). The city has just witnessed civil strife and political wrangling because of the conquest of Veii, and the author of that remarkable victory, Camillus, has been banished. While the Roman capture of Veii is implied by Livy in many ways to have played a major part in the civil strife and the Romans falling away from the standards of piety, which in turn leads to the Gallic invasion, the connection between Veii and the Gauls is not Livy's invention.<sup>189</sup>

Another important warning of the Gallic danger had already been given in the form of Aius Locutius, though at the time it went unheeded by the Romans. This mysterious 'speaking voice' emanating from the *Lucus Vestae*, near to the Via Nova, had allegedly been heard by the plebeian M. Caedicius; the voice warned that unless the gates and battlements were repaired,

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e.g. 41, though his objections are much less decisive if Livy is not held to have 'extensively and deliberately' invented the purported Augustan elements, but rather just emphasized or highlighted existing themes (as in fact on *ibid.* 42; cf. 51f.). On Livy's direct consultation of annalistic sources, see NORTHWOOD 2000. On the connections of early Roman historiography with the universal history of Greek literature: CORNELL 2010.

<sup>187</sup> For the significance of the Alps: p. 106, 125, 141 fn. 486f., 174 fn. 31, 175f., 181.

<sup>188</sup> The arrival of Gauls in Italy: 5.34.1. The action of Fate in the process is brought out e.g. in 5.36.6.

<sup>189</sup> In *Div.* 1.100 Cicero discusses a prophecy which stated that preventing the overflowing waters of Lake Albanus from reaching the sea would bring victory to the Romans in their war against Veii. Later, during an attempt to broker peace, the Veientines are reported to have provided the rest of the prophecy, which foretold the capture of Rome by the Gauls, which according to Cicero's chronology took place six years after the fall of Veii. It is difficult to say if Cicero is preserving anything resembling a meaningful fragment from the *Annales Pontificum*, though this is the editorial view of CHASSIGNET 1996 I, 10 *Ann. Pont.* F 24. The fact that he starts this section by *quod in annalibus habemus* needs not point further back than annalistic historians. As noted by LUCE 1971, 151, Veii and the Gauls are the two subjects of the two halves of Book 5, linked by the figure of Camillus.

the city would be taken.<sup>190</sup> More immediate lapses in piety take place just before the confrontation at the Allia, with a hastily mustered Roman army meeting the swift, teeming and noisy Gallic host in battle. The Roman commanders, however, had neglected taking auspices (5.38.1). Livy notes that in the ensuing battle both Fate and strategy were on the side of the Gauls.<sup>191</sup> The Roman army breaks without any attempt to fight, with all casualties sustained in flight or while attempting to cross the Tiber to Veii. The Gauls, meanwhile, are astonished at their easy victory, and only later start looting the dead and piling up arms in heaps according to their custom (5.39.1). Pressing on, they reach Rome by sunset, but are not willing to enter an unknown city in darkness—giving the panic-stricken but resourceful Romans time to initiate a few desperate plans. The Flamen and the Vestals are to carry the *sacra* to safety, and the Capitol and Arx, the seats of the gods, are to be preserved (5.39.11f.). Pathetic scenes ensue: distressed women dash about, the patrician youth retreats to prepare the Capitoline defences, and the plebeians seek safety on the Janiculum but end up dispersing to the four winds. This last element must be part of patrician propaganda, perhaps tempered by its long transmission.<sup>192</sup> Meanwhile, the plebeian L. Albinus helps the *flamen Quirinalis* and the Vestals in transporting the *sacra* to Caere (5.40.10).

As planned, the old men of the city return to their homes and prepare to meet the enemy—according to some, says Livy, the *pontifex maximus* Fabius (or Folius) leads them in a dedicatory formula to give their lives for Rome and the Romans (5.41.1-4). Enter the Gauls. The plebeian houses are bolted shut, whereas those of patricians stand open, and upon entering hesitantly the Gauls find the old men sitting in stately magnificence—an element which is much stressed (5.41.8). The spell is broken when a Gaul lays his hand upon M. Papirius, who strikes the barbarian with his ivory sceptre, and a slaughter of the patriarchs

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<sup>190</sup> On the location Cic. *Div.* 101, on Caedicius Livy 5.32.6f.; Plut. *Cam.* 14.30, *De fort. Rom.* 319A. Also Varro *ap. Gell. NA* 16.17; Tert. *Ad nat.* 2.11; and Arn. *Adv. nat.* 1.28. DAVIES 2004, 40 (cf. 74 fn. 146) notes that if an aristocrat instead of the plebeian Caedicius had heard the prophetic voice, his testimony would have carried more force: in terms of narrative elements, this should be linked to the blame game between patricians and plebeians of the pre-Livian tradition (cf. p. 93, 102f., 107f.). On the motif of incorporeal voice as a prophetic warner, especially the representation of such voices via the pictorial motif of a talking head, see THOMSON DE GRUMMOND 2011, esp. 315 on Aius Locutius. Notably, in Livy's explanation of why the prophetic voice was ignored, another motivation is the 'newness' of the Gauls (*et quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat*, 5.32.7). This manifestation of the *gens nova* -trope would probably have been emphasized after the Cimbric shock.

<sup>191</sup> Livy 5.38.4: *non fortuna modo sed ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat*. LUCE 1971, 152 sees this moment as encapsulating through rhetorical exaggeration the complete reversal of roles between Gauls and Romans. If so, a similar knowledge of typical Gallic impiety as that shared between Cicero and his audience would have been needed among Livy's intended audience.

<sup>192</sup> Indeed, LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 355 has noted the difficulty of dissecting Livy's personal religious attitudes from under the layers of tradition in his work; the same applies to the religiously tinged propaganda narratives from the Republican past; for a good example, see *ibid.* 360 about Livy's description of T. Manlius Torquatus (8.5.8) who seems to behave with a ferocity that alludes to the Fabii at Cremera.

ensues.<sup>193</sup> After a failed attempt to storm the Capitol, the Gauls divide their forces. When the foraging party arrives at Ardea, the first sign is obtained of the Romans' turning fate; the Gauls are led to where Camillus was spending his exile, and are soundly beaten.<sup>194</sup> Meanwhile, in occupied Rome the feat of Fabius Dorsuo takes place (see p. 92f. above).

Livy's treatment of the Gallic reaction to Fabius Dorsuo's pious and courageous feat can be taken as an example of his craft. Sources for the Dorsuo narrative have been sought in origin stories for the association of the *gens* in a Quirinal cult, but this has been complicated by the way Livy weaves Republican material into his overall scheme.<sup>195</sup> Roman fortunes are at their nadir and the citizens besieged on the Capitolium, when young Dorsuo braves the barbarians to perform a traditional family sacrifice on the Quirinal; he successfully passes the siege lines in both directions and returns unharmed (5.46.1-3). The motif resembles the departure of Aeneas from besieged Troy in fragment 3 of the late second century BCE historian Calpurnius Piso.<sup>196</sup> According to FORSYTHE 1994, 99 the motif as used by Piso is likely to have been an innovation, intended to dispel any possible accusation of Aeneas for desertion and to highlight his *pietas*. The application of the same element to a story featuring Fabius Dorsuo is almost certainly motivated by a similar desire—we are dealing with an attempt to atone for the transgression of the three Fabii at Clusium.<sup>197</sup> The substandard nature of northerners' religion was, as we have seen, an entrenched topos from at least the Delphic attack onwards, and the apparently bizarre actions of the Gauls were explained as superstition by Greek and Roman writers even before the Late Republic. Even so, it is difficult not to see Livy's formulation of *seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu religione etiam motis* in the light of Caesar's *natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus*.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>193</sup> KRAUS 1994, 276f. has perceptively noted that the stately patrician elders of Livy seem to allude to the figure of Priam in that crucial exemplar of *urbs capta* dramaturgy, the sack of Troy. Less convincing is the assimilation of the Gallic attackers with Homeric Greeks, though there certainly was some polysemy in play (the Romans are 'the Greeks' when sacking Veii).

<sup>194</sup> Livy 5.43.6: *proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam ubi Camillus exsulabat duxit*. Camillus is moreover described as rousing the Ardeates to battle in a state of divine inspiration: *nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus cum se in mediam contionem intulisset* 5.43.8.

<sup>195</sup> OGILVIE 1965, 730 on the origins. Lately, RICHARDSON 2004, 290-3 has suggested that Dorsuo's association with the Quirinal was introduced on account of an image of a priestly figure (nameless at the time of its execution) that the first Fabius Pictor painted onto the decoration of the temple of Salus on Quirinal.

<sup>196</sup> Calp. Piso F 3 *ap. Schol. Verg. Aen.* 2.717 HAGEN. See FORSYTHE 1994, 428f.

<sup>197</sup> As to who invented the story of Dorsuo in the form that it is found in Livy, FORSYTHE (1994, 99f.) suggests Claudius Quadrigarius, whose fragments 1 to 5 seem to have detailed the Gallic capture of Rome. The suggestion of RICHARDSON 2004, 295 that Fabii required a religious hero of their own in narratives of the Gallic siege, and that the earliest figure to fulfil this role was the elderly *pontifex maximus* devoting the senators to death, with Dorsuo only obtaining his role later, is intricately argued but conjectural.

<sup>198</sup> Livy 5.46.3; Caes. *BGall.* 6.16.1. As indeed was done by OGILVIE 1965, 731 *ad loc.* Another clear Caesarian verbal echo in Livy's description of a (Republican) Romano-Gallic conflict is examined in BELL 1995, 764-66. This desire to construct an allusion might explain why in this passage Livy briefly returns to describing Gallic



Livy, however, is not quite as up to date as that—or rather, his mode of thinking did exist before Caesar's wars in Gaul. His remark in 5.46.3 goes on to further comment on the innate lack of religious faculty among the Gauls: *seu religione etiam motis cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est*. The Gauls are implied to be naturally unmoved by religious sentiments. The closest correspondence to this notion is found in Cicero's *Pro Fonteio* (30f.), rather than in Caesar. Cicero has just reminded the jury of the previous crimes of the Gauls against the cults of all nations, and their consequent unacceptability as plaintiffs. What, Cicero asks, can appear as holy in the eyes of men who, even when motivated by some sort of supernatural fear to revere the gods, do so by sacrificing human beings?<sup>199</sup> This, the orator concludes, is demonstrated by the common knowledge of the day—*quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum?*<sup>200</sup> Livy has been noted to write with a constant mindfulness of Cicero's work, and the historian's vision of the Gauls and their significance for Rome fits quite well with sentiments in the speeches of Cicero.<sup>201</sup>

The episode of the feat of Manlius Capitolinus has been discussed above (p. 95f.). The resulting deadlock between besiegers and besieged leads the Romans to seek parley. Desperate, they agree to pay a ransom; but while the famous '*Vae victis*' scene is taking place, the action of Fate allows for the entrance of Camillus (5.49.2). In the ensuing battle, Livy stresses that the divine favour had now been entirely redeemed by the Romans: *iam verterat*

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reactions and psychology, a temporary strategy which (as observed by LUCE 1971, 161) he had already given up at the same time as the Romans again start redeeming the divine favour in his narrative.

<sup>199</sup> Cic. *Font.* 31: *postremo his quicquam sanctum ac religiosum videri potest qui, etiam si quando aliquo metu adducti deos placandos esse arbitrantur, humanis hostiis eorum aras ac templa funestant.*

<sup>200</sup> The expression *immanis ac barbarus* of Cicero is topical (FREYBURGER 1977, 149) and can be compared with such passages as his own *Rep.* 3.15 *homines immolare et pium et diis immortalibus gratissimum esse duxerunt*; Caes. *BGall.* 6.16 *quod pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur*; Plin. *HN* 30.13 *monstra, in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero etiam saluberrimum*, 30.16 *nam homines immolare etiam gratissimum* (though Pliny, like Mela 3.18 *ut homines optimam et gratissimam diis victimam crederent*, can conceivably depend upon Caesar: there is no need to postulate 'some independent knowledge' on Druids in Pliny as WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 147 does, besides the exacerbated imagery of his time). Verbal parallels are perhaps not consistent, but are reinforced by the path of argumentation which features a faulty perception of the barbarians regarding the ways the divine favour can be obtained (*duxerunt, arbitrantur, monstra, vero etiam, crederent*) and the savage conception of humans as the optimal sacrifice (*gratissimum, non posse aliter, religiosissimum, saluberrimum, gratissimum, optimam et gratissimam*). Together these may point to an existence of a relatively uniform Late Republican discourse about the nature of the northern barbarians' impiety, or at least a shared template used by highly literary authors in addition to more technical ones. If the discourse was of rhetoric nature, it may have manifested in set-piece deliberative oratory or progymnastic exercises around the question of barbarian religion—indeed, Cic. *Rep.* 3.15 occurs in a very apt context for this sort of background. NDIAYE 2007, 94 notes verbal connections between Cicero and Caesar.

<sup>201</sup> On Cicero's influence upon Livy: McDONALD 1957, 232ff., though this slightly one-dimensional view is qualified by the addenda in CHAPLIN & KRAUS 2009, 259. All in all, though Livy no doubt knew Cicero's views and writings quite well, much of the 'rhetorical' or 'dramatic' touches in his history stem from deeper and broader currents in ancient historiography. In what it comes to imagining the role of the Roman religion, Livy seems likewise quite close to Cicero: it was created to bring harmony and stability to the society: LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 362f., with respect towards oaths as an important component—just as the lack of it is an important part of Cicero's condemnation of the Gauls; also *ibid.* 374. For the epideictic elements in Cicero's conception of historiography, WOODMAN 1988, 95-98.

*fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant.*<sup>202</sup> The motif of Camillus' timely arrival and the swift avenging of the earlier Roman defeat has been noted to resemble many other such fictions within the annalistic tradition.<sup>203</sup> It was suggested by SORDI 1979, 55 that this Livian version of events is once again effectively an attempt to counter Greek narratives which in different ways had cast doubt upon the Roman achievement in several details of the larger scheme. In this case, the author to be contradicted was Timagenes (as preserved, according to SORDI, in Justin's *Epitome*), who had portrayed both Delphi and Massalia as being saved by divine intervention, the former by Apollo, the latter by Athene-Minerva.<sup>204</sup> If Rome's integrity had been called into question by Timagenes alone, it is possible that Livy was moved to highlight Rome's σωτηρία by a comparatively recent historiographical slight. Camillus' pivotal role was probably constructed by Livy as the *crux* of his argument: the elemental nature of the events of Book 5, with the capture of Veii and the near annihilation of the city, called for a single heroic figure, a role invested by Livy's time in the Republican character of Furius Camillus.<sup>205</sup> As the crucial action was instigated by fate, for Camillus to act as the Second Founder of Rome he needed to be described as an impeccably pious character.<sup>206</sup> As Livy notes in 5.33.1, it was the banishing of Camillus that made possible the capture of Rome.

Livy's emphasis on the significance of religion for the Romans and for Rome herself was due almost certainly to his authorial intention and manipulation; the urge to project his religious focus back to his Republican sources needs to be resisted.<sup>207</sup> In addition to the action

<sup>202</sup> Livy 5.49.5. The most immediate internal allusion is to the exactly opposite situation at the Allia.

<sup>203</sup> FORSYTHE 1994, 235. That Livy exaggerates particularly the 'in-the-nick-of-time' arrival of Camillus: LUCE 1971, 162.

<sup>204</sup> Just. 24.8.5, 43.5.5. SORDI 1979, 54-5 compares Just. 43.5.8-9 *captam incensamque [...] redemptam* (regarding Rome) to Livy's explicit negation *prohibere redemptos vivere Romanos* (5.49.1), which together with Justin's other narratives of divine epiphany punishing sacrilegious plunderers (such as that of Caepio at Tolosa) appears as a convincing motivation for Livy. Similarly, Livy sees it fit not to mention Massalia's help to the catastrophe-struck Romans, and casts doubt on Hercules' Alpine feats that Timagenes (again judging by Justin) may have associated quite closely with the Gallic enemy of Rome (*ead.* 55).

<sup>205</sup> Who was, as has been noted (33 fn. 21), already known to Aristotle, at least according to Plut. *Cam.* 22.4.

<sup>206</sup> As noted by SYME 1959, 48, the link forged between Romulus and Augustus via Camillus is relatively incontestable in Livy; also well supported by HELLEGOUARC'H 1970, 124; recently these readings have been revisited by GAERTNER 2008, esp. 35-39, who for instance notes that both Camillus' piety (36) and the idea of the recovery after the Gauls as a second founding (37) clearly predate Livy. This is certainly so, but it should be seen as enabling, not negating, Livy's allusions. SYME goes on to note (60) that *pietas* (of a retaliatory kind, though tempered with *clementia*: the discrepancy between Mars as an avenger of Caesar's murder, and an *impius* divinity that needs to be shackled by Augustus has been pointed out by COLE 2001, 72 in the case of Horace's apotheosis-anticipating *Odes* 1-3) was one of the hallmarks of Augustus' official version about overcoming the years of dissension before his autocracy (cf. TAKÁCS 2009, 28f.). The narrative advantage of Camillus' northern enemies was that there was no need for Livy to construct a show of *clementia* towards them.

<sup>207</sup> That the religio-moral fall and redemption formed the lead motif of Livy's Book 5 has been observed by many scholars; e.g. see LUCE 1971, 155-59, on the whole book constituting an extended *exemplum*. DAVIES 2004 treats Livy's religious *exempla* within their broader context of the Livian conception of Roman religion: see e.g. 26f., 62f., 114f.

of Fate, in particular the comparably sophisticated interplay between depravity, piety and external danger needs to be addressed. We meet with the first articulation of this claim as early as Book 1, where king Numa, having removed all danger to his subjects, needed a way to restrain them lest they should become lost in idleness and decline. He therefore made sure to teach his uncouth subjects proper reverence for the gods, so that fear of divine powers would keep them in check.<sup>208</sup> In a way, Numa's benevolent intention smacks of deception even as it shapes Romans into precisely the kind of pious people that Livy wishes to present them as at their best.<sup>209</sup> In fact, Numa's action in using religious doctrines to manipulate the behaviour of his people resembles Caesar's perception of the Druids' grip over the Gauls. In any case it seems clear that Livy envisioned the Romans as having faced the danger of a lapse from piety on several occasions in the course of their history. The Gallic menace in Book 5 is simply the most highly elaborated case of this process: peace, supremacy and overconfidence lead the Romans to idleness, luxury and pride. This in turn leads them, along with domestic strife, to neglect the proper reverence towards the gods and toward omens. The two supreme indications in Livy's narrative of the Romans' danger of succumbing to impiety are the inexcusable behaviour of the three Fabii at Clusium and the mismanagement of sacrifices just before the battle of Allia. In this scheme, the external invaders constitute the impetus and motivation for the Romans to rediscover their earlier piety.<sup>210</sup>

At a later point, Livy has the opportunistic Manlius Vulso refer to the plundering of Delphi during his defence before the Senate of his actions in the Galatian War of 189 BCE; he has been accused of waging an unauthorized war against the Galatians and conducting the operations rashly.<sup>211</sup> The issue at stake is Manlius' right to celebrate a triumph in honour of his victories—a decidedly religious issue, although permeated in this case (as so often) by political considerations. The arguments on both sides cast light on Roman notions on the justifiability of an undeclared war against Gallic barbarians. Livy first reports the substance of the

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<sup>208</sup> Livy 1.19.4: *omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est [...] ne luxuriarent otio animi quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat*. Numa seems to prefigure Augustus in this sense. See also TAKÁCS 2009, 10-13, applying the anthropology of ingroup/outgroup dynamics to the tradition of Numa's reforms.

<sup>209</sup> The similarity of Livy's reasoning with Polyb. 6.56 has been noted by BAIER 2001, 87.

<sup>210</sup> LEVENE 1993, 194; KRAUS 1994, 279f.

<sup>211</sup> Livy 38.47.8. As noted by MORAUX 1957, 58, Livy does not mention the Gallic attack on Delphi in 38.16 when he reports the 'great migration' of the Gauls into Asia Minor. If he does not simply reflect here a Pergamene version of the early Asiatic galatomachy and the overemphasized role of the Attalids as its agents (MORAUX 1957, 61f.), Livy may have aimed for the effect of hitherto nearly undefeated barbarians, so as to highlight the achievements of both king Attalus (38.16.14) and Manlius himself. The Delphic episode is brought up only in the defence of Manlius. The combination of indicting Gauls for both their attack on Delphi and the practice of human sacrifice is strikingly similar to the use of these elements in Cicero's *Pro Fonteio*, as is noted by HOFENEDER 2007, 160. For the use of Delphi in Vulso's self-justification, see also KREMER 1994, 58 fn. 5.

arguments by Furius and Aemilius against the granting of triumphal honours to Vulso: Manlius should be grateful that the immortal gods chose not to punish his whole army for his rashness in waging war against *ius gentium*. Moreover, Vulso is implied to have aggrandized his deeds; if he had fought with 'real Gauls' instead of mixed *Gallograeci*, not even a messenger would have survived to tell the tale of such a foolhardy commander. Effectively, Manlius Vulso's portrayal of his Galatian campaign is found wanting in three ways: in terms of moral justification, secure conduct, and correct *exempla*.<sup>212</sup> Later the accusers return to Vulso's flaunting of the *ius gentium* and the rites of the fetiales: he is accused of wishing to instil contempt for the gods in the hearts of the Romans, as well as drawing Romans into a war against the Gauls without their having any say in the matter (38.46.12f.).

It comes across from the charges that particular care was due (at least according to the senatorial elite) to the proper honouring of the gods when initiating a war against the Gauls. In his response, Vulso emphasizes the traditional ferocity of the Gauls (against the claim of his opponents that the Gallograeci have actually degenerated from their former ferocity, and introducing some numerical scaremongering connected with the notion of Gallic fecundity); this is followed by his interpolation of the Delphic *exemplum* in response to the charges raised against him.<sup>213</sup> The recourse to this motif resembles the tendentious use of the same by Cicero in *Pro Fonteio*.<sup>214</sup> Since the wording does not appear earlier in the speeches of his senatorial opponents as narrated by Livy, this is probably a calculated move by Vulso, intended to undermine a religiously-motivated attack on his policies. Vulso remarks that on the occasion of the first Delphic sack the Romans did not declare a punitive war upon the Gauls, and later in his speech he claims to have made the Galatians atone for their past crimes.<sup>215</sup> Faced with an accusation of having flaunted previous *exempla* from Gallic wars, Vulso thus comes up with

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<sup>212</sup> Livy 38.45.11-46.3. About Vulso's use of *exempla* in Livy: CHAPLIN 2000, 101f., 152f. That Livy seems to emphasize the significance of the omen of victory delivered to Vulso by the priests of Magna Mater (38.18.9f.) in comparison with the version preserved by Polybius (LEVENE 1993, 90); this emphasis could derive from his defence of his campaign. Vulso's speech in Livy, on the other hand, may have influenced Germanicus' speech before the battle of Idistaviso (against the *Germani*) as reported in Tac. *Ann.* 2.14, as pointed out by GÜNNEWIG 1998, 75. In terms of motifs, at least, the Germans are portrayed as remarkably similar to the Gauls who are bad at prolonged combat and easily deserted their leaders.

<sup>213</sup> Livy 38.47.6 *ego, qui cum centum milibus ferocissimorum hostium signis collatis totiens pugnavi, qui plus quadraginta milia hominum cepi aut occidi*; 38.48.2 *sed etiam Delphos quondam, commune humani generis oraculum, umbilicum orbis terrarum, Galli spoliaverunt*. The universal possession of the Delphic sanctuary by all the peoples, excluding the hostile Gauls, is expressed through a similar language to that of Cicero's *Pro Fonteio*, which Livy of course could have known. The Livian formulation of the degeneration of every creature's natural traits in a foreign soil and climate is rather developed (cf. Flor. 38.17.12), and was connected by JOHNSON 1960, 472 to opinions in Varro and Pliny.

<sup>214</sup> And considering the reverence of Livy towards Ciceronian rhetoric, it may well be a direct descendant: cf. McDONALD 1957, 232f., 240f. For a more complex view see WOODMAN 1988, ch 3.

<sup>215</sup> Livy 38.48.2: *nec ideo populus Romanus his bellum indixit aut intulit*; 38.48.11 *ego tamen et cum aliis, pro dignitate imperii vestri coactis luere peccata sua, pacem pepigi, et Gallorum animos, si possent mitigari a feritate insita, temptavi et, postquam indomitos atque implacabiles cernebam, tum demum vi atque armis coercendos ratus sum*.

an even earlier, religiously motivated *exemplum* in defence of his own war. One wonders how well this sort of sophistry was received, but it may be that the element of an 'undeclared war' suggested this argument to Manlius. An Ephesian second century BCE galatomachic frieze, portraying Greeks and Romans in a joint venture vanquishing Gauls, may well stem from the reaction to Vulso's victory; it should therefore be classed among those instances when the Romans portrayed themselves as the direct inheritors of the galatomachic duty, similar to the dedications of Minucius Rufus at Delphi several generations later.<sup>216</sup>

Fate, often interpreted as constituting one of Livy's most pervasive devices, appears in a prominent role in Book 5, and its workings are thoroughly intertwined with the actions of Gauls and with the Roman fortunes. Religion is a constant preoccupation of Livy, and nowhere to such extent as in Book 5, where the grand narrative of the lost and refound piety of the Romans is supported by the author's treatment of the barbarian threat.<sup>217</sup> As such, while his representations of the Gallic relationship with both their own and other peoples' religions and sacred institutions contain many elements that would be equally true of Republican Roman sentiments, it is much more prudent to examine the motifs of the work largely in the context of the Augustan period.<sup>218</sup> In the case of Manlius Vulso's Asian campaign and his subsequent defence of his own actions, Livy probably had less leeway in shaping his sources. Nonetheless, the shared perceptions of his elite audience seem to corroborate what other contemporary or slightly later sources, such as Cicero, also bear out. In short, Livy's narrative exhibits several currents inherited from Hellenistic prose history and even further afield from tendencies prevalent in the lighter literature of his age and previous generations. His debt to the 'tragic historiography' of Theopompus, Phylarchus and others is not negligible, and the most elaborate of his episodes display a sense of pathos and emotion.<sup>219</sup> From the largely unreconstructable home-grown patrician traditions of Rome, through the annalistic recasting of Roman history along Greek lines and according to Greek motifs, and ending with an Augustan retrospective view of earlier Roman history, Livy's references to Gallic religiosity provide a varied, complex and poignantly dramatized source.

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<sup>216</sup> The frieze and its possible interpretation is discussed by STEWART 2004, 233ff, with figures 259-62. For the Delphic dedication of Minucius Rufus, see p. 155f.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. CORNELL 1995, 312 on the religiosity of the earlier section of Book 5 about the war with Veii. Religion characterizing the whole of Book 5: LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 364-68, who is careful to stress the not merely literary use of the theme. For Livy's own relationship to the Roman religion: DAVIES 2004, 21-78.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. McDONALD 1957, 225; LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 375ff.; WOODMAN 1988, 136-40; DAVIES 2004, 50.

<sup>219</sup> As already recognized by Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.101. Of modern studies, see LIEBESCHUETZ 1967, 367; LUCE 1971, esp. 179ff. about the similarities of Livy's technique to those of the Hellenistic 'dramatic historians'; REBENICH 1997, 309 about this debt in most Roman historiography, and 321 in Livy. The touch of the pathetic could also be heightened by the connections that historiography occasionally had with novelistic (and other 'lighter') literature: cf. RUIZ-MONTERO 1996, 42-48.

## b. GERMANS AND BRITONS IN CAESAR

There is widespread agreement that the notion of 'Germans', as a meaningful ethnic category, was a creation of Caesar's.<sup>220</sup> In describing the Gauls, Caesar was dealing with a subject which was not only expected of him—and which he knew beforehand would be expected of him—but which moreover had been covered many times. He had received a relatively consolidated assemblage of literary elements, which both made the job of describing his northern enemies easier and curtailed the amount of innovation available to him. The Germans and Britons, however—two groups about which his audience had only vague ideas, if any—are a different case entirely. That Caesar constructed them to suit his purposes, in the case of Germans as a group wholly separate from the Gauls, in the case of Britons as essentially similar to the Gauls but cruder, merely serves to highlight the way subsequent Germanic and British depictions negotiate constantly with Caesar's narrative. At the same time, by their continued haziness, the literary perpetrators of Caesarian influence demonstrate the tendentiousness of his initial contribution.

The distancing and defining of the *Germani* begins early in Caesar's work, and to a large extent this aim is achieved by transferring elements formerly applied to Gauls to the Germans instead.<sup>221</sup> The first rhetorical rebranding that Caesar had to bring about in the early part of his *Commentarii* was to turn Ariovistus, a former *amicus* of the Romans, into a dangerous barbarian invader.<sup>222</sup> Partly this is achieved through simple lexical choices: the Germans are the group Caesar most frequently calls *barbari*.<sup>223</sup> The historical *exemplum* of the Cimbri and Teutones is made to serve this end, with the strong implication that they had actually been *Germani*.<sup>224</sup> The nature of Germania is harnessed to support the same argument.<sup>225</sup> Caesar

<sup>220</sup> Already CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 192; and cf. above p. 115 fn. 381. Recently, see KREBS 2011B, 205-7. Even scholars who envision the ethnonym *Germani* to bear some significance beyond the Roman construction have had to admit the dependency of the whole concept from Caesar's literary input: TODD 1987, 45; TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 87; WOLFRAM 1997, 36; GRUEN 2011A, 159 fn. 1 (summing up the preceding chapter).

<sup>221</sup> The literary transference of motifs between 'Gallic' and 'Germanic' descriptions has been already examined in LAMPINEN 2012, esp. 213-35. Also WILLIAMS 2001, 138, 183; SCHADEE 2008, 162 fn. 19; RIGGSBY 2006, 67ff.

<sup>222</sup> SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 13-8; TERNES 1980, 58f.; TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 90-101, 236; BARLOW 1998, 144f.

<sup>223</sup> Noted by THOLLARD 1987, 35 fn. 17 (but cf. NDIAYE 2007, 91), though *Britanni* come quite close (6 instances), particularly considering their limited coverage. Essentially, and to simplify matters, *barbari* in Caesar are most consistently those against whom he had least success: cf. RIGGSBY 2006, 69, 151, 215f.; KREBS 2006, 120; SCHADEE 2008, 163. For the vocabulary of *BGall.*, BELL 1995.

<sup>224</sup> E.g. GÜNNEWIG 1998, 9 fn. 7, 25; CHRISTENSEN 2002, 15. BURNS 2003, 111 (cf. 121) suggests that Caesar's references to Cimbri and Teutones mostly warn about being unprepared about northerners, not fear as such. On the other hand, cf. GARDNER 1983, e.g. 184, 186 (though 'Gallic' should be seen as including memories of the Cimbric scare); and POWELL 1998, 129. Caesar's novel association (motivated by political expediency: POWELL, *loc. cit.*) should be sharply dissociated from the subsequent and still occasionally met scholarly notion—informed

clearly did not succeed in fooling all of his enemies in the Senate: in 55 BCE, Cato Uticensis denounced him for his *iniustum* breach of truce with the Germans, advocating his extradition to the Germans to avoid divine punishment from being meted upon the Romans.<sup>226</sup> Apparently one could not be too careful about honouring treaties with the northerners; the Roman side must be unblemished by claims of untrustworthiness or betrayal. Vercingetorix, the other impressive and successful barbarian adversary, needed in turn to be 'Romanized' to a certain extent in order to explain his successes against Caesar.<sup>227</sup> The Germans, on the other hand, partake in the most superstitious character of the iconosphere of northern religiosity: like the feared Galatian mercenaries who fortunately, because of their superstitiousness, could be manipulated by their royal Hellenistic employers, Caesar's German adversaries refrain from fighting before the new moon on account of their female diviners' advice.<sup>228</sup>

The most famous passage in Caesar's description of Germanic religion begins immediately after the Gallic ethnography in Book 6, with an accommodatingly comprehensive *Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt*.<sup>229</sup> The order in which the conventional ethnographical subjects are treated in the two groups is not identical. The overview of Gallic ethnography is approached through the internal divisions and factionality of their subgroups (with religion reached properly only in 6.16f., although with some elements foreshadowed in connection with the Druids in section 13). The Germans, in contrast, are immediately defined by their lack of organized religion. They have no Druids to preside over religious matters (6.21.1), and their divinities are simply those elemental forces that they can perceive or which

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by early modern perceptions—that the Cimbri and Teutones in some essential way 'were' *Germani* (or to be more exact, 'Germanic') in a way that bears any connection with modern linguistic or cultural identities. To adjudicate upon examples such as HOWORTH 1878 would be unfair, but more recent studies exhibit this preconception as well, e.g. DEMOUGEOT 1978, 910 ('la première des grandes migrations germaniques'), also GARDNER 1983, 181; these projections are criticized in GOFART 2006, 15, 19.

<sup>225</sup> EVANS 2008, 26 notes that for Romans certain landscapes 'nurtured the dystopian', and the savage land filled with wild beasts in Caesar's description of the Hercynian forest (6.24-8) acts as a powerful distancing element.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Suet. *Inl.* 24.3; Plut. *Caes.* 22.4, *Cat. Min.* 51, *Crass.* 37.3; App. *Celt.* 18. Discussed in POWELL 1998, 124-28; also relevant observations in RIGGSBY 2006, 215f., e.g. on Caesar calling his crossing of the Rhine a *iustissima* cause, though avoiding the technical *bellum iustum*. Caesar's attacks east of the Rhine could certainly be described as uncalled-for and possibly even *iniusti*: at least Dio (40.32) seems to follow a tradition which saw the Second Germanic expedition of Caesar as folly (ZECCHINI 1978, 42, 85-9, esp. 107f., 113f.). Breaking a truce with the northern enemy may have recalled grim *exempla* from Republican tradition, e.g. the Fabii at Clusium.

<sup>227</sup> For which see PALLAVISINI 1972, *passim*, but esp. 103-7.

<sup>228</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 1.50.4f. Later use in Frontin. *Str.* 2.1.16, and as late as Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15.72 to flesh out the Germanic ἱεραὶ γυναῖκες; probably via Plut. *Caes.* 19.8. Another case of manipulating barbarians through their superstitiousness is that of Sertorius' *fatidica cerva* in Plin. *HN* 8.117 (see BEAGON 1992, 99).

<sup>229</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.21. *BGall.* 6.11 sets out the intention of the following passages: to describe the manners of first Gaul and then Germania, and explain their respective differences. Thus, formally speaking, his ethnography is in accord with the Graeco-Roman literary conventions of describing encountered foreign groups. In addition, as noted by SCHADEE 2008, 176, Caesar is now able to differentiate between Gallic and Germanic barbarity, effectively constructing Gaul as a partly civilized and further civilizable area of a barbarian Europe.

provide a clear advantage to them, such as Sol, Vulcan, and Luna. Yet their mode of life is characterized by sexual restraint and lateness of intimate relations.<sup>230</sup>

The ethnic division along the Rhine was not an automatic success among Caesar's creations (see p. 116, 121). Strabo, only a few decades after Caesar, did not buy into his sharp division between Germans and Gauls.<sup>231</sup> The same could be said of Caesar's portrayal of the Germans' religion; for instance, Strabo's mention of *Λίβης τῶν Χάττων ἱερεὺς* in the triumph of Germanicus the Younger (7.1.4) indicates that only a few decades after Caesar's time the non-existence of Germanic priests was not a universally shared view among the Romans. At a pinch it might be possible to argue that the Germans—or at least the groups closest to the Rhine and thus most susceptible to Gallic and Roman influence—could have developed a priestly class in the interval, but such a view would only be necessitated by a literal and credulous reading of Caesar.<sup>232</sup> On the other hand, and with much more justification, it can be objected that Caesar is actually not telling us anything about the existence among Germans of priests in general, but of Druids in particular.

The triumphalistic use of the northern geographic and ethnographic space was entirely available to Caesar, and he used it to maximum advantage. Indeed, his advance to the east bank of the Rhine was explicitly dictated by a desire to gain glory: his brief sojourn was sufficient *et ad laudem et ad utilitatem*, which certainly must have been directed against the grandiose claims of Pompey having replicated the deeds of Alexander in his Eastern campaign.<sup>233</sup> *Gloria* was defined by Cicero as the recognition and praise that the *populus Romanus* bestowed upon an individual on account of his deeds in the service of the Republic.<sup>234</sup> Incidentally, Cicero also testifies to the reception of Caesar's British expeditions among his Roman contemporaries. Responding to a letter from his brother Quintus, Marcus

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<sup>230</sup> From Caes. *BGall.* 6.21.4f., this motif was lifted to Mela 3.26: *nudi agunt antequam puberes sint, et longissima apud eos pueritia est*. The notion of a prolonged pre-puberty may depend on the climatic template ([Hippoc.] *Aer.* 22; Arist. *Gen. an.* 748A), and Tacitus' use of the same motif (*Germ.* 20) as a vehicle of cultural critique against the Roman contemporary society quite clearly represents a personal authorial vision conditioning *inventio* and allusion.

<sup>231</sup> Which has enabled some previous studies to again have recourse to Posidonius: cf. KREMER 1994, 306, 308. Indications of Strabo's attitude are such passages as 4.4.2 and 7.1.2, and their haziness has been noted on the level of ancient stereotypes since SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 7f., who remarked that even such difference between the two groups as are noted by Strabo, are implied to derive from the Roman conquest of the Gaul. On the other hand, as noted by DEMOUGEOT 1978, 911, the contemporary focus on the area between Rhine and Elbe (with the campaigns of Tiberius and Germanicus), helped Strabo to follow Caesar in treating the Cimbri as 'Germanic'.

<sup>232</sup> BURNS 2003, 134 notes in passing that Ariovistus' career itself, among the supposedly egalitarian Germani, casts light upon the internal structures of Caesar's composition: in this case his primitivizing of the Germani.

<sup>233</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 4.19.4. Cf. ADCOCK 1937; BERTRAND 1997, 116. This aspect of Caesar's competitive conquering is well treated by KREBS 2006, 127-32; cf. also HALL 1998, 29; SCHADEE 2008, 164 n. 27.

<sup>234</sup> Cic. *Off.* 2.9.31. See the discussion in LIND 1979, 16-19, 57f.



appears to combine genuine enthusiasm with adulation.<sup>235</sup> The increased drive to epistemically locate the British through aetiology in the era of Parthenius' *Narrationes* has been noted above (p. 81f.); this may also account in part for the resurgence of Pytheas as a cited source author.

The two expeditions into Britain, nowadays often described as among the least impressive feats of his career, affected Caesar's contemporaries strongly.<sup>236</sup> Caesar knowingly portrayed his British expeditions as the first conquest of a previously unknown land.<sup>237</sup> He had recourse in his 'British ethnography' to a variety of traditional topoi; as we shall see, he himself also created a number of new ones, as well as establishing a formidable *exemplum*.<sup>238</sup> In terms of actual ethnography, Caesar may have been rather relieved to know that the fact of crossing the Channel and thus technically landing in a country 'beyond the Ocean', was much more important to his audience than providing new information about the inhabitants of the land.<sup>239</sup> No wonder, then, that the associated sections of *Bellum Gallicum* contain only little new material, and that Caesar glosses the habits of the southern Britons as similar to those of the Gauls (5.12, 14). Religion is not discussed. The moralizing-idealizing trope that the northerners—specifically the autochthonous inhabitants of the British interior—held their women in common was not a new one, and it is difficult to say whether the incidental detail of not eating hare, chicken or duck (possibly meant to appear as a religious taboo) is anything more than an invented detail, so as to supply at least something about the lifestyle of the inhabitants.<sup>240</sup> The motif of the endless multitude of barbarians (*hominum est infinita multitudo*,

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<sup>235</sup> Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2.16.4. STEWART 1995, 5, in connection with Cic. *Fam.* 7.6.2, observes how occasionally characterizations of foreigners enter into the written discourse with surprising swiftness. The correspondence of Cicerones exemplifies one route for new intriguing snippets about the recently encountered peoples to pass to the urban intelligentsia, and for the members of the intelligentsia to 'suggestively interview' their (Roman) informants in the field, using time-honoured tropes in their displays of erudition and possibly influencing the angle of view for further observations.

<sup>236</sup> About the modern assessment: CREIGHTON 2006, 3, 19.

<sup>237</sup> Generally, ADCOCK 1956, 98; on Britain, ROMM 1992, 12-20, 137-42; KREBS 2006, 117f.; STEWART 1995, 3, 5 about Caesar's emphasis on the foreignness of the British; also BERTRAND 1997, 115. To an extent, Caesar had begun introducing the maritime ethnographic novelties already in Book 3, with his operations against the north-western Gauls with a mode of life tied to the Ocean: for more see SCHADEE 2008, 165ff., and on Britain, 171-75.

<sup>238</sup> Previous topoi: STEWART 1995, 3. For the use of Caesar's British *exemplum*: below p. 261-67, 292. EVANS 2005, 109f. notes that despite the Caesarian *exemplum* and the Claudian conquest, Britain remained strongly associated with the Ocean, which in turn remained an element somewhat incompatible with the idea of *imperium*.

<sup>239</sup> KREBS 2006, 113-19 on Caesar mastering the northern geography through both movement and information (cf. the slowness afflicting him in Germania: 124-27). On Britain's glory-bringing insularity, GÜNNEWIG 1998, 258-61, though it seems that *ead.* 263 needlessly underplays the symbolic equation between the Channel (or the Ocean) and Britain (but cf. ROMM 1992, 140-9 on the North Sea partly usurping the symbolism of the Channel). In the Alexander-tradition, the 'cognitive dominion' over the east depended from the joint authority of Alexander and Aristotle (ROMM 1992, 107f.), but in the west Caesar could pose as both the philosopher and the conqueror, with his mention of Eratosthenes as the briefest possible nod at his ethnogeographic predecessors.

<sup>240</sup> GÜNNEWIG 1998, 277 on the topicality of the motif of polygyny (cf. HOFENEDER 2005, 181f., and 179f. on the taboo animals, treating this largely as a genuine reflection of reality). For the commonplace contents and generic nature of Caesar's description of the Britons, STEWART 1995, 1-6; SCHADEE 2008, 174f. The overall tenor of Caesar's few 'ethnographic' remarks on Britain is unmistakably Herodotean, with the motif of polygyny, in

5.12), traditional in the case of northerners, is referred to, probably to display Caesar's wisdom in not getting bogged down in such a land.

While the Gallic War is not covered in Livy's extant books, it has been noted that his *Periochae* point to an enthusiastic and epic portrayal of Caesar's raids to Britain and Germania.<sup>241</sup> Livy's view is understandable in the context of his time of writing. Predictably, the places whence Augustus' adoptive father had derived part of his martial glory are occasionally used to boost the record of Divi Filius, the *maximus princeps*.<sup>242</sup> In the fourteenth poem of Horace's fourth book of *Odes*, Augustus is portrayed as the force behind the successes of Drusus, whether they take place in the Alps or "among the Sugambri delighting in slaughter". And while the name of Britain is brought into play as one of the furthest corners of the earth, along with the *tellus durae Hiberiae* and the Nile of uncertain origins, it is actually the *beluosus Oceanus*, beating the shores of the remote island, that is described as honouring the *princeps*.<sup>243</sup> Throughout the Later Republic and Augustan period, Britain remained the western or northern edge of the known world, often paired with a chosen eastern equivalent; we will see that even after its Claudian conquest this tendency stayed vigorous.<sup>244</sup>

Thus, although Caesar wrote only little about the Germans' religiosity, and almost nothing about that of the Britons, his contribution was crucial in priming the Roman perception of these northern groups in order to apply a pre-existing assemblage of images to them. He did not on the whole make use of the cavalcade of idealizing motifs which would have been available to him; but this is quite understandable in the light of his aims and general tone. In the case of Germanic religion, the pseudo-ethnographic elements are meant to underline the threat and danger the Germans pose to Rome and Gaul, while in the case of the Britons the few points with perceptible moral implications act mostly as symbols of primitivism.

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particular, a possible borrowing from the Σκυθικός λόγος; Nic. Dam. F 123 *ap. Stob. Flor.* 5.73 would at least attest to a continuing application of the motif of sexual communitarianism to the northern communities, only a short time after Caesar. THOMAS 1982, 51-5 demonstrates Herodotus' enduring influence via examples. For the Herodotean (and Hippocratic) projections of sexual transgression among the northerners, see CHIASSON 2001.

<sup>241</sup> ZECCHINI 1978, 113, 116.

<sup>242</sup> For the Late Republican collusion between service to the state and acquisition of *gloria*: LIND 1979, 16-19 (though this is based largely upon Cicero, who certainly embodied the 'moral conservatism' of the age); that some continuity with the motivation towards *gloria* is to be expected: 57-8.

<sup>243</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.12, 51-2 on the Sugambri, 47f. on the *beluosus Oceanus*. See STEWART 1995, 6f. with the point of Augustus' (stated) imminent invasion of Britain acting as a powerful symbol and statement of Roman unity; CREIGHTON 2006, 3 remarks that while technically outside the realm proper, the relations between 'free' Britain and the Julian dynasty were nonetheless close and constant (details in *ibid.* 19-31).

<sup>244</sup> The pairings would include Prop. 2.27.5; Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.45, *Epod.* 7.7.7-10; Verg. *Georg.* 3.25 pairing it with Parthia; Lucr. 6.1106f.; Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.45 with Egypt; Cic. *Nat. D.* 88; Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.15, 3.4.29-36; Ov. *Am.* 2.16.39 with Scythia; Catull. 45.21 with Syria; and Hor. *Carm.* 1.21.15, 3.5.3f. with Persia. For the poetic motif, see STEWART 1995, 4f.; on the use of ethnographic commonplaces and ethnonyms in Roman poetry THOMAS 1982.

### 3. TRANSFERRING BARBARISM: GAUL AND GERMANIA DURING THE HIGH EMPIRE

#### a. THE RHINE FRONTIER: GERMANIA AS *ALTER ORBIS*

Caesar nowhere implies that his choice of the Rhine as the natural border between Gaul and Germania was essentially a Roman (i.e. his own) creation; on the contrary, he found it expedient to portray even the Germans themselves as conceiving of the river as the limit of Roman influence.<sup>245</sup> While it has been noted that in real-life cultural geography, areas are more naturally linked than separated by rivers, for Greek and Roman geo- and ethnographers rivers constitute one of the favourite means of defining areas of land.<sup>246</sup> While Greek writers continued to demonstrate the tendentiousness of an ethnic division along the Rhine between the Gauls and the Germans, the river nonetheless did constitute a convenient boundary between the Roman state and a land that did not belong to the realm. To write an ethnography of the free barbarians beyond the border would probably have been different for most Roman authors from providing an account of a population group who had become Roman provincials. Partly through the purposeful creation of Caesar, partly through the cumulative associative accretion of the geography of a non-Roman land with the character of its inhabitants, the free *Germania* increasingly took on the trappings of an *alter orbis* in the thinking of the Early and High Imperial era.

The geography of Germania, separated from the Roman *orbis* already by Caesar, is portrayed during the Early and High Imperial Period in starkly alienating tones. Tacitus is perhaps giving voice to a widespread feeling when he notes at the beginning of the *Germania* that the Germans are likely to be indigenous to their land; why else would they call such a sordid homeland their *patria*?<sup>247</sup> Moreover, its borders set it firmly apart from the easily

<sup>245</sup> Caes *B Gall.* 4.16.3f. Cf. WELLS 1995, 606 and n. 10.

<sup>246</sup> Rivers as natural links: WELLS 1995, 609. Nonetheless, Strabo's usage is rather typical: for him, natural features such as rivers are the primary elements of division: POTHECARY 2005, 177. Regarding Rhine as a marker of a border in theory and practice: ELTON 1996, 128ff.; TALBERT 2010, 262f. observes that the lack of mentions of shorelines, rivers and mountains in the Roman *itineraria* means most likely that this kind of spatial awareness was taken for granted, not that Romans could not think along such lines (*contra* JANNI 1984).

<sup>247</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 2.1 *quis porro—praeter periculum horridi et ignoti maris—Asia aut Africa aut Italia relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit?* This preoccupation with the possible miscegenation of the northern groups was not as trivial as it would seem to a modern sensibility: even as late as the fifth century, Agathias (*Hist.* 1.6.3) preserves a fragment of Asinius Quadratus mentioning the Alamanni as *ξύγκλυδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ μιγάδες*. On the situation in Later Empire, and particularly the ambiguous identity of Alamanni and Franci as 'formerly *Germani*', see CHASTAGNOL 1984, 99-101. The question of whether the perception of a continuity between Tacitean *Germani* and later peoples from around the same area was widely

habitable world: the Ocean itself, which otherwise might have carried colonists from abroad, is downright hostile (2.1: *utque si dixerim adversus Oceanus*), and the inhabitants of Germania are famously divided from their Sarmatian and Dacian neighbours by *mutuus metus* (1.1). The land as a whole is *aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda*; together with Horace's *Germania quos horrida parturit fetus*, this gave birth to a monstrous spawn.<sup>248</sup> Such tremendous adversaries seemed worthy of a triumph: even minor Roman successes over the Germans are extolled with an enthusiasm that is quite similar to the sentiments attached to earlier generals scoring victories over Gauls.<sup>249</sup> In this section, we explore the effect of the perceived hostility of landscape on the portrayal of German religiosity in Early and High Imperial writing.

The idea of an elemental (in more sense than one) relationship between the crude, gigantic Germans and their cruel, savage homeland is taken up by several authors throughout the Imperial period. In this they were following to large extent the earlier Greek authors influenced by climatic determinism (cf. fn. 229 above). Florus, writing around the same time as Tacitus, describes with his rhetorical flair how the peace enforced upon the Germans by Drusus seemed to crucially change the inhabitants of Germania and even the lay of the land and the climate itself.<sup>250</sup> The northern lands and its (free) inhabitants are implied to share such an elemental bond that at least poetically speaking a change in the Germans' most fundamental cultural trait (their perpetual warfare) will result in a change in the natural world. TRZASKA-RICHTER plausibly regards this as a means to glorify Drusus' achievement: indeed, this change in nature effected by peace resembles the Vergilian *laudes* to Augustus and Italy.<sup>251</sup> In the pseudo-Quintilianic *Major Declamations* the invasion of the Cimbri—in this instance conforming to their Caesarian 'German' origin—is introduced with an impressive topical sequence, another telling example of the rhetorical linking of the northern climate and its

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shared among Late Imperial writers is a difficult one: GOFFART 2006, 5; POHL 2002, 226f. (as an ethnogenesisist's answer to a critical study); the archaism of the ethnonym is to some extent demonstrated by the Republican connotations of the victory title *Germanicus* to the Late Imperial panegyricists: MCCORMICK 1986, 66, 113f. In any case, the cultural characteristics used in their descriptions are certainly similar and wholly traditional, as noted by WELLS 2011, 215. In the case of Tacitus, one might draw parallels to his speculation about the origins of the Britons (*Agr.* 11), harking back to Caesar's *BGall.* 5.12 about the autochthony of Britons in the island's interior.

<sup>248</sup>Tac. *Germ.* 5.1. Hor. *Carm.* 4.5.26. In Pliny, too, the 'confusion and instability' of the north applies both to its nature and its inhabitants: MURPHY 2004, 183f.

<sup>249</sup>The frequent triumphs celebrated over Germans without accomplishing a final victory led to Tacitus' ironic *Germ.* 37 *tam diu Germania vincitur*. That there was certain rhetorical inevitability (especially in the wake of Caesar's contribution) in making the comparison between Gauls and Germans is noted by EVANS 2008, 157. ISAAC 2004, 427 notes the similarity of Germans to Gauls in some descriptions, but does not really explore the epistemic continuum or the haziness of the northern iconosphere that enabled this.

<sup>250</sup>Flor. 2.30.27: *ea denique in Germania pax erat, ut mutati homines, alia terra, caelum ipsum mitius moliusque solito videretur*.

<sup>251</sup>TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 141. Much later, the originally Caesarian motif of 'opening the Hercynian forest', which Florus (or Livy?) used in connection with Drusus, is put into encomiastic use by Claudian, who envisions how it is possible to safely hunt *Hercyniae per vasta silentia silvae*, with the following motif of Roman axes taken to the numinous oaks and *lucos vetusta religione truces* is a rather obvious allusion to Lucan (*Claud. Cons. Stil.* 1.128-31; cf. *Luc.* 3.399-406, 432-45). See PASCHOUD 1967, 165; LEIGH 2010, 228-34.

people. Not only do the barbarian invaders stem from the *ultimo litore oceani* in a fashion used since the Celtic attack on Delphi, conforming to the trope of inundation; they also live amidst frozen wastes and bear more similarity to the beasts of those lands than to human beings.<sup>252</sup>

A telling indication of the stability of Germanic (or rather, the wider 'borealist') iconosphere is that barely any change is demonstrable following the *clades Variana*.<sup>253</sup> Later, to be sure, the *exemplum* of the Varian disaster appears to have influenced both Tacitus and Cassius Dio in their description of the Boudiccan revolt in Britain.<sup>254</sup> Among contemporaries, on the other hand, some authors who might be expected to at least mention it are entirely silent, such as Strabo, possibly mindful of the official Imperial stance.<sup>255</sup> By the Flavian dynasty, however, the immediate shame of the defeat had probably been slightly alleviated, and the absence of Roman expansion (or its meagre results during Domitian's reign) would have necessitated an array of explanations for the state of affairs.<sup>256</sup> Flavius Josephus, writing about unrest in the West in 68-9, portrays this unrest as originating with the Germans, driven to rebellion by their very nature, and spreading to the Γαλάται.<sup>257</sup> A further reason given by Josephus may refer to contemporary Roman notions, which surface much more clearly in Tacitus: the Germans are said to have been emboldened by the understanding that every part of the habitable earth under Roman rule was in turmoil.<sup>258</sup> Both earlier and later contemporaries of Josephus would have easily concurred with his topical description of German character. According to Pomponius Mela, whose brief Germanic ethnography well represents the epistemic basis upon which Tacitus slightly later constructed his more nuanced presentation, the inhabitants of Germania are *immanes* [...] *animis atque corporibus*: they represent a climatically conditioned, consciously hardened warrior ideal.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> [Quint.] *Decl. Maior.* 3.4.5: *interim ex ultimo litore oceani et dirempta frigoribus plaga gens a rerum natura bene relegata, stolidi viribus, indomita feritate, insolens successu, nec minus animorum immanitate quam corporum beluis suis proxima, Italiam inundavit*; cf. Cic. *Prov. cons.* 32, later Amm. 31.8.5 (*ut amnis immani pulsu undarum obicibus ruptis emissus*, interpreted by WIEDEMANN 1986, 197 as attempt to bring epic flavour into the Gothic invasion—which is not incompatible with the whole topicality of the simile).

<sup>253</sup> GÜNNEWIG 1998, 80. If any theme acquired more prominence, it was the motif of Germanic treachery (cf. TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 239) in a way that resembles the highlighting of Gallic fickleness by Caesar.

<sup>254</sup> STANDING 2005, 374.

<sup>255</sup> THOLLARD 1987, 51-4, with all the vague allusions that Strabo allows himself.

<sup>256</sup> On the other hand, Domitian's posturing as a victor over the Germans (RIVES 1999, 281f.) was deemed as unmerited, and may have contributed to the resentment against him: Tac. *Germ.* 37.5 *proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt*; cf. also Tac. *Agr.* 39; Plin. *Pan.* 16, and possibly Cass. Dio 67.4.1.

<sup>257</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 7.76: the Germans are devoid of sound reasoning (ἡ φύσις οὔσα λογισμῶν ἔρημος ἀγαθῶν), and prone to hurling themselves foolhardily after any small hope (μετὰ μικρᾶς ἐλπίδος ἐτοιμῶς ῥινοκίνδυνος).

<sup>258</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 7.79; Tac. *Hist.* 4.12, 14.

<sup>259</sup> Mela 3.26: *ad insitam feritatem vaste utraque exercerent, bellando animos, corpora adsuetudine laborum, maxime frigoribus*. The principle is succinctly put in Flor. 1.37 *atrox caelum, perinde ingenia*, aptly at the outset of his section about the war against Allobroges; the other classic passage is Vitruvius 6.1.9-11. See EVANS 2008, 24-30.

Tacitus' *Germania* has been exhaustively used and studied since its rediscovery at Hersfeld in 1455, and its reception has taken many forms both harmless and sinister. Although the 'dangerousness' of the work stems largely from sentiments and aspirations projected onto it in search of concrete evidence concerning the earliest 'Germans', its extensive dependence on the ethnographic and other narrative commonplaces of the time of its creation has been increasingly recognized.<sup>260</sup> What should be borne in mind is that *Germania* was among Tacitus' earlier works (*ca.* 97); though exhibiting a confident and even provocative authorial strategy, there is no reason to expect it to fit seamlessly into the rather different generic demands of the *Annales* and *Historiae*. The design of the work is nonetheless highly purposeful—though soberly assessed, Tacitus did not contribute much that was new to the description of the *Germani*, and he certainly did not have occasion for autopsy.<sup>261</sup> O'GORMAN has noted the recurring theme of hearing and speaking in the *Germania* (1993, 142-3), which carries more weight throughout the Tacitean text than that of seeing. This may well have something to do with the conventions of writing about the borders of the οἰκουμένη: no-one expected an ethnographer (or for that matter a historian) to have been able to verify things in the ἔσχατιαί with his own eyes.<sup>262</sup> In the *Germania* the true ἔσχατιαί are the lands of the Fenni, Hellusii and Oxiones, but something in the Tacitean way of 'narrating the Germans' harks back strongly to Herodotus himself. Questions of religion that get a mention are introduced in a rather similar register as the curiosities in the Σκυθικὸς λόγος—and some ethnographical motifs in Tacitus are wholly traditional in nature—and thus should perhaps be regarded as 'pseudo'-ethnographic. Like Herodotus' Scythians who exhibit traits tying them to the land and climate of the north, Tacitus' Germans cannot be separated from their land.

The very opening of *Germania*, though otherwise relatively conventional for an ethnographical text in its description of geographical borders, introduces a surprising delineating factor, a 'mutual fear' between the Germans and the Sarmatians and Dacians, and hence immediately brings in a political element.<sup>263</sup> Moreover, this *mutuus metus* is a clear

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<sup>260</sup> MOMIGLIANO 1966, 112f.; examined more recently by KREBS 2009 and 2011. A case study for Beatus Rhenanus' use of *Germania* is HIRSTEIN 1995; notable is the obviously political motivation behind Rhenanus' recurring idea of *Germania Vetus* (*ibid.* 171ff., 214). LUND 1991, 1951-4; also a short and well-referenced contribution by DEVILLERS 1989, esp. 846 about non-Caesarian sources to *Germania*.

<sup>261</sup> SYME 1958, I 127f. on sobriety. WOODMAN 1979, 150 points out that some of Tacitus' detailed descriptions of Romano-Germanic encounters cannot plausibly be derived from anything more concrete than his own previous literary constructions: the example of *Ann.* 1.64.1ff. vs. *Hist.* 5.14.2-15.2 is telling (see *ibid.* 1979, 149ff.).

<sup>262</sup> MARINCOLA 1997, 82 (about the need to balance marvels with authorial credibility), 84 (in connection with Posidonius, but in no way uniquely to him). Cf. ROMM 1992, 46f., with several ethnographic themes of the geographic tradition that still crop up in Tacitus' treatment of the furthest inhabitants of the 'Germania'.

<sup>263</sup> HIRSTEIN 1995, 168, 170.

reference to the traditional characteristic of northern peoples, their ability to instil fear.<sup>264</sup> That Tacitus adopted as his basic template the Caesarian division of Gaul and Germania along the Rhine is quite securely attested, just as he has used Caesar according to his own admission, as *summus auctororum*.<sup>265</sup> Reinforcing his view of the Germanic lack of intermixture with other peoples, Tacitus notes that while the *Germani* are numerous, they all exhibit a similar physique—a repetition in a more restricted ethnographical context of the iconosphere of a generic northern nature.<sup>266</sup> They have piercing blue eyes and ruddy hair; they also have large bodies suited to sudden action, although at the same time they are loath to endure exertion. As befits the topos, they tolerate heat and thirst badly, but are accustomed to cold and hunger.<sup>267</sup>

These hardened northerners continued to exhibit hardened morals. The motif of newborn barbarian children being dipped in a cold river turned out to be frequently cited well into the Christian period, and shows ambiguous but enduring connections with the discourse on northern barbarian morality and even religiosity. From its origins in Aristotle's discourse on Celtic *mores* (p. 45f.), by the late Republican or early Imperial era the motif had begun to be applied to other northern groups, probably under the influence of Caes. *BGall.* 4.1.10 on Germans hardening themselves by bathing in cold rivers. If the account in *Paradoxographus Vaticanus* derives from the wonder-writer Isigonus of Nicaea (first century, either BCE or CE), we have an attestation of the motif having acquired its connection with the Germans and the Rhine by this period, as well as the connection to judging the legitimacy of offspring.<sup>268</sup> This information is subsequently found in Galen, who is more likely indebted for it to the

<sup>264</sup> The passages relevant to this motif, which should be regarded as a genuine topos, are too numerous to cover here, but include: Cic. *Att.* 1.19.2, 2.1.11, *Prov. cons.* 33; Livy 38.17.3 (Manlius Vulso on Gallo-Graeci); and even as late as *Anth. Lat.* II 1414.15-20 (FIEBIGER & SCHMIDT 1917-44, 118f. n. 244). BELLEN 1985 should be consulted as a concerted discussion, although GRUEN (2011A, 147 and fn. 45) remains unconvinced about the power of this imagery as a discriminatory motif. To be sure, a simply 'Gallic *metus*' can be discounted as a genuine emotion from Imperial sources, but there certainly existed a *metus septentrionalium gentium*, which should be seen as an extension of the 'Gallic fear': as noted by ISAAC 2004, 425, the Roman prejudice against the Gauls was a particular case when compared to other foreign group of the same period, as well as being notably constant. Such an attitude is easily seen influencing other groups by way of transference. Additionally Tacitus may be implying that Domitian was likewise affected by the *metus* of the Germans, or even explaining by the later *tam diu Germania vincitur* (*Germ.* 37). A lovely mix between the Caesarian ethnography of the Gauls and the traditional ideas of generalized northern beliefs can be found in App. *Celt.* 4 on Caesar's victory over Ariovistus: the Γερμανοί are the most numerous and bravest of all peoples, free from the fear of death because of their belief in an afterlife.

<sup>265</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 1.1, 28.1 (*summus auctororum*), 29.4. Cf. CHASTAGNOL 1984, 97; DEVILLERS 1989.

<sup>266</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 4.3: *unde habitus quoque corporum, tamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus.*

<sup>267</sup> Tac. *loc. cit.*; cf. Amm. 15.12.1 on Gauls. For climatic explanations of northern characteristics, e.g. p. 46, 169.

<sup>268</sup> *Rerum naturalium scriptores Graeci minores* (KELLER 1877) I 108 n. 18; *Paradoxographorum graecorum reliquiae* (GIANNINI 1966) 337 n. 17 (does not imply any derivation from Isigonus). *Par. Vat.* 18 GIANNINI (17 ROHDE): καὶ παρὰ Γερμανοῖς ὁ Πῆνος ἐλέγχει· ἐμβληθὲν γὰρ τὸ παιδίον, εἰ μὲν μοιχευθείσης ἐστί, θνήσκει, εἰ δ' οὖν, ζῆ. Considering the almost wholly Greek reception of this motif, it seems in any case likely that its invigoration must post-date the Greek renditions of Caesar's narratives of the Gallic war: at least it seems secure that Plut. *Caes.* 19.8 about Germanic female soothsayers taking omens from the flow of the rivers influenced Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15.72, and the currency of this element would probably have made it easier for the idea of 'river adjudicates'—trope to take root among Greek writers.

Peripatetics than to the paradoxographers. Indeed, he seems much more interested in the climatic aspect of the tradition than in the motif of determining the child's legitimacy.<sup>269</sup> Later yet, the same information is repeated with minor variations by many pagan and Christian authors, who seem to be most interested in the arbitration of the river. Whether the custom is attributed to Celts or to Germans still varies, nor is the river always named.<sup>270</sup> It may be that the idea appealed to Christian writers because it seemingly provided a 'barbarized' version of the baptismal rite. While this motif is moralizing in tone and is occasionally used as an ostensibly ethnographical element with some religious colouring, it maintained the air of a curious snippet and never truly entered the package of High Imperial religious ethnography concerning the northerners.

#### b. DEPICTING THE GERMANS' RELATIONSHIP TO RELIGION

In Velleius Paterculus' second book of imperial propagandistic history, an incident from the years of Tiberius' German campaigns is narrated with what seems a patently rhetorical appropriation of the Germans' religious sentiments for the furthering of the emperor's glory. While encamped on the bank of the Elbe with the rest of the Roman army, confronted by a host of Germani on the other bank (who are described as unnerved by the presence of the Roman navy, freshly arrived from the North Sea), Velleius says he witnessed

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<sup>269</sup> Gal. *San. tu.* 1.10.

<sup>270</sup> Julian speaks of Celts (*Or.* 2.81D: Celts only, with river unnamed; but [Julian.] *Ep. spur.* 191 *Maximo phil.* names both), Gregory of Nazianzus (*Carm. mor.* 29 *Adv. mul. se nimis ornantes* 221) versifies both Rhine and the Celts into his line, while his scholiast, Cosmas the Melodist, elaborates on the matter, but with very little added substance (*PG* 37 c. 900); cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm. quae spect. ad al. Nicobuli filii ad patre* 141-3 (*PG* 37 c. 1516) and Cosmas *ad loc.*; Libanius (*Or.* 12.48) lists crossing the Rhine as among the heroic deeds of Julian, and cannot resist dropping this morsel of information to go with it, particularly as the recipient of the speech had already used it in a speech of his own (cf. Lib. *Progymn.* 2.37 *Περὶ Ῥήνου*); Nonn. *Dion.* 23.89-96 (where 'Ῥήνος is confusingly Ῥήνος; but cf. Eust. *In Dionys. Per.* 281), 46.54-7; last pagan attestations come from Pamprepicus of Panopolis *Paneg. ad Theagenem* F 4.10 *PAGE ap. P. Vindob.* 29788A-C concerning Germans, and more circumstantially from the Neoplatonist Priscian. Lyd. *Solutiones ad Chosr.* 72.2-12 *BYWATER*; furthermore the whole motif is found in Elias *In Arist. Categ. prooem.* 125, 128 with Celts and Rhine (interestingly, discussing this in close connection with the Pythagorean notions on dreams); Theoph. Simoc. *Ep.* 10, again with Celts, though the name of Rhine is omitted; Georg. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* 1.39-41 (put into context by CAMERON 1970B, 315); and Michael Acominatus *Ep. ad Nicolaum Caloducam* 115. Something resembling a parallel of this theme (using instead the motif of virginity) in the connection with the 'Celtic river Rhine' can be found in Eustathius Macrembolites' *De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus* 8.7.1-6 *MARKOVICH* 97f.), where the locale is named Ἀρτύκωμις and connected with worship of Artemis. On Artemis as a divinity well-suited for romantic plots: HÄGG 1983, 27 with the well-known example of Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*; WHITMARSH 2011, 110 (regarding Heliodorus' *Aethiopia*). If the interpretation of *Schol. in Eur. Phoen.* 347 by MÜLLER 1963, 117 is valid, Eustathius might testify to a Late Antiquity belief about Celts having the custom of some sort of a bridal bath; however, Simyl. *ap. Plut. Rom.* 17.7 is unlikely to be related. Possibly connected with this sort of information is the comment of Plutarch in his biography of Caesar that the Germans foretell the future by observing the eddies of rivers, as well as their noise (*Plut. Caes.* 19.8).



an old barbarian, of noble lineage and tall stature, crossing the river with a petition to be granted to lay his eyes upon the emperor. Having taken in the spectacle of the imperial personage the old man is reported to have proclaimed that the German youth must be mad not to trust to the clemency of the man they worshipped from afar as divine; but that he himself had now, on the happiest day of his life, witnessed personally the gods he had only heard of.<sup>271</sup> Then the old noble departs, gazing back upon the emperor until he steps onto the opposite bank. The whole setting seems extremely theatrical; if it has any basis in reality, it was almost certainly set up beforehand to gain some notional authority over the groups on the further side of the Elbe.<sup>272</sup> The Germans are portrayed as prone to look upon the glory of Rome as towards the gods themselves, the more insightful groups in their society being quite ready to dissociate themselves from the impetuous youth.

Essentially, Velleius chose to portray the Germans as ready to perceive the Romans in accordance with the latter's own self-perception, including the divinity of living imperial individuals. Crucial to many religion-based characterizations of foreign groups is an appropriated interpretative paradigm—which in the case of Celtic and Germanic religions has quite consistently been called by the Tacitean phrase *interpretatio Romana*.<sup>273</sup> The passage (*Germ.*

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<sup>271</sup> Vell. Pat. 2.107.1-2: *furit inventus, quae, cum vestrum numen absentium colat, praesentium potius arma metuit quam sequitur fidem. sed ego [...] quos ante audiebam, hodie vidi deos.* Imperial self-congratulation suffuses the passage without apparent irony.

<sup>272</sup> Moreover, Velleius finishes the passage in 2.107.3 with a sentence highlighting the symbolism of the preceding incident: Tiberius had been victorious over all the nations and countries that he chose to confront, and had safeguarded his army from injury though once attacked through deceit by the barbarians—hence his retreat to the winter quarters could on no account signify weakness, but the completion of the Germanic campaign. Regarding Velleius' general attitude towards the Germans, which have been noted to have no positive elements (SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 33; though note Vell. 2.108 on the allied king Maroboduus: *natione magis quam ratione barbarus*), it could be ventured that the superstitious awe of a Germanic elder towards the emperor partakes in the motifs of extreme simplicity and lack of culture among the northerners, as well as the comforting element of barbarians being liable to manipulation on account of their superstitiousness.

<sup>273</sup> The point of origin for much of the debate on *interpretatio Romana* is WISSOWA 1919, who located the dynamism firmly within Roman theoretical structures. The difficulties of *interpretatio* in its more popular application, that of providing information about Roman interaction with provincial religiosity, have been valuably discussed by WEBSTER 1995A, 1995B, 1997 and 2001. For a recent study see RIVES 2011, esp. 169-76, stressing that instead of two deities being equated, Tacitus is in fact talking of one *vis numinis* with two names. The orthodoxy generally encountered in much of Celtic studies (e.g. summed up in KOCH 2006, III 974f. *s.v.* 'Interpretatio romana', though noting the trap set for scholars by the concept leading the two religious systems seem potentially more similar to each other than was necessarily the case, and warning about possible similarities through cognate IE-structures) remains somewhat less reflective. A valuable admission of the semantic complexities involved with the *interpretatio* is ANDO 2005, who re-visits the Wissowan model to a great effect, for instance by distinguishing between the linguistic and theological aspects of what *interpretatio* could both accomplish in antiquity and is made to demonstrate in modern scholarship of Roman provincial religions (42). Moreover, to use the Tacitean term in the context of, say, Caesar's portrayal of the Gallic gods in *BGall.* 6.16 (as is done e.g. by KREMER 1994, 215 in order to highlight the—as such quite correct— notion of Caesar portraying the Gauls as potentially civilizable: see also CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 192) is wrought with difficulty, as Tacitus so clearly builds his own religious ethnography upon the Caesarian foundation. Besides, it is hard to say whether Tacitus had any non-literary motives for his case of '*interpretatio*'; one should not overlook the general tendency of some Imperial historians to avoid technical language and loan words (see an example in ANDO 2005, 43f., in this case in official diction) and, when the ethnographic register necessitated them to introduce foreign names or

43) in which the historian uses the expression is a typical specimen of this entirely predictable technique. Among the Naharvali, he writes, a grove dedicated to an ancient cult can be seen (*antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur*). It is presided over by a priest (*sacerdos*) in female garb (*muliebri ornatu*), although according to the Roman interpretation the gods worshipped in the grove are considered to be Castor and Pollux (*sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant*). In his elliptical style, Tacitus seems to be reinforcing this *interpretatio* by comparing the powers of the divinity of the grove to that of the Dioscuri even though the native name is different (*ea vis numini, nomen Alcis*).<sup>274</sup> There are no *simulacra* and no trace of a *peregrina superstitio*; the divinities are revered as brothers and youths (*ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur*).<sup>275</sup>

To say that this German cult exhibits *nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium* probably refers to any characteristics foreign to the Roman conception of the Dioscuri, but it could equally well be referring to a cult devoid of external influence, much as the Germani themselves are as a people.<sup>276</sup> In the case of the Tacitean passage, the subtext of the Dioscuri must be the 'what-is-known' of Imperial literati regarding the route of the Argonauts and other travelling heroes in the barbarian lands.<sup>277</sup> The motivation for the *interpretatio* could be

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terms, to anticipate them with preparatory elements such as *ut dicunt/appellant* (cf. CAMERON & CAMERON 1964, though mostly dealing with a later focus, e.g. 321).

<sup>274</sup> ANDO 2005, 43 (cf. 47) notes that in this point (the *vis numini*), Tacitus' use of the word *interpretatio* is related to the use of the term in Varro (*Ant. div.* F 225 with *interpretationes physicae/physiologicae* as allegorical identifications of divinities with forces of nature), and the current Greek-informed ideas about early religion. Along these lines, Tacitus' use within *Germania* could constitute a comment on the topical tendency of the Germani to worship gods without giving them human shapes (*Germ.* 9), taken up in a passage where a clearly *adventa* cult, that of the Isis among some Suebi, is described. RIVES 2011, 165f., sees Tacitus' *interpretatio* as an explicit reference to processes of 'translation', though this seems possibly too trusting (e.g. taking for granted that actual information stemming from the 'free Germania' stands behind Tacitus' passage: 167, 170 'a Latin-speaking traveller like our amber-merchant'); on Naharvali and Tacitus' hypothetical Greek source, *ibid.* 166-69.

<sup>275</sup> The usage of the word *simulacrum* may parallel the use of the word in the *Annales*, where two of the three occasions refer to the Jewish religion (in the *Historiae* the word is used, admittedly, of Roman cults as well); cf. next page, with notes. In any case, the use of *superstitio* in this instance seems to be in contrast to the unambiguously tarnishing use of the word about the beliefs of the Semnones in *Germ.* 39, and thus closer to the patronizing way Cicero used it (e.g. in SOLMSEN 1944, pointing out that *superstitio*, like *divinatio* and the whole of *religio* seems to have been a matter of expediency to Cicero) than the increasingly hostile view of the Imperial era (see MARTIN 2004, 130-35; cf. ISAAC 2004, 466 in connection with ethnic characterizations). On the reclassification of *superstitio* as a serious form of wrong religiosity, its possible connections with magic, and the consequent social stigma attached to it in the Imperial period: a nice but slightly dated summing-up in JANSSEN 1979, 134-46; through a sociological approach by VERSNEL 1991, 182ff.; NAGY 2002, part. 183-92 about suspicions of *coniurationes* in connection with communities joined by *superstitio*; several remarks about writing about *superstitio* as a generic element in the tradition of philosophical writing can be found in BOWDEN 2008.

<sup>276</sup> The layers of *interpretatio* get quite convoluted in this case. As ANDO 2005, 50 asks with good reason (without attempting an answer, which may be the wisest policy): 'foreign to whom?'. Yet even here, faced with a passage that has been actively interpreted and discussed, we are dealing with a piece of information that does find predecessors in the literary tradition. Diodorus (4.56.4) transmits information probably stemming from Timaeus (*BNJ* 566 F 85), to the effect that the Κελτοί living by the Ocean revere the Dioscuri on account of them having travelled (along with the Argonauts) through their country, claimed by Diodorus to be supported by local onomastics; see e.g. PEARSON 1987, 63.

<sup>277</sup> In addition to the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, a representative fragment of such traditions and their reception is Timaeus *BNJ* 566 F 85 *ap.* Diod. 4.56.4, itself quoted in an era with a need to bring the northern barbarians into the orbit of Greek and Roman mythogeography (as seen in other instances of Diodorus' work: p.

connected to the lack of aetiology in the section—which may highlight the fundamental similarity of these connective techniques for relating to the other. In this section of the *Germania*, Castor and Pollux are stranded in the middle of foreign ethnonyms and other names. Named heroes, such as Odysseus, who in the past had travelled in the area are worshipped in their Graeco-Roman guises; but since the wandering of the Argonauts is not explicitly mentioned by Tacitus but only implied in the choice of the verb *memorant*, the *interpretatio* statement becomes expedient. Thus the cult of Naharvali seems to be the narrative opposite of the imported cult of Isis among some of the Suevi (*Germ.* 9). Tacitus may have wanted to provide examples of both an *advecta religio* (in the case of Isis)—a cult that could reasonably be described as *peregrina* to both Romans and Germani—and later, in the case of Alcis, of an indigenous cult, upon which point he was adamant.<sup>278</sup>

While the Germans in Tacitus are not as a whole characterized by nefarious religious practices, and—remarkably—some of their cults are specifically devoid of ‘foreign superstition’ (as an approximate translation of the polyvalent *superstitio*), the Gauls in his historical works seem much more prone to substandard and dangerous religious feeling. In this, Tacitus’ treatment of a group within the realm as opposed to a group outside it may be compared to the way he represents the Jews. Indeed, both the Druids and the Jews appear in Tacitus as religiously suspect groups, working toward their own ends within what ought to be a unified Roman state.<sup>279</sup> While the Jews are quite clearly a religious outgroup, however, the Druids are more properly to be regarded as the carriers of nefarious religiosity within an outgroup which is not wholly defined by its religion.<sup>280</sup> Both groups, however, are subversive.

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142ff.). Both aetiology and *interpretatio* function through a combination of (cultural) translation or assimilation, but whereas an *interpretatio* subsumes the reduced ‘colonized’ element into the discourse of the colonizer (the view adopted by WEBSTER 1995B, 176-8), an aetiology reduces its referent into a cipher or symbol of cultural contact.

<sup>278</sup> On the Suebian Isis cult as *peregrina*, GRUEN 2011A, 176, though claiming that Tacitus is not looking here through Roman lenses; for the sake of his argument Gruen also reads positive evaluation into the *interpretatio* (175). Tacitus may have intended the *advecta religio* of Isis to provide perspective and commentary to his own favourite theory of Germans being largely indigenous (the Ocean, the main connector of Germania, is brought along by the symbolism of Isis’ *liburna*). A mirroring but augmentative function in relation to his later reference to the grove of the Alcis (*Germ.* 43) seems likely, as well, since Isis’ name is not qualified by expressions such as ‘*interpretatione*’. She was a foreign goddess, not linked to Germania by either aetiology or mythology.

<sup>279</sup> This may partly explain the fact which ASH 2006, 76 remarks upon: that it is not surprising how much space Tacitus devotes to the Jews, but how extensively he treats the Batavian revolt—which is the context for not only the devious former-auxiliary-turned-enemy Julius Civilis, but also the *superstitio* of the Druids’ pronouncements. SYME 1958, I 458 already anticipated the acknowledgement of this parallelism. For a specific study of religion and superstition in Tacitus’ era, see SCHEID 1985. The reading of Tacitus’ accounts by WEBSTER 1978, 86-7, and following him, ARBEL 2009, 102ff., treat the Jewish and British revolts as genuinely motivated by religion; more likely, both were simply portrayed by Tacitus as motivated by religion. The transformation of a *superstitio* into a *coniuratio*, a notion appearing first in the sources about the Bacchanalian affair, is examined by NAGY 2002, and seems relevant to Tacitus’ conception of both Jews and Druids; see MARTIN 2004, 130-35 for a good summation of the *superstitio* as something un-Roman.

<sup>280</sup> Essentially, this accords already with the portrayal of the Druids by Caesar. The danger associated with peripheral or marginal ritual agents (see VAN GENNEP 1960, 26-40) would have been easier to apply to Druids,

The Jews consider all the rest of mankind as their enemies, whereas the Druids chant doom to the Roman empire and whip up popular sentiment among the Gauls (*Hist.* 2.61, 4.54). In *Hist.* 5.3 the Jews are *genus hominum invisum deis*, along the lines of the stock expression applied by Cicero to the Gauls (*Font.* 30f.). The venerable age of the Jewish religion, according to the historian, is at least a redeeming quality, while he leaves the doctrine of the Druids remarkably blank—devoid of either positive or negative content. The implication is that his readers were familiar with the basics of what was commonly understood as the gist of druidic teaching.

The parallels between the religious ethnographies of Caesar's Gauls and Tacitus' Germans could not find a more fitting expression than the clear allusion with which Tacitus begins *Germania* 9. Caesar had marked his Gallic religious ethnography in *BGall.* 6.16f. with a formula harking back to the outset of his work: *natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus*, and after treating the overall manifestations of this preoccupation shifts to give an account of the divinities worshipped by the Gauls. It is this statement, *deorum maxime Mercurium colunt*, which Tacitus borrows wholesale for his own religious ethnography of the Germani.<sup>281</sup> The rest of Tacitus' passage is comparatively free of obvious Caesarian elements, although in subject matter the *certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent* is part of the received religious 'borealism'. Nor does the list of other important deities correspond exactly with Caesar: where Caesar lists Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva as the next most popular divinities among the Gauls, Tacitus writes that the Germans placate Hercules and Mars with animal sacrifices.<sup>282</sup> We may note that these divinities do not require a reference to *interpretatio*, as (unlike the Dioscuri) they had already been used in connection with northerners by Caesar.

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who were marginal both in social and geographic sense, than to the Jews as a whole people, however hostile their perceived relation to other populations. About the perception of Jewish religiosity see BRESLAUER 2002, 272; ISAAC 2004, 440-91, esp. 466-77 (with a corrective in GRUEN 2011A, 179-96 about Tacitus, though often over-optimistically arguing for ironical readings); moreover, GOODMAN 1989 notes that there were clearly non-religious reasons for the high 'entitativity'—not a word he uses, but from SCHNEIDER 2004,72—of the Jews in Imperial awareness exactly during Tacitus' time, 43f.; additionally, their usefulness (in comparison to Druids) was reflected in the edicts of Caesar, Augustus and Claudius confirming their privileges: GARNSEY 1984, 11. The contrast to the druidic policies of the latter two is telling.

<sup>281</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.16f.; Tac. *Germ.* 9. On the Caesarian verbal echoes in Tacitus' *Germania*, BELL 1995, e.g. 761f. The exact correspondence of the passages was noted e.g. by LE ROUX 1959, 320, who likewise noted that generally it has not been favourably regarded by the Germanicists (of her time and previously; cf. e.g. BUCHHOLZ 1968, 119f. with references to earlier scholarship)—this is no wonder, since it clearly points to the highly topical nature of this kind of northern religious ethnographies. A study of Caesar as Tacitus' source in *Germania*, with plentiful references to earlier scholarship, can be found in DEVILLERS 1989.

<sup>282</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.17. Hercules' association with the west was well established by now, and Tacitus even explicitly refers to Germans themselves as telling of his travels among them (*fuisse apud eos memorant*: 3.1)—though the context of this point (between the *celebrant carminibus antiquis* in *Germ.* 2 and the mention of Odysseus' possible sojourn in 3.3: *quidam opinantur*) would make it wise to regard the element as a created detail of pseudoethnography, not an anthropological testimony. Ares/Mars is particularly topical in connection with northern peoples ever since *Il.* 13.301 (on the Thracian origins of Ares) and in particular since Herodotus' Scythians (4.50, 59, 62), and went on to be an often invoked god with many northern groups: Claud. *Ruf.* 1.329f.;

In terms of septentriographic topoi, Tacitus was able to select from a large set of elements perceived as common to most northerners, although some of them were apparently not relevant to Caesar's account. The Germans, for instance, consider it unworthy of the divinities to think of them as residing within walls or resembling the human figure.<sup>283</sup> Tacitus further clarifies that the Germans consecrate groves and woods to the gods (*lucos ac nemora consecrant*) and consider the divine names to refer to that hidden aspect which can only be perceived through worship (*deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident*). In the *Gallic War*, Caesar wished to present Gallic religion in general as not so different from that of other nations, with *plurima simulacra* of Mercury and other gods whose portfolios were quite conventional. Thus he relegated the element of aniconic worship to the *Germani*, and accused the Druids of the more gruesome aspects of Gallic cults. Linked with the *Germani*, the motif could convey Caesar's desired message much more effectively. Tacitus, for his part, opted to follow Caesar when these pseudo-ethnographical elements were not incongruent with his larger aims, and to deviate from them when expedient.<sup>284</sup> On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the intervening years between Caesar and Tacitus, actual encounters would have led to an increased salience of certain traditional tropes. For instance, the common septentriographic topos of nefarious, primitive practices taking place in forest sanctuaries would be fuelled by the restoration of the legionary standards lost at the *clades Variana*, and descriptions of the rediscovery would have occasioned a portrayal of such *loci*.<sup>285</sup> Romans,

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Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 4.20; Procop. *Bell.* 6.15.13-16; Jord. *Get.* 5.40f. on Mars reputedly born among the Goths; *Lucani Comm. Bern. ad* 1.445, *Adnot. sup. Luc.* ENDT *ad* 1.445.

<sup>283</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 9: *ceterum nec cohíbere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur*.

<sup>284</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.17.1, 6.21f. The aims of Tacitus have been variously identified in the previous scholarship (to an extent summed up in LUND 1991, 1859-70, 1956-61; for a cautionary example of the old straightforward 'ethnographic' reading see BEARE 1964). A combination of motives seems most likely (but not necessarily in the order put by BURNS 2003, 181: ethnographic, didactic, and marginally historical; the historical aims are quite likely only minor, and cannot be dissociated from ethnography; and 'didactic' motivations should perhaps be renamed 'moralistic'). The interpretation of O'GORMAN 1993, with its skilled contextualization in Tacitus' social and moral opinions, helps to explain much by making *Germania* essentially a text about Rome; cf. also ASH 2006, 31-39. In any case, as noted by KREBS 2011B, 209, many of the differences between Caesar and Tacitus do not stem from ethnographical considerations, but from selecting a different set of stereotypes than his predecessor. The apparent 'development' of 'Germanic religion' between the accounts of Caesar and Tacitus was remarked upon in an utterly trusting way by THOMPSON 1965, 38: he reads the absence from Caesar of any mention of priests as reflecting their insignificance, which by the time of Tacitus had seen 'rapid growth'.

<sup>285</sup> So while it seems true that the *clades Variana* itself had no immediate effect on the image of the Germans (as in GÜNNEWIG 1995, 80), the defeat did take place during an era when some residual nervousness about Gaul and the north in general was probably quite current. Tac. *Ann.* 1.60 (the standard of the Nineteenth is simply found by the looting Romans, but in 1.61 the Romans search through the horrific landscape for the fallen, some of whose skulls are nailed to tree trunks; neighbouring groves contain *barbarae arae* upon which the more prominent captives had been sacrificed; the arrogance of Arminius in treating the standards and eagles is called to mind), 2.25 (another legionary eagle is found by Silius buried in a grove); Cass. Dio 60.8.7 (a simple statement of Gabinius retrieving the third eagle). A nuanced study of Tacitus' narrative on the finding of the standards has been presented by PAGÁN 1999, noting for instance the historian's toying with the possibility that Germanicus would be able to reverse the defeat and undo the *metus* and *invidia* of Augustus forbidding attempts to annex

both when trundling through the northern forests and when publishing back in the capital, were appropriating the right to determine what was involved, whether in the past, the present or the future, in their encounters with the physical aspects of northern religiosity.<sup>286</sup>

In *Germ.* 10 Tacitus proceeds to include other Germanic behaviour that may be connected to Roman perceptions of northerners' religiosity. The Germans are more dependent on *auspicia* and *sortes* than other peoples—which may be a weak echo of Caesar's Gauls *admodum dedita religionibus*, and possibly related to the auguries through which the Gauls in Livy and Trogus reached their new homelands (see p. 176 fn. 42). The following account of the *sacerdos* (in a public consultation) or the *paterfamilias* (if the occasion is a private one) lifting a piece of bough three times in a divinatory rite (*Germ.* 10.1-3) may reveal a further Caesarian element. In *Caes. BGall.* 1.53.5-7 the life of Gaius Valerius Procillus, held prisoner by Ariovistus, is saved when three lots are drawn regarding his fate: one signifying immediate death by fire, one to be kept in store for some future occasion, and one commanding him to be left uninjured.<sup>287</sup> A particularly susceptible motif is the Germanic *carmina antiqua*, which Germanicists have fixated upon, but which might better be understood as a reflection of the Roman belief in such an oral tradition in the transmission even of their own stories in the remote past.<sup>288</sup> Basically we are dealing with a Thucydidean perception of an ingroup's past enduring among contemporary outgroups.<sup>289</sup>

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Germania (303f): the theme of providentiality was eagerly affixed by Tacitus to the imperial figures who had not been tarnished by actually gaining power. PAGÁN 1999, 305f. moreover notes the echoes of Vergilian diction that permeate the episode in Tacitus forming open-ended signifiers, as well as the allusions to Livy and Tacitus' own *Historiae* (307); see also JOSEPH 2012, e.g. 1-9, 18-28, 129-44. WOODMAN 1979, 143-49 (cf. *ibid.* 1988, 168-79) demonstrated the extent to which Tacitus constructed *Ann.* 1.61f. as a self-allusive passage referring to Vitellius' survey of the battlefield at Bedriacum (*Hist.* 2.70); for which see JOSEPH 2012, 113-52, detailing the layers of allusion in the narrative of the battle(s).

<sup>286</sup> Yet, as is noted by COULSTON 2003, 409, the suicides of the Roman legionaries after the *clades Variana* in order to avoid being sacrificed to the gods of the Germani may be a variation of a literary topos. If so, it may testify that the northern legions in particular could be expected to get 'barbarized' in one way or the other.

<sup>287</sup> For the Procillus episode, see for instance SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 17; also BURNS 2003, 112ff., for instance noting that the Procillus-episode conforms well with Caesar's authorial needs to create a reliable 'eye-witness' that could have observed the Germanic female soothsayers, while at the same time being dramatically under the imminent threat of being sacrificed.

<sup>288</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 2.3. As for the Germanicists' reaction, the example provided by HAUCK 1964 should be enough (though some of the Renaissance enthusiasm is also described in KREBS 2011A, 139-45); though a reference should be made to MOMIGLIANO 1957, which demonstrates that the German scholars were particularly taken with the idea of the Roman *carmina antiqua*, as well—possibly in part because it bore structural resemblance to the basic paradigm of 'Volkskunde' of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (implied in MOMIGLIANO 1957, 108 fn. 26). Though it cannot be denied that Tacitus seems to have come up with two apparently 'Germanic' names for their legendary ancestors, Tuisto and Mannus (cf. discussion in LUND 1991, 1976-81), the passage itself is composed wholly along the established lines of ethnographic *origo*-narratives. Such accounts are also met in connection with other peoples (e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 17-19 on Africa; Str. 11.14 on Armenia; Cleodemus Malchus *ap.* Joseph. *AJ* 1.239-41 on Jews; BICKERMANN 1952 is still largely valid, but for a recent account see e.g. GRUEN 2011A, 253-76), and the accounts do occasionally incorporate figures of local aetiological or eponymic significance. Perhaps the best comparison to Tacitus is offered by Pliny's exposition of Africa and its early history (*HN* 5.1-30); see e.g. WOOLF

Just as the presence in Tacitus' works of Germanic priests and priestesses stands in contrast with the Caesarian insistence on the lack of ritual experts among the Germani, so do other *loci* within the Tacitean oeuvre reveal discrepancies within the construct of Germanic religiosity in *Germania*. Already before characterizing the Germanic cults as aniconic, Tacitus had perhaps inadvertently provided contrary remarks: as for instance in *Germ.* 7 where the Germans are said to carry with them into battle certain *effigies et signa* which have been brought from the sacred groves. In the *Annales*, there was clearly something to raze to the ground (*solo aequabantur*) in the sanctuary of Tamfana, which was *celeberrimum templum* among the Cherusci and Chatti.<sup>290</sup> Slightly later, in a well-known passage in the same work, Tacitus at least imagines barbarous altars (*barbarae arae*) upon which Roman victims had been slaughtered.<sup>291</sup> The highest, and perhaps the only major preoccupation for Tacitus and his age was to give a compelling, dramatic and plausible account of northern religion; this fit in with the *ad hoc* demands of the passage in question.<sup>292</sup>

The power of female religious figures among the northerners had been included as a rather consistent element in ethnographies of European barbarians since the Late Republic (e.g. the Cimbric priestesses of Strabo), probably continuing the earlier Hellenistic fascination with Celtic women.<sup>293</sup> Perhaps the most proverbial of these figures was Veleda, whom Tacitus

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2011A, 8-13. As demonstrated by ISAAC 2004, 137-42, the autochthony of the *Germani* was not perceived as such an unambiguously positive thing as that of, say, Athenians; moreover, he notes that Plutarch's admission as to the lack of any discernible origins to the Cimbri and Teutones (*Plut. Mar.* 11.3) is to an extent comparable with Tacitus' autochthony of the *Germani*.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. Thuc. 1.5f.; see p. 41 fn. 56. NIPPEL 2007, 38 on the theme 'present outgroups resemble ingroup's past'.

<sup>290</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.51.1. Symptomatic to the excessive trust that previous scholarly generations put into Tacitus is BEARE 1964, 71, attempting to explain the discrepancy away by the conjecture that Tacitus 'is influenced by Roman feeling'. RUTLEDGE 2007, 190f., too, treats this as a genuine case of Roman destruction of a sacred site.

<sup>291</sup> The vocal impressiveness of this repetitive culmination to Tacitus 'museum of calamity' is observed in WOODMAN 1988, 172, and further by PAGÁN 1999, 308, as well as the oxymoronic associations of religiosity on the other hand (*arae*) and the increasing barbarity as the Roman soldiers penetrate further into the forest. In addition to self-imitation (WOODMAN 1979), one may note the possible Lucanian verbal allusions.

<sup>292</sup> These dynamics in the oeuvre of Tacitus are elucidated by JOSEPH 2012, examining the 'epic' characteristics of certain sections of his histories and his elaborate manipulation of received *topoi* (*passim*).

<sup>293</sup> Power of women in northern societies was a trope at least since Hdt. 4.26 (Issedones); for the Hellenistic imagery of northern women, see above 79-84. There has been a tendency, however, within the Celtic studies to ignore the thaumasiographic titillation this element represented for the ancients, and interpret the literary references as testifying to a more prominent role of women in 'Celtic' societies: e.g. DILLON & CHADWICK 1967, 43; CUNLIFFE 1997, 109. RANKIN 1987, 245-58 demonstrates the circular argument arising from comparison between classical and Irish writings, all the while under the (classically informed) notion of 'Celtic societies' preserving a 'Homeric' relative freedom of women. BONFANTE 2011A, 16ff. still writes quite innocently about 'European barbarians' in general. A noteworthy instance in the later reception of the 'Germanic priestesses', via Plutarch (*Caes.* 19.8), is a reference in Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15.72, where the *παρὰ Γερμανοῖς αἱ ἱεραὶ καλούμεναι γυναικες* use the eddies of the rivers and the sound of fast-flowing water to make prognostications, and prevent their menfolk from engaging in battle before the new moon. This demonstrates well the dynamics through which much of the 'ethnographic' information was perpetuated: Clement is not writing ethnography, commenting upon women's roles, or even engaging in a rhetorical display with any crucial connection to the northerners: instead, he includes the detail in his array of established 'as-is-known' about philosophical studies among divergent peoples

calls a *virgo nationis Bructerae* holding sway over a large section of local society, and who according to the passage in question received gifts from Romans, as well.<sup>294</sup> Tacitus, not averse to ascribing certain *superstitiones* to the Germans, notes how the old custom of the *Germani* had grown to regard many women at first as soothsayers and later, *augescente superstitione*, as goddesses. The increase in Veleda's authority is said to have derived in part from her favourable proclamations concerning the Germans' cause and the demise of the Roman legions. No wonder the Romans wanted to court her. It may be noted that the description of Veleda's sway over the *Germani* is not far removed from the preceding description of the druidic predictions of Rome's imminent end (*Hist.* 4.54). Tacitus probably aimed at an overall effect of superstitious northerners being directed against Rome by religious manipulation, an element implicitly linked by Caesar to northerners. Unlike the less personified *Druidae*, a single figure like Veleda could eventually be captured and subjected to Roman triumphalism.<sup>295</sup>

The treatment of two sacral locales in Tacitus' *Germania* reveal particularly well the topical influences that such descriptions of religious ethnography had to take into account during the Imperial period. The stereotypes of a barbarized cultic space which had been recycled sometimes since Herodotus, and certainly since the Hellenistic ethnographies, form the most natural context for these passages. The first relates to the religiously backed claims of the Semnones to be the most ancient and noble branch of the Suebi (Tac. *Germ.* 39: *fides antiquitatis religione firmatur*). It is their custom to get assemble at preordained times *in silvam*

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in order to demonstrate that barbarians had invented philosophy before the Greeks, and that Jewish philosophy in particular was of greatest antiquity (cf. Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *Abst.* 2.26).

<sup>294</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 4.61.2. Veleda had already been noted by Tacitus in *Germania* 8 when he comments upon the sanctity and prescience that the *Germani* believe is inherent to the females: the reverence of Veleda as a living deity is talked about as a contemporary phenomenon, and further the historian remarks that several figures, such as Aurinia, had been held in such reverence in former times. The reverence as a divinity is implied (as in *Hist.* 4.61) to be a recent introduction: *venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas* (*Germ.* 8.3), in addition to its veiled criticism of the imperial cult (cf. DAVIES 2004, 177).

<sup>295</sup> Stat. 1.7.90: *captivaeque preces Veledae*. Veleda is also attested by a curious Greek epigram unearthed at Ardea (*AE* 1953, 25), which seems to make light of her prophetic abilities. Veleda, however, was far from the last of the northern prophetesses to have encounters with Rome: Cass. Dio 67.5.3 *ap. Suda s.v.* θειάζουσα mentions 'Masyos the king of Semnones' and Ganna (παρθένος ἦν μετὰ τὴν Οὐελήδαν ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ θειάζουσα) meeting with Domitian and receiving honours. Typically to Dio and other Greek historians, the priestess is said to operate in Κελτική; Domitian's reverence for Ganna, on the other hand, may have been meant as a slight to his character. Another interesting female figure is the Βαλουβουργ Σήνονι σιβύλλα who belonged to the household of the *praefectus Aegypti* sometime during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century according to an ostrakon from Elephantine (*SB* III 6221). Whether she had entered the Roman service under her own volition or not, she may be compared with the *Chatta mulier* whom Vitellius was rumoured to have heeded and hence caused the death of his own mother (Suet. *Vit.* 14.5: apparently the female soothsayer had predicted a long and secure rule for Vitellius if his mother would predecease him). No doubt his was a deliberate slander directed at a commander of the Germanic legions (cf. BARZANÒ 1984, 114; he also may have wanted to replace *Caesar* with *Germanicus* as an official part of the imperial titulature: Suet. *Vit.* 8.2, see coinage: *RIC* I, p. 268-77, often with his son L. Vitellius), who might be suspected to have 'gone native' to the detriment of even his own relatives—and who moreover was submitted to a veritable campaign of religiously expressed propaganda (see p. 293 fn. 497). The perception of this group of female northern religious figures may have lend some of their ambiguous nature to the *dryadae* which later emerge in the SHA (*Alex.* 60.6, *Aurel.* 43.3-4, *Num.* 14).



*auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram*, where they celebrate the *barbari ritus horrenda primordia* after 'publicly slaughtering a human victim'. The passage will be further explored at a later point, but it may be noted here that the expression *caesoque publice homine* may echo early Imperial descriptions of druidic human sacrifice (Pliny, Mela etc.), and the localization of such killings within a grove would appear to fit the same imagery. The *prisca formidine sacram* and *barbari ritus horrenda primordia*, moreover, together sound like a *locus communis* comparable to Lucan.<sup>296</sup> Great antiquity and supernatural terror are crucial to this cultic topos, and apparently do not require much additional comment; this reinforces the impression of a set piece. Although the venerable age of foreign religions was often cited as their redeeming feature—such as Tacitus' grudging admission regarding the religion of the otherwise reprehensible Jews—Tacitus still distances himself from the locals' belief in the grove representing their point of origin by calling this idea *superstitio*.<sup>297</sup>

Another sacred locality is described immediately afterwards. *Germania* 40 concerns an array of minor groups who have in common the cult of Nerthus, which is the name they use of *Terra mater*. In an island of the Ocean there is an inviolate grove (*castum nemus*) in which the *vehiculum* of the divinity is kept under a veil (*veste contentum*). Only one *sacerdos* is allowed to touch it; he also communicates the presence of the goddess in the consecrated place (*is adesse penetrali deam intellegit*). The sacred vehicle is drawn by heifers and is attended with great veneration by the priest. Such occasions are considered joyous and celebrations take place wherever the goddess visits. Wars cease for the duration and arms are laid to rest; this is the only time when *pax et quies* are known and loved, until the time that the priest deems the goddess satisfied with her interaction with mortals. Back in her temple, the *vehiculum*, its cloth covering, and—*si credere velis*—the goddess herself are ritually bathed in a hidden lake, which

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<sup>296</sup> For Lucan's two topical passages of Gallic pseudoethnography: p. 284f. and fn. 468, 288. As is demonstrated in NISBET 1987, the felling of oaks was a powerful trope not only in Lucan and Tacitus, but also Seneca (cf. LEIGH 2010, 228-32). In Lucan's case NISBET sees the trope as illuminating Caesar's ruthlessness and lack of respect for tradition (247f., a reading also brought up by AUGOUSTAKIS 2006, 637f.), but the description of the grove itself would probably not have made the reader lament the passing of certain parts of Gallic past. Hence, Caesar's position approaches that of a culture-hero (cf. Diodorus) and is as ambiguous in this act of the *Bellum civile* as in many other sections, too (AUGOUSTAKIS 2006, 635; LEIGH 2010, 205-11). The similarity between Lucan and Tacitus was already spotted by DYSON 1970, who in response to an earlier piece (PHILLIPS 1968, attempting to fit Lucan's episode with a possible historical original but concluding that it represents Lucanian *inventio*, in the opinion of Phillips directed mainly at Greek exemplars and Ovid) argued that Lucan had received recent descriptions of Suetonius Paullinus' attack to Mona (37). The parallel sections are delineated in DYSON'S treatment, but in addition to reacting sceptically to an editor's note about the Senecan parallels (*loc. cit.* fn. 4), he appeared quite certain that there was an actual event behind the set-piece (38). The further point (DYSON 1970, 38) about the tales about Caepio's sack of Tolosa and the ensuing topical fear of possible repercussions from sacrilege may partly explain why Lucan chose to portray Caesar's soldiers expecting a retribution; possible Lucanian implications of a divine hand punishing even Caesar are resurrected in AUGOUSTAKIS 2006, 634ff.

<sup>297</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 5.5.1 on the Jews. As noted by GÜNNEWIG 1995, 167 fn. 97, soon after Tacitus professes incredulity again, in using *si credere velis* when discussing the cult of Nerthus/Terra Mater.

immediately swallows the slaves who administer the ritual. This imparts to the cult an *arcanus terror sanctaque ignorantia* regarding the nature of that which only the *perituri vident* (40.5). The passage on the Nerthus cult includes several elements of a conventional nature: the sacred island, the inviolate grove, the role of the *sacerdos* highlighting the forbidden nature of the place, the sense of mystery and dread surrounding the cult, and sacrificing of human victims even in such a peaceful mode of worship.<sup>298</sup>

While other aspects of *Germania* testify amply to Tacitus' acknowledged strategy of writing about northern societies and customs with a view toward criticizing the *mores* of his contemporary Roman society, applying this viewpoint to religion thus yields somewhat less programmatic results.<sup>299</sup> Topoi, however, are heavily present. What is certain is that Tacitus alludes several times to Caesar's Gallic ethnography, including what his predecessor wrote about religion.<sup>300</sup> We also find a likely echo of Livy in *Germ.* 33.2, where Tacitus wishes for the dissension among the Germans to continue in order to preserve the power of Rome: *quando urgentibus imperii fatis nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam*. The allusion is to the Livian Fate, driving an internally discordant Rome towards its greatest danger as the Fabii are about to flaunt the *ius gentium* at Clusium: *ibi iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt*.<sup>301</sup> Tacitus implies that the northerners of old could yet, if Roman fortunes should wane, be a renewed danger—a prognostication that the northerners seem to share, for the idea is reiterated via the *vana superstitio* of Druids in the *Historiae*.<sup>302</sup> It is up to the Romans to reappropriate possession of their historical *exempla* once again.

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<sup>298</sup> Cf. Luc. 3.425. Tacitus uses a less definite person to emphasize the extraordinary reverence of the Semnonian grove in *Germ.* 39, though the formulations *prisca formidine sacram* and *barbari ritus horrenda primordia* are notably close to Lucan's wording (see above), in addition to the ironic-seeming *sanctaque ignorantia*, possibly a snide remark upon the way religious awe is dependent upon ignorance. The sentiment of even a peaceful barbarian cult being gruesome resembles the accusations raised by Cicero and Pliny (*Font.* 31 and *HN* 30.13, respectively). On the other hand, through such an element Tacitus achieves the necessary emphasis upon the temporary pacifism that accompanies the travels of the goddess' sacred vehicle.

<sup>299</sup> See, for instance, ASH 2006, 31-39; O'GORMAN 1993 *passim*; more generally GORDON 1990b, 236.

<sup>300</sup> Above, and see also KREBS 2011b, 205-10; some critics rather regard Tacitus' gestures towards Caesar as 'compliment citations' (*Komplimentzitat*): e.g. HIRSTEIN 1995, 169, but such considerations are never entirely absent in allusive strategies of antiquity, and to think an allusions as having this as its single aim is to simplify the role of intertextual references as (largely) open/floating signifiers in Imperial literature: HINDS 1998, 17-51 (in poetry, but demonstrating well both the 'interpretability' of allusions and its limits).

<sup>301</sup> Livy 5.36.6. While the verbal echoes seem Livian (for Tacitus' secure Livian allusions see WOODMAN 1979, 153), the notion of dissension among barbarians preventing them from overwhelming the rest of the world was already expressed by Herodotus in connection with Thracians (5.3.1) and Thucydides about the Scythians (2.97.6), either (or both) of which Tacitus may have had in mind here. DAVIES 2004, 224 notes that the whole of Tacitean narrative (of the eclipse of the Julio-Claudians and the renovation of the *saecula*) resembles that of Livy about the events around the battle of Cannae, with Romans forgetting their essence, rallying after a debacle, and restoring the theandric balance. What Davies omits is that in Livy the Gallic crisis already prefigures this pattern.

<sup>302</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 4.54. Whereas Tacitus was unlikely to be moved by any genuine religious feeling (cf. MORGAN 2000, 38f.), it is all the more likelier that this allusion is literary, politicized and perhaps admonitory in nature. Even so,

c. *FANATICA MULTITUDO*: GALLIC DISTURBANCES OF THE FIRST CENTURY CE

Historical *exempla* would haunt the Imperial era whenever northern provinces experienced unrest, at least if Tacitus is to be believed. During the uprising of Julius Civilis in 69, a Boian named Mariccus appears to have proclaimed himself divine protector and saviour of Gaul, and assembled a *fanatica multitudo* of followers.<sup>303</sup> As noted by MOMIGLIANO 1986A, 109, Tacitus separates Mariccus from the Gallic elite by giving him an origin *e plebe Boiorum*; this may further explain his perceived ability to whip up a *multitudo* of rude and superstitious followers. Tacitus' aim may be to pair Mariccus with Civilis, at least in the sense that the Gallic uprising permeated all social strata.<sup>304</sup> The parallelism also functions in another way: the religious feeling projected by Tacitus onto Mariccus' movement can be as tendentious as similar sentiments written by the historian into the unrest directed by Florus and Sacrovir, and is similarly dependent on the effect of the later Batavian revolt.<sup>305</sup> The scanty coverage of early Julio-Claudian Gaul in our extant sources means that the Tacitean narrative is crucial, even though it appears to back-project fears that more properly belong to the mental climate of the insecure last years of Nero.

It is quite natural to envision that during the initial period of Roman rule in Gaul, a negotiation of cultural standards was ongoing: the reward was the inclusion and co-opting of the provincial inhabitants in the Roman rule of the province.<sup>306</sup> Although Romans probably became more familiar with some aspects of Gallic culture, on the whole those dealing with the subjugated northerners would have expected the barbarians to make an extra effort to

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in *Hist.* 1.3.2 he professes at least on the level of rhetoric that the Roman misfortunes of the time seemed to demonstrate a desire by the divinities to punish them, not to provide for their security.

<sup>303</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 2.61. Tacitus uses *fanatica* for both the followers of Mariccus' movement and the Druids confronting the Romans at Anglesey, as pointed out by WEBSTER 1995B, 181. For Mariccus, also ZECCHINI 1984, 126-29.

<sup>304</sup> That there is a structural connection between Mariccus' career and the druidic prophesies is also implied by WEBSTER 1999, 15f., regarding his movement as 'part of the same spectrum'. The spectrum, however, existed primarily or exclusively in the minds of Tacitus' audience.

<sup>305</sup> Already SYME 1958, I 492 fn. 5 noted the likelihood of there being a back-projected similitude to the events, after pointing out (458f.) that Tacitus may have been preparing in this way for narrating the uprisings against Nero that originated in the West. That the Batavian revolt reactivated 'old barbarian clichés' is pointed out by ROYMANS 2009, 231 and fn. 51.

<sup>306</sup> On the level of iconographic representations, see LAFON 1984, esp. 95, with the possibility of the increasingly Roman inhabitants of Narbonensis dissociating themselves from the past stereotypes. Elsewhere, such as in pre-conquest and immediate post-conquest Britain, the Roman perspective may have influenced certain iconographic choices of the collaborating elite, such as the (possibly symbolic: cf. DE LA BÉDOYÈRE 2002, 56f.) portrayal of Neptune in the mosaics of the Chichester villa of Claudius Cogidubnus (or Togidubnus: see discussion in CREIGHTON 2006, 31, and HIND 2007, 99).

familiarize themselves with Roman ways of doing things. Other figures, such as the Augustan freedman official Licinus, himself born a northerner, apparently attempted to take advantage of the poor understanding of Roman ways among the Gauls: he added two extra months to the year in order to extract more taxes from the provincials.<sup>307</sup> According to Dio, Licinus justified his actions by the alleged danger of allowing the revolt-prone barbarians too much wealth.<sup>308</sup> While the Imperial attempt to favour such early cross-cultural actors in facilitating the early administration of the Gauls was probably well thought out, favouritism and personal greed led at least in the case of Licinus to bad feeling among the provincials not unlike that engendered by Fonteius.<sup>309</sup> Among the Romans this sort of 'easy pickings' could also have led to a reinforced stock motif of the 'stupid Gaul' or ὁ ἡλίθιος Κελτὸς we meet later during the Empire; this transformation was probably speeded up by the gradual lessening of the 'true fear' felt by Romans toward the Gauls.

The old fears did not die easily, however, and particularly in the field of religio-existential unease the Early Imperial period provides some telling attestations of panicky Roman reactions to the northerners' perceived threat. At the same time, the geographical location of most Early Imperial revolt movements in the northeast of Gaul—known since Caesar's structural elaboration of Gallic ethnography as the area of the 'semi-Germanic', ferocious Belgae—would have helped to transmit the most worrisome narrative elements of barbarism towards the conceptual space of the Rhine frontier and the free Germania beyond it. Florus and Sacrovir, who in 21 CE launched a rebellion among the Treveri and the Aedui respectively, were portrayed in Tacitus' narrative as somehow symptomatic of a simmering Gallic resentment over Roman oppression.<sup>310</sup> While not entirely unlikely, this reasoning nonetheless smacks of Tacitus' favourite tropes, and his whole treatment of the rebellion is

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<sup>307</sup> For Licinus' origins, Cass. Dio 54.21.3; *Schol. vet. in Juv.* 1.109. See BÉNABOU 1967, particularly 225-7 for the calendar ruse; also CHRISTOPHERSON 1968, 352f.

<sup>308</sup> Cass. Dio 54.21.7-8: essentially Licinus appealed to the Roman *metus* of another Gallic revolt. This may be further connected with what had happened just before, namely the *clades Lolliana* of 16 BCE in the hands of the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, who had captured and crucified Romans, crossed the Rhine, and given a nasty shock to the Romans by plundering Gaul and defeating the governor Lollius (54.20.4-6). Licinus' gamble paid off, since he apparently escaped with impunity (54.21.8); for this *clades*, see TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 129-35. Tacitus makes Claudius argue along similar lines when speaking for the Gallic enrolment in the Senate: WELLESLEY 1954, 31: it is better to direct the Gallic wealth to Rome than leave it to Gauls. Notably, this element is lacking in the original speech of the emperor (*CIL* XIII 1668). Cf. ISAAC 2004, 419 on the Roman senatorial jealousy against the rich Gallic upstarts.

<sup>309</sup> And as noted by ROSE 1995, 371, the Roman callous attitudes towards the sufferings of the provincials is well illustrated by Cicero indicting Verres only one year before he defended Fonteius. The fame of Licinus endured for some time afterwards: Seneca (*Apoc.* 6.1) uses a reference to him in connection with Claudius' birth at Lyon in order to insinuate the emperor becoming a slave to his freedmen, as pointed out by BRAUND 1980, 422 fn. 14.

<sup>310</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 3.41-7. SYME 1958, I 453f. notes on a possible 'Gallic problem in the early Principate', though this was in all likelihood a creation of the Roman viewpoint, nervous and conscious of their historical *exempla*.

retrospective, informed by the later Gallic unrest.<sup>311</sup> Conventional elements include the rebels' reliance on the forested landscape and the eventual overcoming of Florus by his Gallic rival Julius Indus; Florus is described as committing suicide (*Ann.* 3.42).

To some extent, in Tacitus' works the fear of a *fanatica multitudo* is being transferred to the free and still ferocious peoples of the north.<sup>312</sup> Yet the Gallic area could still supply fuel for this notion, which essentially seems to be a combination of the traditional idea of the fecund north pouring forth barbarian hordes and the fear of a (religiously motivated) zeal among Rome's northern enemies. In the case of the Gallic provinces, the internal nature of such a threat does not appear to have made it any less threatening—perhaps even more so. During the Year of the Four Emperors Gaul experienced multiple upheavals, and some of these appear to have triggered strong emotions in the Romans, at least if Tacitus' rather famous passage in *Historiae* 4.54 is to be credited. After the death of Vitellius and the torching of the Capitol, the Gauls of Civilis were greatly encouraged (*Galli sustulerant animos*). Popular rumours circulated of Sarmatians and Dacians besieging winter camps in Moesia and Pannonia: the northerners were evidently seen by Romans as operating in an implausible but no doubt menacing collective.<sup>313</sup> False information abounded about Britain. But more than anything, it was the burning of the Capitolium which assured the Gauls that the end had come for Rome (*sed nihil aequae quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, impulerat*). Here Tacitus is projecting Roman fears and the millenarian force of a famous *exemplum* into the minds of the northerners, but there is no particular reason to dispute that such fears were rife at least among certain sections of Roman society.<sup>314</sup> A better option is to regard the whole passage as

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<sup>311</sup> DRINKWATER 1983, 27, and 29 with the point that at least according to Tacitus, the uprising revived the *terror Gallicus*. Although this is possible, Tacitus could simply extrapolate from the more recent events in Gaul. Indeed, already SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 56 remarked that the substantial Gallic revolts of 68 and 70, joining and highlighting the memory of the unrest under the early Julio-Claudians, seems to have made the Roman authorities wary regarding the ability of Gauls to collaborate. Joined to this, Caesar himself had hinted (*BGall.* 5.29.1) and his contemporaries seem to have believed (implicitly in Cic. *Att.* 14.9.3) that the presence of Caesar in Gaul was necessary to keep the inhabitants subjugated; by extension this may have led the early Julians to take great care in their Gallic policies (DRINKWATER 1983, 35-50).

<sup>312</sup> The described fanaticism of the defenders of Mona/Anglesey: ROBERTS 1988, 120-22. As noted on p. 279f., the former valour of the Gauls is described by Tacitus as lost due to their servitude.

<sup>313</sup> It could be that this northern commonality of barbarian enemies influenced the choice of Plautius Silvanus as the *pontifex* who was responsible for the ritual inauguration of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter under Vespasian (*Tac. Hist.* 4.53); in the absence of the emperor, it might have been an attractive idea to alleviate the recent barbarian scare by highlighting the role of such a distinguished commander. Silvanus had campaigned with success in the Balkans and North Sea region: *CIL* XIV 3608; ZUBAR 1996 with a contextualizing look; for Plautius career, see CONOLE & MILNS 1983, *passim*. It seems, however, that his far-ranging war policy of scorched-earth tactics may have reflected the Roman impatience towards recalcitrant northerners during this period (even put to the mouth of Marcus Aurelius in Cass. Dio 72.13.1f., 16.1); cf. SHAW 2000, 379.

<sup>314</sup> The *sacrilegium* perpetrated by the Vitellians is described through *exempla* of impiety in Statius' *Silv.* 5.3.195-204, with the assault of the Giants against Olympus and the *furia* of the Senones as the most relevant tropes; it seems that Statius recycled these particular verses from the oeuvre of his father, who had written them shortly after the fire: BARZANÒ 1984, 116. *Ibid.* 117-20, in order to highlight the contemporary Roman provenance of such

a literary dramatization by the historian; in Tacitus, Druids feature as influential and fervour-inducing opponents in both Gallic and British resistance.<sup>315</sup>

The *exemplum* is projected into Gallic reasoning by claiming—in rather Livian fashion—that they regarded the past preservation of the Capitol as the only reason why their first onslaught upon the city had not crushed Roman power for good (*captam olim a Gallis urbem, sed integra Iovis sede mansisse imperium*). Possibly mirroring the narrative of Livy’s Book 5, Tacitus avoids clarifying which side among the Roman civil belligerents was actually behind the Capitoline fire: the sense of civil strife may be designed to combine with an earlier mention of Vitellius’ religious mistake with regard to *dies Alliensis* (*Hist.* 2.91), bringing to mind the relentless descent of bickering Romans toward the Gallic Sack in Livy’s grand narrative.<sup>316</sup> Continuing the description of Gallic unrest, Tacitus has the Druids declare “in a fatuous prophecy” that this time, on the contrary, the divine wrath has manifested itself in *fatali igne*—perhaps another allusion to the frequent actions of Fate in Livy’s Book 5—ushering in the day when Transalpine peoples would direct humankind.<sup>317</sup> The Druids, in effect, are portrayed as attempting to hijack the discourse of Roman piety, an act characterized as *vana superstitio*.<sup>318</sup>

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doomsday scenarios, points to Cass. Dio 64.8.2, about giant footprints having been seen to lead away from the Capitol, and the guards being scared by a great noise from the temple of Jupiter. For the *inania templa* during the civil war atrocities in Tacitus’ *Histories*, see JOSEPH 2012, 138ff., with 140 in particular about Mefitis, the only goddess remaining in Cremona, carrying underworldly and grim associations in the text. Cf. RUTLEDGE 2007, 187f., 190 on the Flavian politics and allegations of temple-destruction.

<sup>315</sup> See the interpretation of WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 150ff., and 153 suggesting that the two episodes of resistance at Mona and upheaval in Gaul were created to reinforcing each other. This seems likely, though Tacitus probably need not have invented the Roman fear after the Capitoline fire (cf. p. 125f. fn. 420). The only certain thing that can be said on the basis of Tacitus’ passage is that the notion of ‘druidic resistance’ would not have appeared implausible to his audience; there is no reason to regard the narrative device as a reflection of a genuine historical phenomenon in Gaul, *contra* such studies as ZECCHINI 1984 (with 123 summing up the gist of his hypothesis of Druids tapping into the trope of *translatio imperii*); ARBEL 2009, 102f. In short, though millenarian fears are demonstrable among the Romans, there is simply not enough non-polemical sources to say anything about possible millenarianism among the inhabitants of the northern provinces. The case of Jewish unrest and the associated millenarian fervour is examined in ARBEL 2009 (indeed, the point on p. 22 about monotheistic systems being able to engender religious fanaticism much more easily than polytheistic ones appears quite valid).

<sup>316</sup> DAVIES 2004, 206-11 conveys the similarities well: the *pax deum* has been upset by the degenerate ways of the Romans (possibly ever since Tiberius’ rule: *ibid.* 204), Nero in particular, while the infighting itself (*civium manibus*, *Hist.* 1.2; *furor principum*, 3.72) further erodes the empire’s moral justification (also JOSEPH 2012, 67-78). The likely order of events in Rome leading to the burning down of the Capitolium are reconstructed in BARZANÒ 1984, 107-10, with the differing accusations of who started the fire being examined on 110-13. The severity of the Capitoline fire is stressed in an almost Livian fashion in *Hist.* 3.71 by calling it *facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum foedissimumque*: cf. WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 152; cf. KRAUS 1994, 274, 286f. on the earlier Neronian fire of Rome allowing Tacitus to negotiate with both Livian elements and the imagery of *Troia capta*. In addition to highlighting the *discordia* and the ensuing anger of gods, Tacitus’ use of the *urbs capta*—elements when describing the civil infighting in the city (see JOSEPH 2012, 170f.) would no doubt have evoked stock imagery which usually was paraded in the case of an external threat, and particularly the *exemplum* of Gauls as narrated by Livy.

<sup>317</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 4.54: *fatali nunc igne signum caelestis irae datum et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis gentibus portendi superstitione vana Druidae canebant*. SCHEID 1985, 23 about the ‘sens ancien’ of *superstitio* being employed here, is not convincing. It is also possible though not easily demonstrable, that the fire and its perceived apocalyptic meaning for the Druids is here connected with what Str. 4.4.4 says about the doctrine of the Druids: that though human souls and the universe itself are indestructible, fire and water will occasionally prevail over them. For *fatum* in

During the last years of Nero, uprisings in the Gallic area seemed to follow each other in close sequence. The revolt of Julius Vindex in 68 CE, later evolving into the usurpation of Galba, has been variously interpreted, including the view that it represents a case of a Roman governor turning into a 'Gallic dynast'.<sup>319</sup> While such a claim is speculative, the central government of Nero would certainly have had a lot to gain from such a portrayal of Vindex' revolt. The problem with both the Florus-Sacrovir unrest and the campaign of Vindex is that our main source for them, Tacitus, could easily have projected to them an array of sentiments and motifs which only gained prominence after the Batavian revolt. The actual political aims of the rebels were probably not very well defined; Tacitus, however, in addition to portraying the rebellion as a unified movement—led by the Batavian Julius Civilis and directed against the Vitellian party in 69 BCE—also distinctly casts the rebels as a northern barbarian threat.<sup>320</sup> Vestiges of religious unease are readily perceptible; by now the continuing Gallic upheavals and the worsening internal chaos of the Year of the Four Emperors had no doubt dented the Roman sense of security and confidence, and there was a resurgence of the old motif of civil discord giving way to a barbarian invasion.

Motifs associated with northern religious ethnography assume some prominence in the Tacitean narrative of Civilis' rebellion. Civilis collects the Batavian chiefs and some of the more prepared commons in a sacred grove on pretence of a banquet (*specie epularum sacrum in nemus vocatos*); here he gains their favour during a nightly convocation through enumeration of his people's ancient glories and current grievances. After the revolt is in full swing, *ferarum imagines* are brought from other sacred groves; according to Tacitus, it was the habit of each *gens* to follow these images into battle.<sup>321</sup> What the Romans found particularly unnerving was

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Tacitus, see DAVIES 2004, 211-21, and for *ira deorum* in the same author, *ibid.* 157-61, 163ff., 204ff.; also JOSEPH 2012, 103. As remarked by WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 152, the fact itself that the purported inheritors of the Roman power are called *Transalpini* betrays the prophecy's origin in Roman thinking.

<sup>318</sup> Attempts to swindle from the Romans their gods-given right to rule the world seems to have been projected into the traditions of the very founding of their sacral centre at the Capitol: Plin. *HN* 28.14ff. tells of a cunning plan by an Etrurian seer to manipulate the Roman envoys' report on the discovery of Aulus' head in order to transfer the power of Jupiter to Cales. See ANDO 2008, 182ff.; also DAVIES 2004, 82 about the Livian habit of hinting at what-if –scenarios with 'alternative Romes', a technique which Tacitus may here be copying (cf. *ibid.* 215-21. on the underlying thinking regarding *saecula*).

<sup>319</sup> DRINKWATER 1983, 42, noting that the native levies that Vindex obtained from the Gallic *civitates* would certainly have helped in triggering memories about northern barbarian armies, and certainly the claim to have suppressed a Gallic uprising would have been an attractive route out for Verginius Rufus, the victor over Vindex and commander of the Rhine army which was less than enthusiastic in its support of Galba (43).

<sup>320</sup> On the correct political context of Civilis' movement: DRINKWATER 1983, 45; TRZASKA-RICHTER 1991, 241. JOSEPH 2012, 55f. notes the emphatic use of expressions of fear in Tac. *Hist.* 1.50 when the approach of Vitellius' troops is realized; the prospect of a plundered Italy is likewise brought up.

<sup>321</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 4.14 with the nightly banquet, 4.22 with the *imagines* (cf. *Germ.* 7). Even this is not a newly introduced motif, *contra* SHERWIN-WHITE (1967, 48), for Polybius had described the Insubres moving the 'immovable' standards from their temple of Athena before the battle with Romans (2.32.5).

the mixing of legionary standards with such a foreign display—a typical reaction to a mixing or collision of stereotypical categories.

As a narrative construction, the figure of Civilis becomes barbarized in the same way that Ariovistus does in Caesar; according to Tacitus, however, some of Civilis' most conventional actions took place on purpose and by his own design. Observing a vow he had made, Civilis had dyed his hair red and let it grow long; but after the slaughter of the legions he cut his hair short in a way that alludes to Tacitus own description of the custom of Chatti.<sup>322</sup> Related to Germanic ethnography is also the claim that Civilis gave some Roman captives to his son to use in target practice—this recalls the early schooling in war which the Germans are said to give their youngsters.<sup>323</sup> The lack of commitment to the Gauls on the part of Civilis is also stressed: instead, he is said to have relied on the Germans in anticipation of the day when he might need to dispute the rule of Gaul.<sup>324</sup> Tacitus next reports the influence of the Germanic priestess Veleda, and her favourable proclamations to the *Germani*. All in all, *Hist.* 4.61 is a passage laden with pseudo-ethnographic references designed to Germanize Civilis. The rhetoric of Petillius Cerialis in an assembly of the Treviri and Lingones is explicit with the same line of argument: having fought off the Cimbri and the Teutones, why should the Gauls now ally themselves with the Germans? The Romans were occupying the Rhenish border not in order to protect Italy, but to prevent another Ariovistus from gaining the

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<sup>322</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 31. Cf. Plin. *HN* 28.191 on the Gallic invention of *sapum* in order to dye their hair: the substance is also said to see much use among the Germans, particularly the men. The *rutilae comae* are a marker of not only northerners (Tac. *Germ.* 4; *Pan. Lat.* 8(5).16.4; Amm. 15.12.1), but from the physiognomic viewpoint of people with similarly impulsive and aggressive nature (e.g. *De physiogn.* 14, 79; and Peter Valvomeris in Amm. 15.7.4, identified as a commonplace and dissociated from Tacitus' Germans by BARNES 1998, 194f.). For the literariness of the Valvomeris episode see the relevant chapter in AUERBACH 1953, 50-76 (revisited by MATTHEWS 1987). Indeed, it may have more to do with the possible resurgence in the interest towards physiognomy during the fourth century, proposed by EVANS 1969, 15. Amm. 30.9.6 on Valentinian's physiognomy is another point of contact with the commonplaces of 'borealistic' imagery: an emperor known for his quick and violent anger obtains many traits that had become associated with northerners, with strong, muscular body, blue eyes and hard stare; a possible parallel description in Cedrenus is discussed by ROHRBACHER 2010, 107f., noting the possibly subversive stress upon qualities of 'excess' in both descriptions, a common way of looking at barbarian bodies.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. *Germ.* 24. Tacitus' 'Germanization' of Civilis is demonstrated by the historian's self-imitation, when in a later passage (*Ann.* 1.64f.) the *Germani* harassing the Roman army are fleshed out through an allusive construction, the model of which is Tacitus' own description of the battle between Civilis and Cerialis in *Hist.* 5.14-15; for this and other instances of self-imitation in Tacitus, see WOODMAN 1979, esp. 149ff.; also WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 154f. on a likely case of Tacitus duplicating an omen (the turning of a statue in anticipation of a serious Roman setback: *Ann.* 14.32.1, *Hist.* 1.86.1) within his own work.

<sup>324</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 4.61 (cf. 65) *si certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret*. An element rather likely harking back to Caesar's Ariovistus. In *Germ.* 37, where the aim of Tacitus is to argue for the long span and great bloodshed of Rome's antagonism with free Germans, Civilis' uprising is clearly lodged in a long tradition of Germanic attacks, with Tacitus particularly highlighting how the disturbance took advantage of Roman civil war and dissension: what was at issue was the old Caesarian prize, the mastery of Gaul (*occasione discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum hibernis etiam Gallias adfectavere*).



rulership of Gaul.<sup>325</sup> The Germans' reasons for crossing into Gaul have always been the same: *libido atque avaritia et mutandae sedis amor*.<sup>326</sup>

The climactic battle at Castra Vetera against Cerialis' legions continues to elaborate upon this Germanic allegiance of the rebels. Civilis encourages his troops by reminding that they are treading upon the bones and ashes of Roman legions (*cineres ossaque legionum*), which could have reminded the text's audience of the remains of Varus' legions on the other side of the Rhine. The river itself, to some extent assimilated in Civilis rhetoric with the Germans' divinities or perhaps acting as a shorthand for what was 'Germana' (*Rbenum et Germaniae deos in aspectu: quorum numine capesserent pugnam*), as well as the memory of their families were all drawn upon as inspiration for the rebels, who clash their arms and perform wild dances.<sup>327</sup> After the battle, as a fitting end to the aggressive stage of the uprising, Tacitus describes how Julius Classicus and Julius Tutor, together with 113 senators of the Treveri, fled to across the Rhine, which aptly (though not necessarily consciously) symbolizes the role these uprisings played in transferring the topoi of northern barbarism to the free *Germani* (*Hist.* 5.19.4).

Above we have seen how from Hellenistic accounts onward the Gauls were increasingly characterized in terms of their magisterial class, the Druids; the latter, partly due to Caesar's insistence, were consolidated as representing the prime religious agents within Gallic society (as they may, indeed, to some extent have been). Literary motivations for this inclusion, however, far exceed practical ones—even in a writer as practical as Caesar. During the early Julio-Claudian dynasty, it seems reasonably clear that the Roman administration shared Caesar's vision of the Druids as an interconnected and politically influential group, which should be either o-opted or extinguished; accordingly, there were efforts to mitigate their social clout. WEBSTER suggests the occurrence of three distinctive Roman efforts to

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<sup>325</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 4.73: *sed ne quis alius Ariovistus regno Galliarum potiretur*. This explicit denial on the part of a Roman general of a fundamental argument in late Republican rationale for occupying Gaul is striking. Tacitus is more than likely once again commenting upon the earlier tradition, where the necessity of securing Gaul in order to protect Italy is repeatedly stressed (cf. Cic. *Font.* 13, *Pis.* 81, *Prov. cons.* 32, *Att.* 14.9.3, *Phil.* 3.13; Caes. *BGall.* 1.33f.). A question remains, however, about the effect which such sentiments could still have had among Tacitus' audience in the first decade of the second century. It is difficult to see from where a possible feeling of unease about the northerners' threat would have gained traction; a better explanation is that Tacitus' sources, historical imagination, and narrative needs led him to retain (and elaborate) elements connected to the Roman reaction at the time of the Neronian unrest in Gaul (an explanation also favoured by DRINKWATER 1983, 39). The point that Tacitus' audience had to find plausible the view that there were Gallic mantic agents called Druids still in existence (WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 153) is valid, though separate from any notions of northern threat.

<sup>326</sup> The reasons Tacitus gives for the constant danger of Germans trying to penetrate into Gaul are almost identical to those with which Polybius had much earlier condemned the Northern Italian Gauls to subjugation and pacification by the Romans for the greater good of all the peoples of the peninsula (Polyb. 2.17.3, 9-12).

<sup>327</sup> Tac. *Hist.* 5.17. The ethnographical stock motif of families accompanying a northern 'people on the move' to the war was applied to the northerners frequently, and with little concern to whether the society concerned was nomadic or not: e.g. Hes. *F* 151 MERKELBACH & WEST; [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 18.4, 20.2; Anon. *De mul. clar.* GERA 10; Str. 7.2.3; Plut. *Cam.* 15.2, *Mar.* 27.2; Cass. Dio 62.6.3, 71.3.2.

legislate against the Druids, under Augustus, Claudius, and Tiberius respectively.<sup>328</sup> In the case of Claudius, his own birth at Lugdunum should be borne in mind. Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (6.1, 7.3) mocks him as a Gaul (and punningly as a *Gallus germanus*). If such witticisms circulated in his lifetime—no doubt multiplying after his programme of enlisting Gauls into the Senate—it might have made sense for him to move (or gesture) against an already marginalized, yet thanks to Caesar widely known and even emblematic, section of the Gallic elite.<sup>329</sup> The question of how the Roman authorities 'recognized' any forbidden druidic practices in Gaul is ultimately unanswerable: since they could hardly have spied upon congregations of white-clad gentlemen (for the simple reason that there were none to be found), the practical focus of their gaze is largely beyond reconstruction.<sup>330</sup>

Suetonius' life of Claudius, in describing his action against *druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis* (25), quite conventionally links the Druids to disparaging adjectives that clearly resemble those of Cicero (see p. 217). It also demonstrates the easiest way of delegitimizing the Gallic group. Claudius' policy, if it genuinely took place, might have been aimed at counteracting senatorial resentment against a Gallic-born emperor, perceived as infiltrating Gauls into the most prestigious Roman political body. Since the senators were certainly aware of what was being said about the Gauls' religious specialists, claims of having

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<sup>328</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 25 (under Augustus and Claudius), and Plin. *HN* 30.13 (under Tiberius). WEBSTER 1995B, 180; cf. GORDON 1990B, 243. The subject of Early Imperial stance against the Druids has been exhaustively covered: e.g. DEWITT 1938 who envisioned an already moribund druidic organization by Caesar's time; LAST 1949 argued against political motives and (rather innocently) emphasizes the Roman rhetoric about the eradication of human sacrifice (e.g. echoed in GARNSEY 1984, 13); PIGGOTT 1968, 110f., though pompous, made an apt comparison between Rome's policy towards the Druids and the Elizabethan policies in Ireland; DRINKWATER 1983, 39f. on Romanization of the aristocracy engendering a natural decline of the Druids, with 'Augustus' interdiction' as the most lethal blow: he follows FUSTEL DE COULANGES (1891, 111f., a stronger view than the denial of 'anti-druidic' Roman acts in *ibid.* 1880) in viewing the Tiberian and Claudian measures as 'straightforward revulsion against the persistence of the bizarre activities of the debased remnant of druidism' (which may be close to the truth if the Roman perceptions, not Gallic realities, are taken as the fundamental trigger). GREEN 1997, 14f. wavers between 'increasing disquiet in [the Druids'] nationalistic influence' and simple 'imperial bigotry'. The most nuanced study of the interplay between 'Romanization' and the druidic aristocracy is WEBSTER 1999, supporting the idea of Roman actions targeting a group already affected by Gallic acculturation (11-14).

<sup>329</sup> Claudius' introduction of the Comatan Gauls into the Senate: Tac. *Ann.* 11.25.1-2; the Lyon Tablet in *CIL* XIII 1668 (*ILS* 212); GRIFFIN 1982 should be consulted on both, rather than the dated WELLESLEY 1954, which mostly seeks to vindicate the emperor's literary style. Claudius' conflict with the old senatorial elite in the matter of enlistment, and his denigration through his Gaulishness in *Apocolocyntosis* is analysed by BRAUND 1980, 422ff., who notes (423) that Claudius' 'application to become a god' is very much like becoming a divine senator.

<sup>330</sup> Although, somewhat ironically, in addition to his tremendously influential (cf. WEBSTER 1999, 10f.) tableau of white-clad mistletoe-cutting Druids, Pliny has preserved one glimpse of a 'druidic' practice being punished, namely the *urinum* which allegedly must be snatched from intertwined snakes and can be used to obtain favourable outcomes in courts-of-law (29.52ff.), leading to the execution under Claudius of an *equus* from the Vocontian *civitas* when he was found to be in possession of one. So, while the provincial administration could possibly have kept their ears open for local rumours, some individuals could have become incriminated on their own, based upon material evidence. ZECCHINI 1984, 124 thinks that the passage demonstrates the particularly strong tenacity of 'druidism' in the area of the Vocontii, but this seems unlikely. WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 147 is correct in pointing that no contemporary 'druidic' activity is needed to explain the episode, and he goes on to note the meagre policing capabilities of the Roman state in Early Imperial Gaul (149).

counteracted the Druids were no doubt an effective rhetorical tool. Even so, it is no wonder that Claudius did not foreground the issue in his surviving speech: the cultural distance and historical animosity between Gallic aristocrats and Roman senators had to be downplayed. As noted by GRIFFIN, the emperor was well aware of the issues at stake: his speech, even preserved in epigraphic form, steers clear of mentioning the rebellion of Florus and Sacrovir, and stresses the constant loyalty of the Gauls to Rome.<sup>331</sup>

After more than half a century of increasingly confident Imperial posturing—and in all likelihood the accompanying measures, as well—it is quite likely that no significant druidic activity actually occurred in the European mainland.<sup>332</sup> This seems to be borne out by Pliny's idea of Rome having entirely extinguished druidic 'magical rites' (*HN* 30.13), although he is quite explicit in denouncing Britain for maintaining the same rites.<sup>333</sup> Pomponius Mela, writing a few years before Pliny, is more ambivalent: his Gauls have, despite their barely suppressed ferocity, have *tamen et facundiam suam magistrosque sapientiae druidas*. The Pomponian vision can largely be explained by his extensive dependency on Caesar, easily noted in *De situ orbis*: for instance in the similarities between the descriptions of the Druids' field of studies. Mela's *scire profitentur* may be more sceptical than Caesar's *disputant*, and the Caesarian *iuventuti tradunt* appears to have been expanded into the often-cited *docent multa nobilissimos gentis clam et diu, vicenis annis, aut in specu aut in abditis saltibus*, with Caesar introducing the period of twenty years.<sup>334</sup> The motif of explaining the Gallic indifference when faced with death by reference to the theory of metempsychosis is clearly indebted to Caesar as well, although later it was

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<sup>331</sup> GRIFFIN 1982, 406. Neither is there mention of the Gallic Sack in the extant part of *ILS* 212 from Lugdunum: WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 152 suggests that the fact of Tac. *Ann.* 11.23f. including this among the arguments of Claudius' adversaries would point to Tacitus affixing more significance to the Sack than his contemporaries.

<sup>332</sup> Care should probably be taken to distinguish between what an emperor posed himself doing in Gaul, and what actually happened on ground: DRINKWATER 1975, 140 reminds us of Augustus' extreme caution in his treatment of Gauls. Indeed, from Caesar to Claudius the Julio-Claudians had close and continuing ties to Gaul (also GRIFFIN 1982, 415); but as in the case of a 'Gallicized Caesar' (see p. 175 fn. 36) and the snide remarks directed at Claudius, this connection needed to be cast in terms that did not compromise the *Romanitas* of the emperor. The exact nature of the 'anti-Druid' legislation has been long debated: see above fn. 328.

<sup>333</sup> Pliny's interest in Britain was probably heightened by the Claudian conquest (he is for instance much more conscious of the Ocean, and preoccupied with its symbolism, than most previous authors: EVANS 2005), and to make the druidic creed regard cannibalism as beneficial (*mandi vero saluberrimum*) seems like a conflation with the already established idea of druidic human sacrifice with the motif of cannibalism that was affixed upon the British and Hibernians already by Strabo (see p. 267f.). Read together, Caesar's claim about the British origin of druidic doctrine and Pliny's confident assertion about the civilizing mission of Rome in close conjunction with discussion of magic in Britain, were in the past used to buttress (together with Claudius' apparent opposition to the Druids and Tacitus' description of the attack to Mona) the strikingly teleological and ahistorical notion of Roman invasion of Britain being motivated by opposition to 'druidism'; this was demolished already by TAMBLYN 1909 (see his article for the relevant bibliography).

<sup>334</sup> Druidic studies: Caes. *BGall.* 6.14.3-6; cf. Mela 3.19. I agree with WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 147ff. who notes the dependency of Mela from Caesar, and regards even the elaborated *aut in specu aut in abditis saltibus* to convey an essentially Caesarian image but to be wholly anachronistic in its content (148f.). He also makes the valuable observation that imaginative use of early modern parallels from Ireland under the Penal Laws may have influenced the scholarly interpretation of Mela's supposed testimony of 'underground druidism' (149).

adopted among others by Lucan in his pseudo-ethnographic section of *Bellum civile* and used by Appian about the Germans.<sup>335</sup>

That Tacitus grasps the dramatic possibilities of actively functioning Druids in Gaul during the Neronian period is no wonder: he had already used them to theatrical effect in the episode of the Roman attack against Mona, with fairly securely identified Lucanic allusions.<sup>336</sup> Moreover, his Druids and the religious fervour they are able to whip up among the Gallic population are provided with an Eastern parallel, the Jews (also see above p. 235). Tacitus' hostile view of the Jews has been extensively studied, and in his presentation—possibly even his worldview—they plausibly form a group of internal enemies, in conscious parallel with the Druids.<sup>337</sup> *Hist.* 5.5 demonstrates that potential links with the traditional septentriography were readily available to Tacitus' Jewish ethnography, by way of such elements as their rejection of anthropomorphic divine imagery, their aim of increasing their numbers, and rather prominently their belief in the immortality of souls killed in battle or by the executioner: the historian specifically adds that this contributes to the Jewish scorn for death. The literary need for a memorable parallel may be one reason behind Tacitus' claim of the *druidae* being the force behind the Gallic unrest; the prerequisite for this to succeed would be that the element (both of active Druids and of their influence over the Gauls during Nero's last years) did not appear incongruent for the historian's contemporary audience. Tacitus' early composition, the dramatic scene at Mona, may moreover have made it more attractive to him to again use the Druids, who after their brief period of Caesarian salience and their presence in Claudius' possible propaganda were again turning into a literary artefact.

It may be noted that in contrast with the Imperial period, the Republican unrest among the Gallic communities in Narbonensis seems to have been economical in nature, with no appreciable religious overtones—except in the famous rhetoric of Cicero.<sup>338</sup> There was

<sup>335</sup> App. *Celt.* 4; cf. Joseph. *BJ* 2.16.4.

<sup>336</sup> 'Conventional stuff', as SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 44 noted with good reason. DYSON 1970 presumes there is a genuine episode behind both Tacitus' description and Lucan's epic reflection of contemporary dispatches or reports from Britain (37f.), even though it is more believable that Tacitus, familiar with such dramatizations as that of Lucan (and in all likelihood Lucan's *Bellum civile* itself: JOSEPH 2012, 2 and fn. 3, though also cautioning that partly the similarities are generated by joint Vergilianism: 7f.), constructed the episode according to similar techniques of allusion and *inventio* as Lucan himself had done in Book 3 (the latter noted in PHILLIPS 1968, 296). AUGOUSTAKIS 2006 (with full bibliography of previous scholarly comments) presents a parallel in the narratives of Valerius Maximus and Dio (636ff.), both opening up the possibility that Lucan is conjuring up an implication of Caesar's eventual downfall constituting a retribution for the sacrilege (638). It is relatively safe to conclude that by Tacitus' time the idea of felling a northern grove of oaks was a trope of primarily poetic associations, with some associated, partly residual unease of divine retribution maybe still reaching the Roman perpetrators even after cutting down such a *locus* of barbarity.

<sup>337</sup> On the parallelism: YAVETZ 1998, 90-8. Recent bibliographies on Tacitus' view on Jews are included in ISAAC 2004, 440-91 and from a diametrically opposite point of view GRUEN 2011A, 179-96, 277-51.

<sup>338</sup> Regarding the economical grievances behind Republican Gallic unrest in Southern Gaul: CARRÉ 1981, 131-2.

certainly Imperial apprehension as to the economic resources of Gaul ending up in the wrong hands; Licinus (cf. p. 244) highlighted the worrisome potential of such a scenario in arguing for his own defence, and the swift action taken in 47 CE against Valerius Asiaticus, hailing from Vienne, the Allobrogan capital, can perhaps with some justification be attributed to a similar fear.<sup>339</sup> All this points to the likelihood that the mirage of a 'Gallic Spring', as it were, in the Tacitean writings is almost certainly a Roman literary or rhetorical artefact.<sup>340</sup> The popular discourse of the time may share some characteristics with the phenomenon of a 'moral panic', but with an added barbarian dimension.<sup>341</sup> Tacitus' theme of an *Imperium Galliarum* was in all probability quite remote from the concerns of any of the above-mentioned Gallic rebels; the whole concept could only have taken form in the minds of the Romans.<sup>342</sup>

#### 4. BRITAIN AND OTHER ISLANDS

##### a. THE OCEAN AND THE STRANGENESS OF ITS ISLANDS

The influence of the Ocean on the characteristics of the northern lands, and consequently on their inhabitants, is one of the most intriguing aspects of the effect exerted by geography on Greek and Roman images about the religiosity of some barbarian peoples. Above, note has been made of some of the images stirred up by the islands of the far-away western and northern Ocean in the classical minds. As remarked by CLARKE, the world beyond the Pillars of Hercules was conceived of as a world of islands—though the role and nature of the Ocean itself was likely to have had an effect, as well.<sup>343</sup> The islands imagined as situated in that Ocean were regularly the setting of some impressive θαυμασιά;<sup>344</sup> literary

<sup>339</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 11.1-3. DRINKWATER 1983, 48 views the charge as that of 'being a rich Gallic dynast', but in fact Tacitus reports only a generalized *fama per provincias* and an interest to visit the Rhenish legions as accusations against Asiaticus.

<sup>340</sup> Although it should be noted that the case for a genuine 'revitalization' movement among the Gallic provincials has been eloquently argued for by WEBSTER 1999.

<sup>341</sup> On moral panic about population groups: PIJERS 2006; on the interplay between social status and moral panic: CLARKE & CHESSE 2008; the dimension of a perceived 'internal enemy' in the narrow context of Tacitus' report, on the other hand, bears some similarity with phenomena such as the contemporary Western islamophobia, similarly triggered by hysterical reactions to religious minorities perceived as somehow undermining the safety of the acculturating state: ÖZYÜREK 2005.

<sup>342</sup> Already DRINKWATER 1983, 47, though still talking of 'supporters of the *Imperium Galliarum*' was sceptical regarding the reality of the theme, especially the consequences of the events of 68-70. Cf. ZECCHINI 1984, 121.

<sup>343</sup> CLARKE 2001, 96f., who follows this (97-8) with the observation that the Oceanic world and many of its parts bear the hallmarks of a fictional creation.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 175f. remarking about the prevalence of *immrama*-narratives in the Irish literature; the island theme is also given attention in GOMÉZ ESPELOSIN & AL. 1994, 315-40, with appropriate subsections.

accounts predictably took advantage of the fluidity of oceanic topography by transposing, conjoining and borrowing. In the case of a particular area which had been brought to the epistemic foreground, such as Britain after Caesar's visits, the tradition was mined with particular zeal in order to furnish interesting scraps of information or legend about these strange Oceanic lands.<sup>345</sup>

It was apparently the Ocean itself, however, that influenced Greek and Roman perceptions not only the western hydrology, but also of the character of the land, its marvels and its peoples in general.<sup>346</sup> Plato and Aristotle argued that populations living too close to the sea acquired unpleasant qualities from this natural feature, and Plato is (mis)quoted by Strabo about the matter.<sup>347</sup> In Roman perception, the sheer violence and heaving tidal fluctuations of the Ocean demonstrated not only the practical danger of voyaging on it, but even a kind of supernatural aura of danger and numinosity covering the area: the tides could have appeared to Mediterranean observers unfamiliar with them as the breathing of some immeasurably vast and numinously ancient creature.<sup>348</sup> The Titanic or otherwise primordial aspect of the Ocean may already have motivated Aeschylus to place his bound Prometheus at a mountain promontory apparently located on the Oceanic coast.<sup>349</sup> According to Diodorus, Hecataeus of Abdera 'and certain others' had situated the Hyperboreans on an island towards the north, beyond the Celtic territories, followed by the usual topoi of the earthly paradise that such a blessed race is expected to inhabit.<sup>350</sup> The otherworldly qualities of the Ocean seemed to draw the Hyperborean homeland towards itself, and not solely in the northern direction: the west was also suggested.<sup>351</sup> One example of the sense of danger and wonder is Book 4 of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, where the Gallic heartland is strewn with stormy lakes, and

<sup>345</sup> STEWART 1995, 2 on Pytheas' increased currency after Caesar. Cf. CUNLIFFE 2001, 143f. on Pytheas' nomenclature still used by Pliny despite the somewhat more nuanced mental geography of his age.

<sup>346</sup> One might also note that at least according to the interpretation of CLARKE 2001, 96, the *Periplus of Hanno* was similarly affected by the defamiliarizing feeling of sailing the waters of the Outer Ocean. Thus the sentiment clearly evidenced in Greek and Roman sources seems to have been shared by the Phoenicians, as well.

<sup>347</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 4.705A-B; Arist. *Pol.* 1327A-B, mostly because trade creates moral turpitude; Str. 7.3.8, claiming Plato's opinion can be found in the *Republic*. The humidity of the west is also an unhealthy influence for [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 6; cf. *ibid.* 15 on the effects of pervading humidity upon the people of Phasis prefigures many attributes later linked with peoples of the west and north: they have large, bulky bodies, hoarse voices, and have poor endurance.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. ROSEMAN 2005, 36f., going on to note that in trying to explain new natural phenomena, the geographers would have sought descriptive similes from the animate world, among other things. ROMM 1992, 23 on the primality of the mythographical Ocean influencing the perception of the geographical feature (cf. 145f.).

<sup>349</sup> Aesch. *PV hypoth.* 89-90 (for this and other factors in situating the play, see HALL 1989, 113ff.). As noted by MARCO SIMÓN 2000, 142f., at the time of Aeschylus it seems that the Adriatic sea was construed as the 'un fabuloso mar' where Titans and the Golden Age still held sway: essentially, this imagery would at later stages—according to the dynamics outlined e.g. in PLÁCIDO 1993, CHIASSON 2001, 39 and EVANS 2008, 6-30—have been transposed to outside the Pillars of Hercules, perhaps through the intermediate stage of Western Mediterranean (beyond the Strait of Messina, where the boundary of reliable enquiry seems to have been around the time of Herodotus: KEYSER 2011, 38).

<sup>350</sup> Diod. 2.47; for more, see GÓMEZ ESPELOSIN & AL. 1994, 214-16.

<sup>351</sup> [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.5.11. Noted and briefly discussed by JOURDAIN-ANNEQUIN 1992, 289.

a branch of the Rhodanus threatens to carry the unsuspecting heroes to the Ocean, which would have meant their death. The situation requires the divine intervention of Hera, whose shout makes the Argonauts change their course and “pass unharmed through the innumerable tribes of the Celts and Ligurians”.<sup>352</sup>

An excess of water worried the Romans, and seafaring was seen as a necessary evil.<sup>353</sup> As suggested by HIND, during the Claudian invasion the soldiers may have been nervous about potential retribution from the god Oceanus, whom Caligula had attempted to humiliate only three years previously.<sup>354</sup> In Tacitus' *Agricola*, the humidity of the whole of Britain is stressed in a way that makes it seem rather hostile to a Mediterranean audience; here the wet climate and the pervading presence of the Ocean seem to be colluding.<sup>355</sup> The violent nature of the Ocean could make the association with elemental and harmful divine beings much easier. This seems to be the case behind a note in Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, where he muses that the poets had conceived the sons of Jupiter, such as Aeacus, Minos and Sarpedon, as foremost in virtue, prudence and power, whereas the sons of Neptune, born of the sea, were said to have been fierce, horrible and devoid of any humanity; these included the Cyclops, the murderous wrestler-king Cercyon, the bandit Sciron, and the Laestrygonians.<sup>356</sup> Thus it is not for the sake of a simple rhetorical flourish—though certainly for that purpose too—that the Panegyrist of 310, addressing Constantine, describes Constantius Chlorus gazing upon the Ocean, father of the gods. Following some secret plan, Chlorus' approach to the Ocean is implied to be linked with his own approaching apotheosis.<sup>357</sup> This kind of imagery lent to the Ocean not only a sense of danger and a primeval character, but could also have associated it with the elder generation of gods, whose superseded vestiges were used to explain such

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<sup>352</sup> Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.635-47. GUICHARD 2012, notes how the *Argonautica* straddles the transition from mythical geography to Hellenistic paradoxography (350). Cf. MURPHY 2004, 178 on Drusus.

<sup>353</sup> The complex of ideas is examined for instance by BRUUN 1992; also the broad, staggeringly detailed HORDEN & PURCELL 2000, e.g. 411-23; in the Greek context MONTIGLIO 2005, 7-11; NESSELRATH 2005, esp. 163ff. On the east-west perspective (and its dissenters) engendered by the Mediterranean geography, see BOWERSOCK 2005.

<sup>354</sup> HIND 2003, 273, plausibly. One might also note that many dedications upon Claudius' British victory take care to be thankful for his *reditus* (see STANDING 2003, 282-84) from such an unsettling area beyond the Ocean.

<sup>355</sup> As is implied in BORCA 1996, 337, and stressed by CLARKE 2001, e.g. 99. MURPHY 2004, 184-88 examines several early imperial examples of the 'savage sea' image complex when commenting upon the Chauci of Pliny the Elder; cf. also BEAGON 1992, 183-90 on Pliny's 'imperial idealism' concerning seafaring.

<sup>356</sup> Gell. *NA* 15.21.1: *praestantissimos virtute, prudentia, viribus Iovis filios poetae appellaverunt, ut Aeacum et Minoa et Sarpedona; ferocissimos et inmanes et alienos ab omni humanitate, tamquam e mari genitos, Neptumi filios dixerunt, Cyclopa et Cercyona et Scirona et Laestrygonas*. Such figures of myth could also be used to lambast individuals, such as the *semibarbarus* emperor Maximinus Thrax, who according to SHA *Max.* 8.5 was called by a variety of unflattering nicknames, such as Cyclops, Busiris, Sciron, Typhon, and Giant.

<sup>357</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 6(7).7.2: *iturus ad deos genitorem illum deorum [...] prospexit Oceanum*. Another flattering reference may imply that in addition to his own apotheosis Chlorus himself was to become another *genitor dei*, somewhat like Caesar for Augustus.

impressive natural phenomena as volcanoes.<sup>358</sup> In such connections the West could become associated with the most ancient mythological past, in a way that the eastern extremes of the world, whose vastness was of a more continental and possibly less threatening kind, did not.

Strabo speaks of two different sacred islands in connection with his examples of the Gallic cultic life. The first report, on the authority of Posidonius, describes the island of the Samnitae near the outlet of Liger, where the holy women experience Dionysiac possession and perform initiatory rituals.<sup>359</sup> Unlike many holy women of antiquity, the Samnitae are distinguished by their non-virginal lifestyle: though no man is allowed on their island, the priestesses themselves sail away from it for purposes of sexual intercourse. They practice human sacrifice by annually selecting one of their number to break a taboo by a pre-arranged 'accident' during the re-roofing of the temple; the victim is then torn apart in an act that must have reminded Greek readers of the Dionysiac maenadism of drama and myth.<sup>360</sup> The (ethnic?) name of the women in Strabo is Σαμνῖται, but both Caesar and Pliny report the probably connected ethnonym *Namnetes* around the same area, and information resembling Strabo's is repeated by Dionysius the Periegete as Ἀμνῖται.<sup>361</sup> The precise correspondence between Strabo's report and the description by Pomponius Mela is unclear: the latter geographer tells of the island of Sena, famous for the oracle of a Gallic deity (*Gallici numinis oraculo insignis*), whose nine priestesses (*antistites*) are sworn to perpetual virginity (3.48). They have particular skills: they can calm the seas with their *carmina*, shift shape at wish into an animal (*seque in quae velint animalia vertere*), cure incurable diseases, and predict the future. In particular the conflicting reports on the sexual practice of these priestesses make it unlikely that Strabo and Dionysius had simply copied the same original source.

Strabo's second sacred island is expressly lifted from Artemidorus of Ephesus, a first century BCE geographer whose Γεωγραφούμενα is frequently cited by his later colleague.<sup>362</sup> While Strabo expresses his scepticism concerning Artemidorus' account of a harbour town on the coast called 'Two Crows', where two birds of that species are used in arbitrating disputes, he gives much more credence to Artemidorus' description of an island near Britain, on which

<sup>358</sup> *Aetna* is the most famous of these: DAUGE 1981, 644; from the literary point of view INNES 1979.

<sup>359</sup> Str. 4.4.6. The derivation from Artemidorus is suggested by HOFENEDER 2005, 110; earlier, NASH 1976, 112 had simply observed that Strabo's reference is likely not to Posidonius' *History* but his *On the Ocean*. On the other hand, Strabo reported cults of Heracles and Dionysus among the Indian philosophers, too (15.1.58), and this hardly was lifted from Posidonius, but Megasthenes: FRENCH 1994, 128.

<sup>360</sup> On the perceived Dionysiac connections with femininity, see e.g. KRAEMER 1979. Cf. the shredding apart of king Ptolemy Ceraunus according to Just. 24.5.5 and particularly Memn. F 14 *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 224.8.8.

<sup>361</sup> Caes. *B Gall.* 3.9; Plin. *HN* 4.107; Dionys. Per. 570-72 (cf. fn. 370 below); note that Marc. *Peripl.* 2.21 still has the form with *S*.

<sup>362</sup> Although HOFENEDER 2005, 110 thinks Strabo knew Artemidorus only via Posidonius, his main source for Book 4.



rituals like those at Samothrace in honour of Demeter and Kore are practiced.<sup>363</sup> Strabo then moves on to other things that are 'generally believed' about the Κελτική. Artemidorus was suggested by NORDEN 1922, 468 to be the author behind the motif of oceanic inundation as the cause of the Cimbric and Teutonic migration, which is conceivable in the light of his interest in the Ocean littoral. If such a theory was invented by Artemidorus, Strabo did not follow him: he criticizes theories that envisioned a flooding sea as banishing the Cimbri from their homelands, but does not name the originator of that theory. Since the motif of northern barbarians either fighting the Oceanic waves or having to flee them crops up time and again in a wide array of authors, it was clearly influential enough to warrant the lengthy and impassioned critique that Strabo—quoting Posidonius—gave it.<sup>364</sup> In any case, the connection between Oceanic islands and conspicuous religious cults (whether good or bad) is noteworthy.

As pointed out earlier in this thesis, Avienus' *Ora maritima* has often been thought to be citing an early Massalian periplus on the Western Oceanic littoral.<sup>365</sup> His mention of Ireland has been noted above, but he (or his sources) also knew of an island sacred to Saturn, abundant in herbs, in the western Ocean, as well as a mountainous headland devoted to the same deity.<sup>366</sup> The island of Saturn in particular is associated with heaving seas: reportedly any attempt to approach the shore leads to powerful tremors on the island itself and rough waters around it. By Avienus' time, the fourth century CE, Saturn had already long been consistently linked with the Western parts of the οἰκουμένη.<sup>367</sup> It is another matter entirely whether this information stems from the early Greek peripli, although the name of *Ierne*, or Ireland, had been explained relatively early on through the etymology ἱερῆ νῆσος. Although a sacred

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<sup>363</sup> Str. 4.4.6. The element of using birds as vehicles of prophecy could be connected with other similar instances in descriptions of Celts and Γαλάται, but it should be borne in mind that this use of birds was one of the principal oracular practices among several ancient societies. Demeter is connected with the sacred isle of Ierne in the *Argonautica Orphica* (1181-90), though KILLEEN 1976, 209 is probably correct in deeming the expression as a poeticism meaning meadows or grasslands, which by the Imperial Era was as topical an element in connection with Ireland as the expectation to find sacred islands in the Ocean.

<sup>364</sup> Much of Strabo's criticism stems from Posidonius, and is commented upon by KIDD 1988, II 929-32. This is in no way contrary to the proposition of HOFENEDER (see fn. 362 above).

<sup>365</sup> Above p. 43f. FREEMAN 1996, 15-17 and 2001 still views an 'early source' for Avienus' information as correct.

<sup>366</sup> Avien. *Ora* 107-11, 161f., 215f. The Isle of Saturn is interpreted in the edition of MURPHY 1977, 54 *ad loc.* as the modern Ilha da Berlenga on the coast of Portugal. The Promontory of Saturn in the area of the Cynetes is identified by the earlier editor BERTHELOT 1934, 75 as the Cabo de Santa Maria in Faro, whereas MURPHY 1977, 56 *ad loc.* opts for Ponta de Sagres. What matters here, however, is the notion itself: that the western seaboard contained promontories dedicated to mythical figures from the Greek past.

<sup>367</sup> Already Pind. *Ol.* 2.70 Cronus ruling the Islands of the Blessed; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.38.1 the association of Cronus with Italy as a fitting one (he proceeds to write that human sacrifices to Cronus/Saturn were the habit also among ancient Italians, as was furthermore done by Carthaginians during their heyday, and by Celts even to 'his day': 1.38.2); Plut. *De def. or.* 18 (*Mor.* 420A) Cronus asleep on an island near Britain, guarded by Briareus (see PLÁCIDO 1993, 67f.); in *De fac.* 26 Cronus on the mainland encircling the far side of the Ocean, the several great rivers of which make the sea around those parts sluggish with their muddy discharge (cf. Tac. *Agr.* 10.6, a theory which is refuted by Plutarch *loc. cit.*).

promontory on the Atlantic coast had been a fixture in many Greek peripli, and Cronus had already been relocated to a western island by Hesiod and Pindar, it would be more natural to view Avienus' contribution as stemming from an Imperial-era interest in the Saturnian islands of the west, as exemplified by Plutarch.<sup>368</sup>

In his *De defectu oraculorum*, Plutarch mentions mostly uninhabited islands close to Britain; they are called by the names of daemons and heroes. One of these islands had been explored, and found to sustain a group of holy men held inviolate by the British.<sup>369</sup> Given his use of the motif of strong winds and other violent natural phenomena, Plutarch seems to be echoing notions similar to that expressed by Mela, though Strabo and later Avienus also refer to holy persons on a (smallish) Oceanic island.<sup>370</sup> Writers who discuss the northern islands quite consistently seem to feature a connection between the Ocean and sacredness. In such contexts, the Ocean might be further distanced by calling it by various mythologizing names, such as Plutarch's 'Cronian' or Ptolemy's 'Hyperborean'. Ptolemy further mentions αἱ τῶν Θεῶν νῆσοι in connection with the Cassiterids. Marcian of Heraclea's *Periplus maris exteri* follows Ptolemy in calling the Ocean beyond Ireland 'Hyperborean'.<sup>371</sup>

The long-standing connection of Cronus/Saturn with the West did not manifest itself in quite the same way as the travels of Heracles (see above p. 136-45); as a predominantly theogonic figure of the 'mythological plupast', he was not expected to have many cult places and traditions connected to him anyway. In fact he seems to feature as a rather intangible presence imparting a flavour of timelessness and deep antiquity to a western topography associated with himself. This is the role of Cronus for instance in Diodorus, where the

<sup>368</sup> Hes. *Op.* 173A-E; Pind. *Ol.* 2.68ff. See KILLEEN 1976, 209; FREEMAN 2001, 29f.

<sup>369</sup> Plut. *De def. or.* 18 (419E-F). The names of the heroes given to the western islands are probably meant to evoke Hesiod's description of the heroes of old living an eternal life at the ends of the earth ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην: Hes. *Op.* 166-73. Worth to note is the expurgation of the lines 173A-E in the edition-commentary of WEST 1978, 194-95 based on the sound reasoning that they derive probably from *scholia*, and would, if authentic, contradict Cronus' role in *Theog.* 717, 729ff., 861. Cronus' rule over the heroes of old in the Isles of the Blessed derives by extension from his rule over the Golden Race (attested in *Catal.* F 204.99ff.), as noted by WEST 1978, 193 *ad* 173A.

<sup>370</sup> Mela 3.6.48 (Gallizenae on the island of Sena): *putantque ingenii singularibus praeditas maria ac ventos concitare carminibus seque in quae velint animalia vertere, sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et praedicare, sed nonnidi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent projectis*; for Strabo 4.4.6 (Σαμνῖται), and for Avienus, *vide supra*. Cf. Dionys. *Per.* 570-73 (ἄγχι δὲ νησιῶδων ἕτερος πόρος, ἧχι γυναῖκες / ἀνδρῶν ἀντιπέρηθεν ἀγαυῶν Ἀμνιτάων / ὀρνύμεναι τελέουσι κατὰ νόμον ἱερὰ Βάκχω, / στεψάμεναι κισσοῖο μελαμύλλιο κορύμβοις,) and Priscian's rather terse translation: *Perieg.* 585-7 (*nec spatium distant Nesidum litora longe, / in quibus uxores Ammitum Bacchica sacra / concelebrant, hederæ foliis tectaeque corymbis*). Though in Priscian's translation the loss of the initial *S* of *Sammītae* could be explained as a scribal error, the omission had already taken place earlier. Cf. also Eustathius' *In Dionys.* *Per.* 566, with a reference to Str. 4.4.6, as well as bringing both Thracian and Indian rites to bear in comparison—both being locales known to host Dionysiac worship. Nicephorus Blemmydes (*Geogr. synopt.* 554-619) obviously depends on Dionysius Periegetes, with even the archaizing Κασσιτερίδες possibly being brought to his mind by Dionys. *Per.* 563 νήσους Ἑσπερίδας, τόθι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη.

<sup>371</sup> Plut. *De fac.* 26 (941); Ptol. *Geog.* 2.1f. 'Hyperborean Ocean' (cf. Marc. *Peripl.* 2.42), 2.6.73 'Isles of the Gods'.

legendary rule of Cronus, as reportedly told by the Cretans (who admittedly were proverbial liars), extends the mythological terrain radically towards the West.<sup>372</sup> Cronus is also said to have established garrisons on prominent hills and local strongholds. Diodorus uses this to explain why many western high places are called Κρόνια, but this aetiology should be seen in the context of the new Greek enquiry into the western lands and the consequent provision of suitably ancient pedigrees for holy places and hill towns.<sup>373</sup> During the same period such indigenous hill towns were occasionally given a Herculean aetiology; Alesia is a Diodoran example. Plutarch's *De facie in orbe Lunae* brings the two mythological figures together in his account of a western mainland in the Ocean, where the inhabitants revere Heracles more than Cronus (who is asleep on that landmass), since the travelling hero "rekindled the Hellenic spark" there when the Greek inhabitants of the coast were being absorbed by the barbarians.<sup>374</sup> That these aetiologies had a real impact on the policy and thinking of the Roman elite, can be argued from the later process of admitting the Gallic *primores* into the Senate during Claudius' rule: apparently the senators put forward a suggestion that this enrolment could start with the Aedui, since they shared a common ancestry with the Romans.<sup>375</sup> Even something as trivial-seeming and dilettantish as mythologizing origin stories could have a practical impact when (ab)used within the rhetorical mode.

It could furthermore be argued that the archaic and cruel sacrificial practices connected with Cronus/Saturn seem to have derived some strength from the well-publicized behaviour of the western barbarians.<sup>376</sup> If Ennius' *Euhemerus* is anything to go by, the Romans had rather early access to interpretations which envisioned *Saturnum et Opem ceterosque tunc homines humanum carnem solitos esitare*.<sup>377</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports that human victims were habitually sacrificed to Cronus in the Carthage of old and even among his contemporary Celts, as well as among "certain other western nations" (a typically hazy formulation). In

<sup>372</sup> Diod. 3.61.3: δυναστεῦσαι δέ φασι τὸν Κρόνον κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόποις συστήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν. On Cretans as famous liars: Epim. F 2 FGrH *ap.* Paul Tit. 1.12.

<sup>373</sup> This Western outlook may also be partly dictated upon the arrangement of Diodorus' material because of his designed frame for it: the chapters from 3.56 to 61 purport to give the versions of many myths as they are told by 'the Atlanteans', whom Diodorus glosses as the folk living in the fertile regions of the Oceanic littoral (3.56.2). On the interaction between Greek mythologies and local traditions in the western 'middle ground': WOOLF 2011A, *passim*.

<sup>374</sup> Plut. *De fac.* 26 (941-2). Cf. GÓMEZ ESPELOSIN 1994, 288f. There is some merit to the suggestion of NESSELRATH 2005, 164 about Plutarch envisioning the North Atlantic as a conduit for otherworldly wisdom to enter into the human world.

<sup>375</sup> The senatorial motion (Tac. *Ann.* 11.25.1) is treated in GRIFFIN 1982, 414.

<sup>376</sup> These notions must derive to large extent from Hesiod *Theog.* 137-8, 145ff., 453ff. (and via him, a tentative connection of some motifs to certain Near-Eastern predecessors has been suggested: cf. BURKERT 1992; *ibid.* 1996, 54; WEST 1997).

<sup>377</sup> Enn. *Euhem.* F 9 VAHLEN *ap.* Lact. *Div. inst.* 1.14, as discussed in EVANS 2008, 20.

Rome, Dionysius envisions Heracles as instituting fire sacrifices upon the hill of Saturn and teaching the appropriate substitutes for human victims (the Argei).<sup>378</sup> The shedding of the barbarian vestiges of Roman religion is thus strongly associated with a primordial divinity which elsewhere in the western barbarian world embodied the 'wrong' sacrificial practices; this advance in proper religion is moreover associated with a cultural hero who came to be closely associated with European barbarian groups. A very similar remark is made much later by Augustine, who ascribes this information to Varro, the probable source for Dionysius.<sup>379</sup>

Several motives were concurrently available that could heighten the conceptual link between northern populations and the watery element of the Ocean. The metaphor or rhetorical figure of a barbarian invasion as an inundation, wave, or storm is widespread and entirely conventional; it may have been influenced by two further stereotypes, namely the fecundity and the violence of the northerners.<sup>380</sup> This was combined with the ostensibly ethnographic element of a barbarian habitation close to the Ocean, which gained prominence in explanations of the Cimbric migrations, but is still in evidence in Pliny the Elder's disdainful treatment of the lifestyle of the Chauci.<sup>381</sup> Another motif, and moreover one we have already met with in this thesis, is the slightly paradoxographic but long-lived information that the northern barbarians had a combative attitude towards the oceanic waters. Occasionally this was argued to demonstrate a futile barbarian pride or ὑβρις; tellingly, the same motivation was

<sup>378</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.38.2: ἐν Καρχηδόνι τέως ἢ πόλις διέμεινε καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τὸδε χρόνου. The role of Heracles as a 'civilizing general' in Dionysius is hence reinforced: cf. SCHULZE 2012, 119.

<sup>379</sup> August. *De civ. D.* 7.19: *deinde ideo dicit a quibusdam pueros ei [sc. Saturno] solitos immolari, sicut a Poenis, et a quibusdam etiam maiores, sicut a Gallis, quia omnium seminum optimum est genus humanum*; Tert. *Apol.* 9.5 may repeat a variant.

<sup>380</sup> The theme had been topical from Herodotus (Thracians) and Thucydides (Scythians) onwards. Cf. WALBANK 1995, 203; also p. 35 fn. 32 above. Late Imperial sentiments include such examples as Amm. 31.8.5 with the imagery of river bursting its bounds, Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.4 *Radagaisus [...] repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam*; [Prosp.] *Carm. de prov. Dei* 14.29-32 about Gallic countryside being devastated by fire and flood; Vict. Vit. *Hist. pers. Afr.* 3.63 *velut spiritus tempestatis procella sui furoris totum subvertere voluerunt*. On the other hand, the simile of the rushing waters could be used by Claudian on Stilicho's whirlwind speed (in itself a Caesarian theme): *Cons. Stil.* 1.188-217. Possibly the self-renewing multitude of European barbarians, and the constantly surging water of Ocean suggested each other through some sort of *similia similibus* –association, or perhaps more like perceived essential sympathy. The subsequent scholarly tradition, to be sure, has found the enduring motif of 'barbarian tides'—well criticized by GOFFART 2006, esp. 11—much too easy to subscribe to considering its obvious topicality; the rhetorical nature of this trope is illuminated by e.g. its use in [Quint.] *Decl. Maior.* 3.4.3.

<sup>381</sup> Plin. *HN* 16.1-4, rejecting the mode of life of Chauci, and berating them for their pride in thinking that Roman rule—the only thing that could improve their lot—would mean slavery; see SALLMANN 1987 (demonstrating Pliny's notions of providential Roman imperialism, and suggests a possible allusion to Verg. *Aen.* 6.853); also NAAS 2002, 424; MURPHY 2004, 165-74 (observing for instance that for Pliny, the Chauci are fundamentally 'landless', for their area is neither land nor sea: a new twist to the old motif of land-seeking, flood-fleeing northerners), 187f. Cf. App. *Prooem.* 7 and Tac. *Germ.* 46.3-5. The possible pre-Hellenistic Greek examples for the idea of barbarians living in pile-villages built over the Ocean include Hdt. 5.16 on Paeonians living on Lake Prasias, and [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 15 on a pile-village in the marshes of river Phasis. The salience of Chauci for Pliny may have been engendered by the events of his own lifetime, with the last non-imperial triumph being celebrated in 41 by Gabinius Secundus Chaucius. In any case, the treatment of the cultural level of the Chauci is a good example of Pliny's generally negative perception of the Ocean: EVANS 2005, 117, and linked to an area which by Pliny's time was associated with the idea of barbarians fighting the tides; also by Albinovanus Pedo, see ROMM 1992, 144-9. On Pliny's moralizing view about manipulation of water, also cf. BEAGON 1992, 61.

often ascribed to their attacks on the Mediterranean sphere of life. After the criticism by Posidonius, transmitted via Strabo, the motif of battling the Ocean seems to have been relegated to the paradoxographic register; this is where we find it in Aelian's *Variae historiae* (12.23), accompanied by an extensive selection of galatographic commonplaces, such as the heroic songs and monuments dedicated to the memory of the bravest Celts, and their unflinching deaths in house fires or floods.

#### b. THE BRITISH IN THE IMPERIAL LITERATURE

The archaic and disconcerting nature of the Ocean rubbed off on the northern lands, colouring perceptions of Britain and Germania as well. As argued by O'GORMAN, the Romans were quite occupied with bringing conceptual order to the fluctuating, endless and untamed North of their perceptions—whether this meant encompassing and describing the Germanic lands, or trying to cope with the oppressive idea of the *immensa spatia* of the Ocean.<sup>382</sup> Even more than Germania, Britain became suffused with the symbolic and—remarkably—moralizing power of its Oceanic setting. In her reading of *Agricola*, CLARKE has observed that the remoteness and insularity of Britain are very much at the centre of Tacitus' thematic aims.<sup>383</sup> As in his conception of *Germania*, Tacitus is essentially dependent upon the historical and literary *exempla* of Caesar (see e.g. p. 236 above). Caesar's British expedition constituted a formidable *exemplum* with compelling power at least within the realm of imperial panegyric and possibly in relation to actual imperial action as well. For those emperors who could approach the edge of the world in Britain, where in practical terms it was most approachable to the Romans, the combination of the Alexander-inspired model of pursuing the ultimate *limen* and the close brush with the numinous immensity of the Ocean was ostensibly a source of glory.<sup>384</sup>

Strabo's British references in general follow Caesar, and he is quite as silent on religious practices; although his general remark as to the Britons resembling the Κελτοί in

<sup>382</sup> O'GORMAN 1993, 138. Ocean's *immensa spatia*: Tac. *Germ.* 1.1, tellingly right at the start of his work.

<sup>383</sup> CLARKE 2001, 95.

<sup>384</sup> Alexander as the model for Roman expansion in general (in addition to inspiring several leaders on personal level): SPENCER 2002, 2-4, 34, 119, 138f., 141f. (in connection with the symbolism of Ocean). For Caesar's British exploits as 'Alexandrian', see GÜNNEWIG 1998, 259f. Florus, in epitomizing the actions of Caesar's second British expedition, elaborated the extent of his attack in a way that probably was not present in Livy: in pursuing the fleeing Britons he proceeds even unto the Caledonian forests, where he makes Casuellanus his prisoner: Flor. 1.45.18. Sidonius Apollinaris *Pan. Avit.* 88-92 might have gotten the element from Florus. The later reception of the idea of Caesar subjugating the whole of Britain is treated by NEARING 1974, who however does not explain the earliest origin of the element.

their customs, except for being simpler and more barbaric, was probably was meant to comprise the moral dimension as well. More significant is his reference to dedicated offerings of British chiefs at the Capitol, made through their friendship with Augustus.<sup>385</sup> This is linked to the propagandistic value of Britain for the successors of Caesar (cf. p. 327-31). While *Divus Iulius* was usually credited as the first Roman to invade Britain, a careful articulation of the British conquest by Claudius as a propagandistic first can perhaps be demonstrated on the basis of the reconstructed text in his triumphal arch at Rome; in any case, dedications for his *Victoria Britannica* sprang up very quickly after the campaign.<sup>386</sup> The mock conquest of the English Channel by Caligula is somewhat of an unclear case—religious themes may have been linked to the personal preoccupations of the famously intractable emperor.<sup>387</sup>

Seneca's scoffing estimation of the divine cult status conferred on Claudius in Britain may indicate something shared in the early Imperial thinking as to the constant ability of the Britons to underperform in the field of religion. Claudius is derided for his alleged wish to become a god (*deus fieri vult*), but he should be satisfied with the fact that *templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt et ut deum orant* μωροῦ εὐιλᾶτου τυχεῖν.<sup>388</sup> Britain in this case is simply the most worthless corner of the earth for Seneca's purposes, and for an emperor aspiring to divination to have followers there is implied to be a sordid affair.<sup>389</sup> Later, in

<sup>385</sup> Str. 4.5.3. SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 10 remarks more generally that Strabo did not find the religious practices of northerners sufficiently different from each other to constitute a criterion of cultural difference between them.

<sup>386</sup> BARRETT 1991, 12 and fg. 3, where Claudius is said to be the first to bring the *gentes barbaras trans Oceanum* under the Roman authority. Also STEWART 1995, 8, with an additional reference to *Anth. Lat.* 419.1 that describes the Britannia in terms implying virginity and ravishment: *numquam tellus violata*; to this could be set in comparison with the reliefs at Sebasteion of Aphrodisias, with the imperial masculinity utterly dominating the female personification: ERIM 1982, 279ff.; also SMITH 1987 and 1988 for background; also the perceptive examination in FERRIS 2000, 55-62 (aptly under the heading 'A Pornography of Conquest'), 166f. WEBSTER 1995A, 158 notes that toponyms in feminine grammatical gender result in (one might even say 'prime') connotations of sexual plunder. About the cult of *Victoria Britannica*, see STANDING 2003, who (287) stresses the short-lived duration of the cult, which is not attested after the Severans.

<sup>387</sup> See discussion on p. 291f. DAVIES 1966 sees no ideological considerations involved. There was, however, some probable wrangling about the glory of subjugating Britain between the disgraced Julian and the current Claudian lines, as suggested by STEWART 1995, 9; after Caligula's short reign and 'failure' to conquer Britain, these considerations would have become part of the historiographical tradition very quickly. CREIGHTON 2006, 53 remarks how the motivation to denigrate Gaius' possible successes would have continued beyond Claudius' rule, since Vespaian's contribution to the invasion of 43 would have made this conquest partly Flavian, too.

<sup>388</sup> Sen. *Apoc.* 8.3. The Senecan reference is ignored in FISHWICK 1973, a note attempting to answer whether Claudius' temple at Camulodunum had been dedicated already while the emperor was alive. To be sure, Seneca is both writing after Claudius' death and for the purpose of slandering him—and this he seems to achieve partly by borrowing the primitivistic association of the Britons' religiosity. SIMPSON 1993, on the other hand, mounts a measured counterargument against Fishwick, and thinks that Seneca's jibe is based on factual worship of the still living Claudius in Colchester. Indeed, it is possible that only Seneca's *ut deum* constitutes a malicious addition. Echoes of exemplarity about living emperors having temples in the provinces may be present here, especially that of Tiberius rejecting a temple in Hispania while being alive (*Tac. Ann.* 4.37f.); see PELLING 2010, esp. 375f.

<sup>389</sup> Britain is used as a similar role in another instance of *Apocolocyntosis*, namely when Clotho remarks that given a bit more time, Claudius would have made Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards and Britons wear togas (3.2); the progression implies a sequence of increasingly undeserving candidates for the citizenship. SIMPSON 1993, 3 comes close to fully recognizing Seneca's derogatory tone in locating the cult of Claudius in Britain.

Tacitus' *Annals*, the temple of Divus Claudius at Camulodunum attracted the particular hate of the British rebels of Boudicca through its symbolism as an *arx aeternae dominationis*.<sup>390</sup> Although the notion of Roman rule as 'eternal domination' is consistent with Tacitus' critical discourse of servitude and mastery, the incident is probably not wholly of Tacitus' own invention. It may perhaps be related to the Roman perception of the *Arx* at the Capitolium as the symbol and token of Rome's *imperium*, and the associated unease of imagining the Transalpine peoples as plotting the demise of both (*Hist.* 4.54). In that case, it would be a narrative parallel to the prophecies that the *druidae canebant* during the uprising of Civilis; in threatening the *colonia* of Camulodunum, Boudicca's uprising threatened 'Rome in Britain', *pars pro toto*. Rather than any particular objective on the part of the uprising, the report has much more crucially a bearing upon Roman religious insecurity during outbreaks of barbarian hostility in the north.

Tacitus seems to transfer to the British certain practices which earlier on had been linked with the Gauls. In this he is partly being guided by Caesar's example, particularly when he notes that the beliefs and religious practices are in Britain the same as in Gaul; this is essentially predicated by Caesar's passage explaining that immigrants from the continent had settled much of the southern part of Britain.<sup>391</sup> Just as Strabo overtly referred to Caesar in writing about the Isles and filled out the details by geographical reasoning and speculation, so Tacitus operates on a (rather more subtle) Caesarian framework while incorporating the accumulated new information regarding the inhabitants and their ways. Indeed, Agricola is presented as bringing to conclusion the conquest first initiated by Caesar, and renewed but left uncompleted by Claudius (*divus Claudius auctor iterati operis*).<sup>392</sup>

The famous description by Tacitus of the attack of Suetonius Paullinus against the druidic island stronghold of Mona combines a wide range of topical elements into an impressive display of northern religious fervour.<sup>393</sup> As noted by ROBERTS 1988, 121, the fanaticism of the defenders leads to their demise—a wholly topical turn of events, though not

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<sup>390</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 14.31. This, however, is in all likelihood another reflection of Tacitus' longstanding authorial occupation with the theme of slavery vs. freedom, and should not be read as a fact of contemporary British sensibilities, as in DE LA BÉDOYÈRE 2002, 52-56, 65. Instead, see ROBERTS 1988 (esp. 127 about the Claudian temple prefiguring Nero's Domus Aurea as a symbol of oppression) and now also LAVAN 2011. On the other hand, the religious aspects of the Boudiccan rebellion could have stemmed from the association between the *colonia* and the temple of Claudius; cf. WEBSTER 1995A, 160.

<sup>391</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 14.30; cf. Diod. 5.31.1-4; Str. 4.4.5. Tac. *Agr.* 11; dependent upon Caes. *BGall.* 5.12. As recognized by DE LA BÉDOYÈRE 2002, 44. This also demonstrates the double essence of Britain in Tacitus: partly belonging to the strange Oceanic world, but partly an adjunct to Gaul and hence dominable (CLARKE 2001, 106). This later element is necessitated, it could be argued, by Caesar's example, and contrasts with Germania (cf. Tac. *Germ.* 37).

<sup>392</sup> Tac. *Agr.* 10.1. Though the Claudian triumphal arch at Rome clearly presented him as the first conqueror obtaining a comprehensive victory: BARRETT 1991, 12-19, with the associated figures; STEWART 1995, 8. Also STANDING 2003.

<sup>393</sup> E.g. SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 44.

exactly the 'panic fear' that is most often encountered. With regard to the island of Mona itself, we should not reject the idea of some influence from the by now quite entrenched notion of northern barbarian cults being located on islands in the northern seas. Though it is uncertain whether Tacitus invented the entire episode as a set piece, the links between Druids, holy groves, frantic female figures and a sacred island could clearly evoke things that the Romans expected to witness upon such a landfall.<sup>394</sup> It has also been noted that the dramatically elaborated description is much more detailed than would have been strictly necessary for Tacitus' narrative.<sup>395</sup> There is little reason to postulate any sort of real experience behind Tacitus' artifice. Rather, this once again highlights the importance for the Romans of their fundamental technique, with regard to the northern lands, of 'ruling through knowing'.<sup>396</sup> The action itself supports the idea. At first the Romans are taken aback by the natives' ferocity, but by overcoming their fear they are able to nullify the ominous religious feeling engendered by the display at the beach.<sup>397</sup> To be reduce the insularity both of Britain as a whole and of Mona in this particular case was crucial, in Tacitus' view, to the Roman success.

For Plutarch, Caesar's expedition to Britain merited praise for carrying Roman hegemony beyond the οἰκουμένη, and for being the first to bring the navy to the western ocean and sail into the Atlantic with an army.<sup>398</sup> Another source of appreciation, at least in Plutarch's eyes, seems to be that in invading Britain he confirmed the existence of this island, which had been seen by some historians as merely a name and a fabrication.<sup>399</sup> While in Diodorus Caesar's British expedition had been an unsurpassed culmination of heroic journeys, Plutarch's wider retrospect led him to tone down the οἰκουμένη-stretching aspects of the feat.

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<sup>394</sup> As noted by DE LA BÉDOYÈRE 2002, 66f., the fact that Dio mentions no Druids in connection with the Anglesey campaign (62.8) may suggest that they are a dramatic creation of Tacitus, who besides included nothing similar in his early work on Agricola. The other option (cf. *ibid.* 67) is that by Dio's time the Druids had become so irrelevant that he chose to omit them altogether. Considering the dramatic potential of such an element, however, this latter option appears unlikely—particularly as Dio already had sought clear moralizing and pathetic aims with his description of Boudicca's sadistic treatment of her captives and the bloody offerings to Andate (62.7). On the other hand Dio's age was perhaps increasingly interested in Druids as a venerable group of ancient barbarian sages (cf. p. 310), and thus unlikely to perceive them as sanguinolent fanatics. All things considered, however, Tacitus is quite likely indulging in another instance of elaborate staging with utterly traditional props.

<sup>395</sup> ROBERTS 1988, 119, also highlighting the literary affectations in the passage, even down the level of subtly poetic verbiage (*passim*, e.g. 121f.).

<sup>396</sup> The same has been argued by CLARKE (2001, 100ff.) about the campaigns of Agricola as presented in Tacitus: to be able to encircle and to dominate by knowledge is crucial for pacifying the tumultuous north (cf. NAAS 2002, 426 on Pliny).

<sup>397</sup> Cf. ROBERTS 1988, 120, who goes on to demonstrate (122-4) that the encounter at Mona served to establish the terms in which the following conflict with Boudicca is acted out. It might be added that the terms are epistemic to a considerable extent: having been inoculated against the superstitious ferocity of the Britons, the Romans could use their knowledge to withstand the rebels much easier.

<sup>398</sup> Plut. *Caes.* 23.2: πρώτος γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἑσπέριον Ὠκεανὸν ἐπέβη στόλῳ, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς θαλάττης στρατὸν ἐπὶ πόλεμον κομίζων ἔπλευσε. Apparently the Veneti did not qualify.

<sup>399</sup> Plut. *Caes.* 23.3. PELLING 2002, 241 notes that with both Marius and Caesar in Plutarch's view, the fighting against northerners reveal their best features.



In the pseudo-Plutarchan text *De placita philosophorum* the inhabitants of Britain are reported to have been described by the medical writer Asclepiades of Bithynia as particularly long-lived; this is attributed to the effect of their cold climate on their bodies, which contain a strong fiery element (διὰ τὸ κατεψύχθαι μὲν τοὺς τόπους, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς δὲ στέγειν τὸ πυρῶδες). Notably, in Asclepiades the climato-humoral explanation has clearly prevailed over Homeric vestiges; the Aethiopians are mentioned as particularly quick to grow old. Northerners, in contrast, are robust in their bodies, and hence can live up to hundred and twenty.<sup>400</sup>

Severus' campaign in northern Britain (208-11) again brought epistemic salience to descriptions of the northernmost inhabitants of the island, and Cassius Dio thus had less of a personal interest in writing his ethnographical notes than Tacitus.<sup>401</sup> But though Dio was describing a contemporary campaign, the remote location would undoubtedly have triggered a set of ethnographical topoi in his mind, some of which would have approached the thaumasiographic. The result is an entirely conventional vignette of a nomadic pastoralist society: no cities, agriculture, or even clothes, with women held in common and communal upbringing of children. Their political mode is largely democratic, they love plundering, and are consequently ruled by their bravest. Essentially, the Caledonians of Dio present, motif-wise, a similar aggregation as Pliny's unidealized Chauci (cf. BEAGON 1992, 78) or Tacitus' idealized Fenni; given their negligible material wealth, the glory in conquering them must be made to derive from their fierceness in battle. They represent a combination of several tropes familiar to Roman readers since Caesar: riding in chariots, possessing agile foot-soldiers, and engendering a fearful din with their weapons. Their symbiosis with their natural environment is extreme and approaches *mirabilia*: as typical northerners they endure extreme hardship, hunger and cold, and can lie in wait for days submerged in the swamps.<sup>402</sup> Religiosity is not mentioned, not even by way of its absence as with the Fenni.

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<sup>400</sup> Asclep. *ap.* [Plut.] *Plac. philosoph.* 5.30 (911C). Cf. already [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 4.

<sup>401</sup> But with quite as much rhetorical colouring, as demonstrated by CLARKE 1968—even though Clarke was probably hasty in dismissing the point of MILLAR 1964, 177 on the Severan rise in Britain's salience entirely (146); WOOLF 2011A, 93f. notes that Dio's description shows a growth of interest in Britain, though not any corresponding growth in the exactitude of facts. It has been suggested that in both Tacitus and Dio the lower socio-cultural level of Britons makes them less dangerous enemies than the *Germani* (GÜNNEWIG 1995, 284f.), but this may have worked other-way around, instead: the fact that Germania still remained unconquered (whereas in Britain the situation seemed favourable both in the time of writing of Tacitus and that of Dio) required explanation, and this was most easily accomplished by granting certain civilizational advances to the *Germani*.

<sup>402</sup> Cass. Dio 77.12.2-4 *ap.* Xiph. 321.24-322.12. In their generic hardiness Dio's Caledonians resemble the Germans of App. *Celt.* 4, who endure heat and cold with equal hardiness, can sustain themselves on herbs, and let their horses browse on trees. On Dio's use of 'generic all-purpose barbarian 'attributes'' about the Caledonii: DE LA BÉDOYÈRE 2003, 98.

Severus seems to have been quite aware of the propagandistic value of the triumph in Britain, and this notional elaboration of previous imperial achievements in the area may partly explain why Dio was willing to provide a remarkably long description of the Boudiccan rebellion.<sup>403</sup> Dio has the British behave with extreme cruelty, as in the episode following Boudicca's temporary victory (62.7.1-3). In a bizarre orgy, the most distinguished women among the captives were hung up naked by the Britons, then had their breasts cut off and sewn to their mouths as if they were eating them; finally, the women were impaled. This was accompanied by other sacrifices, festivities and great arrogance—the last element, as we have seen, the perennial fixture in describing the most crucial failure of northern religiosity. The focal point of this barbarized triumph accords with the stock characteristics: it is the sacred grove of Andate, by which name they call their venerated goddess of victory.<sup>404</sup> The prominence of northern females has another expression late in Dio's work, when he describes a light conversation between Julia Domna and the wife of the Caledonian chief Argentocoxus after a treaty had been concluded between their husbands (Cass. Dio 77.16.5 *ap. Xiph.* 325). Although the incident is clearly presented as a moralizing commentary on Roman decadence, and hence seems like a fictional creation, it constitutes another case of rhetorical counterpoise between Roman perception and (imagined) northern reality. Julia Domna jestingly confronts the Caledonian lady about the free sexual relations of the Britons (ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέδην σφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσία), but is faced with an undaunted response: unlike Roman women, who engage in debauchery in secret and with the vilest of men, Caledonian women fulfil the demands of nature by consorting with only the best, and in the open.<sup>405</sup>

The Ocean is the defining attribute of Britain in the *XII Panegyrici Latini* as well. Eumenius, in the 290s, in referring to the respective military victories of the Tetrarchs, defines an anthropomorphic Batavia by its forests, and a similarly envisioned Britain by the Oceanic

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<sup>403</sup> If the Severan elaboration to the so-called 'Elliptical Building' of Vespasian in Chester is a fact, and if that structure was triumphalistic in nature (see SHOTTER 2004, 3-5 with references to archaeological studies), it seems rather likely that the ideological continuum of subjugating Britain appeared worth considerable investment for Severus (though see the contrary opinion of FRASER 2009, 28, locating Severus' professed aim of outdoing the Flavians in Dio's wish to portray the campaign of Severus—a foreigner and a military man—as a failure, though this does not account for the pictorial allusions in his commemorative propaganda); other triumphalistic commemoration of the British campaigns by Severus and Caracalla are detailed by REED 1976. Another detail is the continuation of the Claudian cult of *Victoria Britannica* under the Severans (see STANDING 2003, 287).

<sup>404</sup> Cass. Dio 62.7.2 on the hybris: θύοντές τε ἅμα καὶ ἐστιώμενοι καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, and 62.7.3 on the goddess: οὕτω τε γὰρ τὴν Νίκην ὠνόμαζον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιπτότατα.

<sup>405</sup> Briefly analysed by FRASER 2009, 27. The traditional motifs here are the prominence of northern women, the wittiness usually associated with the Gallic conversation, the idealization of their more natural, though promiscuous sexual *mores* (also a pseudo-ethnographic element), and the meritocracy of following the best (cf. Cass. Dio 77.12.2).

waves from which it lifts up its head.<sup>406</sup> Claudian may also reflect the tendency to define Britain by its Ocean-surrounded locale: in a much discussed passage of *De consulatu Stilichonis*, the personified divinity *Britannia* gives thanks to Roma for saving her from the ravaging Irish, Picts and Saxons. Since the personification is described as having *ferro picta genas*, CHADWICK 1958, 151ff. envisioned her *caerulus amictus* (which is said to rival the colour of the Ocean) as either a reference to the actual body-painting or tattooing of the *Picti*, or (rather more plausibly) an allusion to Caesar, who described the Britons as colouring their bodies with *vitrum*, or woad. While the possibility of a reference to body paint should not be discarded outright, it is equally conceivable that *Britannia*'s cloak is simply a colour allusion to her status as a province surrounded by the Ocean.<sup>407</sup> For poetic purposes the 'hoary sea' could be seen as influencing the character and even the physical form of barbarians living near it, as in the case of Sidonius Apollinaris' letter to Lampridius. He describes a Herulian envoy to the court of king Euric as one of 'grayish visage' (*glaucis genis*) and 'of similar colour to the sea-weedy deeps' (*algoso prope concolor profundo*)—apparently simply because of his homeland by the Ocean (*imos Oceani colens recessus*).<sup>408</sup>

### c. ON STRANGER TIDES: IRELAND AND THE IRISH

Apart from the early, largely trivial references to an island west of Britain, it was the increased Roman involvement in the British isles after Caesar's initial expedition that made it mandatory for subsequent geographers to say something about Ireland and its inhabitants. However, the claim that Caesar's British excursions had brought "un réel progrès de la connaissance" about Ireland by the time of Strabo is not tenable. On the contrary, Caesar expressly tells us he was unable to verify almost anything about Ireland; partly in consequence of this, Strabo was content to recycle time-honoured topoi with a minimum of critical

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<sup>406</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 9(4).21.3.

<sup>407</sup> Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2.249-60; cf. Caes. *BGall.* 5.14. CHADWICK was quite correct in assessing the 'real' ethnographical content of rhetorical descriptions of Britain and its inhabitants as very low (153). Her point of ascribing this prevalence of stock motifs to simple mnemonics, however, neglects the broader classicizing of the Graeco-Roman ethnographical mode.

<sup>408</sup> Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 8.9. The suggestion by CHADWICK 1958, 167 to the effect that this would describe some sort of sea-coloured clothing worn by the Heruli (a notion connected with her aim of discussing the *Picti*) is probably not on the right track. With Sidonius' passage we are rather dealing with the intermingling of the oceanic and land-based lives of barbarians living in liminal areas where Ocean and land meet: this is also witnessed in the motif of combating the waves, and to a different effect in Plin. *HN* 16.1-3. The suggestion (*ead.* 175) that Sidonius' good library made him familiar with Veg. *Mil.* 4.37 (*liburnis exploratoriae ... quas Britanni picatos vocant*) is not convincing, taking into account Sidonius' high classicism and his general tendency to despise military matters.

assessment.<sup>409</sup> This was to be the case for a very long time with respect to images of this northern island in the Imperial Era. Strabo says that he has nothing certain to report (περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν ἔχομεν λέγειν σαφές), but he ventures that the inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, as demonstrated by their being both cannibals and gluttons.<sup>410</sup> Strabo's openness in explaining his inclusion of cannibalism in his rudimentary ethnography is telling: since the Scythians, the archetypal northern barbarians of old, were known to engage in this practice (cf. Hdt. 4.26 on Issedones), and since certain western barbarian groups (the Celts and the Iberians) had been known to have recourse to it when compelled, it followed that the most northwestern inhabitants of the known world could hardly be strangers to such inhumanity. Diodorus mentions the hearsay of Irish cannibalism in a briefer though probably related reference, which soon shifts from a physical description of the Gauls to a general remark that the most savage northerners are those living closest to Scythia and furthest north; he then goes on to report that some of these peoples, such as the Britons living on the island of Iris, are cannibals.<sup>411</sup>

Reminding the reader about the lack of reliable sources, Strabo says that the Irish eat their dead fathers and openly have sex with their female relatives. These traits are reported without any outright moral judgement, thus reinforcing the thaumasiographic impression. Even more crucially, the element of polygyny is already present in Caesar's description of the wilder kinds of Britons living further away from Gallic contact.<sup>412</sup> Here Strabo had apparently

<sup>409</sup> Caes. *B Gall.* 5.13.3f.; undermining the claim of ROMAN 1983, 265 on the progress of information. The main theoretical structure behind Strabo's Irish description was his theory of habitability: THOLLARD 1987, 15-19. In connection with Ireland, both Strabo's climatic template and his topicality is pointed out e.g. by FREEMAN 2000, 25f., though the question of 'trust' should perhaps be discarded entirely at least in the sense that he seeks it out.

<sup>410</sup> Str. 4.5.4: ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, ἀνθρωποφάγοι τε ὄντες καὶ πολυφάγοι. This has been used as one example of Strabo's (a self-advertised sceptic about *mirabilia*) relative gullibility in what it comes to strange peoples around the edges of the earth: FRENCH 1994, 135.

<sup>411</sup> Diod. 5.32.2-4. Since Ireland was located to the north from Britain in many geographies of Early Imperial era (Plin *HN* 4.103, Mela 3.53), the northern locale is operative in Diodorus, as it is in Strabo. BIANCHETTI 2002, otherwise an important study of Strabo's Irish ethnography, is overly confident in stating that the role of Ireland as the (northern) limit of the οἰκουμένη derives from Pytheas (301-4); she moreover ignores the topical elements in what Pytheas seems to have written about the Ocean and its islands, for which see CLARKE 2001, 97. KILLEEN 1976, 210 pointed out that while the cannibalism of the Irish in Strabo is endocannibalism, Diodorus does not elaborate on the exact nature of it; Strabo's detail anchors him more clearly in the Herodotean tradition (*ibid.* 212). One may wonder if the traditionalistic necessity to keep the Scythian groups as the northernmost and most fierce of all northerners would have necessitated for the 'turning of Scotland' in Ptolemy's theoretical geography (for which JONES & KEILLAR 1996), thus rehabilitating the accumulated British ethnography with the established classical notions of the Scythians. Sadly, the meticulous and fascinating reconstruction of Ptolemy's Britain by STRANG 1997 refrains from discussing his possible theoretical motivation for 'the turn'.

<sup>412</sup> Str. 4.5.4: τοὺς τε πατέρας τελευτήσαντας κατεσθίειν ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι καὶ φανερώς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς. Cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 5.14. It may be that Strabo's Irish are presented as an intentional western parallel to the Herodotean Indians, as KILLEEN 1976, 212 suggests. Strabo need not have been the original author of this reappropriation. A more secure claim is that Strabo's Hibernia is 'a bastard cousin' of Britain: MERRILLS 2005, 94. In Diod. 14.30.7 tattoos and the complete lack of sexual restraint mark the Mosynoeci as 'the most barbarous nation of all'.

augmented the lack of sources for Ireland by applying Caesar's description of the less civilized end of a cultural gradient that essentially begins in the Roman Narbonensis. Pomponius Mela does not elaborate on Strabo when it comes to the religiosity of the Irish: on the contrary, he seems to be generalizing from much the same information.<sup>413</sup> While the extremes of the earth were used to project idealized societies, Mela's own age, with its increasing involvement with the British (ahead of and around the time of Claudian invasion), could easily have found a overly exuberant construction unbelievable; this in addition to Strabo's rather formative account. It was more sensible an authorial policy to avoid giving details of cults and *mores*, and to simply condemn the islanders for their lack of any virtue or piety.

Tacitus too appears not to have had much new information on Ireland, which may be why even he chose to play it safe and describe the island largely in terms of its similarity to Britain. Partly, perhaps, he was inspired to juxtapose what Ireland was to Agricola with what Britain was to Caesar.<sup>414</sup> This is characteristic of the "Roman neglect of Ireland" at least at the level of official policy.<sup>415</sup> It is thus no wonder that very few writers sought to include much new information about the island: not because such information was unavailable (that there were Roman traders on the island is virtually certain), but because the demand for such information was only sporadic.<sup>416</sup> And as most descriptions of Irish religion stem either from

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<sup>413</sup> Mela 3.53: *cultores eius inconditi sunt et omnium virtutum ignari magis quam aliae gentes, pietatis admodum expertes*. This notion of the Irish being wholly ignorant of religion is applied with forcible alienating force to the Medieval Ireland by Gir. Cambr. *Topogr.* 3.26; discussed e.g. in BOIVIN 1988, 243f. KILLEEN 1976, 210 may well be correct in observing that if *pietas* is taken to refer to filial piety in particular, the Strabonian notion of endocannibalism could stand behind Mela's choice of words. Still, it is most likely that an all-round impiety is meant, which would go better together with Gerald's emphasis on the remoteness and uniqueness of Ireland (*Topogr.* 1.2), with the associated parading of elements that certainly could be classed as *mirabilia* (BOIVIN 1988, 238ff.). In these descriptions, it seems that the influence of Mela and Solinus is crucial—the Medieval Insular reception of both is examined in PARRONI 1984, esp. 353ff., also noting the tendency of Gerald towards *mirabilia* (354).

<sup>414</sup> Just as Caesar stresses the many similarities between Britain and Gaul (*BGall.* 5.12), so Tacitus makes clear that in soil and climate, and in the disposition, temper and habits of the population Ireland is very similar to Britain (*Agr.* 24). This can be compared with another formulaic element which in *Agricola* gets transferred from Britain to Ireland, namely the amount of legions needed to occupy the island, apparently used in *suasoriae*: see MANN 1985, 23f. The information about the island is similarly noted to come from commerce (Caes. *BGall.* 4.20, see the study of EZOV 1996, esp. 67f.; Tac. *Agr.* 24; perhaps with Scipio's interviews with the traders to Britain as a more distant *exemplum*; Polyb. 34.9.7 *ap.* Str. 4.2.1); likewise, Tacitus surely remembered that Caesar had with him an exiled British noble (Mandubracius)—an accessory Agricola is also described to have had (*unum ex regulis [...] specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat.* *Agr.* 24: the interpretation by HIGGINS 1998, 407 is too innocent, but on p. 409 much closer to the truth). Even the reason why Agricola contemplates the invasion—namely, that possessing Ireland would ease connections between Spain and Britain—stems from the positioning of the island by Caesar (cf. FREEMAN 2001, 38, 59). Essentially, Tacitus in *Agr.* 24 may have toyed by deconstructing a Caesarian invasion plan and showing that Agricola would have been quite able to furnish a similar show of force.

<sup>415</sup> Regarding which HIGGINS 1998 (401 for the expression) is a comparatively recent study, though he is still affected by the wish to see unambiguous proof of 'Romanization', the complexities of which have been explained e.g. by WOOLF 1998, esp. 1-23. It might be suggested that the strongest conceivable Roman motivation of conquering Ireland, the need to obtain a triumphalistic victory 'beyond the Ocean', never became pressing since operations on the Isle of Britain itself could provide comparable prestige at nearly any stage of the Imperial Era.

<sup>416</sup> The presence of Roman traders: Tac. *Agr.* 24, Ptol. *Geog.* 1.11; assessments of the amount of trade vary: a low estimate in HIGGINS 1998, 402f.; higher and quite nuanced in FREEMAN 2001, 2-13. Also, Ó RÍORDÁIN 1948

accounts of geographical nature or from pseudo-ethnographic excursuses in other works, their content is quite conventional in nature.

Solinus' account of Ireland is certainly partly dependent on Mela's description, as the element of livestock in danger of bursting would seem to attest, but there are things concerning the British Isles that Solinus cannot have gotten from Mela.<sup>417</sup> The religious stance of the inhabitants, however, is largely conventional: Hibernia is called *inhumana incolarum ritu aspero*, while the inhabitants are a *gens inhospita et bellicosa*, who apparently sacrifice criminals and drink their blood.<sup>418</sup> They have no conception of right or wrong (*fas ac nefas eodem loco ducunt*). Ireland and the other, smaller islands around Britain were free game when it came to situating marvels. Solinus presents something resembling the Golden Age still enduring among the Hebrideans (*Ebudes insulae*)—who are not only a northern group, but also an insular one. Obviously he is writing about miraculous things, but in so doing his description re-uses several traditional topoi of the blessed far-off peoples. They are ruled by a king, but in this communitarian society even he does not have private possessions. Women are held in common.<sup>419</sup> Other authors too had located the sexual utopia of polygynous societies at the utmost north of the British Isles, so distinctly separate from the world of natural norms.<sup>420</sup> This tendency was apt to persist as Britain drifted further away in the Late Imperial mental geography, especially in the East: the Syrian Bardesanes (Bardaisan), for instance, cited polygyny as the defining cultural trait of the British in his *Book of the Laws of Countries*.<sup>421</sup>

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with an exhaustive list of all Roman artefacts known at the time with Irish provenance, though with a curious preference to generally rather explain these through Irish raids than Roman traders (cf. RAFTERY 2005, 179f.); the list is augmented by BATESON 1973 and 1976.

<sup>417</sup> Solin. 22.2-6. On Solinus and Mela, see FREEMAN 2001, 86ff.

<sup>418</sup> Solin. 22.2. This element has been noted by FREEMAN 2001, 87 to resemble Mela 3.53, but this can be said regarding the majority of Solinus' description. More distant, though possible influence on the Irish whom Solinus makes drink the blood of condemned criminals and, it seems, smear their blood on their faces (if *vultus* is correctly read), can also be found among Mela's Gauls, among whom *manent vestigia feritatis iam abolitae, atque ut ab ultimis caedibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos altaribus admovere, delibant* (3.19).

<sup>419</sup> Solin. 22.12-15.

<sup>420</sup> Cf. above p. 253f., 256. Although the connection with the alleged sexual innocence during Saturn's Golden Age (Juv. 6.1-20, see EVANS 2008, 81-3) is never explicitly connected with the northern and western islands of the Ocean, even in the more positive treatments of their societies, it might be speculated whether some notional association was nonetheless at work.

<sup>421</sup> Bard. *LLR* 592, 599 *NAU*. See also p. 275f. Even later, George the Monk ('Hamartolus') showcases the polygamy of the Britons just before shifting to discuss the Amazons: *Georg. Mon. Chron.* 4.38: ἐν δὲ Βρετανία πλείστοι ἄνδρες μιᾷ συγκαθεύδουσι γυναίκι καὶ πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐνὶ ἑταιρίζονται ἀνδρὶ, καὶ τὸ παράνομον ὡς νόμον καλὸν καὶ πατρῶον πράττουσιν ἀζήλωτον καὶ ἀκώλυτον. Evidently both groups (and the practice as a whole) were for a ninth-century Byzantine monastic writer roughly *in par* in their exoticism.

## 5. HEGEMONY OF THE TOPOI: EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGIOSITY FROM POSIDONIUS TO THE HIGH EMPIRE

'Only less than mediocre writers grab their topoi willy-nilly. To select a cliché carefully, for a given context and purpose, is usually to transform it [...]'

JOHNSON 1987, 11 fn. 3.

### a. THE SAMENESS OF THE NORTHERN DIFFERENCE

Characterizing the period of northern ethnography from Posidonius until well into the Imperial Era as a hegemony of topical elements may appear controversial. The period has often been seen as one during which the enquiry into the northern peoples not only intensified but also approached some kind of reliability, in terms of correspondence to the reality in the field. In this thesis, a different interpretation has been offered. Writings about northern groups introduced barely any new literary motifs during this period, and the use of the established elements became more conventional, generalizing, and rhetorical. It might be suggested that this condition of stasis arose in the absence of major epistemic challenges to the assemblage.<sup>422</sup> To be sure, after the Cimbric invasions the fear of northerners did become more salient, but the literary manifestations of this could recycle entirely conventional imagery; after Caesar's conquest, the consolidation of Roman rule in Gaul and the border along the Rhine entailed no radical re-evaluation of the Gauls, apart from what was delineated in Caesar's own writings. The vague Roman fear of the populous Gauls posing a potential internal threat to the realm retained some relevance, and the military threats that arose, chiefly from the *clades Lolliana* and *Variana*, as well as the occasional uprisings in Gaul, made sure that most Romans would have considered the time-honoured descriptions of the northerners' nature still congruent.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> A part of this is well articulated by FRENCH 1994, 303: '[...] apparent continuity of complex things like philosophies and religions is due to their reconstruction'. About the continuity of topoi in spite of the enlarged boundaries for enquiry: NIPPEL 2007, 41ff.

<sup>423</sup> Cf. CHAUVOT 1998, 43. That historical *exempla* were at play is supported by the fact that the capture of Rome by the Gauls was introduced into the discussion, as implied in SCUTSCH 1978, 93. The dispute between Claudius and the senators about the future course of Rome was apparently partly conducted through the proxy battle of who could read the exemplary history correctly. See also SYME 1958, I 453ff. about the Roman uneasiness about how the subdued Gauls were to be treated: 454 remarks about the expansiveness of the land and worrying fecundity of the population. On the Augustan panic in connection with the *clades Lolliana*: DRINKWATER 1983, 122, also noting that the chief import of the defeat was to make Augustus aware of the 'German menace'; also VOTA 2004, 28.

If anything changed within the northern iconosphere of barbarography, it was the focus of who the primary northern barbarians were. Except during their occasional displays of insubordination, the very fact of the Gauls' new provincial status was a powerful argument for seeing the truly ferocious northerners—whose continued existence was epistemically predetermined by the Graeco-Roman conception of civilization—in the free Germans and in those Britons who remained unconquered. And just as the unchanged epistemic base, especially climatic theories and cultural criticism of foreign groups, required there to be 'typical' northern barbarians, so this same epistemic base could be made to explain the minor physical or cultural differences that were occasionally distinguished among northern groups. In addition to climatological explanations, discussed above (p. 46, 169, 228, 231f., 265, 272ff.), particular regard should be given to astrological and physiognomic theories; these achieved their widest dissemination during the Early and High Imperial period, and certainly contributed to the generalizing and stereotypical image of European barbarians.

Physiognomy, by the Imperial period, was intimately associated with climatic models, at least on the level of argumentation.<sup>424</sup> Marcus Antonius Polemo of Laodicea, a rhetor and a friend of the emperor Hadrian, produced his *Physiognomonica* during the 130s; the work is preserved in a comparatively late Arabic translation and an abridgment by the Late Imperial 'iatrosophist' Adamantius (around the reign of Arcadius), in addition to being extensively recycled by an anonymous Latin text *De physiognomonica* (ANDRÉ).<sup>425</sup> From these texts, it clearly emerges that Polemo could use stereotypes to a withering effect that would have made Cicero proud. Philostratus reports that Polemo had ended up feuding with Favorinus of Arles originally during his time in Asia Minor, and the two never made up their quarrel. In the Arabic version of his *Physiognomics*, Polemo lambasts the Gaulish sophist with the full force of imagery connected with femininity, laxity, and insidiousness.<sup>426</sup> It all starts with his coruscating

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<sup>424</sup> As an example, the anonymous Late Imperial *De physiognomonica* is occasionally firm in ascribing certain traits on the basis of the climes, such as *De physiogn.* 79 ANDRÉ: *color albus subrubeus fortes et animosos indicat: refertur ad eos qui in septentrione commorantur* (in the so-called 'Leiden Polemon' 41 (B37), in Arabic, similar kinds of hair contribute to the "lack of understanding [...] and an evil way of life" among the Slavs and Turks: HOYLAND 2007, 431ff.). The humoral theory, linked to the climes with some frequency (e.g. Vitruvius 6.1; Ptolemy *Tetr.* 2.2), could also be coupled with physiognomics, as Galen apparently did (EVANS 1945; more recently BOYS-STONES 2007, 108), though clearly the physician took care to qualify his relationship to the physiognomic doctrine: Galen *Temp.* 2.6. Much more often, however, the stereotypes are not explicitly joined with climatic influences, but seem more to do with general perceptions of stereotypical provincials (and as such, not so different from the anthropomorphic 'provinces' at the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias): cf. *De physiogn.* 9, 14. Artemidorus of Ephesus, the oneirologist, also uses physiognomically articulated reasoning, as is noted in PACK 1941, 329f.

<sup>425</sup> EVANS 1969, 12; BOWIE *s.v.* 'Polemo' (6) *BNP*. The Arabic translation from 1356 was translated into Latin by HOFFMANN in FÖRSTER 1893, I 92-294; on the Islamic reception of Polemo SWAIN & AL. 2007, 3-10, 227-325.

<sup>426</sup> HOYLAND 2007, 377 with notes; the identification of the hate figure as Favorinus is in *De physiogn.* 40 FÖRSTER 1893, II 57f.; cf. REPATH 2007, 583 in SWAIN & AL. 2007. On the feud of Polemo and Favorinus: Philostr. *VS* 1.8.490. A good recapitulation of Favorinus' career can be found in HOLFORD-STREVENSON 1988, 72-



eyes, which denote utter shamelessness and are a sure sign of a eunuch born without testicles; curiously, this seems to make him particularly libidinous (160-2). All in all, Favorinus' characteristics are those of the eunuch, only worse: the personal attack concludes with a claim that the shameless and evil Celt also studied poisons (*summus in male faciendo doctor erat, letiferorum venenorum species colligebat*). Not even Polemo, however, can deny that Favorinus was a good speaker able to draw huge crowds. It may be noted that apart from the rhetorical nature of the rivalry between Polemo and Favorinus, the clearest use for physiognomic treatises would have been in the hands of professional speakers.<sup>427</sup> As the multi-ethnic Roman empire brought together peoples of quite varied appearance, lambasting one's opponents, rivals and neighbours on the basis of their physiognomy would have been much closer to an 'as-everybody-knows' prejudice than to its medical roots.<sup>428</sup>

While astrological explanations of cultural and social differences by the influence of the heavenly bodies on the peoples living under them were not elementally connected with climatic determinism, they certainly interacted with its more popularized associations, and

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92, augmented by BEALL 2001; for Polemo's treatment of personal enemies, see SWAIN 2007, 194-201. As attested by Polemo's attempt to assassinate Favorinus' character, the Laodicean rhetor may have advanced a claim that was an established part of the physiognomic tradition, namely that its observations could have a mantic validity (see ARMSTRONG 1958, 52; cf. SWAIN 2007, 178 on the practical applications that physiognomicists advertised). This has also been suggested as a reason for Polemo's rivalry with Artemidorus of Ephesus (PACK 1941, e.g. 334, though admitting that the animosity between Smyrna and Ephesus probably was the strongest factor: 326; cf. SWAIN 2007, 158f. This could also have contributed to Polemo's rivalry with Favorinus). ROHRBACHER 2010, 94 points out that Polemo did not back up his claims of physiognomic prophesying by including anything of that nature in his handbook: it seems like a case of self-aggrandizement.

<sup>427</sup> On Favorinus' audiences, Polemo *De physiogn.* 162 FÖRSTER; also attested by Philostr. *VS* 1.8.491; Gell. *NA* 16.3.1. The conclusion that orators were a major user group of physiognomy may be skewed by the predominance of Polemo's work within the surviving corpus, but it cannot be denied that the benefits of being able to attack one's enemies on personal level must have been part of the appeal of physiognomy. For the connection with rhetorics, see EVANS 1969, 13 (with both Maximus of Tyre and Dio Chrysostom providing supporting information), 39-46. Another use, as is demonstrated by ROHRBACHER 2010, was in the Latin biographies of the emperors—which admittedly was connected to the sphere of rhetorics and moralizing discourse by firm and longstanding generic ties (acknowledged in *ibid.* 94); cf. an earlier treatment of this connection in EVANS 1969, 46-58. That Favorinus seems to have encountered slander on account of his provincial origins (in addition to the more bizarre claims), and the overtones of Greek exceptionalism in Polemo's attacks against him: ISAAC 2004, 50f., more generally on the reception of provincial intellectuals see *ibid.* 2011; SWAIN 2007, 197f. notes that the text of 'Leiden Polemo' points to feelings of 'Greek purity' (which was often highlighted by classicizing rhetoricians) being under threat from 'others'. So, in addition to Polemo's rhetorical reliance of physiognomics making most sense in a multicultural but inherently discriminatory context, his own prejudices may have conditioned his use of the template.

<sup>428</sup> The relationship between physiognomy and medicine: first MISENER 1923; later EVANS 1969, 17-28, suggesting for instance that the Hippocratic *De aera* influenced later physiognomists (19f.), though the work as a whole seems more concerned with the climate's effect on bodies and souls than the correspondence between external characteristics and human souls. Galen seems to be an exception, or a survival, of a medical writer retaining physiognomic theories as part of his conceptual toolkit; EVANS 1945 proposed that his studies at Smyrna may have led to an acquaintance with Polemo's theories, though Galen did not subscribe to the doctrine uncritically (*ead.* 290f.). Nonetheless, to address the prejudices simmering in a cosmopolitan society was surely among the prime motivations behind physiognomy. Accordingly, it is not a surprise to see ISAAC 2004 discuss the physiognomics at some length (esp. 149-62): the 'institutionalization of prejudice' or 'stating reputed facts' (157) at least on the level of everyday reasoning and hostile speech would have contributed from this particular complex of associations; also *ibid.* 2011, 508 on Polemo and Favorinus.

were quite often used in an offhand or metaphorical way in the non-technical literature.<sup>429</sup> The astrologers, on the other hand, would understandably have advanced the idea more consistently: Claudius Ptolemy was a proponent of what might be called astrological ethnography, and already earlier Manilius' Latin *Astronomica* had explained the tallness of Germans and the ferocity of Iberians in terms of astrological influences.<sup>430</sup> Ptolemy describes the north-west of the inhabited world—including Germania, 'Bastarnia', and, for the sake of theory, Italy as well—as influenced by the north-western triangle of the sky, with its constellations of Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius, and hence governed by Jupiter and Mars. The general character of these north-western peoples is warlike, freedom-loving, and magnanimous, but it is the influence of Leo/Jupiter that distinguishes the masterful, benevolent and co-operative inhabitants of the more Mediterranean parts of this area from the fierce, headstrong and bestial peoples of Britain, Gaul, Germania and Bastarnia, over whom Aries and Mars hold greater sway.<sup>431</sup> The stars, moreover, condition the sexuality of the inhabitants: the occidental Jupiter and Mars governing the north-western triangle are considered to be of a feminine nature, thus accounting for the by-now long-standing topos of the northerner's homosexual preferences, though this is said not to diminish their manliness, love of kinsmen, and helpfulness.<sup>432</sup> Tyrrhenia, Celtica, and Spain derive their independence, simplicity, and love of cleanliness from the influence of Sagittarius and Jupiter. Generally, as shown by the pairings of honourable and dishonourable positions in Book 3 of the *Tetrabiblos*, the traditional impiety of the European barbarians could be derived in the framework of the

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<sup>429</sup> E.g. Luc. 1.458ff. Of course, stars and physiognomy could also be brought together in descriptions, such as is done in Suet. *Aug.* 79f., where the *princeps* is told to have had birthmarks on his torso that constituted the form of the constellations most crucially connected with the North, the Bear. Associations of mastering the οἰκουμένη are probably involved, but it could be suggested that expectations of a northern triumph, in par with his adoptive father, could easily be directed at the bearer of such markings; cf. Manil. *Astr.* 4.793f., where the Capricorn, Augustus' birth-star or a politico-astrological 'logo' (cf. BARTON 1995) rules *Gallia dives*, Germania *feris tantum digna*, and the *gentes* of Hispania.

<sup>430</sup> Manil. *Astr.* 4.585-695. The system of Ptolemy is called 'astrological ethnography' by SASSI 2001, 172-7.

<sup>431</sup> Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.3.61f. The great explanatory advantage of the astrological determinism in comparison with climatological models was that it enabled for differences between peoples in the same latitude, thus explaining the better moral character of the inhabitants of, say, Italy, vis-à-vis the more barbarous inhabitants to the west, but on roughly the same κλίμα. The *Saturnia tellus* that for Vergil brought forth so many good things (*Georg.* 2.136-76, though mainly in juxtaposition with the East), was in this way explained through an elaborate theory; on ethnographic elements in the *Georgics*, see THOMAS 1982, 35-69. On the reception of the *laus Italiae* theme among Imperial writers: NAAS 2002, 427-32 (mainly about Pliny). The epigram of Piso in *Anth. Gr.* 11.424 seems to subvert this trope in the case of 'the land of Gauls' which does not bear flowers, but only Furies, destroyers of men: if the epigrammatist is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus 'Pontifex', as suggested by NISBET 2003, 200f., the expression may be a conscious reversal of the prevalent celebratory notes in the poetry of the time—but it is also possible that the poem refers (or purports to refer) to Piso's governorship of Pamphylia around 12 BCE (Cass. Dio 54.34.5), in which case the furies-breeding land would probably be Galatia, and the poem a variation of the Ovidian theme of exile (as indeed NISBET suggests: *ibid.* 201f. and fn. 47).

<sup>432</sup> Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.3.62. A rarely examined point is to what extent the proverbially pale northern complexion helped their association with notions of femininity via the Graeco-Roman ideal of fair-skinned females.

Ptolemaic system from a dishonourable position of Saturn allied with Mars or Venus, or of Mars alone or allied with Mercury.<sup>433</sup>

Despite being frowned upon by the strictest Christians, the astrological derivation of barbarian characteristics had some following even during the Late Empire: among the anti-astrological parts of Eusebius' *Praeparatio* is a passage (most of 6.10) from the 'The Book of the Laws of Countries' (possibly identical with his *Dialogus de fato*) by Bardesanes, also known from the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* and from the Syriac original. The passage mainly concerns the impious and effeminate behaviour of young men in Gaul (in itself continuing the comparatively influential theme of denouncing Gallic *mores*), but also alludes to the influence of astrology in explaining the behaviour of western barbarians.<sup>434</sup> Arguing against the astrologers with an interlocutor named Philip, Bardesanes writes that in the North, in the territories of the Germans and their neighbours (this is where the Eusebian version substitutes Gauls for Germans—again testifying to the ambiguity of these ethnonyms) handsome boys serve as wives to men.<sup>435</sup> Because of local custom this is not considered shameful, even though it is hardly likely that all the peoples of Gaul (the shift from Germans to Gauls takes place here in Bardesanes' text) should be born under the joint influence of Venus and Mercury in the house of Saturn, the field of Mars, and the Western signs of the Zodiac—a sidereal combination that was claimed to lead to such effeminacy.<sup>436</sup>

The point of Bardesanes' argument is threefold: 1) certain reprehensible characteristics are encountered among diverse barbarian peoples in different parts of the world; 2) not all peoples in certain parts of the world share all the evil traits exhibited by their neighbours; and 3) no planet can wield its influence over the whole world or consistently in one area. It therefore follows that the astrologers' tenets concerning the effect of the stars on ethnic traits

<sup>433</sup> Ptol. *Tetr.* 3.13.159-165.

<sup>434</sup> Bard. *LLR* 592 *NAU ap.* [Clem. Rom.] *Recogn.* 9.23-24 and *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 6.10.27-28. Concerning the passage, see HILGENFELD 1864, 102sq. As can already be expected, Bardesanes seems to have attributed the substandard practices to a large group of 'Gauls, Germans and their neighbours'. The Syriac text (originally in MS. B.M. Add. 14.658 fol. 129A-141A) was first edited by CURETON 1855, 1-34, and in an amended form in *PS* II by NAU 1907, 492-657. Worth of mentioning in the passage is also the relatively rarely attested Greek form Γάλλοι. For astrological barbarology; cf. SASSI 2001, 172-7.

<sup>435</sup> Bardesanes' sexual ethnography of Germans has been likened to something from Petronius by BOWERSOCK 1994, 48, but not in seriousness. Cf. the longstanding topos of homosexual preferences among the Κέλτοι: Arist. *Pol.* 1269B; Diod. 5.32.7; Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.3.62; also above, p. 46f., 122. Likewise connected may be the mention in *Paradoxographus Vaticanus* 24 that the Celts regard the women as the source of all evils (although Arist. *loc. cit.* is a likely model here). As noted by KREMER 1994, 272 fn. 4 the motif of homosexuality is curiously absent from Roman sources. Bardesanes' interest in ethnography has been noted by DRIJVERS 1966, 173, but the contents that ended up in his treatise seem to have been topical to a great extent, especially in what it comes to the western parts of the world: Edessa was better connected for enquiries towards the East.

<sup>436</sup> Cf. Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* above. Eusebius characterizes the sexual behaviour of the πάντας τοὺς ἐν Γαλλίᾳ with ἀθέως ὑβριζομένους, which is entirely traditional. According to the translation of DRIJVERS 1964, 49, Bardesanes calls 'guilty of this infamy', and later being 'shamefully used.'

cannot hold.<sup>437</sup> Essentially, the hegemony of the ethnic *topoi* greatly aids Bardesanes in his demonstration of the inadequacy of fatalistic arguments: since he could label whole population groups according to their 'generally known' practices under the rubric of 'laws', he could use this perceived consistency to undermine the idea of planetary influences. The same information is later found at least in a dialogue by Caesarius of Nazianzus, which similarly mentions the influences of Saturn and Hermes, though the peoples listed have been updated: the mention of the Langobards is particularly noteworthy.<sup>438</sup>

Such astrologically motivated (though denounced) explanations form another example of how an image of a crude and warlike barbarian people can in certain registers of writing and for certain purposes be reconciled with another tradition; that of the sexually deficient nature of that same barbarian group. The key element is sub-standardness, which in images of foreign groups often overrides the need for a harmonious ensemble. Indeed, later in his work Bardesanes even foregrounds the Gauls' deficient sexuality as their best-known characteristic, when he declares that Fate cannot compel any nation to act contrary to its laws or refrain from their customary behaviour: his examples include the Greeks, who will never be prevented from practicing gymnastics; the Romans, who will never cease from conquest; and Gallic men, who will always practice sexual intercourse with one another.<sup>439</sup> The inhabitants of his home city of Edessa are portrayed by the philosopher as typically chaste in their mode of life—a stereotype that can be regarded as quite characteristic of ingroup bias.<sup>440</sup>

As already noted, Roman political considerations in articulating a cultural and ethnic fault line along the Rhine were to some extent ignored by Greek writers.<sup>441</sup> Strabo, aware of Caesar's highlight on Germanic distinctiveness, nonetheless notes that in the Rhenish region Celts and Germans were alike (ἐμπερεῖς) and akin (συγγενεῖς) to each other. Strabo acknowledges that his account deals with an earlier mode of existence of a "race which is nowadays called both Gallic and Galatian", the life they led before they were enslaved by the Romans; but he is quite as explicit that in order to reconstruct it he will have recourse to information about the Germans, who still preserved the original way of life. For Strabo, Rhine effectively divides the northerners' past from their present; it is seen as dividing a country and

<sup>437</sup> Cf. Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 6.10.34f.

<sup>438</sup> Caes. *Dial. 2 respons.* 110 (PG 38 c. 985): Καὶ πολὺς λόγος περὶ Λογγοβάρδων καὶ Νόρων καὶ Γάλλων τῶν ἑσπερίων, τῶν Ἑρμαϊκῆς καὶ Κρονικῆς ἀμοιροῦντων ἐπιστήμης τῶν ἄστρων. The 'western Gauls' is probably meant to distinguish them from the Galatians, of possibly from the Γάλλοι of Kybele.

<sup>439</sup> Bard. *LLR* 599 NAU (DRIJVERS 1964, 53).

<sup>440</sup> SCHNEIDER 2004, 230 on 'ingroup favouritism', 233-36. Otherwise in 'The Book of the Laws of Countries' admirable characteristics are reserved for the traditionally exotic Eastern societies, such as the Seres who on no account would commit murder, and the pious Brahmins of India: see the idealization of 'wise peoples' p. 313.

<sup>441</sup> Cf. p. 116, 121, 224 above.

a populace that is essentially similar, whatever Caesar might have claimed.<sup>442</sup> By articulating a partial cultural distinction without recourse to Caesar's rigid nomenclature of Germania vs. Gallia, Strabo is able not only to make better use of his available septentriographic elements, but also to reconcile earlier Greek geographical information with his current account.<sup>443</sup>

Both Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Diodorus Siculus seem to have considered west-of-the-Rhine Γαλατία and east-of-the-Rhine Γερμανία as two contiguous parts of a single Κελτική.<sup>444</sup> How can this be reconciled with Caesar's rigid argumentation for the Rhine as a definitive border between two distinct sets of people and ways of life? The most obvious argument is that Caesar was formulating a cultural and ethnic division according to his own needs, where previous authors saw barely any difference within the inherited barbarographic conglomerate. His creation did not immediately gain currency or acceptance, and especially among Greek authors we see the division being flouted until noticeably late in the Imperial period. Arrian, though undoubtedly under the influence of his Hellenistic sources Ptolemy and Aristobulus, makes a sweeping characterization: that many of the most warlike nations inhabiting the area of the Danube are Celtic (τὰ μὲν πολλὰ Κελτικά), and that the river itself flows from their lands. He next mentions the Quadi and Marcomanni as the most remote of 'these peoples.' For him the Rhine too is 'Celtic'.<sup>445</sup> Cassius Dio usually seems quite happy to use the names Γερμανοί and Κελτοί almost interchangeably—though it should perhaps be admitted that at least some of the variation may have been introduced by the citing authors, such as Xiphilinus in the case of the passage describing the outset of the Marcomannic Wars.<sup>446</sup> It is quite telling, however, that the German bodyguard of the Julio-Claudians is called

<sup>442</sup> Str. 4.4.2: ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων τοῦτο λαμβάνομεν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν μέχρι νῦν συμμενόντων παρὰ τοῖς Γερμανοῖς νομίμων [...] οἰκοῦσι χώραν διοριζομένην τῷ Ῥήνῳ ποταμῷ καὶ παραπλήσια ἔχουσιν τὰ πλεῖστα. The area beyond the Rhine and after the Κελτοί (τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου μετὰ τοὺς Κελτοὺς)—not, it should be noted, 'Germania'—is inhabited by Γερμανοί, who only differ from the Celts by being taller, wilder, and having fairer hair (likely because they live to the North: 4.4.2) whereas their body type, habits, and mode of life are similar.

<sup>443</sup> As implied by GÜNNEWIG 1998, 26. Moreover, Strabo goes on to give his own interpretation regarding the Romans' nomenclature of the northerners: by calling the trans-Rhenane barbarians 'Germani' the Romans had wanted to indicate them as genuine Galatae, since in their language this word means 'genuine'; Str. 7.1.2: ὡς ἂν γνησίους Γαλάτας φράζειν βουλόμενοι· γνήσιοι γὰρ οἱ Γερμανοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον.

<sup>444</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.1.2; Diod. 5.4.32. Although, as noted by SULIMANI 2011, 212 fn. 156, Diodorus' use of Γαλατία is quite arbitrary: occasionally he switches between it and Κελτική mid-sentence, while in 4.19.4 Hercules crosses the Alps from Κελτική and arrives in Γαλατία, i.e. Cisalpine Gaul. What can be concluded is that in Diodorus, the toponyms are still in their post-Caesarian state of flux.

<sup>445</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.3.1; 'Celtic' Rhine 5.7.2. An inclusive use of 'Celtic' about peoples around the Danube is already evidenced in Str. 7.1.1, where it seems to be used as a conveniently indefinite denomination referring to all, partly mixed groups not covered by 'Illyrians and Thracians': μεσημβρινὰ δὲ τὰ τε Ἰλλυρικά καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἀναμέμκται τῶν Κελτικῶν ἢ τινῶν ἄλλων, μέχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. λέγωμεν δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. That Arrian was aping Herodotus' description of Danube: BOSWORTH 1980, 60 *ad loc.*

<sup>446</sup> A rather straightforward equation is Cass. Dio 53.12.6 (Κελτῶν γὰρ τινες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν), though with the Caesarian addition of Belgica; 71.3.2 *ap.* Xiph. *Epit.* 259.13 talks about πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ

Κελτοί.<sup>447</sup> It has been observed with good reason that for Dio the northern population groups exhibit almost no individual traits; this demonstrates the interchangeable haziness of the northern iconosphere in the minds even of Imperial Era writers.<sup>448</sup> Another motivation must have been the greater familiarity of the classical ethnonym Κελτοί for Dio's audience.

Though topical, Dio's description is not particularly emphatic in terms of the northerners' religious life. Partly this may be due to his work's patchy and excerpted preservation, moreover by Christian compilers, for whom anthologizing pagan religious antiquities was hardly a priority. But it may also derive in part from his times (his work came out after 229 CE) and ideological preoccupations. The Romans, in Dio's worldview, most certainly constitute a force of order that brings stability to the chaos represented by the barbarians—in this Dio resembles Strabo—but unlike the age of Strabo, there was little evidence of notionally 'barbarian' cults within the borders of the empire.<sup>449</sup> On the other hand, the menace of sub-standard religiosity (or even magic) directed against the increasingly divinized emperor is still present in Dio, and as so often these themes surface in the context of the moralizing judgment of a failed emperor. Having mentioned Caracalla's cruel campaign against the Alamanni and his general pride in his own wicked deeds, Dio claims that Caracalla's insanity had been caused by enemy spells, or that at least some of the Alamanni who had heard of his condition had claimed that their spells had effected it. After consulting the souls of the dead emperors and receiving a distressing warning from that of Commodus, Caracalla attempted to obtain the help of the gods, but was refused by Apollo Grannus, Aesculapius and Serapis.<sup>450</sup>

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τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτῶν who attacked Italy and caused much horror to the Romans; it is difficult to judge whether the explanation Γερμανοὺς γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χωρίοις οἰκοῦντας ὀνομάζομεν in connection with the victory title 'Germanicus' of Marcus Aurelius (71.3.5 *ap.* Xiph. *Epit.* 259.26) stems already from Dio. If so, the time-honoured ethnonym Κελτοί was clearly conventional to such a degree among the Greek audiences that a specific glossing of a differing victory title was needed.

<sup>447</sup> At least in Cass. Dio 60.28.2. Also the Batavians taking part in the Claudian invasion of Britain were called Κελτοί by Dio: HASSALL 1970, 131f.

<sup>448</sup> GÜNNEWIG 2000, 139. If any further examples are needed, the *Or.* 35 *On Kingship* of pseudo-Aelius Aristides can be cited: there, although the imperial addressee of the speech is not identified (MACMULLEN 1976, 219 n. 32 suggests Philip the Arab; STERTZ 1979, 172 gives a good bibliography of earlier attributions), the rhetor refers to the emperor vanquishing the Κελτοί, the most numerous and murderous of all peoples under the sun: [Aristid.] *Or.* 35 JEBB 66. MACMULLEN 1976, *loc. cit.*, in accordance with his hypothetical dating, thinks the ethnonym might be referring to Carpi (247/8 CE), but as a general panegyristic device the 'Celts' is difficult to supply with a fixed identification among the northerners.

<sup>449</sup> GÜNNEWIG 2000, 144 regarding Dio's vision of Rome as 'Ordnungsmacht'. Pliny has been argued to project similar kinds of notions into his conception of the Roman rule in the *HN*, though coloured with ambivalent reflections upon the disruptiveness involved in bringing the order to existence: NAAS 2002, 399-447; EVANS 2005, 116ff.; cf. also below p. 341 on late, classicizing rhetoric about Rome's continuing power to bring order.

<sup>450</sup> Cass. Dio 78.13.4-5 on Caracalla's Alamannic campaign, 15.1-2 on the spells causing the emperor's insanity; 78.15.4-6 on Caracalla's worried approaches towards the gods, and being rebuffed. Earlier in 78.5.1 Dio uses Hercules to encompass the paradigm of a 'good emperor'—an *exemplum* which Caracalla dismisses in order not to

In terms of cultural characterization, the Channel presents much less of a barrier than in poetic and panegyristic registers: the iconosphere of northern religiosity was applied in largely uniform fashion to the inhabitants of Britain, as well. Hence they partook in the traits and *topoi* that had developed during the first Graeco-Roman contacts with the northern barbarians, and that were increasingly applied in characterizing the Germans. Since both groups inhabited areas seen as marginal and occasionally even otherworldly, this interchangeability is not surprising. Strabo's description of the inhabitants of Britain is structured similarly to the passage on Germans, discussed above. Their physical differences from the Celts, in keeping with generally accepted notions, are duly listed, after which their mode of life and mores are described as very similar to those of the Celts—with the climatically explicable difference of their even more rudimentary level of civilization. The passage does not conceal its dependence on Caesar (Strabo rarely does), who at the time of writing was obviously the most trustworthy authority regarding the island.<sup>451</sup> What is perhaps more noteworthy is that in comparison with Diodorus Strabo places less emphasis on the Caesarian first forays, instead using the tribute system of local kings under Augustus as a way to highlight the authority of the emperor.<sup>452</sup>

In Tacitus, the Britons represent a similar case of old 'unspoiled' ferociousness in comparison with the pacified Gauls, as does the exceptional case of the enervated Cherusci among the free Germans (*Germ.* 36). After experimenting in his first work, *Agricola*, with the essentially Caesarian notion of peace and slavery enfeebling barbarian peoples (and, by Tacitus' own implication, the Romans themselves), Tacitus was apparently later sufficiently confident to use it in *Germania* in describing the Cherusci; they used to be called *boni aequique*, but were currently deemed *inertes ac stulti* by their neighbours. In the ethnographical section of *Agricola*, the Gauls represent the eclipsed virtue of the northerners while the British have remained as formidable as the Gauls, insofar as they have stayed free; conquered tribes,

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have to live up to it; the Lyon-born emperor (cf. Claudius, p. 250) is also said to have exhibited many of the character faults typical to Gauls: 78.6.1. See ISAAC 2011, 505. Later, the emperor Julian avoided the same paradigm pressed upon him with more tact: for Julian. *Ep. ad Them.* and *Them. Protr.* see below p. 350f.; VANDERSPOEL 1995, 82f., 119f. Cf. p. 346-51 about the Herculean paradigm as a tool for imperial panegyrics.

<sup>451</sup> Str. 4.5.2: τὰ δ' ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ὅμοια τοῖς Κελτοῖς τὰ δ' ἀπλοῦστερα καὶ βαρβαρώτερα. See GÜNNEWIG 1998, 275.

<sup>452</sup> Str. 4.5.3. Cf. THOLLARD 1987, 55f., moreover remarking upon the similarity of Strabo's language to that of diplomatic pronouncements. That Augustus had to construct his stockpile of *gloria* from less directly martial feats, among which those involving barbarians were quite central: see FERRIS 2000, 33ff., 83; RIDLEY 2005, 49ff.; RICHARDSON 2008, 118ff., 135-45.

however, have there too been weakened and become enervated.<sup>453</sup> As for the Romans, surrounded by luxury and lacking their republican freedom, Tacitus' prognosis is pessimistic.

The essential similarity of the northern groups seems to give rise to differences only under the influence of external factors. Whether in the case of Caesar's Belgae, long removed from the corrupting effect of trade and luxury, or of Tacitus' (and Caesar's) Gauls, formerly excelling in battle but more recently lapsed into softness in the absence of war, the crucial factors governing the possible barbarian potential for civilization always originate outside.<sup>454</sup> The northern climate, the crucial factor in determining their psychological and cultural state, certainly seems to precondition their abilities; but the interplay of social traits, mental characteristics, and climatic explanations formed an undistinguishable assemblage of elements in the Roman minds, with no clearly conceived causes or effects.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Tac. *Agr.* 11: *nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus [...] ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.* This should also be compared with Tac. *Germ.* 28.1 *validiores olim Gallorum fuisse summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit* (discussed e.g. by DEVILLERS 1989, 851). For more details, see LAVAN 2011, 297-300. Tacitus seems consistent in his view of the contemporary Gallic emasculation, although his view of the Gallic disturbances and rebellions of the first century may be more complicated. Most notably, this implication of the Germans having superseded the Gallic ferocity is already stated by Caesar in *BGall.* 6.24.1 *ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrisque inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent*; cf. RIGGSBY 2006, 125. Here, as in so many other instances, Tacitus is building on the geographical and historical division constructed by Caesar.

<sup>454</sup> Even the bodily slackening of the northerners is possible to reconcile with the climatic theory: because the cold climate, the large bodies of the Germans cannot be rid of their *humor* through evaporation, which makes them *mollia et fluida* instead of *dura*: LUND 1988, 26. Their anger and violence stems from the inner *calor* necessitated by the cold climate; if, however, the warlike activity is absent from their life, the abundant moisture of their bodies makes them soft and flabby. Sen. *Ira.* 2.19.1-2 is perhaps the most explicit articulation of this theory; cf. *ibid.* 4.15.1; and Chatti in Tac. *Germ.* 30.1-2. To this is also connected the poor tolerance of Germans towards thirst and heat: *Germ.* 4.3 *minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inedium caelo solove adsueverunt* (but contrary to App. *Celt.* 4, with Germans enduring both cold and hot well). Cf. Veg. *Mil.* 1.2. Similar mentality is still displayed by Agath. *Hist.* 1.19.2: the Franks dislike fighting during the summer, but draw strength from wintry weather because of their inherent affinity to it: σφριγῶσι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους αἰεὶ καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατοι γίγνονται καὶ ἥδιστα τότε διαπονοῦνται. ἔχουσι γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτο οἰκείως τῷ δυσχείμερον πατρίδα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ οἶον ξυγγενὲς αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸ ψύχεσθαι; cf. Livy 5.48.3, 10.28.2ff., 34.47.5. The civilizing influence of Rome, on the other hand, was occasionally feared to be only a mirage, in the case of Velleius Paterculus' Germans perhaps a dissimulation by the cunning barbarians Vell. Pat. 2.117-118: here, the motif of German treachery had probably been augmented by the *clades Variana*. The treatises of Polemo and Adamantius are the likeliest transmitters of these early notions of climatic-physiognomic lore onto Late Antiquity: cf. Adamant. *Physiogn.* 31 FÖRSTER 1893, I 384f. on northerners and their lack of adaptability to other climes; 4<sup>th</sup> century physiognomics discussed in EVANS 1969, 74-83.

<sup>455</sup> The earlier Greek theories, already, exhibited a complex interwoven system of oppositional pairings of mental and physical traits, which applied not only to the human outgroups, but to the whole entirety of living things, from animals to the Hellenes: cf. SASSI 2001, with an explanatory diagram n. 2 on p. 119. An interesting Irish example can be found in LGE 1.47.1478-80 *dáig maith in ferand i n-aítrebthai [...] Is mesraightbe a thess 7 a nacht* 'for you live in a good land. [...] balanced are its heat and cold.' (trans. CAREY, cited in KOCH 1986, 8). Whether this was influenced by classical climatic models is an intriguing question: if so, it is a telling appropriation and relocalization of the beneficent 'middle climate'; if not, it supports the ubiquity of the theme.



## b. THE 'BARBARIZED RELIGION' OF THE NORTH

If subjugated and still free groups of northerners were in ethnographical terms distinguished from each other only intermittently and according to *ad hoc* needs, the same can certainly be said about descriptions of northern religiosity. As with other elements, here too moral or religious commentary on the northerners seem furthermore to have turned increasingly formulaic, rhetorical and antiquarian.<sup>456</sup> The precise use to which pseudo-ethnographic religious elements were put naturally varies depending on the author and his own aims, but the sheer conservation in the literary register of such time-honoured subjects as head-hunting, human sacrifice, holy groves, a belief in metempsychosis, the druidic creed and susceptibility to superstitious beliefs demonstrates that by the time of the High Empire the educated elite was imbibing these stereotypes during their schooling, and in a decisively literary register.<sup>457</sup> This was also their major register of use, bar the occasional polemic attack.

IRBY-MASSIE 2000, 5 notes that the only substantial differences between Roman and Celtic ritual life were the special prominence of the Druids and the Celtic practice of human sacrifice. This is broadly speaking true, but in the literature of the Imperial Era these two themes were elevated to such prominent characteristics of northern religion that their impact belies their apparent simplicity. In part, as has been argued throughout this thesis, this complexity stems from the nature of the literary tradition; these elements were influenced by previous ethnographical descriptions of barbarians, and were in turn taken up in describing the religious life of many other groups, that were not 'Celtic' in the modern scholarly sense of the word. Other writers, notably WEBSTER, have maintained that Roman discourse on Celtic ethnography, including its religious dimension, can usefully be discussed through paradigms of colonialism.<sup>458</sup> As she points out (1994, 7) the role of the barbarians' religion and the moral outrage engendered by the more nefarious of their practices formed a complex part of this discourse. No doubt many of the elements used to describe northern religiosity, which for early Greek writers had signified something else entirely, such as the motif of fearlessness, had by the Roman era been recycled for other purposes. Similarly, information created in the

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<sup>456</sup> The general tendency of the early and middle Imperial centuries to veer towards antiquarianism in what it came to identity-building is well summed-up in NASRALLAH 2005, 286. That *imitatio* of established classics affected Christians, too, is demonstrated by BROOKE 1987.

<sup>457</sup> For the literary education of the elite, see 5 fn. 10, 87 fn. 263ff. above, and e.g. KASTER 1988, 19-31, 206-30.

<sup>458</sup> Notably WEBSTER 1994, well anchored in discussions of colonial discourse; see also the recent studies by WOOLF 2011A and 2011B, utilizing the concept of 'middle ground' originally formulated in the context of colonial studies.

Hellenistic literature and in the ethnographic register, enriched by new forms of information gathering and re-adaptation of older motifs, entered the Roman Imperial 'what-is-known' of the literati, while only rarely encountering formative pressures.

Conventional representations of northern religion were an easy target for moralizing rhetoric, especially since the *superstitio* of which they could easily be made an emblem was increasingly condemned during the Imperial era.<sup>459</sup> In his *De superstitione* Plutarch notes with apparent repugnance that it would have been better for the Γαλάται and Scythians to be entirely devoid of knowledge, conceptions or traditions concerning the gods than to recognize gods who demanded such barbarous acts as human sacrifice.<sup>460</sup> Not only does this resemble Lucan's 'either-or' commentary on the druidic creed, but it also has much in common with Pliny's portrayal of human sacrifice as the worst form of *superstitio*, as seen for instance among the British. The opinions of Pliny and the poetical constructions of Lucan fit in well with Tacitus' description of the cutting down of the druidic grove of Mona.<sup>461</sup> That Seneca, around the same time, includes *superstitio* in the category of insanity, is perhaps relevant as well.<sup>462</sup> The association between the concept of *superstitio* and the image complex of *humanitas* was also linked with ideas about rural religious practices, and it is understandable that especially during the Early Imperial consolidation of large areas of the northern provinces this perception of

<sup>459</sup> On the connections between human sacrifice, *superstitio* and magic: BEARD & AL. 1998, I 218-21, 233f.;

<sup>460</sup> Plut. *De superst.* 13: τὸ παράπαν μήτ' ἔννοιαν ἔχειν θεῶν μήτε φαντασίαν μήθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζειν χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων σφαττομένων αἵματι καὶ τελεωτάτην θυσίαν καὶ ἱεουργίαν ταύτην νομίζοντας. Cf. the Gallaeci in Str. 3.4.16, who are ἄθεοι. For Plutarch's difficult choice between δεισιδαιμονία and ἀθεότης: MOELLERING 1962, 106-14; on Plutarch's forebears in the tradition of 'essays on superstition', see BOWDEN 2008, 64-71. The 'atheist' Gallaeci of Strabo are discussed in BLAZQUEZ 1983, 238, 261, 275 together with the 'nightly dances' mentioned in the same passage. This notion itself—along with the report that the Celtiberians worship a nameless god (Str. 3.4.16)—owes much to the Greek (Hdt. 2.52) and Roman (Varro *ap.* August. *De civ. D.* 4.31; Plin. *HN* 12.3) notion of religious evolution, as is noted by MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 152f. It may be that the ambiguous treatment (Gallaeci having no god, Cantabrians possessing 'certain savagery' but still not being brutish) in Strabo (3.4.16, 18) is a corollary of Augustus' policy of first subjugating the area and then enlisting its warlike inhabitants to the Roman army: cf. THOLLARD 1987, 18. Another explanation of the word ἄθεοι is that Strabo uses it in the same way as the word is applied to the Christians a century later: that their religiosity bears no similarity with the rest of the world: SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 10.

<sup>461</sup> Luc. 1.452f.; Plin. *HN* 30.13. Cf. p. 241 fn. 296, 242 fn. 298, 252 fn. 336, fn. 462 below, and p. 284 fn. 468 on the literary links between all these writers, by now supported by several studies. Also ROBERTS 1988, 121f.

<sup>462</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 123.16. Seneca certainly used the symbolically poignant imagery of sturdy oaks being felled in his *Hercules Oetaeus*: NISBET 1987, 243-47. Together with Lucan and Tacitus (the likely allusion between whom has been rather securely demonstrated by DYSON 1970, though he saw behind both episodes a genuine description of the Roman attack to Mona), the Senecan use points to an invigoration of this particular poetic trope during the Julio-Claudians, though the motif was in use also in Late Republic (examples: *ibid.* 243f.); and the further Imperial allusions are explored by AUGOUSTAKIS 2006, who reconsiders the possible implications of a divine retribution (a point foreshadowed in PHILLIPS 1968, 299 and DYSON 1970 in the form of the Caepio-*exemplum*), and the possible Lucanian critique of Julio-Claudians: AUGOUSTAKIS 2006, 637ff.

demotic religiosity became entangled with the idea of northerners' beliefs manifesting their deficient *humanitas*.<sup>463</sup>

Naturally there were always those writers who had no particular agendas to debate the morality of barbarian forms of religious behaviour. For example, Maximus Tyrius (who as a rhetorician certainly could have showcased his talent in declamatory fashion on a subject like this) in discussing the deities revered by different peoples simply notes that the Κελτοὶ σέβουσιν μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρυῖς (Max. Tyr. *Dial.* 2.8B). Not only does this represent an 'interpretative' mode of thinking about other peoples' gods, it is mostly delivered as just one item in a list of apparently well-known facts that hardly needs to be elaborated upon. The brief passage in Maximus nonetheless points to the already antiquarianizing nature of references to the Celts: the ethnonym is the Herodotean one, and the high reverence for oaks brings to mind the description of the Druids' ritual for cutting mistletoe (Plin. *HN* 16.95), as well as the Selloi of the Dodonaean Zeus (Str. 7.7.10).

The intensifying interplay between rhetoric and poetry during the Early Imperial era embraced northern pseudo-ethnography, as well.<sup>464</sup> Lucan, who was certainly skilled in taking advantage to maximum effect of the expectations of his audience as well as their taste for the macabre, provides one of the most emblematic articulations of the early Imperial view on northern religiosity. This is the well-known passage in Luc. 1.444-51, where he makes use of the occasion of the Roman troops' absence from Gaul to parade a selection of images that are at the same time seemingly ethnographic and highly poetic. In accordance with this ethnographical pretext, religion is very strongly present. The Gauls are returning to their ancestral worship: they placate with nefarious blood 'harsh Teutates' and 'gruesome Esus of the fierce altars' as well as the *ara* of Taranis, 'hardly more lenient than Scythian Diana'.<sup>465</sup> The ethnographical colouring of Lucan's poetic creation is emphasized by bringing into play the mythical example of the Taurian Diana; in so doing he alludes to the earliest paradigm of the cruel northern barbarian, the Scythians.<sup>466</sup> It is impossible to say where Lucan found the other

<sup>463</sup> On the opposition between *humanitas* and *superstitio* during the Early Empire: GORDON 1990B, 237.

<sup>464</sup> See WEBB 1997 on the connection between rhetorics and poetry.

<sup>465</sup> Luc. 1.444-46: *inimtis placatur sanguine diro Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Esus et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae*.

<sup>466</sup> The proverbial cruelty of the Scythians: JOHNSON 1959, with plentiful examples of the reception of the trope; also ISAAC 2004, 205-9. The problems with Lucan's elliptical syntax in lines 444-46 have been discussed by GREEN 1994, though his subsequent interpretation of the whole passage as role-reversal between 'Homeric' Gauls and 'deserting' Romans (66f.), with Gauls practicing cults that have their cruel parallel in the altar of Diana at Tauris. This is problematic, for the parading of pseudo-ethnographic elements would then be largely unexplained, and the supposed barb directed at the Roman pride of having ended human sacrifices (*loc. cit.*) would come to hinge on a goddess who is *expressis verbis* called Scythian (and whom Green persistently views through the sacrifice of Iphigenia, not the subsequent tradition).

three theonyms; they occur here for the first time in the extant literary tradition. It is this lack of precedent that has given rise to for the intense attention received by Lucan's work, despite its obvious pseudo-ethnographic mode.<sup>467</sup>

Lucan's reference to the Gallic learned classes comes after their cruel cults, in reverse order compared to the exposition in Caesar, but in equally close sequence. The bards were allowed to compose their many songs undisturbed—they who as *vates* transmit down the ages the praise of brave souls lost in war. Then the Druids are brought in; they return to their barbarian rite and sinister sacrificial practices, living in deep woods and remote groves.<sup>468</sup> The druidic creed and its singular nature is given a rather lengthy exposition; either it is given to them alone to know the gods or else they alone are entirely mistaken; they believe that the dead souls do not seek the pallid realm of Dis, but that in another life (*orbe alio*) the spirit will again command the body.<sup>469</sup> If what the Druids chant is true, death is but the middle point of

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<sup>467</sup> Most of the earlier scholarship is summed up in the meticulous treatment by HOFENEDER 2008, 295-304. As a minimal explanation of the theonyms, Lucan would only have needed three divine names that could not be confused with Roman ones, and who were either known to be worshipped or could plausibly be imagined as being worshipped by the Gauls. Not much can be securely said beyond this. But there is certainly no reason to suppose Posidonius as his source, even through intermediaries, as GETTY 1979, xl and 92 *ad* 457 does, though he proceeds in the first case (xli) to support the severe but probably realistic assessment of LEJAY 1894, xlix-l of Lucan creating his details on *ad hoc* basis.

<sup>468</sup> Luc. 1.450f.: *barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum sacrorum*. This ties the pseudo-ethnography to the second famous description of Lucan regarding a Gallic holy grove (though, as plausibly noted by WIŚNIEWSKI 2007, 147 fn. 11, the Druids are not mentioned in the latter passage), which Caesar orders chopped down (3.399-425) to the dismayed wailing of all Gauls (*gemuere videntes Gallorum populi*, 445f.). The description parades an impressive array of images regarding what a *locus horridus* could include in a Roman mind: dark, stifling, of great antiquity and marked by bloody sacrifices (399-405): the traditional elements of *locus amoenus* are present (such as flowing water, shade, and breeze), but they are all perverted and miasmatic; see e.g. EDWARDS 1987. Supernatural phenomena are present (as if prefiguring the horrors associated with Erichtho in Book 6. The divine images are rotten and formless (415-17; much as the *putres robore trunci* at 9.966), and the locals do not venture there to worship—even *ipse sacerdos* in plain daylight abhors to disturb the god of the grove (424f.). Itself filled with conventional elements, it seems that the motif of Caesar ordering his men to axe down the oaks is the most pronouncedly topical piece of the passage, as comes clear from the parallels examined by PHILLIPS 1968; DYSON 1970; NISBET 1987; and AUGOUSTAKIS 2006; see also above p. 285 fn. 461f. Naturally there have been those scholars who have treated this passage, too, as having genuine ethnographical value, such as JULLIAN 1924, proudly pronouncing his trust in 'l'historiographe Lucain' exhibiting 'l'extraordinaire exactitude' (116) and proceeding to mine the epic for elements he takes as indicative of aspects of 'Celtic' Iron Age religion, in the process going as far as wistfully giving a location to the purported forest (117). However, most of the tropes regarding the primitivism and inhumanity of a *lucus* stem from the Roman perceptions of even their own *luci* and the semantics of the word itself (for which, see SCHEID 1993, 17-19): Lucan has simply added emphasis on the barbarian twists of the place, titillating details of noxiousness and general tenor of 'imagine-such-a-place-still-existing' deixis. Indeed, as noted by RUTLEDGE 2007, 186 (cf. 190), both the scene and Caesar's action are 'plausible, if not believable'.

<sup>469</sup> Luc. 1.454-65. GETTY 1979, 91 *ad loc.* does not follow the general interpretation, but sees this through a clearer Caesarian colouring, with the meaning, 'only you among the Gauls', with the *aut solis nescire datum* referring to the later passage about the grove near Massalia (3.415-17 *non volgatis sacrata figuris numina sic metuunt; tantum terroribus addit, quos timeant*). While certainly a possibility, with the results of this creed are a few lines later described as common to *populi quos despicit Arctos*, it is wiser to retain the more widespread interpretation. GETTY's translation of *orbe alio*, on the contrary, is probably correct in favouring the idea of a 'life cycle' instead of 'world' (1979, 92 *ad loc.*). In any case, it cannot be doubted that Lucan approached the notions attributed to Druids firmly from the direction of Graeco-Roman perceptions: there is a certain obstinacy to the claims such as RANKIN 1987, 278 about Lucan 'brilliantly intuit[ing]' the sentiments held by Celtic warriors and his purported appreciation of any lack of judgment in the afterlife (to see anything like this truly stretches the original context).

a long lifetime; what follows is the Caesarian remark as to the northerners' happiness in their delusion (*certe populi quos despicit Arctos felices errore suo*), for they lack that greatest of fears, the dread of dying. This contributes to their lack of self-preservation (1.457-62).

The passage is among those of Lucan's that received *scholia* and comments—something possibly due to the enduring fascination of 'barbarian rites' for even late antique and early medieval readers, such as the famous *Berne Scholia*.<sup>470</sup> Typically, and in a technique parallel to the rhetorical use of Gallic impiety in Cicero's *Pro Fonteio*, the proverbially almost non-existent nature of northern religion is often forgotten the moment it becomes expedient to describe blood-smeared religious structures.<sup>471</sup> Lucan's passage contains several topical motifs. The Druids inhabit shady groves in remote woods (*nemora alta remotis incolitis lucis*, 453f.); their creed harks back to the long tradition of *topoi* concerning the savage religious practices of the Celts, and represents a more moralizing take on the elements highlighted in druidic behaviour by Caesar. *BGall.* 6.14.6 is also the most economical source for Lucan's mention of the practical effect of the transmigration belief. The reference to Dis could be read as a minor Caesarian detail (*BGall.* 6.18.1), although the wording of the section on dead souls

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<sup>470</sup> Lact. *Div. inst.* 1.21.3 (in lambasting the failure of Romans to completely exclude violent cults) *Galli Esuam atque Teutaten humano cruore placabant*, possibly the source for the *Adnotationes super Lucanum* (ad 1.445, 446 with similarly general observations along the lines of *hominibus caesis placatur* and *sanguine litatur humano*). The specific sacrificial methods in the *Commenta Bernensia* (ad. 1.445 with a confused mix of name-pairings: Teutates is called both Mercury and Mars, as is Esus, whereas Taranis is glossed both as Dis Pater and Jupiter) must, however, derive from some other source; for Esus, the victims are hung until their limbs are separated from the bodies; the ones to Taranis are burnt in a wooden tub; and the ones to Teutates, drowned (*Comm.* 32-33 USENER ad 1.445-6). The motif of burning the human victims (rare in the connection with northerners, see p. 69) may derive from references to this method in Tert. *Apol.* 9.5; August. *De civ. D.* 7.19 on the authority of Varro. The *Commenta* are later than fourth century: ZWICKER 1934, 49; while the *Adnotationes* must predate the tenth century, as noted by the editor ENDT 1909, v-viii. WERNER 1994 demonstrates the interconnected nature of the two sets of commentaries, but cannot cast light upon the possible source for the relevant additions. All this makes it very hazardous to use them in reconstructing pre-Roman continental sacrificial practices among the Gauls; cf. HOFENEDER 2008, 318f.; a telling but faulty logic is evidenced by CUNLIFFE 1997, 191f. using 'Posidonius' (as usual, confidently through Caesar, Diodorus and Strabo) in order to argue for the factuality of the vastly later *Commenta* and *Adnotationes*. Lactantius (*Div. inst.* 1.21.4) regarded the cruelty of barbarian cults to be expected, as their religion must match their character, but expresses disappointment with what he claims was Roman interest and patience when faced with such cults (he also claims that the cult of Jupiter Latialis was still placated by human blood: 1.21.3; see BOWEN & GARNSEY 2003, 107 fn. 140).

<sup>471</sup> The same is true to characterizations of Germanic cultic locales: Tac. *Ann.* 1.61f. is one example, with the bloody altars an apparent dramatization, as demonstrated by PAGÁN 1999, 308f. HOFENEDER 2007, 160, however, points out that Cicero's polemical points in *Font.* 14 should not be interpreted as evidence for the existence of sacred architecture among the Celts. This is absolutely true, taking into account the patently rhetorical use of the motif of blood-spilt altars (cf. Iphigenia in Tauris: Luc. 1.456), but as has been to some extent shown already, the idea of northern barbarians worshipping without religious structures is in itself a traditional literary motif with little to back up its 'reality'. Neither the use of the trope or its occasional omission communicates an actual situation among the northerners, but to Roman audiences it may have seemed to do so.

and their return also acts as an internal prefiguration of the necromantic scenes later in the *Bellum civile*, as the horrors of the Civil War unleash barbarism to the Roman world, as well.<sup>472</sup>

When the theoretical suspicion directed at the Druids during the Early Empire is borne in mind, as well as the nefarious practices associated in many Roman minds with the way Gauls practiced their religion, it is no wonder that such Gaulish divinities as were adopted beyond the Gallic provinces were not portrayed as prominently 'Gallic' in nature. Epona, a goddess heavily associated with horses, is a good example; her character became joined with military worship, and most of her dedications outside the Gallic provinces come from the Rhine and Danube frontiers.<sup>473</sup> She seems to have managed the crossing from a provincial/'ethnic' divinity to a widely recognized and partly occupational goddess, and she attracted a mythological αἴτιον of her own sometime during the High Empire. The Pseudo-Plutarchan *Parallela Minora* quotes Agesilaos, who wrote in the third book of his τὰ Ἰταλικά that a misogynistic man called Fulvius Stellus impregnated a mare, who gave birth to a shapely girl called Epona; for this reason Epona is considered a θεὸς πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη ἵππων.<sup>474</sup> This story of a zoophilic Roman fathering a goddess of Gallic origin might be read as disparaging, but there is actually no evidence of Epona being recognized as a 'Gallic' divinity or called 'Gallic' in antiquity.<sup>475</sup> Accordingly, her racy aetiology cannot be regarded as straightforward evidence for Imperial Era disparagement of 'Gallic' divinities. Other local Gaulish deities were most often linked with a relatively narrow range of Roman divinities (chiefly Mercury, Mars, and Apollo), which no doubt would have lessened the strangeness of

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<sup>472</sup> Lucan's masterly treatment of the collapse of Roman morals and humanity in his epic of the civil war has been noted by many scholars: GORDON 1987, 234 remarks about the collapse of traditional religion and divinely sanctioned morals in Lucan's bleak view, giving way to corrupted and dark practices such as those of Erichtho (cf. DICK 1963, 37; MORFORD 1967, 62f.); SPENCER 2005 contains several pertinent points about Lucan's Roman empire as a ruinous landscape of memory and morality alike (e.g. 55f. about the theme of man-made environments being abandoned, which within Lucan's religious disillusionment could easily be prefigured in the Massalian grove already).

<sup>473</sup> See the map in LINDUFF 1979, fig. 1; notably, the 'Celtic' in the title of the article (and most instances of calling Epona 'Gallic' in scholarly literature) refers to the modern understanding of Epona's nature and her name's etymology. This has no immediate bearing upon ancient perceptions. LINDUFF's interpretation of the evidence to the effect that it was predominantly the Gauls serving in the Roman legions who worshipped Epona (836) cannot be the whole story, especially during the High Empire—just as unlikely as it would be to have all dedications to Jupiter of Doliche represent Commagenians. Epona's devotees could not have been motivated by an alleged 'familiarity' of her 'Celtic background' (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*), and to posit her cult as a more demotic form of military religion when compared with Mithraism is untenable.

<sup>474</sup> Agesil. *Ital. BNJ* 828 F 1 *ap.* [Plut.] *Par. Min.* 29B (*Mor.* 312E). This aetiology may have been partly inspired by the origin myth for the Centaurs as narrated in Pind. *Pyth.* 2.41-8; *Ov. Met.* 12.210.

<sup>475</sup> *Apul. Met.* 3.25, *Juven. Sat.* 8.157 and *Min. Fel. Oct.* 28.7 both mention Epona without any sort of ethnic or provincial ties. Neither the brief and mainly iconographic survey in MAGNEN & THEVENOT 1953 nor the more thorough contribution of LINDUFF 1979 produce any evidence for a Roman recognition of Epona's 'Celtic' origins. DE LA BÉDOYÈRE 2002, 31 thinks Epona belongs among divinities that because being 'less Roman' needed always to be portrayed with their associates or paraphernalia, but this is not convincing, as there is no literary evidence for her being in any way 'less Roman' than many other minor divinities.

their names for a Roman audience. As Lucian's *Hercules* reveals (p. 144f.), however, glossing Gallic divinities with Greek or Roman names was not enough if their portrayal was found objectionable by visitors from the normative cultural centre.

While occasionally remarked upon by Hellenistic and Late Republican writers, human sacrifice and the associated cannibalism came into its own as a denominator of northern religion during the Early Empire. This calls for an explanation. The topos was certainly apt to be used to highlight Rome's civilizing mission (as noted by WEBSTER 1994, 6), and to cast the actions taken against certain traditional practices in conquered areas as benefiting the whole of mankind—as is made clear by Pliny.<sup>476</sup> He envisions Rome both as a providential cleanser of the religious practices of subjected peoples, but flanked by magocracies both in the east (Persia) and the north-west (Britain). The reference to Britons' fervent celebration of magical rites is no doubt derived from Caesar's reference to the origin of the druidic creed in that island, but it certainly tapped into a more widespread current unease about magical practices.<sup>477</sup> What enabled this, however, was the long-standing recognition that the northerners' religion was somehow contrary to the acceptable cults of other peoples and that as such it threatened the proper equilibrium between men and the gods.

Finally, the element of menacing forests provided an appropriate backdrop for the Roman imagining of northern barbarian ritual life: the notion of the forest as the crucial *locus* of northerners' religious practice is abundantly testified to by sources from the Early Imperial period. Forests, especially northern ones, seem to have appeared to the Romans as deeply disquieting and disconcerting.<sup>478</sup> The increasing recurrence of the topos of barbarian worship taking place in woods or groves is certainly related to this feeling of unease, but in this case a

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<sup>476</sup> Of the imperial-era perception of how the 'true civilization was now spread from Rome', and its religious connections: GORDON 1990B, 235-45. Pliny's attitude is quite consistent with his version of *laus Italiae* topos and his view of Rome's power perfecting the natural order of things: NAAS 2002, 417-32; MURPHY 2004, 172. Since Pliny knew Polyhistor's writings (BEAGON 1992, 8) he would probably have wilfully abandoned the comparatively positive view of the Druids as philosophers, which Polyhistor seems to have endorsed.

<sup>477</sup> Caes. *BGall.* 6.13; Plin. *HN* 30.4. The tendentiousness of Caesar's reference to Britain was already recognized by TAMBLYN 1909, 23. Tacitus' literary set-piece episode on Mona may attest to the plausibility even after Pliny's lifetime of imagining cruel northern cults holding sway in the more remote parts of Britain (cf. above 261-70). The Imperial evaluation of both *magia* and *superstitio* seems to have gotten more hostile over time, though the two words were not exactly synonyms: VERSNEL 1991, 182. While *magia* was nefarious and criminal, *superstitio* as such was not, though it could be deplored and denigrated, as was done by Plutarch, for instance. For the use of δεισιδαιμονία: MOELLERLING 1962, 50-60; MARTIN 2004, 21-35, 93-108 (on developments during the Empire).

<sup>478</sup> Examples include Lucr. 5.200-17; Caes. *BGall.* 1.39.6, 5.21.3; Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.6; Livy 21.58.3 (not forests as such, but the landscape of the Alps); Plin. *HN* 12.3; Tac. *Germ.* 5.1, *Ann.* 1.61; Cass. Dio 56.19.5-20; Frontin. *Str.* 1.3.10; even topically used as late as in Greg. Tur. *Hist.* 2.9. See BEARE 1964, 64; WOOLF 2009, 207; NENNINGER 2001 *passim*; SCHADEE 2008, 178f. on forests in Caesar's *BGall.* (cf. KREBS 2006, 120-24).

basis in concrete observation should be seen as commanding more influence than in certain other literary elements. No doubt northern groups often had holy groves—after all, so did the Greeks and the Romans themselves. What is tendentious and stereotyped is the menace that is seen as a crucial property of these locales. The forested landscape as the locale of Gallic religion, as we have seen, was already featured in Caesar's works, but the imagination of later historians made the forest the *sine qua non* of Gallic communal action. In narrating the beginning of Vercingetorix' rebellion Florus presents the Gauls as habitually holding their *conciabula* and feasts in groves. Already earlier he had referred to the motif of Caesar vanquishing the forests of Gaul in the case of the Morini, who had scattered among the woodland.<sup>479</sup> On Tacitus' image of Civilis initiating his revolt in a holy grove, see above p. 247.

As Lucan's skilfully formed image of the sacred grove near Massalia testifies (above p. 284 fn. 468), barbarism was elementally connected in the Roman consciousness with a natural setting. In contrast with the *locus amoenus* of productive, tamed natural pleasantness, the barbarian *loci* of worship bore indelible associations with 'wrong' religiosity.<sup>480</sup> Tacitus seems quite typical regarding the Early to High Imperial propensity to view barbarian religion in connection with groves; he describes the holy wood of the Semnones, 'the oldest and most noble group of Suebi', which had been consecrated by ancestral auguries and primordial reverence (*auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram*).<sup>481</sup> This immediately brings immediately to mind Lucan's characterization of the Massalian grove, the numinosity of which similarly hinges on the duality of antiquity and superstitious trembling. The images are strikingly similar.

<sup>479</sup> Flor. 1.45.6 on Morini; 1.45.21: *ille festis diebus et conciabulis, cum frequentissimos in lucis haberet*.

<sup>480</sup> On *loci amoeni*, THOMAS 1982, 24–6, 127–9. Forested places seem to facilitate transfers to criminal and subversive practices, such as with perceptions about the emergence of *latrocinium*: SHAW 2000, 386ff., noting also the liminal, ghostly and gruesome aspects of banditry. Also WINKLER 1980 on the literary image of bandits.

<sup>481</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 39. Tacitus' constructed much of his more primitive Germani in *Germania* along the lines of Caesar's excursus about the Suebi in *BGall.* 4.1–3. Caesar uses the traditional motifs of warlikeness (*bellicosissima Germanorum omnium*), great numbers (*centum pagos [...] ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum [...] educunt*), communalism (*privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est*), non-settled lifestyle (*neque longius anni remanere uno in loco colendi causa licet*), subsistence on milk and flesh (*lacte atque pecore vivunt*), complete freedom (*a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina adsuefacti nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciunt*), vast stature (*immani corporum magnitudine*), sparse clothing (*neque vestitus praeter pelles habeant quicquam*), bathing in open rivers—by implication cold ones (*laventur in fluminibus*). The enumeration of these traits only highlights the rehearsed and purposeful effect of the description; moreover, at the same time it is striking that Caesar leaves out any indication of religion. After such visibility in Caesar, Tacitus had to devote Suebi considerable space (*Germ.* 38–45), but as their Caesarian attributes are applied to most Germans in *Germania*, the Suebi are characterized via other motifs; some of their subgroups, however, such as the Senones with their primordial cult, receive some of Caesar's tropes: (*Germ.* 39 about Senones: *centum pagis habitant, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant*). As noted by BELL 1995, 761, the extension of the Latin word *pagus* outside Italy, and in particular into Gaul and Germania, was first introduced by Caesar, although Tacitus' choice of using it probably rather reflects a contemporary adoption than a particular verbal nod towards Caesar. A perhaps clearer allusion is the Tacitean use of the term *concilium*: *ead.* 1995, 762; for a general assessment *ead.* 766f. In addition to the holy grove of the Senones, the cult of Nerthus (40) among other Suebi furnish in Tacitus the religious dimension which Caesar omits: and just as the latter's omission of religious description reinforced his authorial intentions, so does Tacitus achieve some of his aims by stressing the abnormality of Germans putting away all martial though for the duration of the Nerthus-festivities.



Similar, too, is the barbarous and ancient rite of human sacrifice which dominates the use of the grove.<sup>482</sup> Where in Lucan (3.423-5) the fear of coming face to face with whatever lives in the woods prevents even the priest (*sacerdos*) from approaching it, in *Germania* the numinous power of the place entails other fearful forms of reverence: no-one enters the wood except in fetters, and anyone who happens to fall there cannot simply stand upright but has to crawl out. It should moreover be noted that Tacitus labels all these ritual observations of the Semnones as superstition (*eoque omnis superstitio*), although it can be debated what other choice of words, if any, would have been available to him in such a context. In terms of divine ancestors, all this reverence indicates to Tacitus that the Semnones believe the grove to represent their place of origin (*inde initia gentis*), while the god of the place itself is the ruler of all other gods (*ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia*). This is not at all dissimilar from what Caesar writes about the Gauls and what they believe regarding their descent from Dis Pater (*BGall.* 6.18.1), and it would be reasonable to see this unnamed divinity of the Semnones as a Tacitean construction, meant to provide another allusion to Caesar. Further, since there seem to be echoes of the *dominus luci* in Lucan, the passage may act as a polyvalent allusion, or rather a case of barbarographic *inventio*.<sup>483</sup> As formulated by THOMAS 1982, 24, “[t]he *locus amoenus* is open only to the *pi?*”, and as a horrid opposite of *amoenitas*, it is only to be expected in Lucan’s implication that in a locale of such repulsiveness only *impietas* would hold sway. Another Tacitean passage that has been connected with Lucan is the famous description of the Roman attack on the isle of Mona.<sup>484</sup>

The preponderance of groves in northern religion was only occasionally transformed into tree worship proper, for instance by Maximus Tyrius.<sup>485</sup> Considering how rarely the sources are explicit, the treatment of the theme of tree worship by some modern scholars leaves a nagging suspicion at the back of one’s mind. As simply one example, in an otherwise

<sup>482</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 39: *caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia*. A more direct parallel between Tacitus and Lucan is the rhetorical/moral inclusion of the bloodied altars in Luc. 3.399-417 and Tac. *Ann.* 14.30.

<sup>483</sup> Though Tacitus does not attribute the belief to any particular group propagating it, whereas Caesar claims the parentage of Dis is part of the druidic creed, both join their account of a divine ancestor with the corollaries that this belief has in the realm of ritual behaviour; in Caesar, as is seen, the chthonic ancestry leads the Gauls compute their seasons and other divisions of time in an abnormal way (6.18.2). Tacitus’ notion of particular reverence towards the highest god may well be connected with the broadly contemporary mention by Maximus Tyrius that ‘the Celts revere Zeus’ (Max. Tyr. *Dialex.* 2.8B), particularly as the demonstrated tendency of Greek authors to confuse/subsume the Germans with ‘other Celts’ (cf. p. 116, 121, 224).

<sup>484</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 14.30. Among the early scholars to note this possibility was TAMBLYN 1909, 32; later DYSON 1970; see p. 241 fn. 296, 252 fn. 336, 282 fn. 462. The connections appear both on the level of wording (e.g. Luc. 1.449 *iudistis carmina*; Tac. *Ann.* 14.30 *druidaeque [...] ad caelum manibus fundentes*, as recognized by GETTY 1979, 90 *ad loc.*), and even more clearly in the general tenor of the passages.

<sup>485</sup> *Dialex.* 2.8B; see above p. 283. The passage is dismissed by BRUNAU 1993, 61 as ‘une certaine manière faire du frazérisme avant la lettre’, but this notion is shaped by a vestigial positivistic desire to uncover ‘real’ Celtic religious sentiments in connection with sacred trees, and overlooks the interpretations that Greeks and Romans drew from the available evidence.

valuable contribution, one might refer to MARCO SIMÓN 2007, 155-58; despite recognizing the ubiquity of holy groves and trees among all Mediterranean cultures, he goes on to treat the grove as the marker of holiness *par excellence* among the various groups of northern barbarians—obviously influenced by what is imagined as a typical element of 'Celtic ritualism'. BRUNAUX 1993, however, has drawn attention to the prevalent use of literary sources in constructing such a primitivistic image of Iron Age northern religiosity, in what has essentially grown into a scholarly myth. This is largely due to the fact that the literary sources had nourished an expectation among Greek and—much more significantly—Roman observers which focused their gaze upon religious practice in rural and arboreal settings, rather than, for instance, cults located in the Gallic *oppida*. Although the connection of the Druids' practices with woods in this particular period seems to receive particular emphasis, it is debatable whether this stems from a factual 'retreat' of groups regarded as druidic to continue their practices in such locales, as Pomponius Mela's testimony is sometimes read to imply.<sup>486</sup> If there is any clearly topical fountainhead for this literary element, it might be sought in the descriptions of pious and peaceful Hyperboreans living in groves and eating acorns.<sup>487</sup>

The most crucial characteristic of the holy grove, whether Greek, Roman, or Gallic, is its venerable age. Young groves simply do not seem to occur in sacred contexts—something that might be explained through resort to a literary commonplace, which in turn was influenced by the logic of 'venerable antiquity' as the surest marker of the sacred.<sup>488</sup> A good example of this tendency, and at the same time of its Late Antique trivialization, is the way Ausonius declares the *veteres luci* to be *pagorum gloria*: the awe-inspiring age of the sacred grove, so primordially numinous for Lucan and Tacitus, had become something quaint, a rather trivial piece of antiquarian lore—just like the druidic ancestors of some of his Burdigalan colleagues.<sup>489</sup> The same, it seems, also happened with druidic doctrine itself in some Late Imperial writings, such as Ammianus (see below p. 311-17).

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<sup>486</sup> A possibility discussed by e.g. WEBSTER 1995B, 180; foreshadowed by such predecessors as FUSTEL DE COULANGES 1891, 111f.; DEWITT 1938, 332; LAST 1949; and DRINKWATER 1983, 39.

<sup>487</sup> Hell. F 187B *ap. Clem. Al. Strom.* 1.15, F 187C *ap. Theodor. Graec. aff. cur.* 12.44; cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.103-6 on the Golden Race.

<sup>488</sup> Cf. BRIQUEL 1993, e.g. 84, 89f.

<sup>489</sup> Auson. *Mos.* 478; *Prof. Burd.* 4.7-14, 10.23-30. The quaint antiquarianism of Ausonius' references went largely unheeded by the earlier 20th century scholarship: for instance see BACHELIER 1960, 91-99 or DILLON & CHADWICK 1967, 181; a more balanced view is exhibited e.g. in SIVAN 1993, 77, 82f. Ausonius' love of learning and the past comes across well in KENNEY's study of his *Mosella* (1984, *passim*); on his classicism see GREEN 1977. The 'druidic' pedigree of Delphidius and his grandfather Phoebicius (priest of Belenus) has been suggested to attempt covering the humble early history of family that in Ausonius' time was rather prominent: BOOTH 1978, 236; GREEN 1985, 502; VAN DAM 1985, 72; cf. also HOPKINS 1961, 245, 247f.

## c. THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING PIOUS

There is abundant evidence attesting that in the imperial period the mental iconosphere concerning the northern barbarians was still elementally linked to the concept of 'correct' religion and fears of a lapse from this standard. Like the underlying mentalities that above have been suggested to underpin the Tacitean narrative of Gallic unrest in 68-9, barbarian superstitiousness required particular piety from the Romans. Conversely, the Republican unease at Roman impiety (whether through ignorance or error) was apparently seen, at least at the level of a literary device, as possibly drawing to itself a divine punishment in the form of the barbarian menace. In judging the success of imperial personages, the correlation between these two factors, barbarian impiety vs. Roman piety—however hazily recognized by the writers themselves—crops up regularly.

In discussing the opposing traits in the mentally disturbed personality of the emperor Gaius, Suetonius first notes that he experienced nightly conversations with some sort of marine spirit (*pelagi quondam speciem conloquentem secum*), and then focuses his concurrent contempt and superstition toward the gods.<sup>490</sup> Immediately afterwards, Suetonius gives examples of the emperor's attitude towards the barbarians: when visiting the Rhine frontier he was similarly full of threats towards the free barbarians, yet immediately took fright at the prospect of their raid and personally beat a panicky retreat (a trait usually associated with the barbarians themselves).<sup>491</sup> When told, not long afterwards, of an uprising in Germania, he prepared fleets in order to flee the city to the provinces across the sea, which were sure to still be left to him (*classes apparabat, uno solacio adquiescens transmarinas certe sibi superfuturas provincias*). Apparently his imagination was immediately affixed to the double historical *exemplum* of the Cimbri breaching the Alps and the Senones menacing the City. To indulge in speculation, it is possible that in Caligula's own mind notions of the barbarian threat and of the significance of the Ocean were bound up together in some elemental way, possibly connected with the memory of his father's exploits, and certainly impossible to reconstruct.<sup>492</sup>

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<sup>490</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 50.2, 51.1. The appearance of the *species pelagi* might be linked, at least on the level of contemporary rumours, to the more famous instance of fighting the ocean and then parading the *spolia Oceani* (*Calig.* 46.1).

<sup>491</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 51.2. DRINKWATER 1983, 36 notes that the example of the whole previous Julio-Claudian imperial line may have compelled Gaius to act in the trans-Rhenane areas to confirm his right to purple.

<sup>492</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 51.3: *si victores Alpium iuga, ut Cimbri, vel etiam urbem, ut Senones quondam, occuparent*. If Suetonius is correct in saying that Gaius thought himself to suffer from an illness of the mind (50.2 *mentis valitudinem et ipse senserat ac subinde de secessu deque purgando cerebro cogitavit*), the emperor might have regarded this as a form of divine punishment (perhaps explaining his vacillating attitude towards cultic matters) and consequently been particularly

From the senatorial or republican point of view—such as that of Tacitus—victories in the north could easily be seen to lead to tyranny. Caesar had sprung to dictatorship from the success of the Gallic wars, and a complex debate over the relationship between freedom, luxury, and autocracy seem to have been going on in the British sections of Tacitus and Cassius Dio.<sup>493</sup> Claudius' foolish attempts to deify himself were exemplified by his temple in Britain, which to the provincials seemed like an *arx aeternae dominationis*, while the literary traditions about Caligula's antics and Boudicca's condemnation of Nero's rule participate in a morally articulated criticism of autocracy that found the northern dimension a convenient mirror.<sup>494</sup> Notably, where Caesar's exemplary campaigns in the northern lands were imitated by his imperial heirs, providential elements are almost absent in his own matter-of-fact commentaries. Implicitly he seems to have aimed at portraying himself as the unrivalled agent of such feats, an Alexander in the West, who owed very little to divinities.<sup>495</sup>

In terms of providential septentriomachy, Caesar's successors had to a large extent to find their own way, and they succeeded to varying degrees. Augustus managed quite spectacularly according to the literature of the era, bringing even unconquered lands into the Roman orbit of his new Saturnian age. Tiberius appears to have made some gestures towards scoring points with anti-druidic legislation; Caligula clearly attempted something (though exactly what that was is unclear), possibly prompted by the fame of his paternal ancestors and undone by his own paranoia; and Claudius was much involved both in Gaul and in Britain, but also had to face scepticism from both the senatorial class as a whole and from individuals such as Seneca. Finally, Nero's opponents may already have interpreted Boudicca's rebellion

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susceptible for religiously articulated hysteria in connection with the possible barbarian invasion. The legacy of his admired barbaromachic father Germanicus (himself very conscious of his pedigree at Idistaviso: Tac. *Ann.* 2.14) could only have complicated such a bunch of issues, part of which is mirrored by the written sources examined in HURLEY 1989, esp. the latter half of her article. The famous 'abortive invasion' of the Britain by Gaius (Suet. *Calig.* 46; Cass. Dio 59.25.1) has been variously interpreted: DAVIES 1966 suggested a combination of military drill, a propagandistic warning for the British, and wilful misunderstanding by the source authors; PHILLIPS 1970 thought that the testimonies refer to a real intention of a campaign, only cancelled because of a mutiny (he noted on p. 372, quite rightly, that the soldiers would have been most nervous about such an undertaking); WOODS 2000 enumerates many previous theories, but suggests a rather implausible conjecture of Gaius harassing the cross-Channel shipping; MALLOCH 2001, 554 observes that Caligula wished to cultivate associations with Caesar and the concomitant military glory, with the subjugating of Ocean replete with symbolism; HIND 2003 envisions the emperor wishing to substitute his meagre *donativum* to the soldiers by providing them with an opportunity to enrich themselves by the British pearls of great fame but poor quality.

<sup>493</sup> ASH 2009, esp. 278-91, shows that even such a seemingly self-contained episode as the mutiny of the Usipi in *Agr.* 28 reflects Tacitus' epideictic commentary on Domitian's tyranny. Literary and rhetorical elements intertwine.

<sup>494</sup> On Claudius' temple at Colchester, FISHWICK 1973 *contra* SIMPSON 1993; on Caligula's puzzling designs by the Channel, DAVIES 1966; PHILLIPS 1970; HIND 2003; on Nero, ROBERTS 1988, e.g. 129; with FULFORD 2008 examining the Roman policies towards the island after Boudicca's revolt. GRIFFIN 1976, 230f. briefly remarks about the rumours regarding Nero's contemplated abandonment of Britain early in his reign; it may be that he engaged in similar negotiation of his predecessor's military heritage as Caligula had done earlier.

<sup>495</sup> Alexander as a model to Caesar, SPENCER 2002, 22, 59-60, 182-4, 198. Suet. *Iul.* 6 points to an emphasis on Venus during Caesar's early career, and App. *BC* 2.68 during the Civil War, but this is absent from the *Gallic War*.

as constituting a statement against the moral character of Nero's rule, later woven into a literary narrative by Tacitus and Dio.<sup>496</sup> Vitellius may have attempted to make *Germanicus* a hereditary name in his potential dynasty, but instead was undermined by accusations of religious ineptitude on *dies Alliensis* and of retaining a Chattian prophetess, as well as by the hostile perception of his legions as consisting of Gauls and Germans.<sup>497</sup> Vespasian's northern pedigree had been established by his career in furthering the Claudian conquests in Britain.<sup>498</sup>

The purported northern proneness to superstition became particularly worrying to the emperors after what has sometimes been seen as a redefinition of the semantics of *superstitio* in the course of the Early Imperial period.<sup>499</sup> The contemporary intensification of unease may have coloured the borrowing of earlier literary elements: the general sense of what Tacitus calls *superstitio* among the restless population of Gaul may be quite close to what Caesar had described as *admodum dedita religionibus*. Caesar does not use the word *superstitio* or its derivatives at any point, whereas Tacitus is quite liberal with its (moralizing) use.<sup>500</sup> As seen above, the nefarious barbarian religiosity is structured through an East-West dichotomy by Pliny's Persia and Britain, and in a less close association by Tacitus' Jews and Druids. This can be argued to be linked with the increased concern with *superstitio* and other subversive, non-standard religious acts, which in turn was perhaps associated with the new, barely articulated and quite exposed position of the emperor at the very apex of the Roman religious world order.<sup>501</sup> The narrative regime of triumphal rulership and the rhetorically politicized aspects of pacifying the northern barbarians thus became important elements in safeguarding not only the position of the emperor, but the stability of the whole empire that was now embodied in his person.

'Titanism' has sometimes been presented as one mode of ancient discourse concerning the northerners' piety.<sup>502</sup> More crucially, it was a mode of articulating a certain responsibility

<sup>496</sup> DRINKWATER 1983, 35 on the 'special relationship' between Gaul and the Imperial house ending after Nero.

<sup>497</sup> Vitellius: Suet. *Vit.* 8.2 (and see above p. 240 fn. 295); for Vitellius' religious failures, see BARZANÒ 1984, 118; DAVIES 2004, 188, 203. For the negative press that his army received on account of its northern component: BARZANÒ 1984, 114 fn. 42 with sources (Tac. *Hist.* 2.93; Cass. Dio 64.17.2; Joseph. *BJ* 4.648). Moreover, through the accusations that the Vitellians were the ones behind the Capitoline fire, it became possible for Vespasian to pose as *ultor deorum* (as in Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.203).

<sup>498</sup> SHOTTER 2004, esp. 2f., 6 examines Vespasian's garnering of *auctoritas* by his links to the British conquests.

<sup>499</sup> Cf. SCHEID 1985, 20-2, 25; MARTIN 2004, 127ff.

<sup>500</sup> So in this case, though Tacitus as a rule sticks to a wide repertoire of Caesar's vocabulary about the northerners (cf. BELL 1995, 766f.), he is rather following the custom—or perhaps even a trend—of his own time.

<sup>501</sup> Regarding the precarious religio-magical position of the emperor, see SCHEID 1985, 20-22, with the point that the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE saw the concept of *superstitio* obtaining a new set of meanings, including 'religion des autres'; cf. also GORDON 1990B, 237-40, and esp. 252-55 about the vulnerability of the *princeps*. Also, and in the context of the Roman perception of 'druidism', WEBSTER 1999, 13.

<sup>502</sup> DAUGE 1981, 33, with n. 82, though the term 'titanism(e)' appears to be also used as a shorthand for the sentiments of rebelliousness associated with the Romantic Movement (see e.g. LEIDNER 1989), and hence may be too polyvalent to be widely used. In this thesis, its use implies a 'barbarians-titans' simile or metaphor.

on the part of 'civilized nations' to counter, eradicate, or discourage the savage practices of 'latter-day Titans'—a technique already encountered in Hellenistic propaganda (see p. 64). Part of the influence of 'Titanism' is due to its origins: no less an authority than Homer might be regarded as the originator of some of the *topoi* about the nature and behaviour of Giants and Titans.<sup>503</sup> Callimachus' famous *Hymn to Delos* with its explicit associations, has already been discussed. Basically, the Roman emperors still had the same propagandistic option open to them as was offered to Ptolemy II by Callimachus—indeed, much of the care taken by Republican aristocrats in glorifying their barbarian victories could now be dispensed with. Crossing the gap between Hellenistic portrayals and Imperial imagery is the poetic tradition surfacing in Ovid: the goddess Terra creates the Iron Race of humans from the blood of the destroyed Giants, but these humans are too violent and impious.<sup>504</sup> The Emperor is similarly cast as a Herculean vanquisher of barbarians by such clearly epideictic formulations as the jubilant ending of Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*, where the *domitor magne ferarum* is celebrated as *orbis pacator* (ll. 1989f.), besought to still pay heed to the world and, *si qua novo belua voltu quatiet populos terrore gravi*, to vanquish such a menace with *fulminibus trisulcis*, hurled more vigorously even than by his divine father (l. 1996). The assimilation of Herculean and Jovian aspects in a single protector of the *orbis terrarum* is panegyric in the extreme, and should be kept in mind when we come to the *XII Panegyrici Latini* and the imperial 'héracléisme' (p. 349-51 below).

The titanistic paradigm may also stand behind Pliny's condemnation of cannibalism, which he says could be regarded as an altogether incredible practice were there not references to *gentes huius monstri* having existed even *in medio orbis terrarum*, such as the Cyclopes and Laestrygonians.<sup>505</sup> As a reinforcing argument Pliny notes that until recently human sacrifice had been practiced in Transalpine parts, which in his view comes very close to eating a man (*et*

<sup>503</sup> *Od.* 7.59: ὑπερθύμιοισι Γιγάντεσσιν; *ibid.* 7.206: Κύκλωπές τε καὶ ἄγρια φύλα Γιγάντων; cf. also 10.119: the cannibalistic, gigantic Laestrygonians as οὐκ ἄνδρεσσιν ἑοικότες, ἀλλὰ Γίγασιν. The probable role of the Laestrygonians as a mythical influence behind the trope of cannibalistic northerners was noted already by KILLEEN 1976, 208. In Rome, *Gigantes* had been present in written narratives since Naevius' *BP F 4* about Runcus and Purpureus, *fili Terras*: see FRAENKEL 1954; also ROWELL 1947, 32-39, suggesting that Naevius was describing a gigantomachy at the pediment of an Agrigentan temple.

<sup>504</sup> *Ov. Met.* 1.156-62. Essentially, this is a repeat of the origin of Giants, who are born of Gaea already in Hes. *Theog.* 185; cf. also the epigram of Piso in *Anth. Gr.* 11.424, which recreates the Hesiodic birth of Erinyes/Furies. While the Ovidian blood-race is probably not an outright parallel to the literary *Galli*, a relationship to the Callimachean ὀπιγῶνοι Τιτῆνες seems plausible. The symptomatic impiety of the Iron Race (EVANS 2008, 47) would particularly have helped this association, whereas the pseudo-ethnographic detail of Κελτοί always carrying σίδηρα—with its Augustan circulation attested to by Nicolaus of Damascus (*ap. Stob. Flor.* 44.41)—would have made this even easier.

<sup>505</sup> Plin. *HN* 7.9, with very typical epistemic ordering for Graeco-Roman writers of pseudo-ethnographic passages: purported present-day practices are confirmed by reference to any comparable sections in the established classics. For Pliny's inclusion of marvels in his 'ethnographical' Book 7, and the very tenuous justification he gives for it, see MURPHY 2004, 90. The presence of this type of association in Imperial thinking is further reinforced by Plut. *De superst.* 171D, which imagines that if the Typhons and Giants had managed to expel the gods and were now ruling over mankind, they would demand sacrifices in blood: see MOELLER 1962, 86f.

*nuperrime trans Alpīs hominem immolari gentium earum more solitum, quod paulum a mandendo abest*). Cannibalism is obviously a powerful motif in distancing any group from the customs of each imagining community, which are nearly always held to be normative.<sup>506</sup> Even so, Graeco-Roman depictions of Gallic human sacrifice and the occasionally associated cannibalism are striking for the way this practice is always lurking in the most immediate past. Cicero in his *Pro Fonteio* clamoured that the habit of human sacrifice had been retained by the impious Gauls up until that very time.<sup>507</sup> Dionysius' source, probably Varro, said much the same thing, and Strabo may either be quoting Posidonius or expressing his own opinion that the Romans had only recently put an end to these unsavoury practices among the Gauls.<sup>508</sup> Pomponius Mela is notable in imagining a less bloody substitute rite having taken the place of recently practiced human sacrifice, though he implies that the Gauls still flirt with the idea (*ut ab ultimis caedibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos altaribus admovere, delibant*). Pliny seems to continue in this typically polemical vein: even if an author admits that in his current age perhaps technically not all northerners any longer spend their religious holidays spattering human blood over altars, they are nonetheless implied to be only marginally removed from that horrid state.<sup>509</sup>

The association between the European barbarians and the Titans was a long-lived one, and was manifested through both iconographic and literary testimony. One example from the Early or High Imperial period (depending on whether the emphasis was already present at the time of these events): Cassius Dio's description of the Moesian campaign of M. Licinius Crassus in 29-8 BCE, highlights the connections between mythology and local geography and ethnography. Licinius is said to have spared the Odrysae from depredation because of their devotion to the cult of Dionysus; after defeating the Getae, he surrounds the survivors in the cave of Ciris, the large size of which had led to a tradition that the defeated Titans had taken

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<sup>506</sup> Already in Hom. *Od.* 9.107-12; Diod. 5.32.3; Str. 4.5.4; Juv. 15.13; but on the other hand, defending cannibalism was also a topos used in declamation exercises, as noted by RANKIN 1969, 384. That cannibalism as a motif 'utterly alien to traditional Graeco-Roman life and thought' (BOWERSOCK 1994, 130) is affixed to the northerners with remarkable regularity is noted in BIANCHETTI 2002, 297. The later use of the theme of cannibalism in the colonial discourse (and its criticism) is well examined in LINDENBAUM 2004.

<sup>507</sup> Cic. *Font.* 31. Closely paralleled on verbal plane by Cic. *Rep.* 3.15.

<sup>508</sup> Dion. *Ant. Rom.* 1.38.2; Str. 4.4.5.

<sup>509</sup> Mela 3.18; Plin. *HN* 30.4. Human sacrifice as 'marker of barbarism' has been often commented upon, such as by RIVES 1995, 69-70; but in the case of this motif of human sacrifice receding just behind the immediate temporal horizon from the viewpoint of any given author, however, there is also involved the sheer rhetorical force of showing the worth and justification of Roman dominance. Indeed, as suggested by WEBSTER 1994, 7 (cf. *ead.* 1995B, 180) it is possible that the frequency itself of references in Roman literature to the recent cessation of human sacrifice among northerners may be explained by the relative closeness in time of such practices in the Romans' own past. The triadic structure of some 'cultural cosmologies' as explained in HARBSMEIER 2010, 287f. is very much to the point in this case. The prestige acquired by demonstrating the Romans' civilizational level certainly forms a powerful and attractive explanatory element, but it is only one example of the principle of seeing the past forms of one's own culture among contemporary barbarians (cf. p. 41).

refuge there.<sup>510</sup> Other tropes are also clearly present: the envoys of the Bastarnae are purposely got drunk in order to learn their plans, for ἀπλήστως τε γὰρ ἐμφορεῖται πᾶν τὸ Σκυθικὸν φῦλον οἴνου; then the traditional stratagem of the barbarians is reversed by ambushing them in a forest.<sup>511</sup> Unfortunately, as Dio is our only source for Crassus' campaign, it is difficult to say which earlier sources had emphasized these mythical themes. If contemporary (or nearly so) with Crassus' achievements, such public mythologization of his campaign could certainly have something to do with Julio-Augustan triumphalism: indeed, Dio's account preserves possible vestiges of a desire by Crassus to have himself recognized as a heroic commander and *imperator* equal to Octavian.<sup>512</sup> Campaigning through a landscape associated with Dionysus, the Titans and the ancient Thracians could offer a fine basis for self-aggrandizement.

The Herodotean Getae were remembered by other High Imperial writers, as well: Arrian, for instance, writes of the peoples along the Ister, "most of whom are Celtic", that the Getae hold the doctrine of immortality.<sup>513</sup> The same imagery also underlies the early second century *Getica* of T. Statilius Crito of Heraclea Salbace, physician to Trajan and a chronicler of his Dacian campaigns, apparently describing the tricks and compelling pseudo-rituals which the Getan (Dacian?) aristocracy uses to motivate δεισιδαιμονία in their subjects to further their own aims. This notion further resembles the image of the Druids holding sway and manipulating the Gauls through their doctrines, which had some force during the Early Empire.<sup>514</sup> In other ways as well, Trajan's Dacian enemies were described in relatively time-honoured fashion by the physician-historian: the Getae are a "barbaric and violent ἔθνος".<sup>515</sup> If Crito's probable words preserve some of the original formulation of the imperial justification for the war, the ὕβρις and τὰ ἐκδικήματα of Decebalus were again cited as crucial reasons for barbaromachy.<sup>516</sup>

<sup>510</sup> Cass. Dio 51.25.5-26.4. Some notional or allusive connection with the Herodotean and subsequent topos of the cave of Zalmoxis among the Getae is almost certainly at work with Dio's original source to the campaign.

<sup>511</sup> Cass. Dio 51.24.2f. Cf. GÜNNEWIG 2000, 144f.

<sup>512</sup> Cass. Dio *loc. cit.* Octavian, on the other hand, clearly seems to have acted to minimize the barbaromachic *gloria* that Crassus could derive from his Daco-Titanic exploits: MÓCSY 1966, 513.

<sup>513</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.3.2. About a century after Arrian, Appian had transferred the idea of northerners deriving their lack of fear from their belief in the life after death (App. *Celt.* 4: θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως), which is perhaps symptomatic for his enduring confusion between the geographical and ethnic groupings of 'Κελτοί' and 'Γερμανοί'.

<sup>514</sup> Crito *BNJ* 200 F 7 *ap. Suda s.v.* Δεισιδαιμονία; Diod. 5.31.4f.; Mela 3.18-19; Luc. 1.458-62.

<sup>515</sup> Crito F 2 *ap. Schol. in Lucian. Icarom.* 16 RABE 104: οἱ δὲ Γέται ἔθνος βάρβαρον καὶ ἰσχυρόν.

<sup>516</sup> Crito F 11 *ap. Suda s.v.* Ἐξυβρίζοντα: ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολέμῳ καταπαῦσαι ἐξυβρίζοντα. Hybris as a fundamental contributor to the eventual defeat of the barbarians had been present from early on: JOUANNA 1981, 9, 12. Hybris features prominently in the Celtic characterization of Polybius: BERGER 1992, 120. Similarly, the eventual suicide of Decebalus not only suited the expectations of the Roman audience about how a defeated northern barbarian chief should behave, but also presented an ambiguous 'way out' that appeared both entirely understandable and hopelessly impulsive to the Romans (see COULSTON 2003, 404).



## PART III – THE NORTHERNERS' RELIGIOSITY IN LATER IMPERIAL LITERATURE

### 1. CLASSICIZING IDEALS AND ETHNOGRAPHIC CONSERVATISM

#### a. 'THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF NEW BARBARIANS'

One of the most striking ideological motifs of the Imperial Era writing is its constantly professed love for the past. This became most pronounced among Later Imperial writers of consciously classicizing style and elite setting, such as Macrobius, who remarks that *vetustas quidem nobis semper, si sapimus, adoranda est*.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the discussion above, we have become aware of Late Republican and Early Imperial literary tendencies to forge connections between earlier and later barbarian groups. It would be wrong however, to interpret all Imperial period references to contemporary groups by well-known ethnographical names of the past as a form of simple classicizing nostalgia.<sup>2</sup> The matter is obviously a much more complex one. To begin with, to suggest a connection between past and contemporary population groups does not seem to mark a particularly classicizing author. Furthermore, although the chronological distribution of this kind of ethnological labelling has not been much studied, we can hardly argue that it is particularly well-defined in temporal terms, either.

Using old ethnographical names in referring to contemporary barbarian groups must have made sense to the writers and their audience, or at least must have lacked the potential to cause epistemic dissonance to any serious degree.<sup>3</sup> Naturally, the appropriation of older ethnonyms to denote other, more recently encountered groups is in no way restricted to the Greeks and Romans. BICKERMANN noted the same in connection with the Hebraic name of

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<sup>1</sup> Macr. *Sat.* 3.14.2. Just some of the authorial voices and epigraphic sources attesting to this would include Plin. *Ep.* 6.21; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.75; Tac. *Dial.* 31; Gell. *NA* 1.12.14; Hdn. 1.2.3; *Pan. Lat.* 5(8).4.1; Plot. *Enn.* 2.9.10; *ILS* 1218; *CIL* VI 1741; SHA *Valer.* 5.7; Symm. *Relat.* 3.8, 10, 10.1; Macr. *Sat.* 1.5.4. That the antiquity of any given testimony or authority was easily adopted to Christian apologetics has been demonstrated by PILHOFER 1990; likewise one should consult BUELL 2005, ch. 2 (63-93). SHAW 1995, 3 notes that at least for Iamblichus (and by implication other monotheistic 'pagan' philosophers, and certainly Plotinus when arguing against the innovations of the Gnostics: *ibid.* 62f.) the crucial thing in any literary testimony was not whether it was Christian or not, but whether it corresponded with their ideas of being close to 'original' forms of religious life and ideas.

<sup>2</sup> Hence SHAW 1982, 24 is too simplified, though basically correct.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the ability of stereotyping to avoid the implications of possible epistemic clashes: SCHNEIDER 2004, 376-433. Within Late Antique studies: OLSTER 1994, 9-12 (clash of stereotypical motifs arose from indiscriminate mimesis, and need not have engendered much, if all, of 'ideological self-contradiction').

*Kittim* (כִּיִּתִים), and the conservative character of Chinese literature in the use of ethnonyms is well documented.<sup>4</sup> Even so, certain literary milieus allow stronger regimes of classicizing ethnographical discourse. In fact, in such connections the use of the term 'discourse' should perhaps be qualified by a recognition that the ethnographical elements used act as a code for literary competence and sociocultural belonging. Their main signification is their presence itself, not their ostensible referents. It is clear, however, that during the High and Later Empire the classicizing literary ideal propagated a remarkable mirage of ethnographic stasis.

Examples of such ethnonymic conservatism would be an apt subject of study in their own right, but some notable recycled group names can be noted in connection with European barbarians. Herodotean septentriography is easily identified: Ammianus' Alans as Massagetae, Synesius' Goths as Scythians, and Procopius' Goths, Vandals and Gepids as Sauromatae and Melanchlaeni, as well as Huns as Massagetae, all testify to a desire to classicize in the ethnographical register.<sup>5</sup> The afterlife of the Getae as Goths is well-known, as well as the Christianized recasting of both with Gog and Magog.<sup>6</sup> The earlier Imperial Era term *Germani* was gradually losing ground, perhaps partly because it lacked an established classical position—though it was used to gloss the even less literary *Franci*.<sup>7</sup> It seems that Γερμανοί

<sup>4</sup> BICKERMANN 1952, 77. Basically this dynamic can be expected to arise in any culture with a pronouncedly tradition-bound literary register. Several good points about the broader field of the classical Chinese 'cultural cosmology' can be found in HARBSMEIER 2010, 294-300. POO 2005 and KIM 2009 provide other good parallels.

<sup>5</sup> CAMERON & CAMERON 1964 mostly focused on the persistent avoidance of technical Christian terminology in the classicizing historians, but the article illuminates well the power of stylistic affectation. Prominent ethnographical examples could include Amm. 31.11.12; Synes. *Reg.* 21-3 (cf. Alans, Huns and Goths as Scythians in Oros. 7.34.5); Procop. *Bell.* 3.2.2 Sauromatae and Melanchlaeni (cf. Cyril. *Scyth.* V. *Sabae* 72), 3.4.24 Huns as Massagetae; Goths as Scythians also in Philostorg. 2 F 5 *ap. Phot. Epit.*; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σκύθαι and SHA *Gall.* 6.2, with even more broadly SHA *Claud.* 6.2 (in vagueness rather comparable to Zos. 4.25.1). BURNS 1979, 531 comments upon the 'casual' way the *Scriptores* employ the ethnonym *Scythae*—which hardly does justice to the widespread and both epistemically and stylistically necessary choice. Theodoret of Cyrhus uses the rhetorical 'but even worse'-trope of Gaïnas: he is Scythian, but of even more barbarous mind (Theodor. *HE* 5.32). Even later, Leo Diaconus understandably chose 'Scythians' as a suitable ethnonym for the Russians (*Hist.* 9.6). Even as late as Anna Comnene's *Alexiad*, the Byzantine views of the 'Franks/Latins/Celts' were modulated through the classicizing prism, as demonstrated by STEPHENSON 2003, e.g. 43, 47f.

<sup>6</sup> From the early association with the Scythians in Joseph. *AJ* 1.123, it was easy for Ambrose of Milan to draw the conclusion that the *Gothi*, so often glossed as Scythians in his contemporary literature and further supported by the superficial similarity of the ethnonym, were in fact the Gog of the Book of Ezekiel (Ambr. *De fide* 2.16.137-8). Providentiality was already conveniently present in the prophet's prediction paraphrased as *futuram nostri depopulationem et bella Gothorum*, and the victory eventually to be obtained over them, obviously with divine help (*de quo promittitur nobis futura victoria*). To this, Jerome made minor additions, for instance by using the rather loaded word *bacchans* about the contemporary Gothic depredations (Jer. *QH* 10.2; cf. SHA *M.Ant.* 10.6). Jerome explained that the post-Biblical authors came to call the Goths *Getae* on mostly stylistic grounds, and quite tellingly he finally subsumes the Goths into the larger mass of northern barbarians (*hae itaque septem gentes aquilonis partem inhabitant*). Orosius (1.6.2 *modo autem Getae qui et nunc Gothi*) uses the identification, but Augustine rejects both the Goths-Scythians and the Goths-Getae—derivations (*De civ. D.* 20.11). For the Gog and Magog as applied to the Goths, see, for instance, WINKELMANN 1989, 225-27.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Jer. *V. Hilarionis* 22 PL 23.39; SHA *Quadr. tyr.* 13.3; Agath. *Hist.* 1.2.1 seems like a mandatory introduction of the term: otherwise he uses the more contemporary Φράγγοι; Procopius on the contrary uses the names interchangeably: *Bell.* 5.11.29, 6.25.7, 11f. Theophylact Simocatta thinks 'Franks' a neologism for inhabitants τῆς Κελτικῆς Ἰβηρίας (*Hist.* 6.3.6)

had by this date become a conventional ethnonym to the extent that it could be used by classicizing authors much in the way they used the Herodotean ethnic names—that is, to infuse their text with a pleasant soupçon of erudition and stylistic consciousness.<sup>8</sup> Part of the explanation may stem from the fact that Agathias' classicism is more ostentatious than Procopius' rather effortless classicizing: after having demonstrated his knowledge of the ancient nomenclature he may not have felt an acute need to stick with it.<sup>9</sup>

The Κέλτοι were not unaffected by this fondness for old ethnonyms: not only were they included in a list of barbarian attackers against the empire in the biography of Claudius Gothicus and mentioned (as will become clear) in an increasingly abstracted way when a western ethnonym was needed, the word most strikingly came to be an acceptable Atticist gloss in Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* in order to render the obnoxious crusaders at least terminologically tolerable.<sup>10</sup> Zosimus mentions that while the emperor Valens was engaged in preparing for a war with Persia, Valentinian tackled Germanic matters successfully, something that was considered to contribute to the security of 'the Celts' in the future (4.12.1). It is true that contrary to many other indistinct uses of the old ethnic label, this instance may well refer specifically to the well-being of the Gallic provincials, but what is noteworthy is that the archaic ethnonym was still being used in defining the provincial subjects of Rome. Though long subjugated and—as Ammianus confidently asserts—joined in an eternal *foedus* with the Romans, in the literary sphere, or in any context requiring the naming of peoples, the Gauls were still Gauls, not Romans.<sup>11</sup> In an age when terrifying new peoples such as the Huns—

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<sup>8</sup> CAMERON 1968, 112; already noted by NORDEN 1922, 426: 'nur ein Literaturwort'. Procopius was certainly well read in earlier authors—including ones with notable ethnographical excursus, such as Strabo (*Procop. Bell.* 8.3.6), Arrian (8.14.48) and Herodotus (6.6.12-15). TREADGOLD 2007, 189 mentions these authors and other besides, and conjectures that their positioning in the last book of the *Wars* is a calculated response to critics denigrating Procopius' earlier lack of classical references, which may be correct.

<sup>9</sup> On Agathias' style: CAMERON 1970B, 57-111, 145-50; on his forced classicism compared with that of Procopius: TREADGOLD 2007, 287.

<sup>10</sup> SHA *Claud.* 6.2 *denique Scytharum diversi populi, Pencilini, Greuthungi, Austrogothi, Tervingi, Visi, Gepedes, Celtae etiam et Eruli*, with the apparent grouping of 'Scythian peoples' being closed before *Celtae*, yet ambiguous. The rare, Greek-influenced form of the ethnonym may point to a list of peoples taken from a late Greek historian. Anna Comn. *Alex.* 10.5.308-9, 6.311, 14.2.439-40 (crusaders as Celts), 4.450 (topical depiction of Tancred, Prince of Galilee, as a senselessly insolent Celt); see NICOL 1967, who gives interesting examples of the traditionalism *passim*, but unwisely keeps labelling its Byzantine literary manifestations as 'ignorance'; the case of Anna Comnena, at least, is examined in STEPHENSON 2003.

<sup>11</sup> *Amm.* 15.12.6. Ammianus may even have envisioned the warlike, eager and tested Gauls, with their long-standing ties to the Greeks and Romans, as a better option for the backbone of the contemporary Roman army—replacing such truly worrying trends as employing Goths in the military (cf. LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 15f.), for Ammianus was not against purges in the armed forces, both of individuals (e.g. the case of Silvanus in 15.5-6, for which see HUNT 1999) and groups (31.16.8, cf. later Synes. *Prov.* 108D). If this was the overriding appeal of the idea, it could explain some of the continuation for the perceived *foedera* joining the Gallo-Romans to Rome, noted in the somewhat later context of Sidonius Apollinaris by HARRIES 1992, 301. A group more susceptible to this line of reasoning than the erudite Sidonius would have been the military writers: see PASCHOUD 1967, 110-18 about Vegetius and his recommendations *pro utilitate Romana*. And, it might be pointed out, this perception was

*inusitatum hominum genus*—were visible on the horizon, Ammianus no doubt wished to see a strengthening of the bonds between the Romans and the well-known and tested Gauls.<sup>12</sup> Besides, in terms of religiosity the Huns are quite oppositional to the Gauls: the new, bestial *gens* exhibits *nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia* (31.2.11). There is no need to attempt locating their morals under either *religio* or *superstitio*.

Using a classical ethnonym to refer to a contemporary barbarian group certainly enhanced the possibility of using past ethnographies as a source. It was enabled by a combination of various factors, including literary ideals, the wish to demonstrate one's scholarship, and the absence of any particular mental categories precluding the drawing of such parallels.<sup>13</sup> To be sure, no North African group was referred to as 'Carthaginians'; but in the hazy and interchangeable world of European northerners, with no recorded destruction of an entire people, such conservatism was entirely possible.<sup>14</sup> If the barbarian groups of Late Antiquity could be seen essentially as later manifestations of earlier groups, and accordingly called by same names, the other side of the coin shows earlier historical encounters with unnamed or generic barbarity redefined in the same terms. Hence the exemplary role of the northern barbarians was projected both forward into the present and back toward the earliest accounts. One late example of this is Eustathius' *Commentarii in Iliadem*, where the Γαλάται are topically cited as an example of beastly and barbarous behaviour—essentially still filling the rhetorical role ascribed to them by Plato and Aristotle, well known to the commentator along with a wide set of classical authors.<sup>15</sup>

But not all Imperial-era use of time-honoured ethnographical names for more recent groups of people can simply be seen as classicizing nostalgia. To equate past and

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partly adopted by the 'barbarians', too: the *quid pro quo* conjured up by Theoderic envisioned the Goths using their military prowess to bring security to the *Romani* (AMORY 1997, 45).

<sup>12</sup> Amm. 31.3.8. In terms of previous attestations of *gentes*, Ammianus seems to perceive Gauls and Huns in a polar fashion: though in both cases he presents his authorial self as the master of *monumenta* about a population group, the Gallic *monumenta* seen by Ammianus testify to their great antiquity (15.9.6), whereas the *monumenta* contain barely any mention of the Huns (*monumentis veteribus leviter nota* 31.2.1). That Ammianus' description of the Huns obtained the force of a first attestation, seems to be reinforced by the use that Claudian made of him when discussing Huns—for which see CAMERON 1968, 390f. Nonetheless, the 'ethnography' itself makes heavy use of Herodotean elements, as do the references to the Alani, another 'Scythian' group: WIEDEMANN 1986, 194; BARNES 1990, 71; ISAAC 2012, 246ff., 254.

<sup>13</sup> Two authors taken as an example of this tendency are Themistius and Claudian, both of whom are examined *infra*, and who according to KULIKOWSKI 2002, 71 were skilled in manipulating 'ethnic vocabulary' in order to include and exclude groups both in the 'political present and in the representation of the past'. One could easily add Ammianus in their company, though he achieved his aim with more tools than just ethnic vocabulary—partly perhaps because of his register being historical rather than rhetorical.

<sup>14</sup> Although the attackers to Delphi were occasionally imagined as being eradicated completely, the historical tradition was far too discrepant and varied for this to preclude historians from using the ethnonym *Scordisci*, for instance. See also p. 38 fn. 43, 304.

<sup>15</sup> Eust. *Il.* Ψ 166: ἀλλὰ θηριώδη καὶ τῶ ὄντι βαρβαρικὴν, εἴ τις ἐνθυμοῖτο τὴν λέγουσαν ἱστορίαν, ὅτι Γαλάταις ἔθος, ἡνίκα προτέρημά τι ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις λάβωσι, θύειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.

contemporary population groups is not enough in itself to mark a given author's ethnography as particularly classicizing. The deciding factor must have been the absence of contrary evidence about the aptness of classicizing nomenclature. Groups that had been obliterated or assimilated, or had simply vanished from the record, underwent a consequent diminution of visibility in terms of the Mediterranean elite's mental geography. As their ethnonyms became empty signifiers or symbols of learning, such groups were apt to be appropriated, reworked or confused with others, and their characteristics—generalized and widely shared among many groups to begin with—re-emerged as theoretical and antiquarian curiosities.

A separate category are those instances—increasingly common in Late Antiquity—in which the names of barbarian social groups are mistaken as representing a barbarian *gens*. The *bardi* seem to have been particularly apt to be so misunderstood, as can be seen from the *Commenta Bernensia* on Lucan, and the slightly later *Adnotationes* on the same *locus*.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps already earlier, Martianus Capella had transferred bards into Thrace.<sup>17</sup> In the fourth-century *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora*, a *Bardaicus iudex* could still be slightly more correctly glossed as *qui quasi inter illos milites militavit habentibus statione apud Bardos. est enim gens Galliae* (WESSNER 1931 p. 234 ad 16.13): perhaps a *gens* already, but at least in Gaul. The possibility that the adjective *Bardaicus* derives from the Illyrian group of Vardaei is beside the point here, as the explanation does not seem to have been known to the scholiast.<sup>18</sup> Among the Greek writers the bards were similarly susceptible to blurring, as in Hesychius' vague explanation of βαρακάκαι as ἄγιοι διαφέραι, παρὰ Κελτοῖς (Hsch. s.v. βαρακάκαι); this may have been influenced by βαρδοί, who for their part are characterized quite traditionally as ἄοιδοὶ παρὰ Γαλάταις. The case of Druids being similarly considered a *gens* is examined below (p. 316f.) in connection with their appearances in the literature following Tacitus.

<sup>16</sup> *Comm. Bern. in Luc. ad 1.447: Bardi Germaniae gens, quae dixit viros fortes interitum fieri immortales*; cf. *Adnotationes s. Luc. ad 1.449 ENDT s.v. securi Bardi*. Other kinds of misunderstanding occurred, unless *Commentarius anonymus in Prudentium* preserves a delightful vestige of possibly demotic usage of the term *bardus* in the Gallic area in Late Antiquity: *Comm. ad apoth.* 296 reads *Barda fuit quidam stultus crudelis et paganissimus, a quo omnes stulti vocantur bardi*. Cf. BURNAM 1910, 47. Even later, some Latin glossaries testify to the changed semantic field of *bardus*, such as in the edition of GOETZ 1889 (*CGL* 4, 590): *bardus hebes, stultus, ineptus, brutus, inrationabilis vel carminum conditor*, cf. *ibid.* p. 24. In the Carolingian *Excerpta Pauli* of Festus' *De verborum significatione* the hostility is not so apparent: *bardus Gallice cantor appellatur, qui virorum fortium laudes canit, a gente Bardorum, de quibus Lucanus [...]* (p. 34 MÜLLER 1839). As BORCHARDT 1971, 179 comments, the word *barritus* or *barditus* of Tacitus' *Germania* 3.1 has probably no factual connection with the Gallic *Bardi* (though this did not hinder LE ROUX 1959, 321f.); instead, it may have helped to connect the *bard-* component with the Germans at least in the minds of some commentators: cf. KREBS 2011A, 145ff.: 'this reading was too arousing for readers to worry about accuracy' (146).

<sup>17</sup> Mart. Cap. 6.656 *sequitur Thracia, cuius incolae bardi habent appetitum maximum mortis*. An analogy through Orpheus may have been one way of reaching this relocation.

<sup>18</sup> Vardaei: cf. Str. 7.5.6 (Οὐαρδαῖοι or Ἀρδιαῖοι); Livy *Per.* 56 (Fulvius Flaccus subdues them); Plin. *HN* 3.143; Ptol. *Geog.* 2.17.8; on *cuculli Bardaici* cf. SHA *Pert.* 8.3 (on the Illyrian connection cf. *Liburnici cuculli* in Mart. 14.139). *CIL* 10.3468 seems to attest to the use of *Bardus* as a personal name among Dalmatians already during the early principate, which would no doubt have further eased the transposition of the literary 'bards' to the area.

b. *EXEMPLA*

Late Imperial authors would not only have encountered past ethnonyms in purposefully searching for them in works of a geographical, historical or ethnographical disposition. Perhaps the most influential bearer of past ethnonyms would have been the elite education itself, in particular the rhetorical *exempla* that it involved; and the significance of the traditional literary curriculum resided in its role as a social marker.<sup>19</sup> While exemplary narratives contained many references to the religiosity of the northern barbarians, there is some reason to suspect that they gradually took on more positive interpretations than during the Early Imperial Era. The Panegyric of 311, for instance, uses an *exemplum* that seems to recast the previously largely hostile portrayal of the Caesarian war of conquest as something constructive—which is quite understandable considering the Gallic extraction of the orator of the piece. When the neighbours of the Aedui *Romanae fraternitatis novae gloriae invidentes* had called on the Germans to invade, it was the Aedui who invited Caesar into Gaul, effectively transferring to the Romans their hegemony over the whole of Gaul.<sup>20</sup> Without actually naming them, the panegyrist implies that the envious neighbours who invited Ariovistus into Gaul were traditional rivals of the Aedui, the Arverni and the Sequani.<sup>21</sup> The sentiment of the Panegyrist of 311 regarding the historical development he refers to can be correlated with what Ammianus, born several decades later, had to say about the eternal *foedus* between the Gauls and the Romans (p. 324-27 below). He is, however, first and foremost concerned with shedding as favourable a light as possible on his own home town of Autun; toward this end he

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<sup>19</sup> Well put by WICKHAM 2009, 107, in speaking about the sub-Roman disappearance of the major incentives to social posturing that had supported the system of *paideia*: ‘a complex education had above all existed in order to mark the Roman élites as special’. BROOKE 1987, 286, 295 has examined many illuminating examples about the techniques of weaving Vergilian, rhetorical, and Biblical allusions into the Late Antique texts. In relation to the role of schooling of the elite, it seems that the (essentially modern) theory of stereotyping put forward in SCHNEIDER 2004 is not wholly compatible with ancient dynamics of stereotyping: it might be argued that it was precisely ‘direct tuition’ which created ‘consensual meanings and cultural understandings’ (*ibid.* 325), although these would most certainly have been enhanced by their use in everyday communication (cf. Cicero, Sidonius).

<sup>20</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 5.3.2f.: *Romano imperio tradiderunt*. The Panegyrist gives the same, traditional natural borders to Gaul as e.g. in Joseph. *Bj* 2.371-2 (where they convey to Gaul the position of supreme safety). Perhaps to contrast the naturally bounded nature of Gaul was meant to emphasize the impiety of aiming to violate such an entity.

<sup>21</sup> NIXON 1990, 28. It may be noteworthy that both the Aedui and the Arverni entertained aetiological traditions connecting them to the Trojan origins of the Romans, probably in an effort to outbid each other for the prestige of being blood-relations of their new masters: on the Arverni, Luc. 1.427-8 and Sid. *Apoll. Carm.* 7.139, *Ep.* 7.7.2; on the Aedui, Caes. *BGall.* 1.33. These and other comparable accounts have been variously assessed; BRAUND 1980 examines the claim of Arverni according to Lucan but focuses on the Aedui; about the Aedui in Caesar, see KREMER 1994, 219-57; for a slightly one-dimensional but recent account see ROYMANS 2009, 220ff.

is even prepared to make overt mention of the separatism of Postumus and his successors, which hitherto had been glossed over.<sup>22</sup>

In his first preserved composition (395), the *Panegyricus de consulatu Probini et Olybrii* (148-50), Claudian introduced an early and probably at that stage rather obscure barbaromachic *exemplum* by referring to the *Gallisque genus fatale Camillos*: clearly there was no reason for the panegyristic register to avoid applying pagan *exempla* to Christian addressees.<sup>23</sup> A better remembered old barbarian menace in Late Imperial sources was the Cimbric and Teutonic invasion.<sup>24</sup> Claudian provides a remarkable occurrence of this *exemplum* at the end of his *De Bello Gothico*, where the geographical location of Stilicho's victory in Pollentia over the Visigoths brings to the poet's mind the victory of Marius at Vercellae, not far off: the Cimbric *tempestas* arises quite conventionally from *Oceani stagnis [...] supremis*, and the breach of the Alps is mentioned (640f.). The poet suggests not only a chronological but a very tangible merging of the salvatory feats of Marius and Stilicho: a *commune tropaeum* could be set up over the mingled bones of these invaders, which would teach the *vesanae gentes* not to despise Rome (647). Even at this late stage, however, the Cimbric *exemplum* was not exclusively associated with a barbarian threat directed at Italy. Jerome, for instance, seems to have remembered the crossing of the Cimbri and Teutones to the Iberian peninsula.<sup>25</sup>

The two most celebrated examples of an invasion by northern barbarians nonetheless remained the attack on Delphi and the occupation of Rome. Partly they derived their prominence from the classicizing ideals that drove the writers to lift most of their *exempla* either from the classical and Hellenistic periods or from the late Republican period of Rome. Partly, however, the use of these invasions as the prime historical justification and motivator for real or (more often) perceived acts as expressed in written record must derive from their potential to articulate in dramatic fashion the underlying difference between civilization and barbarism. In terms of *exempla* referencing the fall of Rome to the Gauls, within the

<sup>22</sup> NIXON 1990, 24. Disparagement between neighbouring Gallic *civitates* was probably a long-standing register.

<sup>23</sup> The literary allusion of Claudian is most likely directed towards Verg. *Georg.* 2.169f. and *Aen.* 6.824f. About the changes of how old historical *exempla* were favoured: CHAPLIN 2000, 123-26. PASCHOUD 1967, 152 recognizes in Claudian's panegyric the reanimation of the motif of *Roma aeterna*.

<sup>24</sup> DEMOUGEOT 1978, 914-19 enumerates references to the Cimbric Wars, although he is rather too fixed to defining the incursion ahistorically as 'la première invasion germanique' (920). HARRIS 1979, 246f. (with notes) remarks upon the fact that Republican, politicized back-formations came to be incorporated into the later Roman tradition of the conflict. In Eutropius' somewhat condensed rendition, Rome was gripped by great fear when it was menaced *a Cimbris et Teutonibus et Tugurinis et Ambronibus, quae erant Germanorum et Gallorum gentes*, which may have been quite representative of the Late Imperial confusion regarding the origin of such early northern enemies. This would have been augmented by the long-standing 'Gallic' identification of the Cimbri in the Greek historians (see p. 121), and may stand behind the slightly later desire by Ammianus to make a clear distinction about the past of Gauls—now eternally joined to Romans—and *Germani*, still fought against by his idol, Julian.

<sup>25</sup> Jer. *Ep.* 123.15, comparing their devastation to that caused by his contemporary Alano-Vandalic invasion.

chronological confines of this thesis the literary narratives about the demise of Stilicho and his family seems promising. No verbatim textual borrowings emerge, but the tradition preserved among the fragments of Olympiodorus seem to point to certain themes converging themes with the Tarpeia tradition and the necessity for the Vestals to preserve the *sacra* to prevent divine favour from slipping away from the Romans.<sup>26</sup>

Appian provides a good example of the reception of the Delphic attack in his report of that episode (where the early Celtic attack seems to be conflated to some extent with the later raids of Scordisci and other groups) as having been a prime motive for the Romans to wage war against the Illyrians as soon as their dominion over the Greeks and Macedonians allowed this. In *Ill.* 12 the Celts and Illyrians are presented in entirely conventional fashion as inveterate temple-robbers—although the context, the attack upon Delphi, would naturally have suggested this topical rhetorical cluster. After describing how the Illyrian Autarienses joined in with the “Celts called Cimbri” on their expedition against Delphi (*Ill.* 8), and how they suffered the vengeance of Apollo as consequence, Appian gives a rather garbled and moralizing account of the tribulations of the Balkan Celts, which apparently last for generations; until suddenly these Celts, having plundered their way to the Pyrenees, are again identified as Cimbri and are destroyed by Marius (11). Appian concludes that τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς ἀσεβείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπέθηκεν Ἰλλυριοῖς τε καὶ Κελτοῖς (*Ill.* 12). Then, in a chronological quirk, follow the late second century BCE wars against the Scordisci and the Bessi, which unsurprisingly are shown as resulting from barbarian ἱεροσυλία. In conjunction with the Celts, the Illyrian Scordisci, Maedi and Dardani all invade Macedon and Greece, and plunder many temples—including Delphi (πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὸ Δελφικὸν ἐσύλησαν). Their losses are high this time too, and under Lucius Scipio the Romans take up the cause of Greece and Macedon in punishing the barbarians for their sacrilege.<sup>27</sup>

The savagery of the Scordisci becomes a minor commonplace in Imperial writing, and by the time of Festus' *Breviarium* has acquired the particular manifestation of using the skulls

<sup>26</sup> Olympiod. F 7 BLOCKLEY *ap.* Zos. 5.36-38. See below about the conflicting traditions of Stilicho's victory at Pollentia preserving the *arcantum imperii* from being profaned by barbarians, and on the other hand his denigrators worrying that he himself had profaned it: p. 352 fn. 184.

<sup>27</sup> App. *Ill.* 13: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἔχοντες ἤδη δεύτερον καὶ τριακοσ<ιος>τὸν ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐς Κελτοὺς πείρας, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου πολεμοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἐκ διαστημάτων, ἐπιστρατεύουσι τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπὶ τῆδε τῇ ἱεροσυλίᾳ, ἡγουμένου Λευκίου Σκιπίωνος, ἤδη τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Μακεδόνων προστατοῦντες. Delphi could have participated in this sort of argumentation, as well; the benefices of Roman protection and attention were obvious, especially in an age when a barbarian threat seemed to be on the surge: we know for instance that the Delphic polis honoured the itinerant historian Aristotheos of Troizen with a proxeny and honorary inscription, apparently just for the sake of him having given pro-Roman encomia of ‘the benefactors of all Hellenes’ when at Delphi (CLARKE 2005, 124).



of their captives as vessels—although in Festus' account the Livian description of the fate of L. Postumius' skull after his death in the Boian ambush in the forest of Litana must have wielded an influence as well.<sup>28</sup> Whether the drink is something conventional or actual human blood, which in the context of barbarians was perhaps a convention by itself, varies according to author: Festus opts for the more gruesome interpretation, though not without qualification.<sup>29</sup> Ammianus' formulation does not seem to be derived directly from Festus, but the message is very much the same.<sup>30</sup>

### c. INNOVATIONS AND IDEALIZATIONS

The long recognized ability of Tacitus to use his barbarians to voice moralizing opinions on his contemporary Romans has already been examined.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps incidentally, in the preserved sections of his historical works such critique seems to be mostly expressed with northerners as mouthpiece.<sup>32</sup> Only slightly less enthusiastic at condemning autocracy than Tacitus, the similarly senatorial historian Cassius Dio makes use of the titillatingly barbarian theme of women as leaders to pass moralizing arguments in describing the revolt of Boudicca during Nero's rule. The element of divination is present: Boudicca releases a hare from the folds of her garment, and drawing a favourable conclusion from this, the multitude of her followers shout in pleasure—a noisy and *fanatica multitudo* of northerners, no doubt still a

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<sup>28</sup> Livy 23.24.11-13: Livy has the added refinement of the consular trophy being adorned in gold to the original account which may be reflected in Cn. Gell. F 27 CHASSIGNET *ap.* Charis. *Gramm.* 1.69B. It has been noted (WEBSTER 1996, 118) that the incident does not appear in Livy's main source Polybius (for the two, see BRISCOE 1973, 469f.; TRÄNKLE 1972, *passim*), and may own its presence instead to popularized Posidonian information. While this is plausible, it is the word 'popularized' with which Webster probably hits closest to the mark: the idea of northern barbarian headhunting had already entered the popular imagination and was thus 'known' as a 'fact'.

<sup>29</sup> Fest. 9.1: *multa de saevitia praedictorum fabulosa memorantur; quod hostiis captivorum diis suis aliquando litaverint, quod humanarum sanguine in ossibus capitum potare sint soliti*. The instances of barbarians drinking either wine or blood from the skulls are quite numerous: among Herodotus' Scythians, both drinking the blood of one's first kill in war (4.64), and using cups made out of the skulls of one's enemies to drink wine (4.65f.) are mentioned; *Par. Vat.* 47 likewise uses it of the Scythians, probably on the authority of Isigonos of Nicaea (GIANNINI 1966, *ad loc.*), if not Herodotus himself; Sil. *Pun.* 13.482f. (parading outlandish practices of treating the dead, including Scythians as well) is so generalized that despite his use of the rare form *Celcae* a definite source is hard to pinpoint.

<sup>30</sup> Amm. 27.4.4: *et partem earum [sc. Thraciarum] habitavere Scordisci, longe nunc ab isdem provinciis disparati, saevi quondam et truces, et, ut antiquitas docet, hostiis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti, humanumque sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius [...]*. Orosius (5.23.18) presents the third relatively independent formulation of the same abomination, with even enhanced horrific effects: *nam inter cetera dictu audituque horrida, quae in captivos agebant, raptis, cum poculo opus esset, humanorum capitum ossibus cruentis capillatisque adhuc ac per interiores cavernas male effosso cerebro oblitis avidae ac sine horrore tamquam veris poculis utebantur; quarum cruentissimi atque immanissimi Scordisci erant*. He is unsurprisingly followed by Christian writers, e.g. Land. Sagax *Hist.* 6.3 (around year 1000), with barely any variation.

<sup>31</sup> See above, frequently within pp. 227-53.

<sup>32</sup> Tac. *Agr.* 15, 30-31; *Hist.* 4.14, 17; *Ann.* 14.35.1-2.

worrisome prospect to Romans.<sup>33</sup> The rebel queen lifts her hand towards heaven and addresses the goddess Andraste. Boudicca's harangue to the Britons is notable for its play with cultural determinants and their appropriation: on the one hand the Britons have benefited by learning from the Romans of the great warrior queens of the eastern peoples; on the other both Nero as an individual and the Romans as a society are condemned for their effeminacy and decadence (62.6.3-5).

As the condemnation of the condition of Roman culture and society is set within a prayer for victory, to a goddess whom Dio apparently later glosses as the 'British Nike' (62.7.3), the issue of providentiality and divine favour are very much present.<sup>34</sup> Unease about the decadence of Roman society, and the possible ensuing ire of the heavens, may have become pronounced when a rebellion of culturally inferior Britons suddenly erupted; particularly among the senatorial elite, who knew the literary *exempla* and may also have felt a pang of conscience. On the other hand, Dio may simply be playing the cultural critic here, placing speeches in the mouth of the barbarians in a way perfected by Tacitus.<sup>35</sup> Boudicca's stark, alien morality mixed with cruelty brings to mind the Early and High Imperial image of the Druids, in which these two traits seem to converge—indeed, Dio may have been influenced by the contemporary image of what sort of philosophy could be expected from the leaders of the northerners.<sup>36</sup>

Tacitus and Dio use their northerners in the way Anacharsis the Scythian was used in earlier Greek literature. Thus, it was hardly an innovation—except in the sense of the criticism being usually uttered by figures actively resisting the Romans through war and violence. This harks back to the conventional image of northern barbarians expressing themselves most naturally through violence. But idealization is present in these examples as well. One notable, consistently applied technique in using the barbarian as a polarized participant in moralizing discourse is the 'paradigm shift': an inversion of the barbarians from morally reprehensible to morally laudable. In such cases religion is a potent source for portraying the barbarians as

<sup>33</sup> Cass. Dio 62.6.1. The motif of hare seems to be connected to Caes. *B Gall.* 5.12.6, but perhaps in a way that is more literary and less anthropological than what is suggested in HOFENEDER 2005, 180.

<sup>34</sup> Dio makes Boudicca refer to the goddess in the beginning, middle, and the end of her prayer: 6.2, 4, and 5 respectively. The religious sense of being led by the goddess—as a real *fanatica multitudo*—is particularly highlighted in the end, with ἡμῶν δὲ οὐ ᾧ δέσποινα αἰεὶ μόνη προστατοῖης (62.6.5). In Tacitus there is no mention of the goddess, but Boudicca announces the gods of the revenge to be present (*Ann.* 14.35.1-2 *adesse tamen deos iustae vindictae*).

<sup>35</sup> On Boudicca's speech in Tacitus and Dio, ADLER 2008 with an eye for the gender roles in both accounts (e.g. 180-3); he also notes (189f.) that Dio's Boudicca is a considerably more defamiliarized barbarian than her representation in Tacitus. Boudicca's speech in its Dionian form can in content and technique be compared with the speech of Calgacus, which is noted by CLARKE 2001, 105f. to hijack the power to define civilization from the Romans to the mouth of the barbarian. Religion, however, is not essential in neither of these speeches.

<sup>36</sup> ADLER 2008, 194 remarks upon the morality of Boudicca and the way it presented as alien.

those exhibiting the true values of old, while the civilized but degenerating Mediterranean world has lapsed from the old pious simplicity. This form of cultural criticism is by no means reserved for northern barbarians alone, but as it forms a prominent discourse in its own right, it should receive some consideration in this context as well.<sup>37</sup>

Claudius Aelian, the Praenestine rhetorician, voices a very admiring observation along the lines of the idealizing register: he lists the Indians, the Celts and the Egyptians as demonstrating how among the barbarians—unlike the Greeks—there had been no-one who denied the existence of gods. In addition to holding correct and non-blasphemous opinions, the barbarians also avoid pollution, sacrifice according to tradition, and demonstrate genuine religious feeling.<sup>38</sup> Effectively, Aelian represents an innocent reading of the idealized discourse about barbarian sages: indeed, he starts by asking how anyone could fail to see the wisdom of barbarians on this point (τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπήνεσε τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων σοφίαν;). The passage is a neat distillation of the religious content of ‘soft primitivism’; one wonders, however, to what extent Aelian’s opinion harmonized with the most basic shared perceptions of his audience, or whether it was rather more in line with the universalist Stoic opinions of the author. In interpreting his remark, we should keep in mind that by the third century the shift towards a favourable view of barbarian was already taking shape (cf. p. 314f. fn. 58f.). Generally, ancient authors hardly ever consider barbarian peoples to be entirely devoid of gods; the few cases known are clearly worth mentioning—either as curiosities, such as the Gallaeci in Strabo, or as a rhetoricized exercise in beastliness and humanity, such as the Fenni of Tacitus.<sup>39</sup>

During the Later Empire Christianity lent new substance to the technique of idealizing the barbarian mode of life and morality. Salvian is just one, albeit perhaps the best known, of

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<sup>37</sup> Regarding the use of religion in the cultural critique of barbarians, with the associated concepts of *humanitas* and *inhumanitas*: GORDON 1990B, 236ff.

<sup>38</sup> Ael. *VH* 2.31: καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἰσχυρὰν ἔχοντες τὴν πίστιν θύουσι τε καθαρῶς καὶ ἀγνεύουσιν ὀσίως, καὶ τελετὰς τελοῦσι καὶ ὀργίων φυλάττουσι νόμον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πράττουσιν, ἐξ ὧν ὅτι τοὺς θεοὺς ἰσχυρῶς καὶ σέβουσι καὶ τιμῶσιν ὡμολόγηται. We also know that Aelian wrote a work *On Providence* (Eust. *In Dionys. Per.* 453), which might testify for a Stoically expressed, though possibly quite genuinely felt religious feeling; hence he may not be simply moralizing in declaiming against atheists. Aelian’s rhetorical juxtaposition would, however, be enhanced if we accept the point made by BOWDEN 2008, 66 about atheism not in fact being seen as ‘a rational position to hold’ in the real world (as opposed to the Epicurean philosophical constructions: as noted by ROSS 1969, 354, to Lucretius *religio* itself is *superstitio*); if so, for barbarians to avoid such ideas would link Aelian’s reference even more closely to the trope of ‘wise barbarians’.

<sup>39</sup> Str. 3.4.16 on the Gallaeci; Tac. *Germ.* 46 on the Fenni. Regarding the Gallaeci, it follows from the context that Strabo really is speaking of them as having no gods (being unbelievers), as opposed to the proposition of BOWDEN 2008, 66 that the more original meaning of ἄθεος was a ‘godless, ungodly’ person. It has been noted, probably correctly, that the *securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos* in Tac. *Germ.* 46 is rather ironic than idealistic (SHERWIN-WHITE 1967, 38), and its structure certainly is deeply rhetorical. Tacitus is not sympathetic or admiring, but simply wants to finish his gradient of civilization with something truly primitive. EVANS 2008 notes the same technique of ‘taking primitivism to its logical conclusion’ (153f.) though she is not inclined to entirely abandon possible Tacitean admiration for their hardness.

the authors who projected a new, eschatologically motivated idealism into barbarian religiosity. In *De gubernatione Dei* Salvian proclaims what a miraculous change would ensue if the lands of the Aquitanians or, indeed, all Romans would be granted by God to barbarians, so that all those who were formerly polluted by the sexual lewdness of the Romans would now be adorned by the barbarian *castitas* (7.24-5). In Salvian, the figure of a moral northerner found new poignancy as a vehicle of cultural critique, to an extent not witnessed since Tacitus.<sup>40</sup> Similar sentiments are expressed for instance in the pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi testamenti* (1.115.16). These idealizing tendencies were perhaps recognized as unconventional even by the authors using them and by their audience. In any case, both Aelian and Salvian, in their different fashions, represent the subversive and often downright epideictic topos of 'not even the barbarians', which found rather frequent use among all parties in the increasingly moralizing Late Imperial discourse about correct religiosity.<sup>41</sup> The prevailing image emerging from the sources continues to depict the barbarians as sexually impure and impure.<sup>42</sup>

Another long-lasting topos of idealization arises out of the association of Gauls with a pithy and eloquent faculty of speech. This had been seen already in Cato, and it was subsequently sometimes brought up—in times of increasing cultural affinity, as well as for individual authorial motives—so as to portray the Gauls in a positive light, at least at the level of rhetoric. An example tinted by Christian sectarianism is provided by Jerome in his virulent

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<sup>40</sup> E.g. Salv. *De gub. D.* 6.98, where the crimes of the Romans had reduced them into feebleness in a way that resembles the argument of Tacitus in discussing the continued valour of free barbarians (*Agr.* 11.4; *Germ.* 37): the motif of piety had effectively become the new *libertas*, with which the moral character of a people would be judged: *fortissimi quondam Romani erant, nunc sine viribus: timebantur Romani veteres, nos timemus: vectigalia illis soluebant populi barbarorum, nos vectigales barbaris sumus*. Salvian's rather spectacular take on the traditional dichotomy Romans-barbarians has understandably been much discussed: reference should be made to WOOD 1992, 9f. (remarking about Salvian's focus on 'internal corruption', essentially a Tacitean technique); and especially MAAS 1992A throughout, e.g. 277 stressing that for Salvian's vision (which Maas, too, compares with Tacitus), cultural characteristics were not relevant because of any ethnographic value, but because they buttressed his 'theory of divine government' (cf. 281), as well as discussing the apparent response to Salvian's 'delight in barbarians' in the *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae* of Victor Vitensis (277; for more, see HOWE 2007). MAAS goes on to point out that even with his dramatic departure from most of the tradition, Salvian never challenges the existence of Romans and barbarians as two oppositional categories, and he may even have needed the exaggerated stress upon their Christianity in order to get over them being non-Roman (1992A, 282); see also BROWN 2012, 444f.; and PASCHOUD 1967, whose section 293-310 is another detailed examination of Salvian.

<sup>41</sup> As such, this technique of referring to ingroup-outgroup –polemics when characterizing a non-desirable practice or character is wholly rhetorical: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 11.8. Through instances such as Paul's use in 1.*Cor.* 5 the rhetorical form became attractive to Christian writers, as well; for these, see SALZMANN 1994 and KAHLOS 2008. As late as in Michael Psellos' *De op. daem.*, this motif takes as its paradigm of barbarity the northerners, particularly mentioning the Celts and other nations near Britain: Ἄτοπα μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις ἔθνων, πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Λιβύην καὶ Σύρτιν ἱσθόρηται· τοιοῦτον δὲ κακίας εἶδος οὐδὲν ἀκούσῃ οὔτε περὶ αὐτοῦς οὔτε περὶ Κελτούς, οὐδ' ἂν τι περὶ Βρεττανίαν ἔθνος ἔκνομον καὶ ἄγριον ἦ, Psellus *De op. daem.* 10 BOISSONADE.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. Procop. *Bell.* 4.6.6-9; Sid. *Apoll. Carm.* 5.329ff. It must be remembered that both Procopius and Sidonius were classicizing in style, and not even Sidonius, a bishop, was pronouncedly Christian in sentiment; cf. MARROU 1956, 309; HARRIES 1996, 34-5, 43.

attack against Vigilantius, a Gallic presbyter with anti-Origenist tendencies. Jerome begins by stating that Biblical examples, 'poetic fables', and Vergil all show us that prodigies and monsters have abounded in different parts of the world (*multa in orbe monstra generata sunt*). Then, whether ironically or resorting to a general understanding among his intended audience, he claims that only Gaul has been free of monsters; instead, it has always abounded in men of courage and eloquence. Jerome's positive assessment should probably be ascribed to motives resembling those behind the similarly positive sentiment of Ammianus.<sup>43</sup> The Gauls were warlike, they were proud, and they did not shirk from confrontation, either verbal or physical. The Late Imperial world was exactly the kind of context where literary Romans could see the benefits of this sort of attitude, which the earlier literature referred to time and again. Whether Christians planning to raise a new breed of tenacious believers or practical officials wishing to see their threatened empire defended with all the vigour available, some Late Imperial authors could occasionally read Hellenistic, Republican and Imperial descriptions of the now-allied barbarians with great satisfaction.

A final example of something approaching an innovation: Lactantius Placidus' ascribed a cruel and archaic purificatory rite to Gauls, and from Servius (*Ad Aen.* 3.57) we learn that a similar rite with Gallic origins was practiced among the Massalians, and was described at least by Petronius.<sup>44</sup> Servius, in explaining the Vergilian phrase *auri sacra fames* notes that *tractus est autem sermo ex more Gallorum (loc. cit.)* before proceeding to describe the Massalian practice, and attributing it to Petronius. It is difficult to judge whether Petronius already expressed the Gallic connection or origins of this ancient custom. He may have done so, although the interest of late commentators in elaborating by then little-known archaic practices could mean that both Servius and the *Commentarii in Thebaida* might have felt more inclined to include this sort of information than an early imperial satirical writer. To be sure, the tendency to rehabilitate past barbarian ritual practices or religious specialists in a more positive sense seems to take place during Later Antiquity. The reception of the Druids clearly illustrates this.

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<sup>43</sup> Jer. *C. Vigil.* 1. On Ammianus, cf. p. 324-27 below.

<sup>44</sup> Lact. Plac. *Comm. in Stat. Theb.* 10.793: *LUSTRALEMNE lustrate civitatem humana hostia Gallicus mos est. nam aliquis de egentissimis proliciebatur praemiis, ut se ad hoc venderet. qui anno toto publicis sumptibus aiebantur purioribus cibis, denique certo et sollemni die per totam civitatem ductus ex urbe extra pomeria saxis occidebatur a populo.* Lactantius Placidus is a conventional name affixed to a commentary of Statius from the fifth or sixth centuries.

d. THE *NACHLEBEN* OF DRUIDS AND OTHER NORTHERN SAGES

What may strike the modern observer as a particularly incongruous theme was the continued recollection and description of the Druids and their creed during the Late Imperial era. The motif is well worth treating, as the classical accounts and their derivatives were to achieve a spectacular and unexpected afterlife beginning roughly in the seventeenth century.<sup>45</sup> This, admittedly, was not on the whole based on late sources, but on the 'canonical' accounts in Caesar, Strabo, and other early imperial writers. Indeed, the topical character of the early descriptions might have been more clearly visible if the *longue durée* of northern religious barbarography had been recognized earlier, and to this end an examination of the late, entirely literary reception of the Druids would have provided one possible point of entrance. These late references to Druids are significant because they illustrate how, within a strongly classicizing literary tradition, the absence of any contemporary political, military or social salience allows stock descriptions of a foreign social group to be perpetuated and to some extent elaborated in an antiquarian vacuum.

The notion of the Druids as followers and disciples of Pythagoras, and as one of the most archetypal groups of 'barbarian sages', seems to be relatively firmly grounded on the Greek philosophical schools; in particular the Stoics, who were delighted to be able to demonstrate that the search for wisdom was not the sole property of the Greeks.<sup>46</sup> The role of Posidonius in enhancing this interpretation has almost certainly been overstated in the past, and there are other possible candidates for the introduction of the Druids into Greek literature (see pp. 189-99). The neutral or positive attitude shared by several Greek writers of the Late Republican era did prove to be easily adoptable in the Later Imperial world, where the Druids

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<sup>45</sup> HUTTON 2009 provides a fascinating and magisterial explanation of the early modern forms of the druidic reception; incidentally, several scholars of the centuries examined by him were particularly taken by the idea of parallelisms between the learning of ancient European sages and those of the oriental nations: e.g. Thomas Smith (65), and William Stukeley (99). The ease with which this took place stems partly from the Imperial classics, but no doubt the discussions by Christian writers, examined in this chapter, helped this greatly: cf. William Camden on the basis of Origen in HUTTON 2009, 59. One of the most fundamental and impressive appropriations of the Druids would without doubt be the 'pious Greek-speaking Druids of German antiquity' of the humanist Conrad Celtis (1459-1508). The formulation is that of BORCHARDT 1971, 107; HUTTON 2009 treats Celtis in 50f., 70.

<sup>46</sup> Behind this may lie the notion of the Getae as ἄθανατιζόντες, which may (LINFORTH 1918, 31) or may not (HARTOG 1988, 91) have been expressly connected to a (hypothetical) nickname of the Pythagoreans among the Greeks. However that may be, the dependency of the druidic creed of immortality from the earlier *topoi* of northern holy men (e.g. Hyperborean sages, or Zalmoxis and by extension the Getae as a whole) having a connection with immortality, appears relatively secure. KEYSER 2011, 52 notes that the acceptability of transmigration and druidic learning already stems from the 1<sup>st</sup> century; the Pythagorean and Platonic paradigms would have facilitated this, though the latter is not yet referred to in the sources of this period. BROZE & AL. 2006 studies along thematic lines the use of such lists of 'barbarian sages' as argumentative tropes; pointing out that by inclusion and omission the lists could be tailored to carry quite refined points (144).

were of absolutely no practical concern, and hence could be adopted as a harmless subject of antiquarian speculation without any political concerns. Ammianus is the best known of these late admirers of the Druids.<sup>47</sup> After summarizing the early Gallic history, with Timagenes as his main (but not only) source, Ammianus cites the *Drasidae* themselves concerning an origin story that sees some of the Gauls as indigenous, whereas others were said to have arrived from 'remote islands' and across the Rhine due to wars and oceanic inundation (15.9.4).

After giving other origin myths (see p. 195 fn. 114, 326), Ammianus refuses to get further entangled in theories; he conjures up an image of "men gradually becoming more civilized in these lands", leading to the study of 'laudable arts' (*per haec loca hominibus paulatim excultis viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum*), its instigators being the *bardos et euhagis et drasidas*.<sup>48</sup> This is followed by a description of the respective portfolios of these sages, which resembles that given by Caesar, Mela, and Lucan. The bards *fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus cum dulcibus lyrae modulis cantitarunt*, while the 'euhages' *scrutantes seriem et sublimia naturae pandere conabantur*. The Druids, being *ingeniis celsiores* than either two groups, followed the authority of Pythagoras and formed fraternal associations (*ut auctoritas Pythagorae decrevit, sodaliciis adstricti consortiis*), and by their inquiry into secret and elevated questions were raised to such heights that in contempt of mere mortal affairs they pronounced human souls to be immortal.<sup>49</sup> In the light of the preceding tradition of writing about the Druids, as well as Ammianus' likely sources and general tone, it is relatively easy to see the extreme difficulties

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<sup>47</sup> Ammianus' positive description influenced such diverse fraudsters and scholars as Annio da Viterbo in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, William Harrison in the 16<sup>th</sup>, John Fletcher in the 17<sup>th</sup>, John Toland in the early 18<sup>th</sup> and James Macpherson in the latter part of the same century, as detailed by HUTTON 2009, 51, 58, 60, 82, 186, respectively.

<sup>48</sup> Amm. 15.9.8. It is not necessary to debate extensively the form *euhagis*, though it seems to be in agreement of Ammianus' evaluation of Greek sources. In his commentary, DE JONGE 1953, 53 *ad loc.* did not simply see it as a textual corruption, but sadly chose not to elaborate his reasoning. BARNES 1998, 97 admits the textual corruption of the passage, but still wants to see *euhagis* providing the best guidance to the Celtic name of the group, which had taken this form already in Timagenes. *Vates* being textually corrupted (likely through ΟΥΑΤΕΙΣ, cf. Str. 4.4.4) to ΕΥΑΓΕΙΣ is another possibility, though the 'double origin' for this particular use of *vates* from both Latin and Celtic, suggested by KOCH 2006, I 169 *s.n.* 'bard [1]' seems unnecessary. The Greek transliteration of Latin, i.e. ΟΥΑΤΕΙΣ, may have brought to the mind of a Greek copyist the word ΕΥΑΓΗΣ, with the quite apt associations of 'brightness, clearness, alertness'—and Ammianus transcribes this back to Latin.

<sup>49</sup> Amm. 15.9.8: *quaestionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt et despectantes humana pronuntiarunt animas immortales*. From DE JONGE 1948, 53 *ad loc.* onwards this has been compared to Jer. *Ruf.* 3.39, and Ammianus' information is sometimes hypothesized to come from Cicero's lost *Pro Vatinius*, but if what has been suggested above (p. 191-96) is true about Alexander Polyhistor and Timagenes as the vehicles of transmitting Alexandrian speculation about Pythagoras into Rome, Ammianus' reference may not need *Pro Vatinius*. In the light of examining Ammianus' lukewarm but clear-headed relationship to Christianity (e.g. HUNT 1985, 197, 199-200; also called 'neutral monotheistic point of view' by LIEBESCHUETZ 1979, 302; but *contra* this cf. BARNES 1998, 82f. about Ammianus using Christian language but implicitly disparaging the importance of that faith), it seems that he was more susceptible to seeking examples of moral excellence from the proverbial groups of barbarian sages (a view also buttressed by the findings of DEN BOEFT 1999). On religion in Ammianus cf. also DAVIES 2004, 227-52. The sentiment of true philosophy being contrary to all things mortal seems quite Platonic (cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 64A); indeed, Ammianus' rehabilitation of the Magi (23.6.32-6) has been demonstrated to be partly negotiated through Plato: DEN BOEFT 1999, 211. It seems likely that the same association is implicit in Book 15.

that arise if we try to use his description as evidence for any factual aspects of 'druidism'. The most natural context for Ammianus' positive remarks about the learned classes of ancient Gaul is provided by the other examples examined in this section; indeed, his view of the civilizational history of Gauls stands in harmony with his overall appreciation of the Gauls as eternal *socii* of Romans (see p. 324-27).<sup>50</sup> Even the secretive nature of druidic teaching is cast, by means of the reference to Pythagoreanism, as a factor deserving of respect.<sup>51</sup>

An often discussed case are the 'female Druids' or 'Druidesses' apparently featured in the *Historia Augusta*.<sup>52</sup> Some political subtext does surface in these passages, but it does not refer to the Caesarian power of the Druids, instead arising out of the historiographical need for narrative characters giving prophecies of ascension or futile warnings about doom. Druids of allegedly female gender are frequently mentioned in imperial (pseudo)biographies, usually in the role of a soothsayer; the first *mulier dryas* warns Alexander Severus to give up hopes of victory and not to trust his army; the second instance concerns Aurelian consulting *Gallicanas druidas* in order to learn whether his descendants would hold the purple. The response he received was that the heirs of Claudius II will be next to none in fame.<sup>53</sup> Finally, the imperial

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<sup>50</sup> Ammianus views religion as another important assimilatory factor in Romano-Gallic relations: the case of King Cottius (15.10.7) has been commented upon by HARRISON 1999, 187. For Ammianus' assimilation of Gallic past and present with those of Rome, see below (fn. 101f.). Other Late Imperial students of early Gallic past include Protadius, who wanted to inquire into the earliest records about Gauls, and was directed by Symmachus to examine Livy and Caesar (Symm. *Ep.* 4.18.5, now examined in CAMERON 2011, 523-26, who at other point notes that Symmachus' recommendation need not mean any deep knowledge of Caesar, either: 511 fn. 74).

<sup>51</sup> When discussing the Magi, Ammianus repeats his technique of linking doctrines of barbarian sages to the concepts of Greek philosophy: *magia* is explained by referring to the Platonic concept of ἀγιστεία (23.6.32). See DEN BOEFT 1999, 211. See also *ibid.* 1999, 208 about Ammianus' positive view of the Magi (other groups, too: see HARRISON 1999, 187); RIKE 1987, 73, about both Magi and Gallic wise men being essentially θεολόγοι; BARNES 1990, 65 on his passing familiarity with Neoplatonist theories. The parallelism between Ammianus' Gallic and Persian excursus has not been extensively studied, though SABBAAH 1978, 83 fn. 98 points how both seem to correspond to the ideal defended by Polybius (2.14).

<sup>52</sup> The *HA* is generally recognized as an immensely problematic source for history of the period and the rulers it purports to describe (see e.g. SYME 1971, 1-52, 248-90), though its 'made-up' quality poses many conundrums for those examining it as a piece of literary composition, as well. For past interpretations of the 'druidic' references, see FUSTEL DE COULANGES 1880, 43f. thought that the existence of 'Druidesses' meant that male Druids had survived, too; BACHELIER 1959, 183 envisions a Roman desire to 'ridiculiser le vaincu', i.e. Gauls, but this would be absurd in the historical context and considering Ammianus' views. PIGGOTT 1968 judges the SHA attestations as a 'fall' of Druids resulting in a 'debased' perception of female soothsayers (93, 108); RANKIN 1987, 292 sees the two main options as a continuity of some forms of 'druidic' activity, or the use of the name by a group or class not really connected with the previous Druids; a basically wistful, continuity-stressing strain of argumentation has been expressed by GREEN 1997, 15, 97 finds it convenient to treat the SHA as genuine attestations of the function of Druidic women as soothsayers, though issuing a few general caveats; FREEMAN 2006, 172f. dispenses with even a few words of caution. The recent contribution by HOFENEDER 2009, supplied with a rather exhaustive bibliography, gives a good grasp about the state of the issue, with each of the three cases examined separately, as well as referring to a majority of the Celtic scholarship around the question (88ff.).

<sup>53</sup> SHA *Alex.* 60.6. In SHA *Aurel.* 44.4 the author has added an openly *post eventum* surmise that the descendants of Constantius are probably meant (see SYME 1983, 63-79). Regarding the Alexander Severus –passage, HOFENEDER 2009, 82f. is in all likelihood quite correct in favouring the explanation of two previous studies (HÖNN 1911 and MOUCHOVÁ 1970), which see the writer of Alexander's *vita* lifting this motif, with few tweaks, from Suet. *Claud.* 1.2: especially the correspondence *Gallico sermone/sermone Latino* seems convincing.



aspirations of Diocletian are implied to derive from a chance prophecy in the country of the Tungri, when the miserly young Diocletian jokes to a *dryada mulier* that he will be more generous when he becomes emperor: he gets the retort that indeed he shall be emperor after he kills Aper, or 'Boar'—incidentally the name of the praetorian prefect whom Diocletian does away with after the mysterious death of Numerian.<sup>54</sup> These references raise the possibility of some change having taken place in the semantics of the word 'Druid' and its associated concepts. It might be speculated that in the absence of the earlier druidic class it became possible and attractive for independent diviners (perhaps predominantly of female gender) to tap into the residual fame of the *druidae* in offering their services. Alternatively, we might be facing a purely Roman literary artefact, with the popular knowledge of Gallic Druids being morphed into applying to any soothsayers in the Gallic area.<sup>55</sup>

The High and Late Imperial intelligentsia usually approached the Druids relatively unburdened by any salient notions of animosity; they were more interested, as in the case of Aelian, in the longstanding motif of barbarian sages.<sup>56</sup> The early stages in this antiquarianizing development are reflected in the fragments of Alexander Polyhistor and Timagenes. Later Pliny, though he had ideological reasons to be ambiguous about the Druids and generally considered them quite as dangerous as other magicians, nonetheless featured many medical ingredients ascribed to them. By the time of Dio Chrysostom it had become entirely plausible

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<sup>54</sup> SHA *Car. Carin. Num.* 14.2-3. The author claims to have heard this story from his uncle, who had Diocletian's own words about the matter (*avus meus mihi rettulit ab ipso Diocletiano compertum*); the possible repercussions of this semi-autopsy are explored in HOFENEDER 2009, 86f. ('reine Erfindungen'). Diocletian is told to have taken the prophecy very seriously and slain a great number of actual boars before recognizing his *Aprum fatalem* (15.4)

<sup>55</sup> Some Celtic scholars have proposed a genuine evolution of the Gallic Druids into these female figures, or even the continued existence of female Druids from an earlier era: see above fn. 52. The idea of the name 'Druids' surviving and adhering at this later stage to 'village sorcerers and rural magicians' is already expressed by SYME 1958, 1 457—though his dismissive evaluation is rather more outmoded than the otherwise perceptive treatment. HUTTON 2009, 21f. does not commit to any particular explanation, but observes that the earlier acute hostility had evaporated by the time of SHA. One should note that other predictions of Imperial accessions are present in the SHA, as well; one northern example would be the *Pannonici augures* in SHA *Sev.* 10.7 (the other mention of this group in SHA, in *Alex.* 27.6, is meant to demonstrate Severus Alexander's general polymathy: he surpasses both the Vascones and the Pannonian augurs as an observer of birds—possibly a modification of the trope of *in augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent*, Just. 24.4.3). In itself the notion of an ideal ruler being well-versed in augury was already expressed in Cic. *Div.* 1.40f., 89f., incidentally including the example of the Gallic Druids as a politically influential group of sacral agents.

<sup>56</sup> See above p. 312f. By the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, however, it apparently was not yet necessary to include any northern or western groups, as the F 1A-B of Numenius of Apamea (*De bono ap. Orig. C. Cels.* 1.15, 4.51) seems to indicate: the Neopythagorean could be assumed to have included a mention of the Celts or Thracians if he had felt inclined to. Possibly his audience was not judged to be sympathetic to the idea of northerners holding correct ideas about such matters; additionally, as pointed out by BROZE & AL. 2006, 134, Numenius' paradigm of comparison in the preserved fragments appears to have been the Judeo-Christian definition of divinity. Similar omission of Thracians and Celts from the *Vita Pythagorae* by Porphyry (though Iamblichus includes Γέται, Γαλάται and Τράλλεις in his *VP* 173) may stem from a focus on oriental influences (regarded as the core of the imagery by BROZE & AL. 2006, 132 and quite understandable in the predominantly Greek, eastern sphere of Neoplatonism), possibly affecting Numenius, too. Cf. CLARK 1999; also, on the intertwining of Pythagoreanism and Platonism in these Imperial circles: FOWDEN 1982, 36, and on the tilt towards East, 40ff.

to treat the Druids as nothing but an interesting group of barbarian philosophers. In his *Recusatio magistratus*, when trying to wriggle out of the honour of archonship in his native town, Chrysostom gives examples of how even the barbarian peoples have seen fit to have philosophers as advisers to their kings (*Or.* 49.7). His own personal aims for the speech influence the rhetoric chosen, and although he mentions the Magi, Egyptian priests, Indian Brahmins and Celtic Druids as all being devoted to perceiving the future and cultivating wisdom (καὶ τούτους περὶ μαντικὴν ὄντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σοφίαν), all these groups act within the speech simply as symbols. Chrysostom's emphasizes the Druids' political power along with their other barbarian colleagues, which incidentally leads him to highlight precisely the same aspect of these groups as appeared worrisome to Pliny in his discussion of the Persian magocracy and the rule of Druids in Britain (*HN* 30.2, 13). It may be that Chrysostom is here being influenced by the Caesarian portrayal of the Druids, which was obviously written in a context of much more acute worry about the potential troubles generated by the Gallic learned class.<sup>57</sup> As we have seen, the Augustan age and even some later writers found more significance in the Caesarian portrayal of druidic influence over the minds of other Gauls (cf. p. 204 fn. 151, 219, 240) than in their possible wisdom, and this thought pattern was to some extent re-awakened by the Gallic disturbances occurring during the last stages of Nero's reign. But for Dio Chrysostom, the same pseudo-ethnographic stock elements would have appeared as just some good raw material to help him avoid getting stuck in Prusa.

The doctrine of the immortality of souls that to Lucan had appeared so outrageous—at least within the poetical register—would not have seemed too strange in the Christianizing Late Empire. Some Christian writers and other Late Imperial monotheists came across references to Druids in their readings of earlier Greek philosophical works. Clement of Alexandria, a theologian of the early third century, quotes Alexander Polyhistor (not without some scepticism) in his *Stromata* about the studies that Pythagoras conducted among barbarians.<sup>58</sup> Later in the same work, Clement elaborates his list slightly, and remarks how this

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<sup>57</sup> KREMER 1994, 217. Even so, it seems that the rhetorical, philosophically influenced line of argumentation is the most natural context, with the Platonic philosopher-kings looming in the background: these seem to have been part of the Imperial form of discourse 'On kingship', about which STERTZ 1979; JONES 1997 (with Dio Chrysostom as the favourite model to Themistius); MOLES 2005, 125f.; and from the Latin side, Pliny's *Panegyricus*: GRIFFIN 2007, esp. 456-62, 474ff.

<sup>58</sup> Alex. Polyh. *De Pythag. symb. ap.* Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15.70.1: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων Ζαράτω τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ μαθητεῦσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν (Ἰεζεκιήλ τοῦτον ἠγοῦνται τινες, οὐκ ἔστι δέ, ὡς ἔπειτα δηλωθήσεται), ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τούτοις Γαλατῶν καὶ Βραχυμάνων τὸν Πυθαγόραν βούλεται. In its whole extent Clement's list is particularly inclusive, going as far as mentioning 'the sacred women of the Γερμανοί' who observed the flow of the rivers and noises of the waterfalls, and prevented the Germans from fighting against Caesar before the new moon (1.15.72). Whereas Cyril of Alexandria falls outside the chronological framework of this study, it is worth mentioning that his reference to Druids occurs in a list that is essentially identical to that of Clement of Alexandria (Cyril. *Adv. Iul.* 4.133; PG 76 c. 705B). In Cyril, the

indicated the spread of philosophical enlightenment among all peoples even before coming to Greece (*Strom.* 1.15.70.3). His predecessors in the technique of locating the roots of philosophy among barbarians were on the one hand Diogenes Laertius (and probably his doxographic sources, e.g. Sotion; cf. above p. 190f.); on the other Philo and Justin the Martyr, who both recognized the idea of 'seeds of logos' among the pagans.<sup>59</sup> From about the same period as Clement, Hippolytus of Rome's great enumeration of heresies, the *Refutatio omnium haeresium* notes that the Druids examined the Pythagorean philosophy to its apex.<sup>60</sup> Zalmoxis the Thracian is cited as the transmitter of the discipline, as already in a shorter note in *Haer.* 1.2.17, an addition that does not appear in Clement's work. In the latter passage (1.25.1-2) the emphasis is, rather as in Cicero's works, on the Druids' divinatory contributions (ὡς προφήτας καὶ προγνωστικούς δοξάζουσιν), accomplished largely through Pythagorean numerology (διὰ τὸ ἐκ ψήφων καὶ ἀριθμῶν Πυθαγορικῇ τέχνῃ προαγορεύειν αὐτοῖς τινα). Magic is mentioned without any clear moral tone apart from that which was by now inherent in the concept itself (χρῶνται δὲ Δρυΐδαί καὶ μαγείαις). Augustine, in presenting his view as to which pre-Christian philosophies had come closest to the final revelation, offers a list which bears some similarity to that of Hippolytus: the Platonists, Pythagoreans, the Atlanteans, Libyans, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Chaldaeans, Scythians, Gauls and Iberians. Iamblichus the Neoplatonist mentions the same survival of Pythagoras' doctrines through Zalmoxis' proselytizing among the northern barbarians, though he is more accommodating with ethnonyms, referring to the Getae, the Galatians and the confusing Τράλλεις.<sup>61</sup>

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duplication of 'Celts' and 'Gauls' (Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυΐδαί καὶ ἐκ Βάκτρων τῶν Περσικῶν Σαμαναῖοι καὶ Κελτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι) points to the formulaic and non-salient character of the ethnonyms.

<sup>59</sup> Philo *Quod omn. prob. lib. s.* 72-4; Justin *Apol.* 1.20, 46, 54 (but with pagans demons misunderstanding the prophecies); Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 1.4.4 (though in *Praep. evang.* 1.8 he is much more dismissive). Of these writers and their views, BUELL 2005, 29-33 on *Ep. ad Diogn.* (and for the role of logos in this text, see THIERRY 1966), e.g. 76-80 on Eusebius and Justin. On Philo and other representatives of the Hellenistic Jewry, see GACA 1999, 169-71. Cf. also GARNSEY 1984, 14ff. A selection of the many kinds of 'external wisdom'—that is, non-Christian literature of moral worth, among which some of the 'barbarian wise men' are occasionally counted—is given in CAMERON & LONG 1993, 35f.; it seems that some pagan monotheists were not as much interested in a dichotomy between Christianity and paganism, but in distinguishing between the oldest, purest forms of worship as opposed to more recent innovations: SHAW 1995, 3f., 71 (about Iamblichus), 62f. (Plotinus). For such philosophers, the barbarians (particularly the old, 'sage' peoples) could preserve the uncorrupted form of religiosity: CLARK 1999, 124 about Iambl. *Myst.* 7.5.257; such remains of oldest wisdom are nicely characterized as 'quasi-divine par son ancienneté' in BROZE & AL. 2006, 139.

<sup>60</sup> Hippol. *Haer.* 1.25.1f.: δρυΐδαί δὲ οἱ ἐν Κελτοῖς τῇ Πυθαγορείῳ φιλοσοφία κατ' ἄκρον ἐγκύψαντες. Worth noting is the image of ascending via the study of Pythagorean philosophy, which seems akin to the *quaestionibus [...] rerum altarumque erecti sunt* in Amm. 15.9.8. The origins of this imagery could have already been present in Alexander Polyhistor's rendition.

<sup>61</sup> Aug. *De civ. D.* 8.9; Iambl. *VP* 173. ZWICKER 1934, 99 interprets the Τράλλεις as Τριβαλλοί. That the authority of the past was widely tapped into even by non-Christian monotheists in order to find the most elemental essence of philosophical logos, is demonstrated well in BROZE & AL. 2006, 143 (Numenius, Celsus, Porphyry). In *VP* 151, Iamblichus had noted that in addition to having travelled widely in the eastern lands and including elements from the mysteries to his philosophy, Pythagoras also incorporated 'what was worthwhile in

Despite the old fame of the Druids they, like the *bardi*, were sometimes called a *gens*.<sup>62</sup> Already the *De prosodia catholica* of Aelius Herodian (a grammarian in Rome under Marcus) the Δρυΐδης were called an ἔθνος Γαλατικὸν φιλόσοφον (3.1.67 LENTZ); though it should be noted that Herodian seems only to have been interested in the correct prosody of the title. A near contemporary of Herodian, the philosopher Celsus—whose treatise against Christianity has unfortunately come down to us primarily via Origen's quotations in *Contra Celsum*—also seems to have considered “the Druids of the Galatians” as a “most wise and ancient” ἔθνος, similar to Homer's Galactophagi and the Getae (presumably because of the righteous Getae in Hdt. 4.93 or the Thracian Zalmoxis).<sup>63</sup> Origen would rather have had this compliment paid to the Hebrews, whose writings at least were extant in comparison to the other peoples mentioned. Druids are also described as a “philosophical people of Galatia” by Stephanus of Byzantium, referring to Diogenes Laertius who did not in fact use the word ἔθνος. This way of thinking, however, should not be regarded as universal even among late writers.<sup>64</sup>

It is possible that such ‘ethnicization’ of the Druids took place during the later Imperial period as an analogy to a similar re-attribution of the Indian gymnosophists, of which we have some evidence.<sup>65</sup> Both these developments may have been enabled by the notion of

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the common religion, and among the Celts and Iberians’ (καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τοῖς κοινῶς, καὶ περὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν). The inclusion of Iberians in lists of barbarian philosophers (cf. August. *loc. cit.*) may stem from the joint naming of Celts and Iberians in Plato and Aristotle; also quite possible is the suggestion by CLARK 1999, 115f. that the Neopythagorean Moderatus of Gades had bequeathed a highlight on Iberia (possibly in conjunction with the information about the indigenous alphabet of the Turdetanoi: see Str. 3.1.6, 2.15). Jord. *Get.* 5.39 refers to the authority of the *scriptores annalium* and Dio on the ancient sages Zeuta, Dicineus and Zalmoxis among the Goths, who consequently were rendered *paene omnibus barbaris sapientiores* and *Grecisque paene consimiles*.

<sup>62</sup> E.g. *Comm. Bern. in Luc.* 1.451: *Driadae gens Germaniae*, though confusingly followed by *sunt autem driadae philosophi Gallorum*. The most creative point of these explanations may have been reached in Cologne of the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when Lucan's poem (*ad loc. cit.*) was glossed with *Driade Sclavi sunt* (*Glossae Lucani e cod. 199 eccl. metrop. Colon. ap. JAFFÉ-WATTENBACH 1874, Ecclesiae metropolitanae Coloniensis codices* p. 140, fol. 4). For *bardi*, see p. 301.

<sup>63</sup> Cels. *ap. Orig. C. Cels.* 1.16, which interestingly also mentions the Hyperboreans in its first list of venerable groups (among Odrysae, Eleusinians and Samothracians). Concerning Zalmoxis teaching ‘the Druids of the Celts’ cf. Hippol. *Haer.* 1.2.17, originating from the tradition that began with Herodotus, Hellanicus and Mnaseas (see above p. 42 fn. 64).

<sup>64</sup> Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δρυΐδαι but cf. Diog. Laert. 1.1. For the old perception: e.g. the *Lexicon* transmitted under the name of Zonaras (12<sup>th</sup>-century) gives the traditional οἱ φιλόσοφοι παρὰ Γαλάταις (*Lex. Zonar. s.v.* Δρυΐδαι).

<sup>65</sup> That the names of barbarian learned classes, being stock participants in the lists of ‘sage peoples’, became sometimes treated as ethnonyms is noted by BROZE & AL. 2006, 135, who appear to explain it as simple synonymy/metonymy and take as an early example Cornutus' F 26 LANG (cf. above p. 192 fn. 102). While Diog. Laert. 1.1 is a typical listing, with ethnic groups and their associated sages both mentioned, other treatments such as Aelius Herodian ethnicize both Druids and Brahmins: *Prosod. cath.* 3.1.13 LENTZ: Βραχμῶν Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος σοφώτατον, οὗς καὶ Βράχμας καλοῦσιν; cf. 3.1.67 on the Druids. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15.70.1, too, mentions Γαλάται and Brahmins as if they are groupings of the same order. Porph. *Abst.* 4.17 writes that among the different πολιτεῖαι of the Indians there is τὸ γένος [...] τὸ τῶν θεοσόφων, whom the Greeks are accustomed to call gymnosophists, but which is in fact divided into Samanaei and Brahmins, only the latter of which stem from a single stock. The tendency to ethnicize barbarian sages may be related to the Late Imperial ideal among the monotheistic pagans that an optimal emperor should pay equal reverence to all holy men, whether pagan, Jewish, or Christian—given emphasis in the propaganda of Julian and perhaps embodied in the *Vita* of Severus Alexander in *SHA* (see CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 203; BROZE & AL. 2006, 137); see also FOWDEN 1982, 35f.

Christians forming something resembling a confessional ἔθνος.<sup>66</sup> As already noted, Clement of Alexandria refers to Pythagoras' consultation of "Galatians and Brahmins", implying that these are comparable groups. Whether the formulation derives from Polyhistor or is the result of Clement's own lack of distinction, it suggests that if the Druids could be replaced by the generalized 'Galatae' while still juxtaposing them with Brahmins, the very distinction of the nature of this group (if not both groups) of sages had begun to blur. This state of confusion is reinforced a little later in the same text, where the most important groups of barbarian philosophers of old are enumerated: they are "the prophets of the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans of the Assyrians, the Druids of the Galatae, the Samanaeans of the Bactrians, the philosophers of the Celts, and the Magi of the Persians" (*Strom.* 1.15.70.3). The absence of the almost mandatory gymnosophists is startling, but even more so is the splitting of what most authors had classified as a single group, the druidic philosophers of the Celts/Galatae.<sup>67</sup>

## 2. GALLIC DISTURBANCES: LOSS OF TRUST, 'RE-BARBARIZATION' AND REHABILITATION

### a. USURPERS AND OUTCASTS FROM THE GALLIC EMPERORS TO THE 'BACAUDIC'

#### *IMITATIO BARBARIAE*

The slide into antiquarianism, which seemed to be the destiny of Gallic connotations during the High Empire, was for a while intercepted by developments that began during the so-called 'Crisis of the Third Century'. On the highest level of power this took the form of the Gallic provinces and Britain separating from the central authority for almost fifteen years. Although it is important to remember that our extant sources represent the point of view of the victors in this purported secession, some points in the religious policy of the 'Gallic Emperors' seem worth examining here. Crucial to the religious policies of Postumus and his successors was the need to pose as the defender of the Gallic population against trans-

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<sup>66</sup> Examined in the skilled monograph of BUELL 2005, within which e.g. 36 about early Christians frequently conjoining religiosity and ethnicity as mutually constituting factors, and 38 about the earlier Imperial precursors of such arguments (for instance in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* and Polemo), and 42-9 about religion as an ethnoracial denominator. Also briefly in GEARY 2002, 53-56. An early example would have been the 'counter-ethnicization' of Jews as a 'nation of philosophers' by Theophrastus (*ap. Porph. Abst.* 2.26); see GRUEN 2011A, 310-14.

<sup>67</sup> BRUNAUX 2006, 115 interprets the duplication to have already taken place in Polyhistor's mind (or text), but it stems perhaps more plausibly from the later dynamics of the 'barbarian sage' -lists.

Rhenane barbarians and, more tentatively, against central Imperial oppression.<sup>68</sup> Religious imagery and cultic propaganda were put to use towards this aim, and at least Postumus emphasized his connection to Hercules. Particularly his *GERMANICVS MAXIMVS V*-coinage (*RIC* v.2 129) showcases the *raison d'être* of his separatist government, though the careful inclusion of peaceful attributes (e.g. *Hercules Pacifer*) in part of his coinage may point to Postumus' wish not to push too far the image of his rule as a perpetual military exercise.<sup>69</sup>

Another possible effect of the political turmoil of these years was the exacerbation of the lot of 'oppressed' sections of Gallic society; while agreement is lacking as to the precise dynamics that led to the heightened popular unrest under the Later Antonines and Soldier Emperors, it seems safe to say that the trust of the traditional Roman elite in both the Gallic elites and the peasantry was eroded from the third century onwards, though perhaps for different reasons. The presence of sustained, mostly low-level unrest in the Gallic provinces for a fairly prolonged period from the third century until the fifth, is often claimed on the basis of a series of references in written sources. Aurelius Victor is the earliest author to provide us with a name for the rebels, the *Bacaudae* (or *Bagaudae*—it is difficult and ultimately unnecessary to choose between the two forms). It has been proposed that Victor derived the appellation from the *Kaisersgeschichte*, but in any case his information was passed down through Eutropius to Jerome and Orosius.<sup>70</sup> According to Victor, individuals called Helianus and Amandus had stirred up in Gaul a group of *agrestes* and *latrones*, whom the inhabitants called

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<sup>68</sup> A strategy used since the Julio-Claudians: SYME 1958, I 454. DEMOUGEOT 1984, 127 for Postumus' coinage using imagery of barbarian captives; VAN DAM 1985, 28f.; DRINKWATER 1987, 162f. Religious *tutamen* against barbarians was a constant worry along the Rhenish border (possibly explaining the popularity of Jupiter Columns along the border: cf. SPICKERMANN 2003, 384-67), but during periods of internal turmoil the general feeling of insecurity would without doubt have increased, warranting imperially sponsored gestures of placating the divinities—especially ones with military/barbaromachic associations such as Hercules (cf. ROYMANS 2009, 224).

<sup>69</sup> SIMON 1955, 134. On Postumus' coinage and some of the rarer epithets of Hercules (including the local *MAGVSANVS* in *RIC* v.2 139, for whom, see ROYMANS 2009, though with too heavy emphasis on ethnogenesis) used therein: MOITRIEUX 2002, 44f.; REES 2005, 223f. The *Hercules Pacifer*—coinage of Postumus: *RIC* v.2 67, 135-6, 203-4. The Senecan formulation of Hercules as *orbis pacator* (*Herc. Oet.* 1989-96) is particularly close to Postumus' coinage illustrated with Sol (*RIC* v.2 317), pointing to a message potentially directed at both soldiers and civilians. Even more Herculean are *RIC* v.2 331-3, where Postumus goes all the way that Trajan (e.g. *RIC* II 581, 695, 702; discussed in HEKSTER 2005, 205) and others had gone before him: combining the image of Hercules with a legend speaking only about the emperor, reinforcing the identification between the two. The use of Hercules Magusanus is certainly another good example of appealing to everyone inhabiting the Rhenish border (REES 2005, 223). In *RIC* v.2 344 (with the legend *Herculi Erumantino*) the obverse shows the laurelled busts, jugate, of both emperor and Hercules. For Imperial 'Heracleism' in general, see p. 346-51. On the use of coinage as a tool for imperial propaganda and the emperor's virtues, see also NOREÑA 2001, 147ff.

<sup>70</sup> On the *Kaisersgeschichte* and Aurelius Victor in the matter of the *Bacaudae*, see DRINKWATER 1984, 365; and on this hypothetical historical work at large, see e.g. ENMANN 1884; BURGESS 1995. *Eutr.* 9.20: *ita rerum Romanarum potitus* [sc. Diocletianus], *cum tumultum rusticani in Gallia concitassent et factioni suae Bacaudarum nomen imponeret, duces autem habentes Amandum et Aelianum, ad subigendos eos Maximianum Herculum Caesarem misit, qui levibus proeliis agrestes domuit et pacem Galliae reformavit*; cf. *Jer. Chron.* 2303; *Oros.* 7.25.2. The representativeness of the testimony of Aurelius Victor (and the tradition depending on him) on the matter of the *Bacaudae* is discussed, for instance, by SÁNCHEZ LÉON 1996, 29 ff.

*Bacaudae* and who ravaged the countryside widely (*populatis late agris*), attempting to take cities.<sup>71</sup> Diocletian dispatched Maximian to quell the unrest; according to *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).4.1-4 (cf. Eutr. 9.20 *levibus proeliis*), perhaps unsurprisingly, the future co-emperor succeeded brilliantly, and in the process greatly reinforced the image of the 'Emperor-in-the-West' acting as a Herculean pacificator.

The Panegyric of 289, performed at Trier in front of Maximian and sometimes attributed to Mamertinus, avoids giving a specific name to the Gallic enemies vanquished by the young Maximian.<sup>72</sup> The passage in question contains both some significant religious topoi and a sense of treading on a shaky ground. The religious themes are compatible with the developed form of Imperial theology propounded during Diocletian's rule: the references to Hercules are in accord with the role of *Herculius* that Maximian was meant to perform under the senior Augustus, Diocletian *Iovius*.<sup>73</sup> Maximian is subsumed to the role of Hercules: he re-enacts the pacifying feats of the hero-divinity and restores order where past reigns have let it lapse (*cum ad restituendam eam post priorum temporum labem divinum modo*).<sup>74</sup> What is more, the unnamed enemies are compared with the Giants and Hecatoncheires of myth, so that his help to the senior emperor, acting as Jupiter, takes on an even more providential hue—and is implied to play a part in a future apotheosis.<sup>75</sup> The enemies now get a closer look, first through a continuance of the mythological simile and then through a more real-life, though still topical, viewpoint. Though *similes monstrorum biformium*—comparable to the legendary (perhaps anguipede) adversaries of Hercules—the enemies were overcome by the Caesar through both

<sup>71</sup> Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.17. The verb *populare* itself appears frequently in descriptions of barbarian onslaughts and unrest, and would no doubt have triggered associations between barbarian hordes and the arbitrary devastations of natural calamities. Eutropius reflects the same tradition in that these *Bacaudae* are the combatants of Aelianus and Amandus, but contrary to Victor it is them who start using the name, not the Gallic provincials (Eutr. 9.20).

<sup>72</sup> The reasons for this were no doubt manifold; some of the socio-political ones are examined in THOMPSON 1952, 11-12, but he omits the possible stylistic reasons; NIXON 1990, 17-20 is strong in interpreting the current political considerations and the need to highlight Maximian's external victories over internal, socially inferior opponents; *ibid.* 25 about the careful tone being handed down to the other two orations about Maximian's exploits (the Panegyrics of 291 and 307).

<sup>73</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).4.2-4. The *Panegyric* of 291 refers to the same imperial program (11(3).3.4-5), which had not yet been undermined by the dissension of the later Tetrarchy. The new *agnomina* and the underlying religious politics are examined by REES 2005, who notes that the theophoric nature of the imperial *signa* was a new departure (224), and also stresses that *Herculius*, in particular, did continue in use into the 4<sup>th</sup> century (225). See also SESTON 1950, mostly 260-66.

<sup>74</sup> The imperial theology is referred to e.g. in *Pan. Lat.* 11(3).3.7: *bis [...] diebus quibus immoralitatis origo celebratur*, immediately after linking Maximian with the heroic exemplars of Hercules' feats of making the lands of the mortals safe (*terras omnes et nemora pacavit, urbes dominis crudelibus liberavit*). Accusing the past of the present troubles was (and is) a technique favoured by many panegyricists: *Pan. Lat.* 7(6).8.3 *hic est qui in ipso ortu numinis sui Gallias priorum temporum iniuriis efferatas rei publicae ad obsequium reddidit*; *Pan. Lat.* 11(3).5.3 *exacerbata saeculi prioris iniuriis per clementiam vestram ad obsequium redisse provincias*.

<sup>75</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).4.2: *praecipitanti Romano nomini iuxta principem suivisti eadem scilicet auxilii opportunitate qua tuus Hercules Iovem vestrum quondam Terrigenarum bello laborantem magna victoriae parte iuvit probavitque se non magis a dis accepisse caelum quam eisdem reddidisse*. For manifestations of such Tetrarch propaganda in coinage: SÁNCHEZ LEÓN 1996, 26f.; cf. REES 2005, 227f.

his *fortitudo* and his *clementia*.<sup>76</sup> The *ignari agricolae* had taken up military *habitus*, a ploughman had imitated a foot-soldier, a shepherd a cavalryman: indeed, the country-folk had imitated the barbarian enemy in plundering the countryside themselves.<sup>77</sup> Strikingly, just as the panegyrist seems to prepare for a closer celebration of the emperor's feat, he switches gear and slightly abruptly passes the victory by with *quod ego cursim praetereo; video enim te, qua pietate es, oblivionem illius victoriae malle quam gloriam*.<sup>78</sup> Faced with both an awkward change in the direction of the speech and a reference to the *pietas* of Maximian, it is tempting to speculate whether such a move might not have derived from some visible expression of displeasure or unease on the part of the addressee. Further on in the speech, the panegyrist is even more vague in referring to (the emperor's) *innumerabiles tuas tota Gallia pugnas atque victorias*.

Despite Maximian's success in his Herculean act of providential pacification, the unrest in Gaul became something of a permanent fixture in the perception and portrayal of the Western provinces in the fifth century. It needs to be recognized, however, that rather than reading the references to *Bacaudae* as historically accurate attestations, it might be worthwhile to regard such mentions predominantly as symbols—indicators of the widespread degeneration of the realm that the Late Imperial elite literature in its 'doom and gloom' register was prepared to find everywhere.<sup>79</sup> Also, it may be that calling any bandits in the

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<sup>76</sup> An echo of the Vergilian *laus* of Hercules is possible: *Aen.* 8.289 *monstra*, with 293 *bimembris*; the context is similarly full of exemplarity and providentiality (cf. SANTORO L'HOIR 1990, 237). The motif of anguipedes is to some extent contextualized by CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 196, and in the context of the more localized phenomenon of Jupiter-columns with their *monstra biformia* by WOOLF 2001, who points out (119) that most of the columns were set up between 170 and 240 CE, which would certainly have made them—or one of the most visible aspect of their visual language—an understandable frame of (iconographic) reference to the motif used by the panegyrist (10(2).4.3). Woolf views the setting up of Jupiter columns itself as meaningful cult activity (125ff., esp. 126: 'each Jupiter column might be read as an assertion that Jupiter Optimus Maximus was forever triumphant over chaos'); taking this interpretation as a basis, the panegyristic image of the providential imperial order, manifested through the Herculean emperor triumphing over forces of chaos, would have had a broadly similar effect upon the audience of the speech, taking place as it did near the Germanic border in a time of uncertainty (NIXON 1990, 17ff.). This geographical particularity could explain the preference for gigantomachic imagery in the Jupiter columns of the Germania Superior, which is remarked upon by WOOLF 2001, 127.

<sup>77</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).4.3: *cum militaris habitus ignari agricolae appetiverunt, cum arator peditem, cum pastor equitem, cum hostem barbarum suorum cultorum rusticus vastator imitatus est?* The fact that such widespread adoption of alternative subsistence patterns could seriously destabilize the fiscal viability of whole provinces (cf. CHAUVOT 1984, 43), may partly explain the unease of the elite about movements branded 'Bacaudic' through much of 300's and 400's. It has been noted that the main objective for the Roman state as a whole, and the Later Empire in particular, was to ensure the inflow of taxes, with most other things being secondary to this goal (WICKHAM 2009, 32-36).

<sup>78</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).4.4. NIXON 1990, 20 on the Panegyrist preferring to speak of Maximian's trans-Rhenane feats.

<sup>79</sup> This register of writing is not confined solely to the Late Empire: a fine example is the description of Olbia in Dio Chrysostom's *Borysibeniticus*, exaggerating the near-extinction of a disintegrating Hellenicity in a disintegrating infrastructure; see BÄBLER 2002, 318f. The motif of decay and imminent barbarism apparently appealed to the intelligentsia—indeed, the 'crisis narrative' constitutes a resilient stock element in much of Western tradition of humanities and its self-perception. The prevailing worldview of most Roman poetry took a gradual decline almost as self-evident, and was shared by historians: THOMAS 1982, 133. During Late Antiquity, the bemoaning by the Gallic learned classes of the literary decline of their age is well-known: MATHISEN 1988, among whose findings the inconsistency of the manifestations of the decline (48) is a particularly good indicator of the artificial nature of at least the 'cultural crisis'. In addition, it should be noted that constructions of large-scale systemic



Gallic area (as broadly defined) *Bacaudae* became something of a literary fad, by the use of which a writer could demonstrate that he was well-acquainted with the newest and—due to their purported lowly origins—most debased source of chaos in a time of perceived insecurity and tribulations. Among DRINKWATER's most notable conclusions regarding the *Bacaudae* could be the possibility that the term itself created part of the continuity perceived between various movements of the Later Imperial period.<sup>80</sup> This places the creation (and maintaining) of the *Bacaudae* firmly within the elite literary tradition, in a development that might somewhat resemble the roughly coeval re-use of the name 'Druids' for (female) Gallic oracle-peddlers. Learned groups of non-salient historical northerners were quite acceptable and prone to be eruditely referenced, while the provincial plebs, somewhat of a *fanatica multitudo* still, and in rhetoric certainly cast as 'sons of the Earth', were altogether a source of disquiet.

The post-400 CE sources for the *Bacaudae* fall outside the scope of this study, and besides contain few references to provincial religiosity.<sup>81</sup> Leaders of the rebellion are occasionally mentioned, such as Tibatto, who appears in several sources as the leader of the *Bacaudic* groups of the 430's and 440's.<sup>82</sup> For the Gallic Chronicler the term *Bacauda* does not denote the rebels but the rebellion itself; but whether the name was affixed to the rebels or to their so-called movement, only a few authors offered any opinions as to the rebels' aims. Some conclusions have been drawn from Rutilius Namatianus' apparent meaning when speaking of "not letting [people] be slaves to their own slaves", but as the reading of the line is

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failure in many parts of the Mediterranean during the Late Empire seem suspiciously one-dimensional. As for instance WICKHAM 2009, 132, 217-31 has recently demonstrated, many areas—even those that were described in some sources as ravaged and subjected to barbarians—remained remarkably prosperous for remarkably long. The possibility of the literary elite of the 5<sup>th</sup> century being gripped by a vogue of writing in a defeatist or morbid mode should not be dismissed out of hand; such apocalypticism is in evidence e.g. in Jer. *Ep.* 123 *ad Ageruch.* 16.

<sup>80</sup> DRINKWATER 1984, 370.

<sup>81</sup> They have also been extensively studied by a number of scholars, such as THOMPSON 1952; DOCKÈS 1980 (whose 'ensauvagement', however, is closer to the 'going native'-paradigm in subsistence patterns and sociology than literary 'casting into the role of the savage' which seems closer to the techniques at play with *Bacaudae*); VAN DAM 1985, 25-58 (who sees most 'Bacaudic' movements as an issue of local power trumping loyalties to the empire); OKAMURA 1988; SÁNCHEZ LEÓN 1996; extensive discussions are also included in NIXON 1990. The contributions of DRINKWATER are important in the context of *Bacaudae*, as well as with so many aspects of Roman Gaul: 1984 (already sceptical about any genuine continuation in the widely dispersed provincial movements called 'Bacaudic': 370f.), 1992 (several good points about the possible propagandistic construction of Gallic 'Bacaudae' from earlier elements in a time when Aëtius' reconquest of the area generated resistance: 217). The ancient sources have been enumerated and closely examined by SÁNCHEZ LEÓN 1996, who also treats the medieval legends about the *Bacaudae* (16, 21f.). Of possible relevance is the suggestion by DRINKWATER 1984, 370 that the latter *Bacaudae* (around the fall of the Western Empire) may emerge in the literary sources due to application of an established term to quite separate and variously motivated groups: in this sense, one might venture the suggestions that they could represent a parallel pattern to the 'Druidesses' of the SHA. BROWN 2012, 403, emphasizes the way that the elite perspective of our sources casts the *Bacaudae* as enemies to the proper society and a menace to property, renegades who required to be reconquered.

<sup>82</sup> *Chron. Gall. a. 452*, 117,119,133 *MGH Chr. min.* I p. 660, 662, displaying the notion of a Gallic secession (*a Romana societate discessit*) and a 'conspiracy' of *Bacaudae*—both met earlier in connection with Gallic unrest; Const. *Lugd. V Germ.* 40, which uses adjectives about the 'indisciplined people' (*perfidia mobilem et indisciplinatum populum ad rebellionem pristinam revocasset*) which are very much the same as used of all Gallic disturbances previously.

problematical there are severe restrictions as to what can be based on it (1.213-6). Zosimus, ostensibly following the authority of Olympiodorus, mentions that the whole of Armorica and “other Gallic provinces” had freed themselves by expelling the Roman magistrates and initiating a sort of autonomy (Zos. 6.5.3). Similar anti-establishment or anti-elite tendencies are projected onto the Bacaudae’s aims by Hydatius, our only source attesting to Bacaudic activity in Spain. His information is sketchy and could reflect the activities of almost any outlaw movement—indeed, the fact that he chooses to apply in a Hispanian context a nomenclature otherwise only known from Gaul only serves to highlight the potential for distortion at the hands of the literary classes carried by a purported ‘peasant uprising’. Hydatius is the only source since the Panegyrist of 289 to use religious elements in this connection: the Bacaudae drawn together by a certain Basilius are said to have killed a number of *foederati* in a church at Tyriasso, lethally wounding the bishop Leo.<sup>83</sup>

The conjoining of ‘barbarized’ provincials and/or barbarian mercenaries with an unjust (that is, eventually defeated) usurper is often evidenced, and occasionally also took on religious overtones. As the bandit is a figure more or less diametrically opposed to the emperor,<sup>84</sup> such a comparison is unflattering to say the least—and besides obviously alluded to many a troublesome external (barbarian) enemy of the empire. We should perhaps not be particularly surprised at encountering this motif in connection with the *mixobarbarus* Maximinus Thrax: according to his biography in *Historia Augusta*, he was in his *pueritia* a *pastor* and a leader of a band of youths who would protect his own folk from *latrones*.<sup>85</sup> His physical prowess was great and his manners fierce, rough and contemptuous, though often also just (SHA *Max.* 2.2). In addition to the personal character of a reviled imperial figure being

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<sup>83</sup> Hydat. 133 *s.a.* 449. In other passages, Hydatius tells of Asturius, *dux utriusque militiae*, slaughtering a great number of Bacaudae (117, *s.a.* 441) in Tarraconensis; Merobaudes, the son-in-law and successor of Asturius, inflicting another severe defeat on the rebels (120, *s.a.* 442). Right after reporting the fate of Leo of Tyriasso Hydatius writes of Basilius’ followers collaborating with Rechiarius, king of the Suebes, in plundering the lands of Caesaraugusta and harassing the inhabitants of Ilerda (134, *s.a.* 449). A few years later we have Hydatius’ last—and in some ways most intriguing—reference to the Bacaudae: according to him, Tarraconensian Bacaudae had been defeated by Frideric, brother of the Visigoth king Theodoric II ‘under Roman authority’ (*ex auctoritate Romana*; 150, *s.a.* 453-4); see BURGESS 1992.

<sup>84</sup> SHAW 1984, 48; cf. also his earlier study on the motif of nomadism in the Greek context, which contains a diagram of the Aristotelian model of subsistence and its evolving phases: SHAW 1982, 16-20. The banditry is, it should be noted, the second most primitive phase, just slightly more evolved than nomadism.

<sup>85</sup> SHA *Max.* 2.1. Strikingly, his youthful professions are referred to via similar imagery as those of Viriathus (Livy *Per.* 52), Tacfarinas (Tac. *Ann.* 2.52), and the Gallic rebels quelled by Maximian (above p. 319f.). Maximian as half-barbarian: Hdn. 6.8.1; SHA *Max.* 2.5. MORALEE 2008 should be consulted about the polemic ethnicization of Maximinus’ origins; the textual strategies of Herodian and SHA of distancing Maximinus through terminology are given ample consideration (60-2, 65f.). As pointed out by SYME 1971, 182, the use of *Gothia* as Maximinus’ area of origin is in itself anachronistic, and the connotations such an claim aroused were content-wise those of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (and see the notes in *loc. cit.*).

polemically derived from his descent, the rather well-regarded usurper, Postumus, could be presented in the SHA as being both elevated and cast down by the vacillation of the Gauls.<sup>86</sup>

Partly due to the figures of emperor and bandit representing oppositional ideal types, one of the most cogent acts a new emperor could perform as proof of his legitimacy would be to pursue and extinguish bandits in his realm. This can moreover be understood as laying claim to a series of *imperatores boni* fulfilling this pacificatory mission from Augustus onwards.<sup>87</sup> As the soldier emperors had been suspect in their credentials since at least Maximinus Thrax, it is all the more understandable that the advancement of Maximian was boosted by his successful handling of the Gallic rebels. As we have seen above, Maximian's actions in Gaul were later compared by his panegyrist to the pacificatory and philanthropic feats of Hercules—a trope partly suggested by his *agnomen* Herculius, but quite as crucially part of the Later Imperial discourse on good rulership.<sup>88</sup>

It has also become nearly mandatory, in connection with any discussion concerning the Bacaudae, to devote at least some attention to the Late Imperial comedy from Gaul, *Querolus*. The title character inquires of a *Lar* what he should do if he wants to commit robberies and murders with impunity. The godling suggests in a jesting fashion that he should go and live by the Loire, and explains that there people live *iure gentium* with no distinctions; capital sentences are handed down *de robore* and inscribed in bones; *rustici* declaim there and private individuals pass judgement—in short, anything goes (*ibi totum licet*).<sup>89</sup> Although the dating of *Querolus*, itself, is insecure, it would thus seem that around the time the piece was written, the Loire valley could be portrayed to an urbane and probably rather learned audience as a lawless, almost primal locale, while the very concept of *ius gentium* clearly points to legal

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<sup>86</sup> SHA *Tyr. trig.* 3.3 on Postumus' ascent, 3.7 on his downfall, described to derive from the Gallic hate of being restricted. Also, the biography introduces an almost certainly fictitious letter from Valerian to the Gauls, which calls Postumus the man most suited to the stern Gallic ways (3.9); even further, in the section on Lollianus (*Tyr. trig.* 5.2) the Gauls are implied to only respect strength. There is something similar in this mentality to Ammianus's admiration for the stereotypically warlike mores of Gauls (see below). Elsewhere in the SHA (*Quadr. tyr.* 7) Gallic stereotypes are used in a more ominous way, with the turbulent Egypt and the Gallic soul of Saturninus (*oriundo fuit Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperii*) being a combustible mix, which Aurelian attempts to mitigate (*Quadr. tyr.* 9; see also SYME 1971, 18).

<sup>87</sup> Augustus' decisive anti-bandit measures: App. *BCiv.* 5.132, Suet. *Aug.* 32.1, Cass. Dio 49.43.5; Str. 4.6.6. One might point out that by this he could augment his remarkably underwhelming performance in the few properly military exploits of his early career, which is well demonstrated by RIDLEY 2005, though he does not take up the possibility of Augustus using bandit-bashing for gaining glory; however, for this technique see SHAW 1984, 6f., 19ff., most pertinently to Augustus: 34; on the most immediate Republican exemplars for Augustus DE SOUZA 1996; more generally SHAW 2000, 385-88.

<sup>88</sup> Of Herculean imagery: MACMULLEN 1963B, 223; see also pp. 346-51. As noted by REES 2005, 225, the *signum* 'Herculius' came to be used well into the 4<sup>th</sup> century, despite the contemporary literary slowness to adopt its use.

<sup>89</sup> *Quer. sive Aulul.* 1.2: Quer.: *ut liceat mihi spoliare non debentes, caedere alienos, vicinos autem et spoliare et caedere. Lar: habere, latrocinium, non potentiam requiris. hoc modo nescio edepol, quem ad modum praestari hoc possit tibi. tamen inveni, habes quod excipias: vade ad Ligerem vivito.* Quer.: *quid tum?* Lar: *illic iure gentium vivunt homines, ibi nullum est praestigium, ibi sententiae capitales de robore proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus; illic etiam rustici perorant et privati iudicant: ibi totum licet.*

practices that were emphatically not those of the Romans.<sup>90</sup> The understanding of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy regarding the provincial rustic population, if such understanding had ever existed, had decisively become an antiquarian, out-of-touch collection of prejudices. *Querolus* has been much discussed, especially for its hypothetical connection with the Bacaudae,<sup>91</sup> but in this case it is noteworthy for the way it exemplifies the conventional imagery which the elite still imbibed through its schooling, and which surfaced even in the fifth century and later in connection with the ritual life and morality of the Gallic *rustici*.<sup>92</sup>

#### b. THE CASE OF AMMIANUS: GAULS AS 'ETERNAL ALLIES'

The changing role of Gaul within the Empire as a whole, and particularly its western part, may partly explain the markedly positive treatment that Gauls receive from that noted traditionalist, Ammianus Marcellinus. We have already seen the positive assessment by Ammianus regarding the Gallic learned classes, and how this was due to the general lack of salience that such formerly nefarious groups possessed in the Late Imperial mental geography. The same discrepancy between established literary tropes and contemporary realities also goes a long way in explaining the general character of Ammianus' Gallic *excursus*.<sup>93</sup> As a historian with ambitious literary aims, Ammianus perhaps nowhere modifies the earlier tradition as creatively as in his reappraisal of the significance of Gaul to the Empire.

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<sup>90</sup> Generally, datings have favoured the Late Imperial centuries, with the possible identity of the dedicatee as Rutilius Namatianus fixing it to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. HERMANN 1968; KÜPPERS 1979), but a drastically late date and a surprisingly exact attribution is presented by MASERA 1991, 177, 181, arguing that *Querolus* stems from the cathedral school of Le Mans from the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, and from the particular pen of Hildebert of Lavardin.

<sup>91</sup> Previous scholarship on this intriguing piece is summed-up in SÁNCHEZ LEÓN 1996, 78-83. THOMPSON 1952, 19, in keeping with his overall view of the Bacaudic disturbances, wanted to interpret the passage as 'a characteristic piece of distortion of a landlord-less society [...] written by a hostile writer', but the hostility was much more a form of prejudice or disparagement, and the basis of the creation much less real, than his class struggle -inspired view allowed. DOCKÈS 1980, 214-18 is likewise a literal interpretation; cf. caveats issued above (fn. 81). DRINKWATER 1984, 363, 370 is generally less prone to see the Gallic society of the time as particularly repressed, and sceptical about drawing conclusions from *Querolus*. With some confidence the views presented in *Querolus* could be suggested to embody the ideas of the learned Gallic elite of Late Imperial era, and the relevant passage about a 're-primitivized' society in the wilderness will probably have much to do with the shared perceptions among the said elite (perhaps of Massalia as proposed by GOLVERS 1984, or at least the Southern Gaul, as in SÁNCHEZ LEÓN 1996, 78f.) about contemporary demotic sentiments. One might compare the motif of 'returning to the woods' with what the Gallic ecclesiastical classes went on to construct from their literary learning during the subsequent centuries when imagining the 'constantly primitive' wrong religiosity of the *vulgus*. Hence, it is less about any real 'return to the wild/barbarian past' by the lower orders, and more about the lack of societal trust when the Late Gallic literary elite contemplated the state of their contemporary peasantry.

<sup>92</sup> For Gallic church councils and their literature-informed construction of the popular religiosity, see p. 343ff.

<sup>93</sup> Perhaps augmenting ISAAC 2012, 240 who claims there is 'no obvious explanation' for the stability of Ammianus' ethnographical references, partly this stems from his stance of there having to be an active prejudice at work in most ethnic imagery. Ammianus' Gauls are a difficult group to harmonize with such a view.

As noted above, Ammianus' debt to Timagenes' Gallic ethnography is well recognized—even by the historian himself. What is less certain, however, is the extent to which Ammianus used other sources beside Timagenes, and how inclined he was to rework his sources.<sup>94</sup> In any case, just as in his Persian excursus, Ammianus took care to emphasize his own autopsy, to the extent that the *visa vel lecta* problem occupies a perpetual corner of Ammianean studies.<sup>95</sup> In the case of Gaul, however, it is safe to say that the *lecta* are in a prominent position, as is made clear by Ammianus' clever opening of the excursus with a reference to Vergil.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, as the Gallic area constituted the grand proving ground for the hero of his narrative, Julian, as an area replete with Caesarian *exempla* and providentiality, it is clear that Ammianus wrote his Gallic sections with a heightened sense of historical significance.<sup>97</sup> Even some of the ostensibly autoptic scenarios, such as the famously lively imagining of the formidable Gallic female joining her husband in a punch-up, essentially contain nothing that could not be found in earlier literary descriptions and in the oral 'as-is-commonly-known' pool of perceptions.<sup>98</sup> This conventionality is reinforced by what follows: the Gauls have formidable and menacing voices (cf. Diod. 5.31.1), regardless of their mood; yet this distancing element is somewhat mitigated by Ammianus' additional remark about their cleanliness. Even more positively, Gauls of all ages are fit for military service both by disposition and by natural affinity. For a military man much concerned with the preservation

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<sup>94</sup> SORDI 1979, 35 echoes JACOBY, considering everything in Ammianus' Gallic excursus not indicated to come from another named source—i.e. Cicero, Cato, or Sallust—to derive from Timagenes. This enables Sordi to treat Ammianus as an uncomplicated reflection of Timagenes' 'philobarbarity', but this approach is too reductionist.

<sup>95</sup> Ammianus himself refers to this division: 22.8.1. MOMMSEN 1881 used the abrupt combinations of *visa* with *lecta* as one basis of his ungenerous evaluation; recent scholarship sees this more constructively as a combination of two ways to highlight the authorial credentials: see FORNARA 1992, 421; MARINCOLA 1997, 83; TREADGOLD 2007, 69, 77; TEITLER 1999. KELLY 2008, 17 regards the start of the Gallic excursus as a good example of appropriating both groups of authority.

<sup>96</sup> Amm. 15.9.1 *maius opus moveo maiorque mihi rerum nascitur ordo* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.44-5). On the handling of the reference, see O'BRIEN 2006, 276-82; KELLY 2008, 16-17, 219. Cf. DE JONGE 1948, 49 *ad loc.* on the popularity of Vergil in Late Antiquity; and SABBABH 1978, 277 comparing Ammianus' reference to a Homeric allusion used by Libanius (*Or.* 13) in praising Julian. The epic moment of Julian's arrival at Gaul is clearly highlighted.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. RIKE 1987, 24f., 89-90, 128; SUNDWALL 1996, 623. Julian's actions in Gaul and the Germanies is marked by providentiality (also in the *exempla* offered to him by Themistius in correspondence: see p. 350f.), as the exuberant reception of the population at Vienne testifies: the *introitus* is accompanied by what seems spontaneous, prophetically interpreted reaction by a blind old woman (15.8.9), who shouts that Julian will repair the temples of the gods. This is the last phrase before Ammianus commences his Gallic excursus. Moreover, one wonders whether the blind woman corresponds in essence to the narrative figure who in the *Historia Augusta* proclaims regarding the futures of different emperors, and gets called *mulier druias/dryas* (see p. 312f.). Regarding Julian's campaigns on the Rhine *limes* in Ammianus' design, see SEAGER 1999, 587-94.

<sup>98</sup> Amm. 15.12.1. Keeping in mind the both mentally and physically strong female Celts of Hellenistic Greek literature (Onomaris, Celtine, Camma, Chiomara), the idea of a pugnacious Gallic matron, as well, may have come to Ammianus from Timagenes. Diod. 5.32.2 is so remarkably similar in content that it would be tenuous to state that Ammianus personally witnessed such a fracas. Of course such well-known figures as Boudicca would have exerted influence by this point, too.

of Roman power, this would no doubt have endeared the Gauls as a group.<sup>99</sup> The proverbial Gallic drunkenness is carefully qualified as applying to *inter eos humiles*, and its effects are referred to as idle pastimes (*raptantur discursibus vagis*), not violence as in Diodorus (5.26.3).

Ammianus is far from averse from referring to the claims, held from relatively early on by certain Gallic groups, to be of Greek or Trojan origin.<sup>100</sup> While Lucan had treated the claim of the Arverni to be *fratres* of Romans with derision, Ammianus is comparable to the Panegyrist of 311 (*Pan. Lat.* 8(5).21.2) in presenting the common ancestry of Romans and Aedui in positive terms. Civilization arrived in Gaul with Trojan exiles (*paucos post excidium Troiae fugitantes Graecos*), who occupied areas which hitherto had been empty (15.9.5). Indeed, Ammianus makes use of all three—Hercules, Trojan origins, and the druidic Pythagoreanism—to bring the Gauls closer to Romans. His discussion of the Hannibalic involvement in Gaul and the geographies of the respective areas is followed by the ending of his excursus: the Gauls, gradually and with comparative ease (*paulatim levi sudore*), come under Roman rule, and finally, after ten years of mutually depleting fighting (*post decennalis belli mutuas clades*), Caesar the Dictator binds them into an everlasting alliance with Rome (*societati nostrae foederibus iunxit aeternis*). For Ammianus the joining of Roman and Gallic power seemed a providential accomplishment, creating something enduring and valuable.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Amm. 15.12.3. Indeed, the traditional Gallic bravery is described by Ammianus in action, when he writes about the siege of Amida—in many ways one of the set-piece high points of his work—where the Gallic soldiers become restive *ut dentatae bestiae* when prevented from engaging the enemy (19.6.4). This does not, however, need to be read as a simple prejudiced remark (cf. ISAAC 2012, 139). Instead Ammianus seems to imply that their less constructive traits only surface when prevented from action. For Ammianus' loyalty and care for Rome, e.g. 16.11.9, 17.8.4, 10.6, 13.13; cf. WIEDEMANN 1986, 201; HARRISON 1999, 185f.; MELLOR 1999, 119 on Ammianus' views of threats to Rome. That Ammianus was prepared to laud even Roman treachery when he perceived it to preserve the realm, is attested by 31.16.8). TREADGOLD 2007, 69 remarks that Ammianus may have perceived the Western half of the empire as more crucial for its future survival than the Eastern half. Indeed, along the lines of DAVIES 2004, 224 (on the ideal role of Christianity in Ammianus' conception of the Roman Empire), druidic doctrines might occupy the same level of usefulness as the Christian one: though not suitable for the official religion of the state, both produced 'good provincials' useful for the realm as a whole.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. BRAUND 1980, 421f., who sees Ammianus deriving this theme from at least Timagenes; but as has been demonstrated lately (WOOLF 2011A) the dynamic may have been less one-sided. As already remarked by CLARKE 1999, 267 fn. 46, the Hellenistic Greeks were much concerned with tracing the effects of the post-Trojan migrations. Theories were certainly on offer wherever local communities wished to adopt them: see WOOLF 2011B, 264. Hercules, in particular, was to Ammianus perhaps even more polysemic than to Timagenes: along the lines of KELLY 2008, 264. The Trojan origins are in all likelihood meant to be connected with the Vergilian allusion at the start of the excursus: just as Vergil brings Aeneas into Italy with his phrase, Ammianus brings to Gaul Julian, and begins his description of a people who partake in the Trojan origins of Romans, and are their 'eternal allies' in a way that the Latins came to be in Vergil. See O'BRIEN 2006, 279-80.

<sup>101</sup> As noted by ISAAC 2012, 238, Ammianus' idealization of the Republic was very much directed at its soldierly ethos, too. All this led him to imbue extra value to both the original 'joining' of the peoples by Caesar, and Julian's preservation of the said bond; cf. a similar appreciation *Expos. tot. mundi et gent.* 58 on Gauls (referred to by *ibid.* 242). RIKE 1987, 92f. about the creative, not destructive, ethic being highlighted in Ammianus' Gallic excursus. KELLY 2008, 215 notes that what matters in Ammianus' vision of Gaul is both Hercules and the Roman conquest. HUNT 1999, 52 notes how Ammianus structures the narrative of Julian in Gaul around the twin perils of barbarian devastation and usurping generals. Far from the Gauls 'having lost their identity and

The transformation of Gallic history into a subject of mainly antiquarian interest to the literary elite enabled Ammianus to produce a particularly positive synthesis of the Roman and Gallic historical trajectories, comparable to the re-imaginings put forward by Gallic panegyrists.<sup>102</sup> A narrative of Gallic history, previously used as an extended aetiology of incompatibility, could now serve as an argument for mutual prosperity. Ammianus either downplays, counterbalances or omits the most negative aspects of the earlier tradition. While this aim may have been helped by his use of Timagenes as an important source, the technique, with its pronounced *inventio*, does not crucially depend on Timagenes' 'philobarbarity' (see above fn. 94). In addition, the Vergilian and Caesarian echoes tie the Gallic area and Julian's exploits there into a historically significant continuum—the symbolism of which was not lost on other rhetorically minded admirers, as is suggested by the examples of Libanius and Themistius.<sup>103</sup> Reshaping the inherited elements of the literary tradition would not have been possible to the extent exercised by Ammianus, had not the inherited imagery concerning the Gauls become largely empty of any real significance. Though the Gallo-Roman intelligentsia and congenial outsiders embraced this ideology of joint destinies, however, northerners more generally and the trans-Rhenane barbarians in particular were still perceived as highly dangerous and increasingly intrusive (cf. Amm. 15.8.7, 16.5.16).

### c. 'THE GREAT CONSPIRACY' AND OTHER DISTURBANCES IN BRITAIN

While Gaul of the Late Empire could certainly be thought of as elemental and well-integrated part of the realm, Britain, on the other hand, receives a markedly bad press from writers. As is often the case with marginal areas of literary cultures, Britain and the British—particularly those living beyond the pale—were described with the old, enduring set of imagery.<sup>104</sup> In the case of the Irish and the Picts/Caledonians, the image of a great barbarian

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place in history' when becoming Roman provincials (ISAAC 2012, 240), for Ammianus they had apparently become constructively rehabilitated with the history and civilization they had temporarily been cut off from. Cf. DAVIES 2004, 247 ('Egyptian and Druidic traditions have been strikingly rehabilitated').

<sup>102</sup> Though part of this may also be explained by what can be called, following MERRILLS 2005, 19, as Ammianus' 'residual optimism'. Residual or no, while Ammianus' intensely literary pseudo-ethnographic mode does not detach the Gauls entirely of their pre-provincial descriptions, his interpretation of early Gallic history until the time of Caesar presents a remarkably creative Late Imperial rehabilitation of a past group of northern barbarians through a sustained *excursus*.

<sup>103</sup> Lib. *Or.* 12.28 FÖRSTER; Them. *ap.* Julian. *Ep. ad Them.* 1. See also p. 232 fn. 270, 350.

<sup>104</sup> For instance, in Claudian's poetic panegyric on the consulate of Stilicho, the personification of the province of Britain exhibits the old ethnographical characteristics: she is clad in a pelt of a Caledonian *monstrum*, cheeks tattooed (*ferro picta genas*), and in a cloak that highlights her essential assimilation to the Oceanic realm (*cuius vestigia*

horde conspiring to inundate the province was perhaps a reflection of the thankfulness that Ammianus felt towards the staunch Gauls: he refers to the onslaught of the savage peoples of *Scotti* and *Picti* in Britain.<sup>105</sup> The British elite was increasingly left to deflect these onslaughts on their own, occasionally leading to the rise of strongmen; this would be interpreted by the Imperial central power in terms of usurpation.<sup>106</sup> A few imperial figures were motivated to stage expeditions into Britain, which in turn were cast by their panegyrists, by means of conventional rhetoric, as *materies gloriae* (with the associated notions of providentiality and ideal rulership). Such polarization and its practical consequences could have further alienated British provincials.<sup>107</sup> When it had finally become clear that Roman power in Britain was irredeemably weakened, past examples were reworked to emphasize the usurpation-breeding nature of Britain.<sup>108</sup> Jerome articulates this as *Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum*, going on to state that the island as a whole had never received knowledge of Moses or the prophets.<sup>109</sup> With the interplay between usurpation, barbarization and impiety taken into account, this notion would have drawn momentum from the traditional images connected with the character of the British Isles.<sup>110</sup>

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*verrit caeruleus Oceanique aestum mentitur amictus*). The northern pseudo-ethnographical kit was uniform to the extent that the provinces and their enemies were largely indistinct in their attributes; the same elements characterize both Britain and the tribes that until Stilicho vexed her: the seas used to be beaten by hostile oars and among her enemies were the *Picti* (Claudian *Cons. Stil.* 2.247-55). The mythologizing drive, possibly drawing from the Titanic aspects of the Ocean (see above p. 253-67), is partly articulated with the recurrent appearance of Tethys as the personification of the Ocean around Britain in several of Claudian's works: *Cons. Theod.* 52; *Entr.* 1.412f.; *Cons. Stil.* 2.265 (quite likely influenced by Verg. *Georg.* 1.30f.). MILLER 1975, notes the many conventional elements in Claudian's references to Britain (141, 143f.), though mainly interested in politico-military subjects. Later, in Gildas, the barbarians and the Ocean are described as pushing the miserable remnants of the Britons from one to the other (Gild. *De exc.* 20.1: *repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros*).

<sup>105</sup> Amm. 20.1.1 *Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus*. For the dating of the 'conspiracy' TOMLIN 1974; additions by BLOCKLEY 1980; religious aspects in FRENCH 1992. The idea was not new: the seeds of such thinking are found in Cicero's argument of how *insitas inimicitias istae gentes omnes et habeant et gerant cum populi Romani nomine* (Cic. *Font.* 33). Salv. *De gub. D.* 5.15 reiterates the sentiment of barbarian solidarity in a positive fashion.

<sup>106</sup> The last ones of the 'British Usurpers' have been studied e.g. by DRINKWATER 1998 and KULIKOWSKI 2000. The definite study on religious condemnation of 4<sup>th</sup> century usurpers is still ZIEGLER 1970, enumerating most stock descriptions at the onset of the study: 1-25; on demonizing the usurpers in *Pan. Lat.* see LASSANDRO 1981.

<sup>107</sup> For the increasing heavy-handedness of the central authorities, and its impact on British economy: FLEMING 2010, 22-29.

<sup>108</sup> No doubt the draconian measures taken by such Imperial legates as Paulus Catena (Amm. 14.5.6) were both a consequence and a further reason for the distrust between the central administration and the British provincials; the possible effects are to some extent examined by WEBSTER 1983, 243f.

<sup>109</sup> Jer. *Ep.* 133.9.4. Jerome seems to be contrasting this with the message of Christianity finally penetrating even Britain, but innumerable souls being condemned to perdition in the olden days; essentially, the profound feeling of religious error holding sway in the northern isles could not accommodate a similar reconciliation of Roman and barbarian histories as was ventured by Ammianus in the case of Gaul. Naturally, the Christianization would have complicated such a creation, too.

<sup>110</sup> That the High and Late Imperial rhetoric of *tyranni* vs. 'the rightful ruler' had borrowed elements from the Stoic and Cynic philosophy: MACMULLEN 1963B, 222. The label 'tyrant' was inherently moralistic, and by combining it to the provinces and their only partly civilized inhabitants made it more so; this is particularly striking in the case of Britain, an area where High Imperial narratives located some of the prominent set-piece voices of *libertas* through their construction of Boudicca and Caractacus (e.g. ROBERTS 1988; and the recent LAVAN 2011). The notion of Britain as prone to usurpers and tyrants outlived the Roman rule in Britain: Gildas



The religious ethnography of the British had seen little change since Strabo (4.5.4); partly, as in the case of Solinus (cf. above) this depends on derivative contents. On the other hand such non-geographic writers as Jerome refer to a set of conventional moralizing imagery on the northerners' sexual habits. In his *Ep. 69 ad Oceanum* the theologian responds to a plea to condemn a controversial bishop who married for a second time after being baptized. Jerome does not agree that marriages preceding a baptism could be equated with a Christian marriage taking place after it: he writes, blending irony with pragmatism, that since a heathen marriage cannot leave indelible marks upon a person, it should be overlooked, along with other unclean acts, after the person's baptism. He implies that it would be laughable to command the *ethnici*, who are the "harvest from which the storehouse of the church is filled" (*messis ecclesiae*), and the *catechumeni*, the candidates for the faith, not to have wives before the baptism. Jerome takes the irony further: they could just as well be instructed to share their wives promiscuously and have offspring in common like the *Scotti* and *Aticotti*, or the inhabitants of Plato's republic.<sup>111</sup> The idea of communal matrimony among the northern Britons was still firmly established (via authors from Str. *loc cit.* to Cass. Dio 76.12.2), though the inclusion in this list of the seldom-mentioned group of *Aticotti* is particular to Jerome.

Another reference to the *Aticotti* by Jerome may partly explain why they feature prominently in the theologian's mental ethnography. In his *Adversus Iovinianum*, Jerome backs his attack against Iovinian, an opponent of asceticism, by the inclusion of several conventional ethnographic or quasi-ethnographic topoi: his aim is to demonstrate that in relation to many cultural practices each group regards what is most familiar to it as a law of nature. In the course of listing his exemplars Jerome shifts from dietary peculiarities to sexual *mores*, referring to the *Aticotti* and *Scotti*. First he tells his audience that he himself, as a young man in Gaul, had seen the *Aticotti* eat human flesh (*ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Aticotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus*). Moreover, when these meet with herds of swine and cattle in the woods, it is rather the shepherds' buttocks and the women's breasts that they habitually consume as choicest delicacies (*pastorum nates et feminarum et papillas solere abscindere, et hac solas*

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echoes the formulation in *De exc. 27 reges habet Britannia, sed tyrannos; indices habet, sed impios*, though elsewhere he attributes the statement of Jerome to Porphyry (4.3), *rabidus orientalis adversus ecclesiam canis*—possibly passing blame to a figure easier to despise than Jerome—and affixes its accusation to past eras. The same mentality was used to explain the loss of Britain in the Greek east, too: Procop. *Bell. 3.2.38* uses the word 'tyrants' about the sub-Roman rulers there (see DILLON & CHADWICK 1967, 69, though Procopius' use of *Brettania* instead of *Brittania* makes it possible that *Brittania* is meant: see THOMPSON 1980, 506 regarding this a simple oversight).

<sup>111</sup> Jer. *Ep. 69 ad Ocean. 3: audiant ethnici, messis ecclesiae, de quibus cotidie horrea nostra complentur; audiant catechumeni qui sunt fidei candidati, ne uxores ducant ante baptismum, ne honesta iungant matrimonia, sed Scottorum et Aticottorum ritu, ac de re publica Platonis promiscuas uxores, communes liberos habeant.*

*ciborum delicias arbitrari*).<sup>112</sup> Next, Jerome takes up the *Scotorum natio*, which *uxores proprias non habet*, and again likens them to Plato's communitarian republic and Cato's tacit juggling of wives; in decidedly moralizing fashion, they are said to indulge themselves *pecudum more*.

Unlike Gaul, whose value—despite its usurpations and its image of low-class lawlessness—was obvious for geostrategic reasons (to use an anachronistic expression), Britain lacked most of the incentives of a clearly advantageous location, rich natural resources or a readily available pool of manpower. Instead, as a *fertilis provincia tyrannorum*, secluded by the natural barrier of the Channel, and removed in the consciousness of the senatorial literary elite to an abstract, conventionally characterized area, Britain was increasingly prone to be portrayed through inherited stock descriptions and, as the references in Procopius attest, through resurgent thaumasiographic snippets.<sup>113</sup> Even before that, Claudian's poetic treatment of the most remote west combined θαυμασία with horror and well-worn epic clichés. In *Rufinum* makes the Gallic coast of the Ocean the place from which Megaera, the hellish foster mother of Rufinus, an *alius Pytho*, launches herself upon the mortal world.<sup>114</sup> 'Local traditions'

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<sup>112</sup> Jer. *Adv. Iov.* 2.7. While spurious claims of autopsy are often evidenced in the context of northern ethnography, it is also rather easy to imagine a serious youth being made fun of by northern mercenaries or envoys, claiming themselves to be eating human flesh and actually preferring that to other sustenance. Jerome may well have believed what he wrote, and his focus on the consumption of sexualized parts of the body may be significant too. On the level of topoi, one hesitates to compare Jerome's passage with Hdt. 3.11.2-3, with Greek and Carian mercenaries slaughtering boys and drinking their blood mixed with wine, for the literary parallel would be strained: on the other hand, the general tendency to believe the worst about mercenaries, and the proneness of the latter to tell tall tales, may explain at least something. RANCE 2001 presents a brave suggestion regarding the possible real-life examples of the literary Aticotti (or Attacotti, as he chooses to transliterate the ethnonym)—namely that the name refers to an Irish social class of *aithbentbiath* (250-61). He rightly notes the dependency of Jerome's testimony from the classical tropes, with 'slight echoes of Caesar' (244), and the close connection of Aticotti with Scotti in both passages of Jerome (as in Ammianus), though his highlighting of the motif of cannibalism as specifically referring to Ireland (246f.) is a somewhat purposeful reading of the ancient testimonies. The Irish origin of Aticotti is likewise favoured by FREEMAN 2002 after a brief review of sources.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. CAMERON 1985, 213-16. Procopius' description of a wall in Britain, dividing the land of the living from that of the dead (*Bell.* 8.20.42-6); see JONES 1996, 54. Afterwards, in 48-58 Procopius includes the weird tale of locals conveying the souls of dead people to Britia (the isle of Britain, as confirmed by THOMPSON 1980, 499) by boats. It has been noted that not only is Procopius rather poorly-informed on the fifth-century history of the West, but also that otherwise, too, his apparent reliance on oral sources and avoidance of simple copying of previous literary histories meant that much of his material is 'vague and romanticized' (TREADGOLD 2007, 215). Another instance where exactly the remoteness of Britain—as well as it being already lost to the empire—plays a crucial role is Belisarius' ironic answer to the Ostrogoths offering to cede Sicily (which had already been taken by the Romans) by suggesting that the Romans cede Britain to the Goths: Procop. *Bell.* 6.6.27-29.

<sup>114</sup> Claud. *Ruf.* 1.123-28, also situating Odysseus' necyomancy in that area of the world. Rufinus as *alius Pytho* in *praef.* 15. Further along, in lines 140-61, Lucanian touches are plausibly detectable (BRUÈRE 1964, 226f.), with Thessalian witches present and a *prodigium* of walking oaktrees being described. In other instance, too, it is safe to suggest Claudian alluding to Lucan in his description of a northern religiously tarnished woodland, namely in his poem *De consulatu Stilichonis* 1.238-41, where Stilicho's pacifying feats have ensured that woods of gruesome ancient rites and numinous oaks can be felled by Roman axes (*lucosque vetusta religione truces et robur numinis instar barbarici nostrae feriant impune bipennes*). The Furies accompanying and nourishing the Gallic villain may have something to do with the earlier poetic stereotypes, such as the epigram of Piso in the *Anth. Gr.* 11.424. Rufinus' chaotic malevolence was not simply a construction of Claudian's polemics (e.g. 2.61.85), but was referred to by Eunapius (F 64 BLOCKLEY *ap. Exc. de ins.* 80) and Zosimus (5.3-8). CAMERON 1970A, 63-92 is a case study of Claudian's technique, but on the level of rhetoric topicality the earlier study of LEVY 1946 still has relevance.

probably have very little to do with these elements.<sup>115</sup> Rather, they represent literary motifs with both classicizing and attention-grabbing qualities, applied to an area with increasingly little contact with Roman mental geography and with long-standing notional links to things sinister, immoral, and grim.

### 3. WHO ARE WE BEING ROMANS AGAINST?—BARBARIANS IN *ROMANIA*

#### a. COMPLICATIONS IN THE EXTERNAL-INTERNAL DICHOTOMY

The invective of Claudian against the Gallic-born Rufinus (*PPO* until 395), can be read in terms of rhetorical 'outcasting', accomplished in a context where the traditional ingroups and outgroups of Roman thought had become more confused than before. The motivation for Claudian's attack is almost wholly political, for Rufinus is neither a barbarian *sensu stricto*—though originating from Gaul—nor a pagan. Neither is he a heretic: in fact ancient sources portray Rufinus as having been a particularly enthusiastic Nicene Christian.<sup>116</sup> In its essence, Rufinus' political antagonism against Claudian's employer Stilicho, as well as the heavy charge of colluding with barbarians and planning the overthrow of Roman order, clearly resembles Cicero's *Philippics* and later Octavianic propaganda against Mark Antony. But it may be significant that such charges had again become grave enough. Roman confidence and trust in the division of the world into *Barbaricum* outside the borders and *Romania* within them had

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<sup>115</sup> Local (Armorican or British) sources for these purported connections with 'Otherworldly imagery' are sometimes claimed among Celtic scholars: see e.g. KOCH 2006, I 243 *s.v.* 'Breizh'; BURN 1955, 260.

<sup>116</sup> Indeed, CAMERON 1970A, 63-92 makes it clear that Claudian took his weapons where he could get them, but would otherwise omit things. On Rufinus' Nicene religiosity: MATTHEWS 1975, 134 with sources. It is telling, however, that the shrine to the saints Peter and Paul that Rufinus had set up on his own property (Callinic. *V Hypat.* 66B, Soz. 8.17.3) was interpreted in Claudian's ungenerous rendering as Rufinus setting up 'pyramids in honour of himself and a tomb the size of a temple' (Claud. *Ruf.* 2.448f.)—a reflection of his overweening pride, a stock barbarian characteristic. In terms of rhetorical outcasting, Rufinus posed the same problems to propagandistic register as Magnus Maximus, a usurper so zealous in his Nicene creed that he became the first to introduce death penalty for heresy (Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 2.6.2, Oros. 7.34.9; Maximus is also treated favourably by the Chronicler of 452: MÜHLBERGER 1992, 32ff., who points out that the legitimist sympathies of the Chronicler led him to admire Maximus as a punisher of both barbarians and heretics (*Chron. Gall.* 452 7, 12); about the propaganda associated with Maximus' usurpation briefly also in CAMERON 2011, 96). One may hypothesize about the motivation for Magnus Maximus to stress his religious orthodoxy: to be sure, it may have been a genuine personal trait, but considering the widespread condemnation of usurpers as religiously substandard, it may well have been a clever strategy to anticipate an obvious form of propaganda—something which Priscillian and his followers had to pay for (perhaps leading Sulp. Sev. *V S. Mart.* 20.1 to call him *ferocis ingenii vir*). After Maximus' defeat, of course, the senatorial gratitude towards the leniency of Theodosius was easily expressed through the motif of *clementia* (*ILS* 2945), implicitly missing from the usurper; and Pacatus (*Pan. Lat.* 2(12).35.1) seems to be transposing blame at Maximus' brother Marcellinus, calling him 'a Megaera of civil war'—a curiously similar expression to that used by Claudian about Rufinus. Ambrose found Maximus' leniency towards Jews the reason why the divine will favoured Theodosius (*Ep.* 40.22-26).

been rocked, and something resembling a 'crisis in entitativity' had ensued.<sup>117</sup> Romans were no longer alone in their *Romania*, and may have felt themselves to have lost some of their power to define *Romanitas*. In a world after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and a 'Roman' army which was increasingly being understood as composed of 'barbarians', the barbarizing Roman and the romanizing barbarian became rhetorical figures charged with moral evaluation.<sup>118</sup> Religion, it has been noted, to some extent filled the vacuum left by the erosion of Roman power.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, following the inflation and muddling of *Romanitas*, religion may have been the clearest area of identity upon which the literary elite—cultivating a classicizing style and a certain sense of guardianship of tradition—could still demonstrate the inferior nature of arrivistes, especially from among the military. In this section I will examine the polemics against figures who could be accused either of being barbarians, or of sympathizing with them—and in particular the role of religious imagery in these debates.

The complex interplay of Late Imperial realities, notional identities of a religious but no longer necessarily ethnic nature, and the rhetorical strategies of epideixis and invective, comes across in Claudian's *Ruf.* 2.61-85. The poet describes Rufinus, though both a Christian and a provincial Gaul, as exulting in the ravages that Alaric submits Thrace to, and bedecking himself in barbarian fashion in departing to arrange a truce with the renegade Goth. Not only

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<sup>117</sup> About the concept of 'crisis in entitativity', the cognitive psychological treatment of SCHNEIDER 2004, 71, should be consulted. In terms of group stereotypes, entitativity denotes the extent to which a stereotypical category is experienced as meaningful in terms of 'perceived groupiness' (77). This leads the observer(s) to expect internal consistency from groups with high entitativity. Moreover, SCHNEIDER 2004, 78f. refers to studies which show entitative groups being seen as more threatening. Both *Romani* and *barbari* seem to have had relatively high entitativity until the Late Imperial era, but in the end the social realities led to a reassessment of these group identities (regarding which, OLSTER 1996). Regarding the term *Romania*, the early contribution by ZEILLER 1929 may be used as a starting point.

<sup>118</sup> For the post-Caracallan, *religio*-based Roman identity: KAHLOS 2012, 260f. HALSALL 2007, 110 on the army's 'barbarization' as a largely, though not wholly, notional Roman artefact; see also HEATHER 2009, 75 about how little evidence there is for any actual increase of the *Germani* in the army. The militarization of the term *barbarus* has been discussed, for instance, by AMORY 1997, 277-89; in a more restricted (and more overtly ethnogenesis-related) context of label 'Batavian' becoming something of a shorthand for military virtue: DERKS 2009, 264, 269. Just as barbarizing Romans could be suspected to cast their lots with the barbarians, the Late Roman army whose whole image had been 'barbarized' presented an acute possibility for a *barbarica coniuratio*. These fears resurfaced in times of tension, and could be used effectively to mobilize popular support for the elite's political struggles, as happened in the case of Gaius (see below p. 335f.). Associating barbarians with warlike behaviour was nothing new whatsoever, but in the late imperial society the literary elite seems to have begun discussing the whole military profession through allusions to barbarism. Sidonius' case of complimenting a military figure through comparison with barbarians (*Carm.* 5.238-54, 518-32, 7.235-40) is only one facet of the whole.

<sup>119</sup> LENSKI 2009, 5, based on the Geertzian analysis of the symbolism of religious categorization. For the potential for 'ethnicization', see MATTHEWS 1975, 344: 'at a time when the ideals of *Romanitas* were increasingly bound up with Christian catholicism, the Goths remained Arian heretics.' HEATHER 1999, 241 is correct about the lack of any crucial ethnic content in the concept of *Romanitas*—and in the complex circumstances of Christianity negotiating its relationship with classical *paideia* (for which see e.g. KASTER 1988, 89-92; before him DOWNEY 1957, 54-6, though partly too simplifying), religious identity becoming to some extent ethnicized (BUELL 2005 is the definitive study, see also p. 315ff.), and 'barbarian' increasingly being applied to the military profession (AMORY 1997, 277-89), Heather's fundamental point about the flexibility of the inherited rhetoric (*loc. cit.*) is confirmed by the fact that so much of the traditional stock elements went on to survive.

does his behaviour as the son of a Fury parallel Piso's epigram quite remarkably; he is also a prime example of the way that Late Antique polemics could tap into the past topoi of barbarography for material—even when the barbarity of the vilified figure needed to be constructed almost entirely out of thin air.<sup>120</sup> In this mental climate, one prominent use for the theme of 'imitating the barbarians', as we have seen, was to dramatize the internal menace of brigands and deserters, but it features even more prominently in descriptions of usurpers. The image-complex of a 'robber-pretender' was explored already by MACMULLEN, but he concluded that the external *hostes* were most of the time distinguished from the internal vexation of *latrones* in Late Imperial discourse (1963B, 224f.). Yet the 'closeted barbarian' Rufinus was not a usurper. The idea of collaborating with barbarians out of sheer malice and some vaguely imagined eschatological desire was plausible enough, at least at the level of recognizably hostile invective. Rufinus also seems to have been barbarized by the process of collaboration itself. At the same time that the Goths are depicted laying waste to (implausibly) vast areas of the Eastern Empire and even besieging Constantinople, Rufinus is depicted celebrating the misery of the Romans, observing it from a high tower in Neronian fashion—his only regret that he is not administering the strokes by his own hand. When he purports to bring about a truce with the barbarians, he dons a barbarian outfit of animal skins and Getic bows, no longer content to be a barbarian simply in his own mind.<sup>121</sup>

It is possible to interpret Ammianus' Gallic *excursus*, already discussed above, as making the most of his historical hindsight in unifying the pasts of Romans and selected non-Romans, even though most of the religious elements involved in the design are located in a remote past.<sup>122</sup> Other registers exhibit similar attempts to give a positive spin to circumstances, even though their tendentiousness is occasionally clearly visible. Themistius, in his speech of thanks to the Emperor on account of the peace with the Goths (*Or.* 16), allows himself to cast

<sup>120</sup> The epigram of Piso in *Anth. Gr.* 11.424: see above p. 274 fn. 431.

<sup>121</sup> Claud. *Ryf.* 2.79-90. Despite Claudian's heavy *vituperatio* (for the rhetorical aspects and ordering of which see LEVY 1946), Rufinus' dressing up as barbarian may be connected with a fashion for military/barbarian trappings among the Roman elite, about which HALSALL 2007, 110. The metaphorical aspect could in this case draw strength from an attested contemporary behaviour. For the ideologies and practices connected to this sartorial flirtation with 'going barbarian', RUMMEL 2007 is indispensable, esp. 143-48 on Claudian's Rufinus. See also BROWN 2012, 27f. with several observations on the politics of dress in Late Imperial society.

<sup>122</sup> For the positive and assimilatory treatment of the Gallic learned classes and the druidic philosophy in Ammianus: see p. 311f. The role of religion in Ammianus has been studied extensively, with the monograph of RIKE 1987 being supplemented by the perspicuous article of HARRISON 1999. Ammianus' realism and occasional apathy towards Christianity comes across from the study of HUNT 1985. Also, DEN BOEFT 1999 illuminates Ammianus' glowing assessment of past and the proverbial groups of barbarian sages. In his elusiveness in referring to Christianity, Ammianus was perhaps not as much motivated by stylistic considerations (for which see the still quite pertinent treatment of CAMERON & CAMERON 1964) as by a personal response (not unlike that of Themistius, seeking, as a pagan with a public presence, to diminish the role of religion in questions of contemporary identities (in the case of Themistius: VANDERSPOEL 1995, 19, 217; KAHLOS 2011).

an optimistic glance at the near future, where the 'Scythians' join with the Romans in serving in the army, paying taxes, and even taking part in religious celebrations.<sup>123</sup> It is telling, however, that the peace with the Goths lauded by the orator stemmed from a Roman lack of success against the group—and there was accordingly a limited range of paths available to Themistius. If circumstances had been different, he might have been as eager a eulogist of Roman salvation as Ammianus was after a treacherous massacre of Goths (31.16.8). And indeed, the intermixture of Romans and barbarians was discouraged by the official stance of the imperial administration, at least according to *Codex Theodosianus*. As with all legislation, however, the existence of a legal restriction confirms the existence, not the absence, of the practices precluded—at least in the minds of the legislators.<sup>124</sup>

#### b. ANTI-BARBARIAN SENTIMENTS AND ELITE WORLDVIEW

There is little doubt that when differences between Romans and barbarians were expressed in the rhetorical register during the Later Empire, the opposition of the two groups was regarded as something arising out of their very essence. A telling, and patently exaggerated, manifestation of this perception can be found in the *Contra Symmachum* of the Christian poet Prudentius, according to whom Romans and barbarians differ from each other as much as beasts of burden from their human masters or the mute from the speaking. Importantly, the religious aspect of this fundamental opposition is also brought into play.<sup>125</sup> This apparent discrepancy between anti-barbarian rhetoric and everyday reality is often a source of confusion for studies of Late Romano-barbarian interaction.<sup>126</sup> The elite may have

<sup>123</sup> Them. *Or.* 16.211B-D: ὁμοσπόνδους, ὁμοτραπέζους, ὁμοῦ στρατευομένους, ὁμοῦ λειτουργοῦντας. Regarding this oration: PAVAN 1964, 19-22; MCCORMICK 1986, 42; regarding the 382 treaty and the associated disingenuous rhetoric KULIKOWSKI 2002, 77-9. Another good example is Themistius' *Or.* 10, cf. HEATHER 1999, 241. *Or.* 10.131B-C uses rather impressively the topical, slightly Stoic motif of linking barbarians to those parts of the human mind which are insatiate and unreasonable, and which harass the rational elements 'as Scythians and Germans do to the Romans'; Themistius goes on to nonetheless recommend that a good king should not try to root out these passionate elements completely, but to restrain them as one integral part of the whole.

<sup>124</sup> *CTh* 3.14.1 (under Valentinian and Valens). BLOCKLEY 1982 discusses the intermarriage ban, problematizing the context and providing several examples of Romano-barbarian marriages (66-71); also see LIEBESCHUETZ 1998, 139ff. That no comparable ban existed against marriages between Arians and Nicenes at least in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, seems to be demonstrated by the Arian Ricimer's marriage to Alypia, and that of Leontia, the daughter of emperor Leo to Patricius, the son of Aspar: these have been pointed out by MATHISEN 2009, 320 and fn. 41.

<sup>125</sup> Prudent. *C. Symm.* 2.816-19: *sed tantum distant Romana et barbara, quantum quadrupes abiuncta est bipedi vel muta loquenti, quantum etiam, qui rite dei praecepta sequuntur cultibus a stolidis et eorum erroribus absunt.*

<sup>126</sup> Discrepancies between anti-barbarian rhetoric and the practical dimension of less polarized interaction has not been much examined, but some remarks were made by TODD 1987, pointing out a 'general anti-barbarian reaction' around year 400 (*ibid.* 34). The more modern KULIKOWSKI 2002 notes that the sources are not very

been more susceptible than the lower classes to speak of the barbarians in a contemptuous and discriminatory fashion because of their literary upbringing and the associated prevalence of traditional stereotypes.<sup>127</sup> At the very least, discriminatory elements were still wholly available for rhetorical use on any necessary occasion; but they were in all likelihood most salient for the literary elite, with much of the more pragmatically oriented sections of society (such as the military and the provincial economies) operating relatively free of the age-old imagemes—or at least of the anti-barbarian rhetoric. It is unlikely that Orosius, for instance, reflects an ubiquitous popular sentiment when he claims that the death of ten thousand Goths fighting for Theodosius in the battle of Frigidus was in itself a victory for the Romans.<sup>128</sup>

LIEBESCHUETZ 1998, 137 finds “only two really violent outbursts of hostility” against highly positioned Germanic barbarians in the Empire: the Gaiinas affair in 399-400, and the fall of Stilicho in 408. He further notes that in both cases anti-Germanic sentiment was only one among a number of political motives.<sup>129</sup> It might be more exact to say instead that anti-Germanic sentiment was in both cases only one (though an efficient one) among a number of popular rallying-cries for the ousting of a political faction.<sup>130</sup> Religion was another strong factor, and by way of anti-Arian rhetoric became strongly tied to anti-barbarian demagoguery. The portrayed participation of civilians and the purported providential help from supernatural agents are both narrative elements which highlight the nature of the fall of Gaiinas—namely, that it was about political wrangling between a civilian faction centred around the court hierarchy and a military dominated by partly Romanized careerists. The authority of the

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interested in what precisely was meant when ‘ethnic language’ was used (83), and calls for careful contextualization in each separate case. From psychological point-of-view, dissolving boundaries between rival groups are usually regarded as epistemically threatening (SCHNEIDER 2004, 241), which plays part in the occasionally surfacing but confused anti-barbarianism in Late Antiquity.

<sup>127</sup> *Contra* LENSKI 2002, 352f. on hostility from the part of ‘all native Romans who had contact with the foreigners’—which in the context of first Gothic settlement on Roman soil, its collapse, and the ensuing battle at Adrianople may be correct, but should not be automatically projected to other contexts where the barbarians were less clearly from outside the borders. Then again, as noted by BELLER *s.v.* ‘Cliché’ in BELLER & LEERSSEN 2007, 297, the ethnic clichés (often quite similar to ethnophobias, in fact) are more widespread ‘in trivial contexts and in everyday turns of phrase’ than in literary contexts.

<sup>128</sup> Oros. 7.35.19: *quos utique perdidisse lucrum et vinci vincere fuit*. While Orosius’ joy over slain barbarians on both sides is not affected by the overall religiosities possibly at play in the clash of Theodosius and Eugenius, one should note that several contributions have dispelled the starkly dichotomic scholarly myths about the religious considerations involved with Frigidus: GUALANDRI 2000; SALZMAN 2010; CAMERON 2011, 93-131.

<sup>129</sup> Occasionally, the personal views of the writer have clearly coloured his account; e.g. in Orosius, who (though commending barbarian generals relatively often) seems not to enjoy writing about Stilicho (e.g. 7.38 *interea comes Stilico, Vandalorum inbellis avarae perfidae et dolosae gentis genere editus, parvi pendens quod sub imperatore imperabat*), probably on account of his Vandalic origins, as is suggested by TROMPF 2000, 302. In other cases, Orosius seems more ambivalent, such as in 7.34).

<sup>130</sup> The ‘anti-barbarianism’ of late 4<sup>th</sup> century may be more profitably defined as a power struggle between civilian faction of the court and a military faction which was in the contemporary propaganda and subsequent sources branded as a ‘barbarian’ faction (partly no doubt on account of the current perceptions among the elite about the ‘barbarized army’): this has been analysed by both LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 94f.; and CAMERON & LONG 1993, 9f., 224f., 335 (with influence over the emperor as the ultimate prize in the struggle).

emperor and the collaboration of the population and even of supernatural forces were all invoked in narrative accounts of the fall of Gaïnas. Religious sentiments appear to have played their part in the resolution of the 'Gothic problem' around the year 400—or at least they were referred to when justification was needed.

Gaïnas was an Arian Goth who enjoyed quick career advancement after the murder of Rufinus (395) and during the rule from behind the scenes by the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Eutropius. His appointment as *magister utriusque militiae* in 399 to quell the uprising of the Gothic *foederati* under Tribigild, his joining of forces with these Goths, his wresting of control from Eutropius and his subsequent brief supremacy in Constantinople were covered by several ancient sources (some no longer extant), and have received considerable scholarly attention.<sup>131</sup> Religious themes forcefully enter the story of the downfall of Gaïnas and his Goths only after their purported occupation of Constantinople, and Gaïnas' request to have a church within the city walls for the use of the Arian Goths. This also seems to have been the main reason why John Chrysostom, the Archbishop of the city, became so strongly involved with events.<sup>132</sup> While Gaïnas backed off from the ensuing impasse, tensions in the city kept fomenting, and it is likely that some sort of anti-Arian (or anti-Gothic) demagoguery was partly to blame. At least John Chrysostom's sermons betray an eagerness to 'purify' the body politic, and 'genuine' religious sentiments also seem to be partly subsumed under the classicizing allusions to earlier literature in the allegorical account of Synesius' *De providentia*.<sup>133</sup> The

<sup>131</sup> Ancient sources: Synes. *Reg.* (before Gaïnas' downfall), *Prov.* (though heavily allegorized); Euseb. Schol. *Gaïn. ap. Socr.* 6.6; Soz. 8.4; and Eunapius, who was used by Philostorg. *ap. Phot. Bibl. cod.* 40, Socr. 6.6, Theodor. *HE* 5.32-3, Soz. 8.4, Zos. 5.7-21, and John of Antioch (esp. F 190 *ap. Exc. de ins.* 80). Minor mentions are included in Jord. *Rom.* 320, *Get.* 176; *Chron. Marcell. s.a.* 399-401. Modern studies: BURNS 1994, 162-74; CAMERON & LONG 1993 *passim*, and regarding Synesius' antibarbarianism esp. 109-26; also extensively LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 111-25 (taking a different approach from CAMERON & LONG about the testimony of Synesius' *De providentia*).

<sup>132</sup> John Chrys. *Homil. cum Saturn. et Aurel.* 3.413; Theodor. *HE* 5.32 gives details on Gaïnas' petition and Chrysostom's answer. The 'Scythian' is said to have terrified the emperor himself, who almost acquiesced to his Gaïnas' request, but whom Chrysostom was able to reassure in an exchange before the throne: Gaïnas argues that the request is only a proper reward for his services, but the bishop reminds him that compared to his old situation north of the Ister, his whole position should be reward enough (see DOLEŽAL 2006, 172; the rhetorical 'outcasting' seems similar to that later taken up by Justinianic sources when Gothic enemies were very salient: BORCHARDT 1971, 24; AMORY 1997, 300-3; GOFFART 2006, 7ff.). Soz. 8.4 gives a version which idolizes John's staunch stance even more, and makes Gaïnas' heresy the crux of the refusal. Theodoret goes on to give account of the embassy of Chrysostom to Gaïnas after he had been expelled from the city and was deliberating his course in Thrace, accompanied by a barbarian army (*HE* 5.33). The sheer righteousness of the bishop quells Gaïnas, though the narrative leaves the ending open as it passes to the ousting of Chrysostom himself. Behind the whole request was *CTb* 16.5.6 from year 381, by which Theodosius had banned Arian worship within the city walls.

<sup>133</sup> John Chrys. *Hom. in Acta apostt.* 37 PG 60.266-7; indeed, Chrysostom never condemned the ensuing massacre of the Goths in their church, as noted by BURNS 1994, 173. Palladius of Galatia's *Vita* of Chrysostom hushes up the whole Gaïnas-episode, so it may have reflected badly upon the bishop: LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 119-20. The call to 'cast away the aliens' is common to both Chrysostom and Synesius' *De regno*: discussed in CAMERON & LONG 1993, 97-99. Synes. *Prov.* 114D-115A mentions the way how 'those in power tampering with our religious rituals' (τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀγιοστείας ἡμῶν καινοτομεῖν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι)—which CAMERON & LONG 1993, 377 n. 218 identified as referring to Gaïnas' petition for an Arian church—leads to 'the



emphasis on religious elements in the tradition of the expelling of the Goths was probably heightened both by political motivations immediately following the 'victory over the barbarians', and by the epic form adopted by at least one early narrator of the circumstances, Eusebius Scholasticus.<sup>134</sup> Included among political motivations should be the desire on the part of the imperial faction to highlight the martial credentials and triumphalistic providentiality of the markedly non-military emperor Arcadius.<sup>135</sup> As so often in Late Imperial references to barbarians and their religiosity, form overrides content in importance.

The double politico-theological rationale for perceiving providentiality in Gaïnas' expulsion and the subsequent 'pogrom' of Goths in the capital ensured the way the incident is treated in most later sources. Socrates of Constantinople considered Gaïnas and his faction to be enemies of both the Church and the State—which in his writings are closely linked when it comes to providential peace and divine favour. Gaïnas breaks his side of a mutual vow with emperor Arcadius to refrain from plotting, and intends to spread carnage and plundering to the whole of the realm: the emperor, by contrast, is described as εὐορκός τις ἀνὴρ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεοφιλῆς.<sup>136</sup> Later, when Gaïnas tries to confiscate some silver being sold in the city,

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Giants, that is the aliens' to be driven out, ἔσσεσθαι ἐκποδῶν ποινηλατουμένους ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν. Such monsters are, according to Synesius, driven away with thunderbolts from polluting the air with their godless breath (ἀέρα καθήρωμεν μεμολυσμένον ἐκ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς τῶν ἀθέων [...] τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τῶν τεράτων ἡμεῖς πυρπολοῦντες καὶ καταβροντῶντες ἐλαύνομεν). The 'titanism' of northerners and the supernatural means of overthrowing them, so well established in Greek rhetoric and poetry, seem the likeliest literary model here. Another detail stemming from early barbarography is the σιδηροφορεῖν motif, which Synesius uses slightly later.<sup>134</sup> Socr. 6.6 notes that Eusebius' four books on the subject in heroic meter ensured great fame for him. That Eusebius was the pupil of the sophist Troilus (*PLRE* II Eusebius 8) may heighten the possibility that he wrote his *Gaïnas* as a traditionally heroic epic, which certainly could have included a heavy presence of supernatural actors (as pointed out by LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 113). CAMERON & LONG 1993, 200 express some doubts about whether supernatural factors would have been prominent in a poem which Socrates cites about 'the war', possibly the campaign of Fravitta against the remnants of Gaïnas' 'Goths'; there is, however, no good reason to expect an absence of epic conventions from even a 'real war epic', and in any case the it may be that Eusebius' poem would have been completed before the 'official version' (expressed in Arcadius' column) downplaying the massacre at Constantinople gave way to a portrayal of a proper war against barbarians: LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 120ff., though BECATTI 1960, 111-50 attributes the extant reliefs to the column of Theodosius.

<sup>135</sup> Part of the imperial triumphalism affixed to the expulsion of the Goths was obtained by casting of what essentially was part of the Roman army as barbarians: Gaïnas is still portrayed as having a 'homeland' somewhere beyond the borders of the realm, from where he could call for reinforcements (Socr. 6.6, Soz. 8.4; also implied in Zos. 5.21); furthermore, the classicizing ethnonym of 'Scythians' would have helped in this outcasting: Theod. 5.32 calling Gaïnas 'a Scythian, but of even more barbarous disposition'; Gaïnas is also called Scythian by John of Antioch (F 280 ROBERTO = F 212.3 MARIEV *ap. Exc. de ins.* 79), though he also gives Stilicho a 'Scythian' ancestry in the very same passage. Socrates, at any rate, calls him a Goth (6.6), so whereas John's F 201-21 MARIEV are dependent on Socrates (cf. MARIEV xxxvii) and F 284 ROBERTO (F 216 MARIEV) *ap. Exc. de ins.* 81 bears some resemblance to Socr. 6.6.2-34, as noted by both editors *ad loc.*, the ethnonym does not derive from Socrates—if indeed any fixed source is needed. Philostorg. 11.8, however, calls Gaïnas' subordinate (and possible kinsman: Socr. 6.6; Soz. 8.4.2) Tribigild an ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, and glosses this μὲν γένος τῶν νῦν ἐπικαλουμένων Γότθων (πλεῖστα γὰρ καὶ διάφορα τούτων ἐστὶν τῶν Σκυθῶν γένη). Cf. MARASCO 2005, 29.

<sup>136</sup> Socr. 6.6. The necessity to highlight the piety of the emperor seems partly a way to circumvent his obvious inaction in the field of military, and on the other hand to honour the pious triumphalism of Theodosius I (in itself a tendentious affair: Zos. 4.33.1, Them. *Or.* 34); LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 113 fn. 13 with bibliography; ERRINGTON 2006, 146. Soon after Gaïnas' downfall, Arcadius ordered the erection of a victory column to

the occupation of Constantinople by his retainers reaches a point of crisis, and shortly afterwards the fall of the *magister militum* is initiated, due to divine intervention by “a multitude of angels in the form of huge armed men”.<sup>137</sup> In Synesius’ consciously back-dated allegory, the ‘Scythian’ barbarians are attacked by outbreaks of panic during the day, and their general (Gaiinas) suffers from nightly terrors caused by Corybantes. With the Goths wandering around the town in confusion and in alternating rage and horror, it is difficult not to compare this element to the debilitating panic attack that seizes the Celts when they attack Delphi.<sup>138</sup> The classicizing motif seems to be substituted for what Socrates and Sozomen describe as Gaiinas leaving the city by feigning demonic possession and going to the Church of St. John at Hebdomon (Socr. 6.6; Soz. 8.4). CAMERON & LONG 1993, 202f. note that since all extant sources on Gaiinas’ fate (except Synesius) postdate Alaric’s sack of Rome in 410, the implicit assumption in their hindsight was that as a Goth, Gaiinas had intended to sack the New Rome.

A famous fragment of Eunapius tells that in the aftermath of the expulsion of the Goths, a prefect (ἑπαρχος) who may have been called Perses, put up either in Rome or in Constantinople a display of paintings which upset at least the historian himself with its supposed lack of traditional elements and the inclusion of innovations.<sup>139</sup> He accuses Perses of reducing the whole victory over the barbarians to a joke, with no reference to the bravery of the emperor or of the soldiers, nor any depiction of a proper battle. Instead, a hand extending

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commemorate it (the statue of the emperor seems to have been added later: *Chron. Pasch. s.a.* 421 DINDORF 1832, 579), with friezes in the manner of Trajan’s column in Rome commemorating the Gothic victory as one obtained over barbarians (although as noted by BECKMANN 2002, 353, the distinguishing feature of all these columns may rather have been the internal staircase than iconographic friezes); on the column see BECATTI 1960, 151-264; MCCORMICK 1986, 49f., 52-55 with figures; LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, with an appendix on the Column of Arcadius (273-8); BURNS 1994, 174 and 348 n. 118; CAMERON & LONG 1993, 238. The recasting of a civilian massacre and a division within the Roman army as a providential imperial victory was wrought with political pitfalls, which is probably why the imagery in the Column completely omitted the fighting in the city: LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 121. GRIGG 1977, while not favouring the theory that the image program of the column refers to the overthrow of Gaiinas, and explaining it as an iconography of harmony among the sons of Theodosius, nonetheless supports the idea that the monument developed further a nascent imagery of Christian providentiality of the emperor. He connects the *SALVS ORIENTIS FELICITAS OCCIDENTIS* –coinage (between 400 and 404) to a peaceful program of imperial *concordia* (478), but it would also be possible to see the *Salus* as linked to the expulsion of the barbarians (following CAMERON & LONG 1993, 247).

<sup>137</sup> Socr. 6.6; also Philostorg. 11.8 *ap. Phot. Bibl. cod.* 40; Soz. 8.4; Socrates mentions the episode (6.5), but the sequence of events is different. Cf. VAN NUFFELEN 2004, 296; LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 113 fn. 12 remarks that the attack on the silversmiths and the palace seem like elements taken from Eusebius’ *Gaiinas*—indeed, the topicality of the barbarian greed for precious metals would fit this suggestion.

<sup>138</sup> Synes. *Prov.* 116B-C; cf. Paus. 10.23.7. The use of allusion would partly justify the fact (which appears baffling to CAMERON & LONG 1993, 215) that Synesius did not need to explain the reason for the barbarians’ fear.

<sup>139</sup> On the insecure and variously interpreted attributions of the prefect and the city of his tenure: CAMERON & LONG 1993, 218-22, ending up favouring assumptions that the reference is to a Constantinopolitan official (218) possibly named or nicknamed Perses, or else Hormisdas, a turncloak son of the Persian king (222), and the barbarians are the soldiers of Gaiinas being driven from Constantinople (219). Likewise, their surmise is that what Eunapius describes was an unofficial expression of celebration, which when taken together with LIEBESCHUETZ’s reconstruction of the official form of propaganda about the incident (downplaying the urban confrontation and massacre of the Goths: 1990, 273-78), can partly explain Eunapius’ dismissive stance.

from a cloud was depicted, with writing next to the hand explaining it as the hand of God smiting the barbarians, and further giving the explanation of 'barbarians fleeing God'.<sup>140</sup> Eunapius seems to have been generally ill-disposed towards the barbarians, and certainly toward both Gaiinas and Stilicho.<sup>141</sup> He was not, however, an irredeemable hater—he has a remarkably good opinion of Flavius Fravitta, ostensibly because of his paganism.<sup>142</sup> Fragment 68, however, is much more notable for the enduring motif of divine intervention resulting in some providential barbarian-bashing. Although the scribe compiling the *Excerpta* added his apologetic qualifications to the piece, its appeal to the contemporary Constantinopolitan public should not be underestimated; after all, it did draw on a long-standing pictorial and iconological stock, with deep roots in earlier tradition.

In comparison with Gaiinas and certain other high-placed barbarians of the time, Stilicho had several prominent (and still extant) defenders along with his many enthusiastic detractors. Claudian is a well-known case, but a more nuanced account seems to have been that of Olympiodorus of Thebes, modulated by its transmission through Zosimus, who was

<sup>140</sup> Eunap. F 68 BLOCKLEY *ap. Exc. de sent.* 72: ἀνδρείαν μὲν γὰρ βασιλέως καὶ ῥώμην στρατιωτῶν ἢ πόλεμον ἐμφανῆ καὶ νόμιμον οὐδαμοῦ τὰ γραφόμενα παρεδήλου καὶ συνηνίττετο [...] θεοῦ χεῖρ ἐλαύνουσα τοὺς βαρβάρους [...] βάρβαροι τὸν θεὸν φεύγοντες. As a traditional pagan, Eunapius might have found a barbarian (if 'Perses' was really a Persian) commemorating a dubiously achieved victory over other barbarians through overtly Christianizing providential imagery a bit too much for his tastes. This, it seems, despite the fact that the notion of divine intervention in expelling barbarians had an eminent pedigree from early Hellenistic age onwards. That the triumphalistic register was clearly what 'Perses' was after, is backed by the localization of the display on the arena (the *ferula* are commented in MCCORMICK 1986, 92-6). In any case, it seems that what the official Imperial version monumentalized in Constantinople shares with Eunapius' incident, is the religious (Christian) providentiality; but what separates these two expressions of triumphalism is that the official imagery sought to cast the divinely obtained victory as a genuinely military one along the lines of traditional barbaromachy. It could be hypothesized that the hand-imagery in the panels set up by Perses may have referred to the Herculean hands in the Theodosian arch on Forum Tauri (see fn. 167). On Chrysostom's ambiguous role in the Gaiinas incident, and the screaming silence of his biographer Palladius: see fn. 133 above.

<sup>141</sup> Concerning Stilicho, cf. his ambivalent treatment in Eunap. F 64 BLOCKLEY *ap. John Ant.* F 282 ROBERTO (F 215.2 MARIEV) *ap. Exc. de ins.* 80, with n. 132 (BLOCKLEY 1981-83, II 95) on the clumsy work John or his scribe has done in trying to erase Eunapius' bias. Stilicho is depicted as laying waste to Greece, though Alaric's troops could certainly have been given the blame, too. Additionally, as noted by BURNS 1994, 158, 'Zosimus is only slightly less harsh on Stilicho, but considerably less clear.' BURNS (*ibid.* 159) also observes that Eunapius' main motif in relating these happenings was to excoriate the Eastern strongmen Rufinus and Eutropius; if so, he certainly was not convinced by Stilicho either. It is possible that Eunapius most strongly objected to barbarian or half-barbarian generalissimi with a strong influence in court: at least (see fn. 142 below) he displays certain cavalier sentiment towards the losers, such as Arbogast or Fravitta.

<sup>142</sup> E.g. F 69 BLOCKLEY *ap. Exc. de sent.* 73. Cf. CAMERON & LONG 1993, 251. Eunapius' opinion on Fravitta seems to have influenced Philostorg. 11.8. Moreover Eunapius gives a quite balanced assessment of Arbogast, the Frankish *magister militum* in the West: though φλογουειδής ('like a wildfire') because of his physical prowess and fierceness of temper, he is otherwise portrayed as a person of temperance and freedom from corruption: Eunap. F 58 *ap. Suda s.v.* Ἀβρογάστης. John of Antioch (using Eunapius' account), however, repeats the fiery metaphor in a rather more ambiguous sense, connecting it with the traditional barbarian essence: John Ant. F 280 ROBERTO (F 212.3 MARIEV) *ap. Exc. de ins.* 79). Arbogast's suicide, too, is interpreted by John through the time-honoured paradigm of τὸ μανικὸν τῆς βαρβάρου φύσεως, which is particularly interesting when we reflect that John seems to have had at least some passing knowledge of the works of Strabo (F 147 ROBERTO = F 100 MARIEV *ap. Suda s.v.* Λούκουλλος; the same fragment also refers to Livy, whom John is unlikely to have known at first hand; cf. WALTON 1965, 238, 242-43) and Diodorus (F 145.2 ROBERTO = F 98.7 MARIEV *ap. Cod. Athos* 4932 *vel Iviron* 812), who certainly mentioned the fiery and warlike temper of northern peoples.

rather hostile towards Stilicho.<sup>143</sup> Olympiodorus particularly condemns the purges of Stilicho's supporters after his execution: making such an impious act even worse, it drove the resident barbarians to support Alaric's invasion of Italy.<sup>144</sup> Stilicho and his wife Serena, however, had brought their cruel fate upon themselves to begin with, by their impious actions: the most egregiously symbolic act on the part of Serena was removing the divine ornaments on the statue of the goddess Rhea, and adorning herself with the goddess' necklace. An old woman, the last remaining Vestal (dramatically enough), declaims Serena's impious act; when the latter commands her attendants to drag the priestess away, the old woman utters a prayer to the effect that the results of such impiety would come to fall upon the heads of Serena, her husband, and their children. Afterwards, Serena was often visited by an apparition harbingering her death.<sup>145</sup> Her husband Stilicho was similarly guilty of sacrilege; he was said to have commanded that the doors of the Capitoline temple be stripped of their gold. As the workers were engaged in the act, the doors were found to bear the inscription *misero regi servantur*, which proved to be true of Stilicho. Both charges appear to echo the opposition formed by the senatorial elite of the city of Rome, whose viewpoint might have appeared most authoritative to Olympiodorus.<sup>146</sup>

What is striking in most antibarbarian expressions of triumphalism in Late Imperial writing—such as the reactions examined above—is the way in which the members of Roman

<sup>143</sup> See TREADGOLD 2007, 93 for the positive undertones in what has been preserved of Olympiodorus' obituary of Stilicho. Examples of this include Olympiod. F 5 BLOCKLEY *ap.* Zos. 5.33.2, 34.6-7 (fragments of Olympiodorus' eulogy); *ap.* Philostorg. 12.1. On Zosimus' deep hostility towards Stilicho: GRIG 2009, 283.

<sup>144</sup> Olympiod. F 7 BLOCKLEY *ap.* Zos. 5.35.6, 36.3. On the other hand, Olympiodorus seems to have had little patience for the more imaginative remedies for the barbarian problem: Photius tells that he reported how an Asiatic magician named Libanius proposed in 421 to Honorius that he could drive the barbarians from Italy through magic (Olympiod. F 36 BLOCKLEY *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 80.62A). This may be intended to contrast Honorius' fatuity with the more decisive and realistic actions taken by the generals of the time, though the intervention by Galla Placidia (who threatened to divorce Constantius) in the case of the 'magician and infidel' Libanius may point to the fact that we have here an attempt to tarnish the reputation of the recently co-opted general. In Late Imperial historiography, accusations of magical practices were a sure way to tarnish a political loser, as in the case of SHA *Did. Iul.* 7.9-11 with the usurper guilty of a human sacrifice for magical purposes.

<sup>145</sup> Zos. 5.38.2-4: δίκην δὲ τῶν εἰς τὰ θεῖα δέδωκε δυσσεβημάτων ἀξίαν, with Serena περιελούσα τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῷ ἑαυτῆς ἐπέθηκε τραχήλῳ [...], leading the old woman, ἐκ τῶν Ἑστιάκων περιλελειμμένη παρθένων, to pray for a punishment: ἀπιούσα, πᾶν ὃ τι ταύτης ἄξιον τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐλθεῖν αὐτῇ Σερῆνα καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἠράσατο. It may also be relevant (in connection with the story about a necklace) that Serena's death was reported to have come through strangulation: Olympiod. F 7.3 *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 80.168.

<sup>146</sup> Zos. 5.38.5: λέγεται δὲ καὶ Στελίων δι' ἑτέραν οὐ πόρρω ταύτης ἀσεβείαν τῆς Δίκης τὰ ἀπόρρητα μὴ διαφυγεῖν. Another famous case, though after the technical end-point of this study, is Rutil. Nam. *Red. suo* 2.41-60, lamenting the fact that Stilicho had been able to see and profane the secret of the empire (*proditor arcana quod fuit imperii*), destroying the mother of the world (*bis mundi matrem perculit*). See the commendable study of GRIG 2009, among whose pertinent points are the continued metonymy of Capitolium as a *pars pro toto* of Rome (281f.), the aim to see particularly the account of Zosimus as purposeful narrative to cast bad light upon Stilicho and—the author being a pagan—to highlight the grim mistake of neglecting the temples of Capitol just before Alaric's invasion (283f.), and the concomitant Christian perception of the Capitol as the headquarters of paganism (285). The case of Capitolium's metonymy during the debate about the Altar of Victory in 384 must now take into account CAMERON 2011, 41-48, 184f.

elite appear to have viewed the occasional barbarian in a position of power, or any grudgingly admitted setback in Roman authority, as simply an anomaly that would soon be rectified.<sup>147</sup> The confidence of the classicizing elite in the ability of Rome to bounce back seems to have remained remarkably strong for quite a long time. Ammianus apparently genuinely believed that the ruthless suppression of the Goths would lay a lasting basis for Roman fortunes.<sup>148</sup> In the case of some expressions of triumphalism, it is difficult to distinguish between genuine ideology and adulation through conventional elements. Claudian, though young at the time of the *Panegyric on the Consulship of Probinus and Olybrius* and writing a decidedly panegyric piece, portrays well the discrepancy between the triumphalistic posturing of the literary elite's rhetorical exercises and the infinitely more complex realities of the Late Imperial world. The year is 395, yet Claudian makes the goddess Rome ask the martial Emperor Theodosius, resting between victories, for a boon: elevating to consulship the worthy sons of Probus. And while her expression—*non improba posco, non insueta dabis*—refers to her desire to promote the two boys, in relation to the Vergilian echoes which immediately follow it also conjures up vistas of providential—and decidedly improbable—Golden Age imagery.<sup>149</sup> If her favourites become consuls, the goddess Roma promises that the Scythian Araxes will be made into a

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<sup>147</sup> This impression pertains for the most part to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, since recent scholarship has identified much more successful 'barbarian' careers from among the military elite from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards (noted by WICKHAM 2009, 47), such as Ricimer (MATHISEN 2009) and Mundo (CROKE 1982). SALZMAN 2006 examines the rhetorical techniques stemming from the concept of *amicitia* that pagan elites such as Symmachus used in relating to the powerful 'barbarians' of their age, even when subtly criticizing them (e.g. *ead.* 353; BROWN 2012, 99-103). She leaves unaddressed the possible Republican inspiration for this use: in reading Cicero (his favourite: CAMERON 2011, 357), Symmachus would have found *amicitia* used as a technique of relating to dangerous, basically non-assimilated, but (for the indeterminate present) co-opted northerners, such as Ariovistus.

<sup>148</sup> Amm. 31.16.8. On the massacre of the Goths: JONES 1964, I 330; PASCHOUD 1967, 44f.; LENSKI 2002, 353. Other similar instances of Ammianus describing in neutral or approving fashion a massacre of northerners are 16.11.9 (men and women indiscriminately), 17.8.4 (massacre of Salian Franks as they attempt to surrender), 17.13.13 (*avidus barbarici sanguinis*, the Roman troops put to torch and butcher a villageful of Alamanni—which incidentally seems to contain a reference to the old septentriographic topos of barbarians perishing in their burning houses because of their obstinacy—*aut obstinate igni peribat absumptus*—cf. Ael. *VH* 12.23 ὡς μηδὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν κατολισθανουσῶν καὶ συμπιπτουσῶν ἀποδιδράσκειν). Partly such scenes of 'barbarians slaughtered like animals' were a commonplace in Latin literature since Sallust (cf. ASH 2010, 148), but in addition to the literary nature of these episodes, Ammianus' apparent equanimity about such acts is further elucidated by WIEDEMANN 1986, 195f. His positive perspective about the Gothic massacre may have something to do with his critique of his contemporaries' lack of historical perspective (KELLY 2008, 282), leading them to erroneously think that nothing of same magnitude had ever happened before. So in this instance, too, like in some episodes of Livy (CHAPLIN 2000, *passim*; in Ammianus' case KELLY 2008, 294), the implication stresses the benefits of Romans maintaining a mastery over their own *exempla*; no doubt Ammianus' own basic optimism for the endurance of the empire (of which, see HARRISON 1999, 185f. *contra* BLOCKLEY 1975, 103) was called to question by the scare-mongering and partly religious panic in the aftermath of Adrianople, leading him to criticize his contemporaries. Occasionally, such as in 31.15.7-9 (something approaching a personification of *Iustitia* is involved in revealing a Gothic plot to capture the city of Adrianople), a divine intervention nudges things in favour of Romans, though in this passage, too, the final results come from pragmatic and bloody torture. In the case of *Iustitia*, the likeliest allusion is to the first appearance of Goths in Ammianus' work, where they are topically described as *saepe fallaces et perfidos* (22.7.8).

<sup>149</sup> Claudian's literary learnedness is examined by CAMERON 1970A, 305-48, in this case especially 315-21.

Roman *famulus*, as will both banks of the Rhine; the Median towers will fear the Roman *insignia*, and the astonished Ganges will flow between Roman towns.<sup>150</sup>

Claudian further demonstrates the Caesarian or Augustan echoes in his epideictic poetry: the taming of the barbarotrophic natural world of the north was still intrinsically linked with taming the barbarians themselves in providing justification and glory for military figures, at least for rhetorical purposes. In the case of *De consulatu Stiliconis* the imagery seems to be connected to Lucan's *Bellum civile* in its ethnographic posturing, its conventional topoi and its celebration of this overcoming of barbarian religion through the efforts of a Roman commander.<sup>151</sup> Where in Book 1 of *Bellum civile* the barbarous northerners return to their own warlike lifestyle when Caesar leaves Gaul, Stilicho (whose swiftness, a trait much associated with Caesar's movements, is stressed in lines 218ff.) leaves the North absorbed in peaceful pursuits (222-7). A traveller could not tell which tranquil side of the Rhine is under Roman rule, and the far-off Hercynian forest is opened up to safe hunting (*per vasta silentia silvae venari tuto liceat*). In accordance with the joint exemplars of Caesar and Lucan, the element of the forest leads to the inclusion of the northerners' religion: the groves, horrid on account of their longstanding rites (*lucosque vetusta religione truces*), and the oak—the image of the barbarian divinity (*robur numinis instar barbarici*)—are both now felled by Roman axes without remonstrance.<sup>152</sup> It could hardly have been Stilicho's own barbarian heritage which made him such an effective restorer of Roman eminence.

Stereotypes being generalized representations of the world, examples such as these pose once again the question of the relationship between learning the tropes of conventional rhetoric and the increasingly outmoded worldview they potentially perpetuated among those using them. Consequently, the apparent detachment from contemporary reality in certain Late Imperial registers may best be explained in terms of the education received by the elite. By learning the classical examples and tropes by heart, and by writing in an self-consciously classicizing vein, members of the learned classes may not exactly have curtailed their actual

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<sup>150</sup> Claud. *Paneg. Prob. Olybr.* 159-64. The resurrection of the old theme of Rome embracing the whole of οἰκουμένη (or, as PASCHOUD 1967, 152 wanted to formulate it, 'Roma Aeterna', and with some justification especially in the case of Prudentius: *ibid.* 222-26); see also above p. 303 fn. 23, and MERRILLS 2005, 26ff. CAMERON 2011, 217 and fn. 55 makes the plausible suggestion that the motif of a rejuvenated Rome emerging from the defeat of the Goths was taken both by Prudentius and Rutilius from Claudian.

<sup>151</sup> Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 1.218-31. Other early Imperial examples are present, too: for instance, by including the barely relevant Sugambri, Claudian is probably furnishing an allusion to Horace (*Carm.* 4.2.33-36; 14.49-52).

<sup>152</sup> Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 1.229-31. This passage, though short and condensed, is a clear allusion to Luc. 3.399-452, though it comes clear from NISBET 1987, esp. 247f. that the imagery of oaks falling to axes were not only topical in poetry, but also rather in vogue in Lucan's time. Cf. LEIGH 2010, 206f., 220-24, 232ff. CAMERON 1970A, 315 notes the obviousness of Claudian's knowledge of the major Latin poets, and proceeds to demonstrate it. The point (317) about Claudian probably learning his Latin exclusively from literary sources, explains much.

ability to make sense of the contemporary world; but they would certainly have subscribed to a regime of knowledge which made it difficult to see things without a heavy set of preconceptions. But neither was the inherited assemblage without its thematic discrepancies. For instance, there was certainly a strong current of millenaristic deploring of moral and general decay—an attractive option for many Christian writers, but certainly occasionally opted for by some pagan writers, too.<sup>153</sup> The triumphalistic rhetoric we find in panegyrics stands in apparent opposition to this: imperial victory is still imminent, Roman arms are still able to reach the ends of the earth in a wholly Vergilian fashion, the emperor is divinely sanctioned (whether pagan or Christian), and possible defeats are the result of an internal subversion of accepted morality (first by Christians, then by heretics). On the other hand, pagan monotheists and lukewarm Christians, with antiquarian tendencies and backward-projected ideals, could opt to try and avoid contemporary realities, inhabiting a world of a literary past and of pleasing allusions.<sup>154</sup> In contexts where the cultural elitism of the Roman aristocracy collided with the new Christian aristocracy, however, the continued life of at least those literary images which had to do with the lower classes and their modes of religion could experience significantly prolonged significance. Striking examples can be found for Late Imperial and Dark Ages Gaul, and while some sources certainly postdate the proposed end-point of this thesis, a brief survey reveals the extent to which apparently real circumstances were created within the elite discourse as artefacts of literary heritage.

The Gallic episcopal class was apparently very well connected among the provincial aristocracy, and signs of their high level of education are the several high-profile literary figures who built their identities in part around their learning.<sup>155</sup> Topoi long known from

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<sup>153</sup> As noted by GRIG 2009, 284, the angle from where Christian writers (she takes Ambrose and Augustine as examples) approached the idea of providential religion was necessarily that of severing the perceived link between Roman power and Roman religion. Pagan writers such as Zosimus and Symmachus tended to emphasize this link (on Zosimus GRIG 2009, 284, CAMERON 2011, 46ff., 647-50; on Symmachus GARNSEY 1984, 23).

<sup>154</sup> MERRILLS 2005, 20-34 constitutes a handily condensed explanation of the basic challenges that the 'classical *Weltbild*' encountered in Later Imperial literature. On the Eastern classicizing mode: MULLETT & SCOTT 1981, bringing reasoned nuances to CAMERON & CAMERON 1964; more recent contributions include KALDELLIS 2003 about Agathias' very conscious classicizing. Among western figures post-dating the end-point of the current study, Boethius has been cited as a prominent example of wholly antiquarianized vision of the current political situation: AMORY 1997, 133f. That Christian ideals about the retreat from the world could sometimes be rather conversant with Hellenistic philosophical approaches, is pointed out in the case of *Clementine Homilies* and the use of *locus amoenus* therein by EDWARDS 1987, 272f.; the optimal *locus* is at least in this narrative described in a way that is conducive to the conversion of pagans taken there, much as it was conducive for reaching wisdom in Plato's *Phdr.* 229A-B (*ibid.* 267).

<sup>155</sup> See VAN DAM 1985, 133f., 142ff., 162-5 and 203-20 on the aristocratic connections and ideals of the Gallic bishops. Sidonius Apollinaris is the best known example, with HARRIES 1992 and 1996 rather dominant within modern scholarship. Other members of the learned Western aristocracies are examined e.g. by MATTHEWS 1975. Their commitment to literary classics as a measure of their 'Roman' identity was fervent: about Sidonius, HARRIES 1996, *in toto*, e.g. 35. Indeed, though he was speaking of slightly earlier era, the statement of WHITMARSH 2001, 301 seems particularly apt: 'Cultural identity, as manifested in literature, is hermeneutically inseparable from

barbarian characterizations, particularly in connection with western and northern peoples, were applied by Gallic Christian potentates to rural groups, which were always regarded as worryingly close to the barbarians even in High Imperial writing. The *Canon 23* of the Second Council of Arles (ca. 452) decreed that *si in alicuius episcopi territorio infideles aut faculas accendunt aut arbores, fontes, vel saxa venerantur; si hoc eruere neglexerunt, sacrilegii reum se esse cognoscat*. Caesarius of Arles also seems to have been intensely concerned about the diverse lures of augurs, demonolatry, pagan vestiges and all manner of lamentable superstitions cajoling the Gallic plebs.<sup>156</sup> Sometimes, particularly in the later hagiographies, the literal uprooting of the pagan sacred tree takes on a powerful symbolism of its own, though a broadly similar symbolism is already present in Lucan's account of Caesar's treatment of the Gallic holy grove.<sup>157</sup>

It would seem that the humble folk of the Gallic countryside were seen as particularly vulnerable to relapses into their previous inferior morality, in a way reminiscent of the play *Querolus*, and that especially within the Gallic ecclesiastical elite literary tropes gave expression to sentiments of an ongoing fight against all remnants of paganism.<sup>158</sup> Partly due to this (and

literary strategy.' More generally about the context WOOD 1992 treats the literariness of the Gallic elite response when faced with the changes in their contemporary realities; crucially, he notes the strong interconnections among the episcopal Gallic elite (10f.), and the ensuing tendentiousness of the literary sources produced by that close-knit group. As was nicely put by HEATHER 1999, 247, people in circles such as that of Sidonius, when faced with an epistemic clash between image and reality, found it easier to change reality. The contribution of BROOKE 1987 examines several pertinent Late Antique examples, but of particular significance is his points about the techniques of Paulinus of Périgueux in his paraphrase of Sulpicius Severus' *V. S. Mart.* (287, 292f.). Since the loyalties of the Gallic literati of the era seem to have been in the first place directed at their own hometowns (GEARY 2002, 104f.) and on the other hand towards their idealized notions of what *Romanitas* signified, it could be ventured that for their gaze, Massalia, Burdigala, Augustodunum and other centres of urban life in the Gallic *civitates* obtained part of their glowing symbolism from being the clearest manifestations of the joining of these two ideals. This would have emphasized their self-distinction from the provincial population at large.

<sup>156</sup> Caes. Arel. *Serm.* 265.3, 5, 264.4, 278.1sqq.; which can be compared to Anon. *Adbortatio ad plebem* 222-3; from the ruling elite comes *Childeberti regis constitutio* (MGH *Leges* 1.1, *Reg. Mer. capit.* p. 1), not dependent upon Caesarius, but nonetheless quite telling. The Gallic councils seem to have gotten carried away with their legislation against perceived pagan vestiges—indeed, they may even have been a certain kind of one-upmanship involved, with no council wishing to appear less stringent. *Concil. Arel.* II, *canon 23* (MUNIER 1963, *CCSL* 148, p. 119) targeted bishops lax in rooting out reverence of trees, fountains, or stones; *Concil. Aurel.* IV *canon 15-16* (DE CLERCQ 1963, *CCSL* 148A, p. 136) from a hundred years later contains two canons against relapses into pagan worship; then *Concil. Nann.* *canon 20* (MANSI 18 p. 172), again roughly a century younger (circa 658), still describes at length the ways of the *vulgus* sticking to their habits under *daemonum ludificationibus*.

<sup>157</sup> E.g. the *Vita* of the 5<sup>th</sup>-century Welsh saint Caradec: *V. S. Caradoci* 1-2 (DE LA BORDERIE 1883, 13-4; on the dating see p. 6): *relatum erat Karadoco in partibus illis [sc. Hiberniae] apud quemdam tyrannum, Dulcemium nomine, esse quondam arborem, ornatam atque caram, que patris sui fuerat [...] tyrannus dixit: 'voca tamen Deum tuum, et si ceciderit, tua est' [...] completa oratione cecidit arbor radicibus extirpatis et stabant attoniti fideles. credidit ergo tyrannus et baptizatus est*. The *Vita* declares besides (1, p. 12) that when Caradec was a child, *in illis diebus venerunt Scoti et occupaverunt regionem Britannicam*, though this would not have meant the whole of the isle of Britain even in the original rendition.

<sup>158</sup> As such, it might be one aspect of the lack of societal trust within the Gallic area in Late Antiquity, which may have been partly expressed through the movement of the Bacaudae, if THOMPSON 1952, esp. 11f., 17 is correct; for other (newer and possibly more nuanced) views, see DRINKWATER 1984, most pertinently 363-68, and DRINKWATER 1992, 212f.; the Hobsbawmian take by SHAW 1984; SÁNCHEZ LEÓN 1996, 15. In any case, one example of the elite-crafted polemic labels involved in the curiously drawn-out 'conversion' of the Gallic area—in addition to the indeterminate and topically wholly expectable 'trees and stones'—one might single out the curious afterlife of Diana, who seems to have featured as a potent symbol of the whole rural paganism in the



in part obviously reflecting the wider traditions of hagiography), in their *vitae* the Gallic saints are often depicted as confronting provincials over their continued reverence of trees in what could be interpreted as a conventional concern inherited from earlier literature. Amator, bishop of Auxerre, is described as often requesting a local potentate who was fond of hunting to stop hanging the heads of his prey from the branches of a handsome pear tree in the middle of the town.<sup>159</sup> In a description bearing more than a passing resemblance to the traditional elements of Lucan's famous description, Maurilius of Angers encounters near Comminges a pagan grove with air that stifles the Christians, and a *stultorum hominum turba* in attendance.<sup>160</sup> In dramatized narratives it is not unheard of for the Christians to experience powerful physical unease when in contact with pagan ritualism.<sup>161</sup> The *loci horridi* of northern religiosity presented an easy and attractive object of *inventio* for learned Gallic bishops, with little or no contact with the genuine folk religion of their dioceses, but with a deep desire to dramatize their notional struggle against paganism and thus justify their social privileges.

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literary imagination of the ecclesiastical class, notwithstanding her relative paucity in Imperial Gaul: *V. Caes. Arel.* 2.2 PL 67 c. 1032c; *V. S. Symph.* 3, with further along a hint as to the literariness and imported nature of the motif: *Dianae quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit*; then Greg. Tur. *Hist.* 8.26 (clearly borrowed in *V. S. Magnerici* 4.38); from around year 675 in *V. S. Elig.* 2.16A; *V. S. Eugendi* (MGH *Scr. r. mer.* 3 p. 158.32ff.); and *Acta Ss. Marc. & Anast.* 2ff. (*sacrificia Apollini et Herculi et Dianae matri deorum*). With the apparent assimilation of Diana to Magna Mater in these texts, it is not impossible that she came to be treated as a metonym for pagan worship.

<sup>159</sup> *V. S. Amatoris* 4.24: '*desine, quaeso, vir bonorum splendidissime, haec iocularia, quae Christianis offensa, paganis vero imitanda sunt, exercere. hoc opus idololatricae culturae est, non Christianae [...] disciplinae*'. One may note that for reasons mostly to do with considerations of extent, HOFENEDER 2011 differs from ZWICKER 1934 in deciding to omit the Gallic ecclesiastical sources (justified both in *ibid.* 2005, 10 and 2011 19f.).

<sup>160</sup> Magnobod. *V. S. Maurilii* 19 (*ASS* 13. September 4 p. 74D): *erat in pago Commonico rupes excelsa arborum diversarum genera multa habens, in quem lucum ex pagano adhuc ritu retenta consuetudine tanta stultorum hominum singulis annis turba conveniebat, ut diebus septem solemnia ibi sacrilega exsolverent bacchando et choras gentiles ducendo; sed et frequenter post vina et epulas insurgentes in se multorum caede mutua sanguine effundebant. quod dolens Maurilius pontifex quadam die una cum fratribus suis ad eum locum perveniens tota nocte in oratione perdurat. ad Gallorum cantum tantus foetor de loco egressus est, ut vix tandem vir Dei cum suis ibi inbalitare posset; quo videlicet signo eliminatae gentilis et demoniacae spurcitiae palam omnibus dato, et per hoc rusticorum quoque turbis ad destructionem suae superstitionis animatis, luce prima sanctus praesul arbores incidi et igne cremari praecepit; et aedificata ibidem ecclesia gloriosa Mariae matris Domini, locus ipse, abolito etiam vocabulo, quod antea ex superstitionum observantia usurpaverat, a naturali positione situs nomen accepit Castrum Petrae.* Some further Christian narratives are briefly touched upon by LEIGH 2010, 235ff.

<sup>161</sup> A famous case is that of the Christian senators coughing and shedding tears in the smoke emitted from the Altar of Victory at the Senate House of Rome, as presented by Ambrose (*Ep.* 72.9).

## 4. THE HIGH AND LATE IMPERIAL IMAGE OF EUROPEAN BARBARIAN RELIGIOSITY

a. *IMPERATORES SEMPER HERCULII*: THE BARBAROMACHIC EMPEROR

In terms of motifs and conventional elements, the Later Imperial era does not stand out when compared with the preceding centuries. As has been argued above, part of this continuum stems from the successful co-opting of established rhetoric-centred training in the emerging education of the Christian elite, while partly it is an artefact of classicizing influences working within the literary sphere and hence unavoidably affecting the worldview of the literate classes.<sup>162</sup> As late as the classicizing historians of the Late Empire, we find the motif of the Romans' failing piety being used to account for military setbacks, unexpected strokes of bad luck, and natural disasters. As the leading source of Mediterranean consternation of the day, the barbarians and their depredations were not infrequently explained, by pagan and Christian writers alike, as divine punishment. According to Zosimus' fairly faithful but clearly condensed rendition, Eunapius of Sardis laid the blame for the barbarian disasters after 395 on the doorstep of Theodosius, with the particular claim that his measures against paganism had caused the invasions (Zos. 4.59). It is noteworthy that as late as around the beginning of the fifth century a sentiment resembling that of Livy could still be used in the pagan historiography. Christians were naturally motivated to use the same rhetoric of providentiality, as has been already pointed out to some extent.<sup>163</sup>

Triumphal rulership in antiquity has been studied quite extensively, and indeed the written sources seem to make such study rather a matter of containing abundance than augmenting scarcity.<sup>164</sup> MACMULLEN has suggested that of the several rhetorical strategies that

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<sup>162</sup> Regarding the formation of Christian curricula on the classical basis: DOWNEY 1957, 55, 61; LANE FOX 1986, 305-8 (mostly about the early stages); CAMERON 2011, 357. About classicizing ideals: CAMERON & CAMERON 1964; MARINCOLA 1997, 12. The effect of literary classicizing upon the values and expectations of the literary classes has been well examined in HEATHER 1999 (*passim*, but esp. 242), stressing the flexibility of the inherited rhetoric; also MACMULLEN 1976, 24-47; LEE 1993, 101f. (these latter two a prone to highlight the mounting discrepancies between the literature-butressed elite worldview and the contemporary realities). The lack of much genuine information of rural realities in Gallic episcopal epistolography has been noted by FREND 1992, 126, though the admission of this did not make him very sceptical towards the hagiographic program of Sulpicius Severus about Martin's achievements against paganism (125).

<sup>163</sup> And as aptly noted by LIEBESCHUETZ 1979, 309, the panegyristic use of religiosity had the great advantage of easily being understood in either pagan or Christian sense. Or, one might venture, both—there is little reason to doubt that indefiniteness may have occasionally been an aim, not an effect, in the panegyristic mode. As with the Theodosian rhetoric of providentiality, with sun imagery and Heracleism taken advantage of as needed (see above), in direst times there would have been advantages in trying to straddle religious factionalism.

<sup>164</sup> See MCCORMICK 1986. The authors treat the theme almost as a matter of course whenever dealing with a reigning contemporary emperor: e.g. Plin. *Paneg.* 16-7; *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).1.4, 2.1, 6.1, 11(3).4.3-4; Them. *Or.* 3.60.12-15; Lib. *Or.* 19.65; Procop. of Gaza *Paneg. in Anast. imp.* 1.3-11; Paul the Silentiary *Descr. S. Sophiae* 4-16; George

the Roman elite adopted when no longer able to avoid the fact that things were not altogether working in favour of the Empire, an emphasis on the “emperor’s all-saving role” was the most constructive one.<sup>165</sup> What has been overlooked to some extent, however, is the endurance of certain rhetorical symbols of the triumphant emperor—the most relevant of which for this thesis is the significance of Hercules as a model of providential, ideal rulership. While other exemplars of divine providentiality survived the transfer to Christianity on account of their connection with triumphalistic rulership—such as the sun symbolism in a Theodosian monumental epigram, copied into the *Anthologia Palatina*—the barbaromachic pedigree of Heracles-Hercules made him a highly attractive model for emulation even in late imperial panegyrics.<sup>166</sup> Among the most surprising manifestations of Theodosian triumphalism may be the gigantic Herculean *ρόπαλα* (tree-branch clubs), which appear to have served as the supporting columns of his triumphal arch in the *Forum Tauri*—the most recognizable part of a potent military deity, still invoked in the monument of an emperor who has traditionally been seen as actively promoting Christianity.<sup>167</sup> The impact of Adrianople (378) and the need to impart a sense of *tutamen* may have trumped possible objections to revering a pagan deity.<sup>168</sup>

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Pisides *Exp. Pers.* 2.404-27, to give but a short selection. One might point out, however, that accusations of unmerited victory celebrations were, just like in the case of Republican historiography, a powerful tool for denouncing figures whom a writer detested: a good example is the hostility of Zosimus (4.33) who indicts Theodosius for entering Constantinople in November 380 as if celebrating an undeserved triumph; this was no doubt still affected by the impact of the defeat at Adrianople, two years previously, which built up expectations for the emperor to produce a redeeming victory (see fn. 148); LENSKI 1997, 140f.

<sup>165</sup> MACMULLEN 1976, 47. Though he interprets the rhetoric of imperial providentiality as propaganda wholly controlled by the throne, this would mostly have been the case in contexts of clearly panegyric purpose, such as the *Panegyrici Latini* or the Arcadian re-interpretation of the victory over Gaïnas and his ‘Goths’. In other cases, it may be that at least members of the elite adopted the rhetoric more or less on their own volition, though no doubt MACMULLEN is correct in doubting whether such posturing ever ‘roused popular feelings’ (*ibid. loc. cit.*). For instance, LENSKI 1997, 139 warns against supposing that orators delivering speeches in the aftermath of Adrianople acted simply as disseminators of imperial propaganda.

<sup>166</sup> *Anth. Palat.* 16.65: φαεσφόρος ἥλιος ἄλλος. See JANIN 1964, 65f. Even as late as George the Pisidian’s iambic poem of praise to Heraclius the emperor is compared to the shining Apollo purifying the world (Georg. Pis. *Exp. Pers.* 3.7-12); cf. TAKÁCS 2009, 127-34 on the propaganda imagery of Heraclius and his panegyrists.

<sup>167</sup> The remains of the arch were first described by CASSON & TALBOT RICE 1929 (ch. 5, with fig. 47), and after that by MAMBOURY 1936, 260f. JANIN 1964, 66 suggests, somewhat amusingly, that the motif of giant hands holding *ρόπαλα* was meant as a warning to those intent on fraud or other mercantile crimes. More likely, to incorporate an unmistakable part of a pagan divinity whom Theodosius’ idol Trajan had also much revered (see next note, also SIMON 1955, 131f.), the emperor wished to bolster his military support after what may have been recognized as a less-than-glorious settlement with the Goths in 382—despite the manoeuvring of Themistius (*Or.* 16; see also LENSKI 1997, 139-44; ERRINGTON 2006, 63). It may be that Theodosius’ commitment to Christianity has been overplayed in the past: to be sure, his triumph in Rome as late as in 389, described in Pacatus’ panegyric, contains no hints as to displaying Christian imagery. Though ‘pro-barbarian’ probably does not accurately describe Theodosius’ policies at this stage (cf. CAMERON & LONG 1993, 9), his pact with the Goths could easily have appeared as such to many observers, emphasizing his need to pose as a Trajano-Herculean strongman against the trans-Danubian peoples (on Trajanic iconography, COULSTON 2003, 393-424).

<sup>168</sup> Indeed, it seems rather clear that the defeat in the hands of the northerners was immediately interpreted as an act of divine wrath, though the reactions show that there was no agreement about the nature of the *peccatum*: it may be that Gratian’s act of toleration after Adrianople (Socr. 5.2.1; Soz. 7.1.3) could have been prompted by sudden unease about loss of divine favour; see CAMERON 2011, 42 pointing out that after the calamity, the issue of removing the Altar of Victory from the Roman Senate certainly obtained tones of deep significance; further

In addition to quite unambiguously appropriating Herculean iconography, Theodosius was praised by Pacatus in tones that certainly harked back to earlier Imperial panegyristic image of the emperor extending the Roman influence in a way that took its exemplar from Hercules.<sup>169</sup> The Herculean allusions in the Panegyric of 289 have already been noted, but they were part of the imagery of many earlier imperial speeches as well.<sup>170</sup> Pliny the Younger's *Panegyricus* is quite explicit about the association of Trajan with Jupiter, but occasionally flirts with Herculean imagery as well—especially in connection with Trajan's career under Domitian.<sup>171</sup> Dio Chrysostom, similarly speaking to the newly elevated Trajan, makes more visible use of the Herculean *exemplum*: he narrates at length the famous choice of the future hero between two female personifications, in his interpretation named as *Basileia* and *Tyrannia* (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 1.61-84). Heracles, devoting his life to vanquishing tyrants wherever he met them, was thus the saviour of the world and of humankind (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτῆρα εἶναι). In closing his speech Dio Chrysostom reminds Trajan that even in their own time the emperor could rely on the providential help of Heracles (1.84).

Herculean themes are readily apparent in the Panegyric of 307, addressed to young Constantine in the presence of the father of his bride, Maximian, a decidedly Herculean figure.<sup>172</sup> The senior Augustus is again depicted as the first Roman to cross the Rhine—contrary to 'false claims' concerning the earlier emperors (*hic, quod iam falso traditum de antiquis*

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elaborated 340. As noted by GARNSEY 1984, 20, Gratian's act seems to have been annulled by *CTh* 16.5.5, already in 379. Also LENSKI 1997, 145-60.

<sup>169</sup> Pacat. *Pan. Lat.* 12(2).23.1; see e.g. LIEBESCHUETZ 1979, 301f. (noting how far into full-fledged emperor-worship an apparently Christian panegyrist of an Christian emperor is ready to wade); OLSSTER 1996, 96f.; CAMERON 2011, 227-30. The choice of Pacatus might have been influenced by Theodosius' desire to emulate his Hispanian predecessor Trajan, even in the design of his forum and column in Constantinople; about which ERRINGTON 2006, 146, remarking that the new Gothic threat from the area of Dacia, so famously subjugated by Trajan, could only have made his *exemplum* more salient to Theodosius. Cf. *ILS* 2945, which testifies to the learned pagan Sextus Aurelius Victor erecting a statue of Theodosius in the Forum of Trajan during his tenure as *praefectus urbi*: see also ERRINGTON 2006, 134f.

<sup>170</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).7.6 thanks Maximian for taming *feras illas indomitasque gentes* by razing, battles, slaughters, iron and blood (*vastatione, proeliis, caedibus, ferro ignique*), followed by a slightly mitigating *Herculei generis hoc fatum est, virtuti tuae debere quod vindicas*. Earlier the panegyrist had buttressed the Herculean association by the well-established notion of skirting the borders of οἰκουμένη: not only is Maximian quite blatantly called the first to penetrate into Germania, in the process proving that *Romani imperii nullum esse terminum nisi qui tuorum esset armorum* (1.3).

<sup>171</sup> E.g. the *post saevos labores* in Plin. *Pan.* 14.5; Trajan appears to have minted coins with Herculean themes: *RIC* III 695, 581, 702; *CIL* VI 2074,67. HEKSTER 2005, 205 about Trajan's carefully cultivated associations with Hercules, with further point (205-6) about Domitian, too, having constructed a connection between himself and Hercules, which may have led the panegyricists of Trajan to effectively cast him as the mere Eurystheus against the rising Trajan. Indeed, Domitian appears to have had a particular reverence towards Minerva, the divine counsellor of Hercules; see e.g. TUCK 2005, 232.

<sup>172</sup> The pacification of an *efferrata* Gaul is brought up as the most remarkable demonstration of the Herculean nature of Maximian: some time had passed since *Pan. Lat.* 10(2), and it seems that the re-subjugation of the Gallic provincials had been ideologically better accommodated than at the time of the Panegyric of 289; even so, the mythological simile of beastliness is still there. For the replacement of the 'Bacaudic' victories—in need of allegorization on account of their internal nature—with more unambiguously triumphalistic celebration of trans-Rhenane victory: see NIXON 1990, 17-20.

*imperatoribus putabatur, Romana trans Rhenum signa primus barbaris gentilibus intulit*).<sup>173</sup> The glorifying motif of emperors pushing back the borders of the οἰκουμένη would easily survive the falling-out between Constantine and Maximian. In the Panegyric of 310, addressed to Constantine on his *quinquennialia*, the panegyrist expresses rather impressively the role of the victorious emperor taking Roman arms to the extremities of the world, in a description that echoes the Augustan ideology of rebirth and universalism, in which the whole world is the theatre of the divinely victorious emperor. The role played by the British Isles in this panegyric as the symbol of the very limits of the οἰκουμένη, yet at the same time blurring the limits of the finite human world, is part of a long-lived tradition.<sup>174</sup>

Perhaps on account of the Rhenish emphasis evidenced by the Maxentian orations, Constantine's triumphal pedigree—the emperor being as yet quite untested in external conflicts—is rather closely connected with Britain, which was not only the locale of his elevation and frequent sojourns during his early rule, but also the site of his father's most providential actions. The remoteness of Britain from the normative centre could be turned into a prefiguration of divinity (*sacratiora sunt profecto mediterraneis loca vicina caelo*), with the associated promise of great things to come (*et inde propius a dis mittitur imperator ubi terra finitur*).<sup>175</sup> Similarly, in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*, Britain forms an elemental part of the emperor's *materies gloriae*, comparable to India (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.50). During the earlier Empire, these cardinal extremes of the οἰκουμένη would very probably have invited a reference to Hercules, but as a Christian Eusebius was not inclined to use this device. A much earlier panegyric (of 297-8), delivered to Constantius Chlorus when he was still a Caesar, is quite clear in giving him special credit for crossing the Ocean to re-subjugate the Britons.<sup>176</sup> In characterizing the whole futile enormity of the Carausian usurpation, the Panegyrist of 297 chose to make use of an *exemplum* about the sacrilegious arrogance (*stulta ille iactantia et sacrilega*

<sup>173</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 7(6).8.4: *qui se progeniem esse Herculis non adulationibus fabulosis sed aequatis virtutibus comprobavit*. That the Rhine was of central importance for most speakers of the *Pan. Lat.*: LASSANDRO 1986, 156; *ibid.* 1987, 296-300. This importance was of an enmeshed historico-exemplary quality just as much as a simple geographic concern.

<sup>174</sup> Europe had appeared limitless and undefined even in Herodotus, who otherwise was much occupied by defining the ἑσχατία: NENCI 1990, 301. Remarks about the Hellenistic and Augustan phase of the same: CLARKE 2001, 98.

<sup>175</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 6(7).9.5. Indeed, in the world of panegyrics, the power of the triumphant emperor was such as to be able to transform the Roman empire itself to an island: the dead Constantius Chlorus is praised in *Pan. Lat.* 6(7).6.4 for making a sea out of the Rhine, so as to preserve his people from the multitude of Germans (*quid immanem ex diversis Germanorum populis multitudinem, quam duratus gelu Rhenus inlexerat ut in insulam*). This praise, probably occasioned by a timely flood of the river, immediately precedes the narration of Constantius' British expedition—anticipated in the themes of insularity and ships of the preceding chapter. Powers over the forces of nature had already been ascribed to emperor Trajan by Pliny in his *Panegyricus* (*Pan. Lat.* 1.7.7).

<sup>176</sup> *Pan. Lat.* 8(5).11, though the passage is also clear about the fact that it was the first Caesar, the Divine Julius, who first accomplished the feat of invading Britain: unlike in the panegyrics of Maximian and his exploits in Germania, there was no attempt to appropriate the motif of first conquest.

*vanitate*) of that paradigmatic eastern despot, Xerxes (*Pan. Lat.* 8(5).7.1). The emperor Constantius Chlorus, on the other hand, was moved by *divina providentia et efficacia* not to insult the primal element of the Ocean, despite having harnessed it with an artificial break-water, and hence was rewarded with victory.<sup>177</sup> It appears that the motif of an imperial figure successfully negotiating his relationship with the Ocean in any of several ways was by the third century one of the stock images of imperial panegyric. It behove the later imperial figures to re-enact the ground-breaking 'discovery of another world' by Julius Caesar, and the way of completing this re-enactment could be turned into a powerful morally evaluating argument.

Later, the Herculean *exemplum* is rhetorically offered to an imperial figure—only to be rejected by him—in an exchange of letters between Themistius and Julian. Only the response of Julian to the philosopher is extant, but from the references in the letter something of Themistius' original argument can be recovered. The dating of the correspondence is insecure, and though the application of a Herculean model would suit Julian's time in Gaul as a Caesar, one should not discount a later, post-usurpation date of composition at least for the surviving letter.<sup>178</sup> In any case, Julian starts humbly by stating that he may well fall short of Themistius' hopes, particularly as the philosopher has referred to such figures as Heracles and Dionysus, who were at the same time philosophers and kings, purifying the earth and sea of evils.<sup>179</sup> He claims to be dazed by the enormity of the *exempla* being thrown in his direction, and in accordance with his professed infatuation with philosophy devotes most of his response to

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<sup>177</sup> NIXON 1990, 14 on the Xerxes-*exemplum*. Another important factor in this choice was that both Carausius' advancement (of which CASEY 1994, 50f.) and his successful defiance of the central government was dependent on the sea and the navy; this was a good enough link to associate him with the arrogant King of Kings who according to Hdt. 7.35 lashed the Hellespont. Even rather obscure *exempla* exhibiting connotations of providentiality, victorious Heracleism, and the sea were taken up in connection with Carausius' British usurpation: the Panegyric of 289 refers to a little-known story about Octavius Herrenus defeating pirates with his merchant ship aided with Hercules' favour (10(2).13.5; found in Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.363; Macr. *Sat.* 3.6.11): REES 2005, 229f. The feat of pacifying the ocean could much later be put to serve hagiographic epideixis, such as in Greg. Magn. *Mor.* 27.11 PL 76.411, where the formerly stormy Oceanus lies subjected at the feet of the saints, its 'barbarous movement', which earthly kings had attempted to tame by sword, pacified by a few priestly words.

<sup>178</sup> For discussion about the relevant elements, see MCCORMICK 1986, 92 (on Libanius' praise approximating the argument of Themistius' letter); BRAUCH 1993, arguing for Themistius' high activity during Julian's rule; VANDERSPOEL 1995, 119f. detects 'respectful animosity familiar enough to academics', which may however have been part of the literary posturing.

<sup>179</sup> Them. *ap. Julian. Ep. ad Them.* 1: ἐν ἧ πρότερον Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Διόνυσος ἐγενέσθην φιλοσοφούντες ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύοντες καὶ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης κακίας ἀνακαθαίρομενοι γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν. This *exemplum* by Themistius is strikingly close to the formulation of Heracles' exemplarity in Dio Chrysostom's *Or.* 1 to Trajan (cf. p. 348). A direct influence of Dio upon the latter classicizing sophist is possible, although the possible existence of a ready-made rhetorical template should not be dismissed, especially as Hercules was sketched as an ideal conqueror—conquering nothing for himself, unlike Alexander—already in Sen. *Ben.* 1.13.3. At least in Ammianus' references to Hercules as the originator of the Gauls in the stage of the narrative when Julian is created Caesar and sent to Gaul, probably bears some exemplary force, as noted by KELLY 2008, 264 (cf. RIKE 1987, 24-5). One may also note (as indeed was done by RIKE 1987, 24f.) that Amm. 18.2.4 and Lib. *Or.* 18.87 attest to Julian's restoration of Castra Herculis in Gaul, and the Herculean (Tetrarchan) imagery of his coinage: BOWDER 1978, 118.

arguments of an entirely philosophical nature; the most relevant example appears to be the emperor Marcus, composing his *Meditations* during military campaigns. Later on, the intellectual Caesar takes up the merits of an active life as exemplified by Heracles, and concludes that conquests, such as those of Alexander, make no-one the wiser or more temperate, while they do increase faults of personality. Then, with another reference to his own middling talents, he refuses the semi-divine *exempla* that Themistius offered him.<sup>180</sup>

For early writers about European barbarians, as we have seen, Giants and Titans had served as a plausible mythological *exemplum*. By the time of Macrobius, it was ostensibly possible to think of the Giants whom Hercules had vanquished as an impious *gens* of people who had despised the gods, even to the extent of wishing to expel them from their celestial abode.<sup>181</sup> This kind of semi-euhemerizing classicism is continued by the allegory that the snakes forming the feet of the Giants signalled their lack of reverence towards higher, celestial and righteous matters. Instead, their whole life was devoted to base, indeed under-worldly considerations (*totius vitae eorum gressu atque processu in inferna mergente*). The earthly, brutal, and base associations of this could be compared to the Panegyrist of 289 and his *monstra biformia* against which Hercules once fought in *Terrigenarum bello* (*Pan. Lat.* 10(2).4.2-3). The continuing relevance of allusions to mythical exemplars of impious giant humanoids with rudimentary methods of subsistence may be connected with the Roman elite's uneasiness with rural occupations and population groups who had strong associations with the pastoral profession, mobile lifestyle, and physical work.<sup>182</sup> Now, with the barbarians increasingly settled in the provinces, the re-barbarization of the provincials could have led to an increased providential appreciation of Hercules' feats against *Terrigenae*, who again were a convenient way of referring to groups whose mode of life was perceived as primitive.

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<sup>180</sup> Julian. *Ep. ad Them.* 10-12. The preceding Roman notions of Alexander as an example of a glory-crazed individualist are sketched in SPENCER 2002, 50, 109-11 (with the interesting context of Seneca's tutorship to Nero), and 146-8. Important background to Julian's relationship with the Alexandrian *exempla* is provided by LANE FOX 1997.

<sup>181</sup> Macr. *Sat.* 1.20.8: *ipse creditur et Gigantas interemisse cum caelo propugnaret quasi virtus deorum. Gigantas autem quid aliud fuisse credendum est quam hominum quandam impiam gentem deos negantem et ideo aestimatam deos pellere de caelesti sede voluisse.* Cf. *Pan. Lat.* 10(2).4.2, where the panegyristic mode makes the identification more oblique. Macrobius' antiquarian register, on the other hand, appears more detached from (at least immediate) political adulation.

<sup>182</sup> That moral values had been affixed to the nomadic lifestyle even in its mythical manifestations are noted as present by EVANS 2008, 87 even in as old (and formative) a passage as Polyphemus in the *Od.* 9.107-12. On the exemplarity, see also DAUGE 1981, 642-45. Studies on societal trust in antiquity and on a gap of understanding between different classes to some extent still depend upon the fundamental study of DE STE. CROIX 1981, and in the case of Late Imperial West, THOMPSON 1952 and SHAW 1984, the latter drawing partly upon HOBBSBAWM 1969 (affirming that at least an image of a Hobsbawmian 'social bandit' did exist in the minds of the ancient literary elite: SHAW 1985, 50); criticism and evaluation of their basically materialist interpretations have been administered since DRINKWATER 1984. Regarding the entrenched imagery of the lower classes among the elite discourse: SHAW 2000, 382-93 (with reasoned, modified form of his earlier argumentation, which has weathered rather well the variable fortunes of Marxist historiography). From the urban nodes that produced our written sources, the transhumant pastoralists, seasonal workers, and itinerant craftsmen were particularly suspicious.

## b. THE SANCTUARIES, CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN

The multi-faceted nature of the Late Imperial religious debate is demonstrated by the option—sometimes adopted by pagan writers—of directing the accusation of ‘latter-day-Titanism’ against Christians.<sup>183</sup> Eunapius of Sardis, a relatively traditional-minded pagan, uses the motif with regard to the party responsible for the razing of the Serapeum at Alexandria; the patriarch Theophilus is compared to Eurymedon, once ruler of the Giants (Eunap. *VJ* 6.11.1-2). Here, however, fear of the elemental power of the mob is probably more to the point than any actual, politicized desire to cast Christians as Titans or Giants—impious though their acts might seem. Eunapius too could be moved by the defamatory potential of the (by now very conventional) rhetorical trope of likening sacrilege to the acts of Titans—which, as has been repeatedly argued above, stemmed in large part from the shock of the northerners’ lack of reverence towards Greek cultic sites. In the thinking—or at any rate the rhetoric—of both Claudian and Rutilius Namatianus, there is clearly some formidable religio-magical symbolism involved in the possibility that the barbarians might be afforded a glimpse into the sacral centre of the empire in the form of the temples at Rome.<sup>184</sup>

A passage in Zosimus shows Eunapius, a pagan of the old school, revivifying even the old motif of divine epiphany in connection with a northern barbarian invasion of Greece: as Alaric’s Goths are enabled to plunder Greece due to the impious invitation of Rufinus the praetorian prefect, the barbarian host approaching Athens is discouraged from attempting to take the city by the sight of Athena and Achilles guarding its walls.<sup>185</sup> Eunapius’ history is

<sup>183</sup> On ‘Titanism’, see above p. 293-96.

<sup>184</sup> Claudian, in his *De bello Gothico* (104-9) expresses relief that by the grace of Jupiter the barbarians, though not completely extinguished, were prevented from polluting with their gaze the temples founded by Numa and the seat Quirinus (*ut delubra Numae sedesque Quirini barbaries oculis saltem temerare profanis possit*) and from witnessing the secret of the empire (*et arcanum tanti deprendere regni*). The symbolism is something that Cicero or Tacitus would have immediately approved. Rutilius Namatianus, for his part, writing with the hindsight of the senatorial opposition to Stilicho, imagined that the worst had already happened: *Red. suo* 2.41-56 and the barbarian general had been able to profane the *arcanum imperii*.

<sup>185</sup> Eunap. *ap.* Zos. 5.6.1-2; cf. F 64 BLOCKLEY. Rufinus is defined as *Κελτὸς τὸ γένος* in Zos. 4.51.1; cf. Claud. *Ruf.* 1.123-28. Unfortunately Zosimus has condensed Eunapius’ narrative of Alaric’s two invasions of Greece in 395 and 396 into a single invasion; this is all the more glaring since an invasion in 369 could hardly have been masterminded by Rufinus, who had been dead for a year. This does not, however, diminish the value of his polemic denunciations of Rufinus and the motif of divine intervention in saving Athens from Alaric. Most of what we know about the happenings in Greece in 396 comes from the valuable Eunapius-fragment preserved by John of Antioch (Eunap. F 64.1 *ap.* Joh. Ant. F 282 ROBERTO (F 215.2 MARIEV) *ap.* *Exc. de ins.* 80). It seems quite clear that the easy access Alaric clearly had to the cities of Greece stems from the fact that he operated there on the mandate of the Eastern government (effectively Eutropius) in opposition to Stilicho: BURNS 1994,



known to have been quite rhetorical and affected in nature, and it is thus not improbable that he modelled this incident on what he had read in Herodotus and perhaps Pausanias; another potential exemplar is Silius Italicus' rendition of Hannibal's refusal to attack the city of Rome.<sup>186</sup> Notably, both supernatural agents are compared in their appearance to classical models: Achilles to the Homeric vision, Athena to sculptural depictions (the intended allusion might have been to the Pheidian Athena Promachos on the Acropolis). It is almost as though Eunapius had felt his late pagan audience would otherwise have difficulty in conceptualizing these ancient figures. In any case, just as in classical accounts of divine epiphany at times of barbarian attempts at sacrilege, so here too the invaders' retreat is finally decided by their intense fear. After mutual oaths, Alaric is allowed to enter Athens with a small retinue, and is entertained there with great hospitality; the city and all of Attica are left unharmed. For the Capitoline motif in traditions about the fall of Stilicho and Serena, see above (340).<sup>187</sup>

The providentiality manifested in temples and altars worked just as well with Christian thinking as with pagans. Prudentius seems to have been a firm believer in the potential of a Christian Rome to endure and spread: a vision which he may have wanted particularly to parade in his *Contra Symmachum* (e.g. 2.635-8), since the issue at stake was the famous affair of the Altar of Victory—a strong providential symbol, whose removal from the Senate House at Rome was portrayed by the senatorial elite as a severe mistake.<sup>188</sup> In language alluding to Vergil, Prudentius sees no conceivable bounds for Rome, which has now obtained the true

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159, 167 (whose interpretation differs from the orthodox, yet naïve reading that Stilicho hastened to save Greece from the depredations of Alaric). For the plausibility of Claudian's claims to his contemporaries, see CAMERON 1970A, 74—indeed, the notion of someone inviting the barbarians in had been around since the invitation of Gauls into Italy by Arruns of Clusium according to several writers (Polyb. 2.17.3, 2.18.1-2; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 13.10-11; Livy 5.33; examined as causal narrative by WILLIAMS 2001, 102-9).

<sup>186</sup> On the overly rhetorical and apparently unpopular style of Eunapius, cf. TREADGOLD 2007, 88-89, quoting (fn. 56) Photius. Sil. *Pun.* 13.1-81 explains at length the reasons why Hannibal chose not to march against Rome when the way was open to him: first, his personal unease about divine favour is referred-to (*modo iussa deorum nunc sese increpitat*, 7f.), then the superstitious fear of his army is described, though they still desire to advance upon the city (19-29); finally, Dasius of Argyripa draws attention to the *exemplum* about his ancestor Diomedes at Troy and the power of the Palladium to defeat any enemy who tried to take Rome as long as the city had the ancient statue of Athena, just as it had destroyed to the last man the *Celtae* when they attacked Rome (76-81, in itself a topical outcome already met with the traditions of the Delphic attack). Interestingly, when turning his army back, Hannibal's 'greedy horde of barbarians' (90) becomes guilty of sacrilege in plundering the ancient and rich sanctuary of Feronia. For *metus hostilis* and the *exempla* of Capitoline fall in the *Punica*, see JACOBS 2010, esp. 128ff., 137ff. See LEVENE 1993, 45 on how Livy uses temporary piety on the part of Hannibal to explain his successes.

<sup>187</sup> See also GRIG 2009 about the long afterlife of legends and the sometimes hazy associations with sacrality that clung to the Capitolium until the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Other relevant contributions in connection with the attitudes of Christian elite and emperors towards the Capitoline cults and buildings include MCCORMICK 1986, 89-91, 101; CURRAN 1996; CAMERON 2011, 179 gives careful interpretation of Prudentius' dramatic but blatantly propagandistic description (*C. Symm.* 1.415-505) of Theodosius performing a rousing speech in front of enthusiastic senators, leading to a mass of conversions and just a few still clinging to the old cults on Capitol (see also ANDO 2008, 170f.). Additionally, comparable attitudes to pagan monuments in Constantinople have been examined by SARADI-MENDELOVICI 1990.

<sup>188</sup> CAMERON 2011, 339-42; also suggesting that Prudentius got the idea of resurgent Rome from Claudian: 217f.

providential support of heavens.<sup>189</sup> Though post-dating the official end-point of this study, the Vigilian catacomb inscriptions in Rome could actually be seen as representing another resurgence of the *renovatio* ideology, though even more prominently in a religious context than other Justinian material of that tendency.<sup>190</sup> The tombs of the saints had been laid waste by the shameless, monstrous and impious barbarian enemy, but after the purificatory act of their expulsion and the cleansing of the city of their sinfulness, the shrines of the martyrs are again accorded their due reverence and devotion.<sup>191</sup> The topos of resurgent piety, consistently an elemental component in the ideology of victory from at least the Hellenistic Greece and the Republican Rome onwards, is still evident. Such imagery of barbarian spoliation and its overcoming seem to condense around the focal points of ancient religions: the Delphic sanctuary among the Greeks, the Capitolium among the pagan Romans, and the tombs of the martyrs among the early Christians.

Tombs developed in a Christian context into shrines in their own right, as demonstrated by the example above, and a further piece of evidence demonstrates that tomb inscriptions had already earlier become associated with the formulation of divine wrath as unleashing barbarians. This is the funerary epigram for an apparently Christian young woman Domitilla, found at Karzene, from around the middle of the third century CE. The context for the inscription seems to be the depredations of the Goths in Asia Minor between 255 and 257, some of which were seaborne (cf. l. 5). The text (probably set up by Domitilla's widower) envisions the young woman as representing Greek wisdom (σωφροσύνη) in times of barbarian hybris (ll. 3-4, 7), which has been unleashed by the θεῶν χόλος (l. 5), divine anger.<sup>192</sup> One is reminded of Cicero's juxtaposition of the innocent piety of Fonteia against the dangerous and impious nature of the hybristic Gauls (above p. 202f.). This epigram can also be compared to the motif of virtuous maidens committing suicide rather than allowing

<sup>189</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1.279 *imperium sine fine dedi*; Prudent. *C. Symm.* 1.543 *imperium sine fine docet*. On Prudentius' theology of imperial victory: PASCHOUD 1967, 222-33; THOMPSON 1982, 231f.; the latest remarks *in extenso* are those in CAMERON 2011, who makes several previously unvoiced points, for instance putting Prudentius' first book of *C. Symm.* in a firmer connection with the battle of Frigidus (122f.), and his utter dependence upon Livy and Vergil in what it came to precise details of pagan worship (161ff.). The resurgence of the motif of *Roma aeterna* embracing the whole of οἰκουμένη was noted in PASCHOUD 1967, 152 in Claudian's panegyric for Probinus and Olybrius.

<sup>190</sup> Briefly discussed in AMORY 1997, 145f. on the basis of FIEBIGER and SCHMIDT 1917-44.

<sup>191</sup> The period for these inscriptions, during Justinian's Gothic War, would certainly have led to an increase in the negative poignancy of the Arian barbarians. Indeed, Vigil. *Ep.* 1.3 *PL* 69.18 seems to imagine Arianism for the *gentes iniquitae*. The notion of barbarians as impious spoliators of sanctuaries is particularly strong in *Anth. Lat.* II 917; *ICUR* II p. 100 DE ROSSI, n. 18: for instance: *dum peritura Gethae posuissent castra sub urbe, moverunt sanctis bella nefanda prius. istaque sacrilego verterunt corde sepulcra*. Another work influenced by the same period of hostilities, Agathias' *Histories*, imagines the looting of Italian churches as leading to the Frankish defeat (*Hist.* 2.1.7, 10.1).

<sup>192</sup> *SEG* 34.1271, 37.1092, 47.1697; first published by KAYGUSUZ 1984 in *EA* 4, 61-2; then by LEBEK 1985; discussed by PALUMBO STRACCA 1997 and STIVALA 2011, 4, 7 fn. 28. The mode, and to a certain extent the content, too, matches the funerary epigram of the Milesian maidens attributed to Anyte (see p. 78 above).

barbarians to touch them.<sup>193</sup> That these attacks followed the battle of Abrittus (June 251), and the associated death of the emperor Decius and his heir Herennius Etruscus, would no doubt have made it easier to see θεῶν χόλος as the rationale behind such a shocking intrusion of violent outsiders into Asia Minor. The significance of the inscription stems from the fact that it shows how the motif of providentiality in the fight against northern barbarians could be applied in texts of a non-official nature and apparently free of Christian factionalism or other religious entrenchment. It also preserves at least something of the reactions associated with the most severe Roman defeat by northerners between the *clades Variana* and Adrianople.<sup>194</sup>

c. CHRISTIAN BARBAROGRAPHY? TOPICAL ADAPTATIONS AND EPISTEMIC REDEFINITIONS

It has been noted that Christian Romans in general showed no more sympathy for barbarians than did their pagan predecessors.<sup>195</sup> Certainly, the jubilation of Orosius in writing about the demise of Theodosius' Gothic vanguard in the battle of Frigidus seems far removed from Christian universalism (Oros. 7.35.19). The fundamental difference between barbarians and Christians, as articulated by Prudentius, has already been referred to (p. 334 fn. 125). Heresy, the prevalent polemical category of animosity for most Christian writers, came to be associated by a series of connotations with the barbarian iconosphere.<sup>196</sup> Through historical processes which saw a considerable number of northern barbarians converting to forms of Christianity—especially Arianism—which later came to be considered 'wrong', and at the same time residing in even greater numbers within the traditional confines of the Roman realm, these discredited forms of Christianity came to be to some extent associated with barbarians.<sup>197</sup> The reverse could be advanced as a partial explanation as well: having

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<sup>193</sup> Line 6: τῶν τότε βαρβαρικῆς χειρὶν ἀπολλυμένων; cf. above p. 71. The suicide of a molested maiden seems to have formed a topical subject in discussions about suicide: cf. August. *De civ. D.* 1.16-21, where he uses both classical (Lucretia) and Biblical (Judas) *exempla* and argues that an innocent has no reason to commit suicide, whereas the only legitimate murder is that done in obedience of a divine command (such as Abraham's readiness to sacrifice Isaac); the souls of Christian maidens had not been tarnished by their violation (1.16).

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Amm. 31.5.15-17 in a retrospective enumeration of the most serious defeats of the Romans. Otherwise the reactions to the debacle at Abrittus have suffered from the patchy record of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in our extant sources. That Lact. *De mort. pers.* 4 should present Decius' death in the hands of Carpi as a fitting punishment from his alleged persecution is hardly surprising, but neither can it be seen as reflecting genuine reactions.

<sup>195</sup> OLSTER 1996, 96. CRACCO RUGGINI 1987, 198 on passages like Ambrose *Ep.* 18.7 pointing to the view among some Christians that the idolatry of pagan Romans and barbarians put them partly on the same line.

<sup>196</sup> As noted by, e.g. WINKELMANN 1989, 223.

<sup>197</sup> Some modern scholars have interpreted Arianism as a particularly 'Germanic' form of Christianity. Cf. AMORY 1997, 328; as an example of the inherent logic, see MATHISEN 2009, 309-10: 'Ricimer's personal religious

become associated as the religion of barbarians and with the army (itself increasingly regarded as a 'barbarian' occupation), the Arian form of Christianity could easily be characterized through alienating rhetoric as distinct from the established creed, hence partly contributing to its marginalization. This is apparent, for instance, in the collusion of Arianism and the barbarians in a homily by John Chrysostom condemning the harbouring of a 'foreign creed' by aliens present in the capital.<sup>198</sup>

But Chrysostom's readiness to convert barbarians was to an extent a new way of doing things. In general, and particularly up till the fifth century, the Nicene religious authorities showed barely any interest in proselytizing their faith among the barbarians of *barbaricum*; consequently finding assessments of the moral value of such activities is rather difficult.<sup>199</sup> Since either by historical accident or purposeful design 'Arianism' appears to have spread more widely among barbarian groups outside the imperial borders (although there is always the possibility that even this development was largely fabricated in the Nicene literary accounts), some Arian-sympathizing writers do mention these efforts in a particularly appreciative tone. Philostorgius, an Anomoean Arian, writes in praise of the missionary efforts of Ulfila among "the Scythians of Istros, who were formerly known as Γέται, and nowadays

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affinity, which is not stated in any source, can be inferred from his Gothic and Suevic ethnicity' (of Ricimer and antibarbarism, cf. SCOTT 1984).

<sup>198</sup> *Hom.* 37 *PG* 60 267; cf. Synes. *Prov.* 121B. The condemnation of ἀλλότριον [...] νόθον [...] δόγμα leads to a demand for ξενηλασία, since the aliens carry what appears like a disease harming the whole body of citizens. For Chrysostom's ambivalence about the Goths themselves: CAMERON & LONG 1993, 96-102 (noting that Gaiinas' personal conversion was sought both by John and a certain Nilus of Ancyra, who corresponded with the general, *Ep.* 1.70, 79, 114ff., 205f., 186 in *PG* 79). It seems on the basis of *Hom.* 8 (*PG* 63 499-510) that Chrysostom did make efforts to preach to the Goths and adapt his rhetoric in order to make conversion attractive (though LIEBESCHUETZ 1990, 169f. detects his attempts to suppress an instinctively patronizing tone; DOLEŽAL 2006, 174f. is much more optimistic, possibly overly so); indeed, the fact that he needs to stress (*Hom.* 8, 499ff.) that there was no difference between Greek and a barbarian for the Church, only underlines the fact that in real life this difference could not be bridged. Theodor. 5.31 has been read as evidence that Chrysostom sent missionaries to the Goths along the Danube; and the bishop's particular preoccupation with Goths has been regarded as quite unprecedented by DOLEŽAL 2006, 165f. On the other hand, it is rather more difficult to see who are the 'Celts' whom Chrysostom brought back to the fold of orthodoxy according to the Photius' summary of the *V. S. Chrys.* by the 7<sup>th</sup> century Georgius of Alexandria (Phot. *Bibl. cod.* 96). Scythians are mentioned immediately afterwards, also receiving Chrysostom's episcopal guidance back to Christianity, while Gaiinas is not given an ethnicity. It is possible that Georgius collated two sources with different classicizing ethnonyms for the Goths; at least Photius reports that Georgius (whose style he berates) combined material from Palladius' biography with information from Socrates and other writers. As an unconnected note, one may add that in the Chrysostom-biography of *Legenda Aurea*, 'Gaimas' is of 'Celtic' ancestry.

<sup>199</sup> Indeed, as suggested by the reading of THOMPSON 1982, 231 into the Arian-leaning *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* (*PG* LVI 824) there were voices which labelled Romans attempting to convert barbarians with the label of *impietas*; also AMORY 1997, 100. Cf. the sections of MATHISEN 1997 pertaining to northerners (670-81), though he does not directly address the reasons behind the apparent Roman slowness in embracing the proselytizing among barbarians. Possibly the pre-Constantinian Christians were mostly focused upon gaining converts within the Roman realm and society, then during the 4<sup>th</sup> century internal dissension about doctrinal matters would have consumed most of their attention, and finally in the course of the 5<sup>th</sup> century the idea of pagans (inside and outside the empire) being 'lost souls ripe for conversion, whereas heretics were damned forever' (CAMERON & LONG 1993, 252) gained acceptance.

as Goths".<sup>200</sup> In perhaps rather similar mode, Socrates of Constantinople, who provides an extreme example of Late Antique open-mindedness and balanced judgement when it comes to tolerating heresies, is quite ready to recognize as martyrs the Arian Goths killed by pagans (Socr. 4.33.7). Elsewhere, however, Socrates shows himself quite ready to employ such time-tested topoi as the lustfulness of the Eastern peoples and the irate demeanour of both Thracians and Scythians.<sup>201</sup> For him, barbarians could be either allies or enemies of the pacifying influence of Christian Rome; but the difference was mainly judged by their actions.<sup>202</sup> The Arianism of the Goths, for instance, enters the picture when necessary: in denouncing Valens, Socrates takes advantage both of his converting the Goths to Arianism and his admitting them within the Empire, a source of much future grief; similarly, Gaiinas is vehemently denounced through a combination of three traits, all leading to disturbance and ruin: his barbarism and its two manifestations—creed and greed.<sup>203</sup> As long as the barbarians within the Empire remained barbarian in nature (and faith), their influence could thus only seldom be seen as beneficial even by the most tolerant church historians.

Even relatively tolerant Christian writers, regardless of their more narrow alignment, occasionally include passages that betray the elementally felt need to ascribe barbarian invasions (and other 'natural' catastrophes) to a falling away from religious correctness. For instance, Socrates, the otherwise open-minded historian, reports how a pro-Arian church council at Antioch in 341 is followed by a Frankish invasion of Gaul and an earthquake in Antioch. It is a pity that his sources are so poorly known, to say nothing of their preservation: the ascription does, however, display most of the characteristics of oral knowledge supplemented by an ecclesiastical source. In this particular case, the dire omens result from the frequently expressed distaste of the church historian for any kind of ecclesiastical strife, which he clearly envisioned as endangering the safety of the earthly realm, too.<sup>204</sup> Later,

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<sup>200</sup> Philostorg. 2 F 5 *ap. Phot. Epit.* See MARASCO 2005, 110-17.

<sup>201</sup> Socr. 4.28.9-12. It would be difficult to judge whether this is an occasion of 'genuinely known' traits associated with northern peoples, or whether Socrates is simply classicizing (though it is worth noting that his style is not overly Atticizing, but rather the contrary). Most likely, Socrates' genuine expectations and observation was to such an extent informed by his education and reading that having recourse to such tropes did in no way pose a danger of epistemic dissonance. In any case there is probably no reason to seek a practical explanation for this 'knowledge', as TREADGOLD 2007 does in noting that Socrates probably had met all these nationalities when handling divorce cases as a lawyer in the capital (138); the notion is amusing (notwithstanding the likely irateness of most divorce cases), but unnecessary in trying to explain such stock characteristics among barbarians. The dynamics of this type of cognitive priming has been well covered in SCHNEIDER 2004, e.g. 131-35 about the effects that priming of a schema has to the interpretation of behaviour.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. URBAINCZYK 1997, 173.

<sup>203</sup> Socr. 4.33.5, 34.6 (cf. Ruf. Aquil. *HE* 11.13), 6.6.2-4.

<sup>204</sup> Socr. 2.10.21-22. TREADGOLD 2007, 144 notes Socrates' heavy reliance on oral sources. VAN NUFFELEN 2004 (167 with notes) remarks that Socrates included all such portents as 'affaires publiques'. On earthquakes as the

another violent disturbance (the usurpation of Magnentius) is depicted following some sectarian unrest among Christians.<sup>205</sup> Though tolerant of religious ποικιλία in general, there is really no evidence to support the idea that Socrates portrayed barbarians using particularly benign imagery. On the contrary; hostile barbarians were just as guilty of violating the bond between State and Church as were other heretics or usurpers—their Arianism or orthodoxy was for Socrates merely a minor detail.

It is hardly a surprise that the shocking military disaster of Adrianople formed a powerful exemplary tool in any polemical discourse of religious correctness—all the more since Valens was such a strident Arian. This made it easy for Nicene and other anti-Arian writers to portray the whole debacle as divine punishment for the wicked Arian emperor, meted out by the barbarians in a way that seems almost Livian.<sup>206</sup> Theodoret of Cyrillus, whose atticizing *Ecclesiastical History* employed Arianism as one of its main leitmotifs (partly to deflect the attention from his own semi-Nestorianism), does exactly the thing: when Valens marches against the Goths in 378, Theodoret has Valentinian (who in fact was at the time two years dead) refuse any reinforcements on account of his brother's Arianism. Valens is defeated and killed, and this is described as a deserved punishment for his heresy.<sup>207</sup>

Indeed, it might be said that Adrianople came to play almost the same exemplary role for late imperial historians, as a military catastrophe merited through religious imperfection, as the battle of Allia and the ensuing occupation of Rome had played for earlier pagan writers. For Orosius, who is evidently elaborating Rufinus of Aquileia's account, Valens' fate came to represent the *divina indignatio*, presumably over his religious impurity.<sup>208</sup> Just as in the case of the earlier, pagan emperors, an imperial victory was still most potently confirmed by the divine

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sign of the wrath of God in Philostorgius, similarly eager to comment on contemporary doctrinal politics, see MARASCO 2005, 49-58.

<sup>205</sup> Socr. 2.25.6f. More examples in URBAINCZYK 1997, 171; on the results of ecclesiastical strife in Socrates: 169f., 176.

<sup>206</sup> It is not really necessary to postulate a direct Livian influence, nor that of any individual author of previous centuries. The appearance of the theme of providentiality should be seen as just another example of the traditional narrative uses of barbarians in rhetoric strategies dealing with substandard religiosity. Concerning Livy's treatment of the Gallic invasion as a *locus classicus* for divine retribution, cf. TROMPF 2000, 52. Of importance is also the new assessment of Livy's reception among Late Imperial literati by CAMERON 2011, 498-526, which to some extent implodes the scholarly myth of the 'last pagans' having an almost religious reverence towards Livy (511, 515); instead, the main sources to the Republican history for Symmachus (and by implication, his contemporaries) are argued to be Cicero and Valerius Maximus (*loc. cit.*). This does not particularly affect the argument of the current study: Cicero and Valerius would have been even more effective transmitters of rhetorical and conventional elements to the Late Antique educated elite than Livy. The pre-eminent study about the reactions to Adrianople is that of LENSKI (1997), especially 137-52; on Valens and his Homoean Arianism, 149ff.

<sup>207</sup> Theodor. *HE* 4.28 p. 270: οὐχ ὄσιον ἐπαμύνειν ἀνδρὶ πολεμοῦντι θεῶ; 4.31 p. 273. Cf. TROMPF 2000, 222, considering Theodoret much more inclined to describe Arians facing divine retribution than his two near-contemporaries Socrates and Sozomen were: on the latter two and their dedication to a 'heritage of peace and piety', see VAN NUFFELEN 2004. For Ammianus's take on Valens' *fatum*, see DAVIES 2004, 278ff.

<sup>208</sup> Oros. 7.33.15; cf. Ruf. Aquil. *HE* 11.13.

favour stemming from the emperor's righteousness—obviously something that all reigning emperors possessed, had the panegyrist been asked for their opinion. Theodosius, though earlier in his reign he may have made use of all the available barbaromachic devices, after the battle of river Frigidus was described by Jerome as achieving victory first and foremost by his faith and prayer.<sup>209</sup> In the latter part of his eleventh book, Philostorgius seems to have described a plethora of disasters showing God's anger, such as the usual famines, floods and barbarian raids (Philostorg. 11 F 7-8 *ap. Phot. Epit.*). Here he found Olympiodorus' anti-Christian and anti-Theodosian polemic useful. Both agreed that the empire was in crisis, and both held the Theodosian dynasty accountable, though where the pagans Olympiodorus and Eunapius had held all Christians responsible for the divine anger, the Arian Philostorgius understandably chose to target the Nicene persecutors of (Anomoean) Arians.<sup>210</sup>

In terms of stereotypes and general tone, it is difficult to see what changed in the Christian writers' descriptions of barbarians; and considering the continued inclusion of the traditional curriculum in the education of the Christian elite, this is entirely to be expected.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Jer. *Ep.* 58.5; Gennad. *De viris ill.* 49. Theodosius achieves the victory at Frigidus through prayer both in Socr. 5.25 and Soz. 7.24. Other roughly contemporary examples of this same 'victory solely by prayer' motif are given in CAMERON 2011, 97f. Rufinus of Aquileia, in his translation-continuation of the *HE* of Eusebius, considers the best proof of God's hand in action in the outcome of the battle to be provided exactly by the great amount of barbarians slain thereat: 2(11).16, 33. Orosius is even more gleeful in observing that the massacre of the Eastern army's Gothic vanguard was a victory in itself: *quos utique perdidisse lucrum et vinci vincere fuit* (Oros. 7.35.19). It seems undeniable that the battle encouraged imagery of a religious confrontation in some later observers: the clash between Hercules of Eugenius and the god of the Christians was elaborated, for instance, by Theodoret, who describes Hercules leading Eugenius' army (*HE* 5.23.4), and Theodosius spurning a statue of Hercules after the battle (5.24). This said, the narrative traditions about the battle at Frigidus being a confrontation between Hercules and the Cross have been newly and somewhat wittingly re-contextualized by CAMERON 2011, 93-131, who notes that the religious themes seem to derive largely from Rufinus (96), that pagans, Arians, and Christians were employed equally by both armies (99), and that the narrative element of Eugenius' army fighting under the tutelage of Hercules is simply a polar construction depending upon the Christian emperors' *labarum* (106). Moreover, if Eugenius was 'at least a nominal Christian' (CAMERON 2011, 106), it should be admitted that the Christianity or anti-paganism of Theodosius may have been similarly aggrandized by the historical tradition. The pious narratives must be reconciled with the apparent fact that Theodosius' triumphal arch at Constantinople's Forum Tauri seems to have featured pillars alluding to Hercules' club (CASSON & TALBOT RICE 1929, ch. 5; MAMBOURY 1936, 260f.), and neither was the emperor averse to praise in entirely 'pagan' poetic language (e.g. in *Anth. Pal.* 16.65; *Pacat. Pan. Lat.* 2(12).5.4, 23.1). It is conceivable that the arch—dedicated sometime between 380 and 388, and rededicated in 393, just before Theodosius set off against Eugenius—was not only a symbolic reassurance of barbaromachic nature in the wake of Adrianople and the treaty with the Goths (in 382), but (depending upon its exact date) also Theodosius' gesture towards the pagan elements of his army before marching to west to meet with Eugenius and Arbogastes. See also PAVAN 1964 on how sources reflect Theodosius' policy towards the Goths.

<sup>210</sup> TREADGOLD 2007, 164. As one example of his staunch belief in such *prodigia* of the Christian God's displeasure, in *Phot. Epit.* 12 F 10 Philostorgius seems to deny any possibility of earthquakes (and presumably, by extension, other natural disasters too) having anything to do with natural order: they were clear cases of divine punishment: cf. MARASCO 2005, 54f.

<sup>211</sup> As CAMERON 2011, 357 puts it, 'the Christian community never developed or even contemplated an alternative Christian educational system'—which is broadly speaking quite true, though one may differ from the part about contemplating: clearly there were Christians who sought to problematize the role of classical texts in education, as demonstrated in LANE FOX 1986, 304-8; moreover, the importance of claiming custodianship of the classics was likewise recognized by Julian: LIMBERIS 2000, 385f. DOWNEY 1957 is far too top-down in his approach, spending much time in discussing Constantine himself (maybe in the belief that Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.29

The occasional motif of the barbarians as essentially innocent because of their ignorance has sometimes been put forward as an element largely introduced by Christian thinking.<sup>212</sup> Salvian proclaims that heresy in barbarians was not their own fault: they are *non scientes*, and their conversion to Arianism was the doing of Romans.<sup>213</sup> A similar view is expressed by Jordanes (*Get.* 25.132 *rudibus et ignaris*), although he is much more explicit in assigning particular blame to Valens, while himself clearly identifying with the Nicenes (*nostrarum partium ecclesias obturasset*). Even this variation of 'soft primitivism', however, was not a complete innovation; it had been anticipated already by the Stoic universalism of Seneca (*Ep.* 90.46 *ignorantia rerum innocentes erant: multum autem interest, utrum peccare aliquis nolit an nesciat*), and in its own way in Tacitus' far from disinterested pseudo-ethnography as well.

It seems quite likely that by the fourth century some epistemic redefinitions had taken and were taking place, but both of the categories most relevant to this study, namely 'barbarians' and 'false religiosity', had preserved much of their rhetorical power even if their potential for actual distinctions had been eroded.<sup>214</sup> In addition to the potential themes outlined above, it has for instance been suggested that in representations of social cosmology, 'classical' dyadic oppositional pairings were replaced by triadic structures.<sup>215</sup> With its Late Antique meaning somewhat redefined, *Romanus* could—if expedient—be connected simultaneously to the new, narrowed geographical definition, in addition to the considerably longer-standing meaning endorsing the ideas of correct religiosity.<sup>216</sup> In the western ecclesiastical circles, indeed, there already seems to have been a certain readiness to direct charges of heresy towards the Greek half of the empire, in particular the eastern emperor, rather than the barbarian *reges* holding sway in the western parts of the empire, which was soon to be nominal in any case. Even though Pope Gelasius directs criticism against the

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about Constantine striving to teach the population of Constantinople is not hagiographical spin). The general tone was, however, that characterized by OLSTER 1994, 9-12: the clash of literary clichés does not signify contradictions within ideological assemblage, but arose because of 'indiscriminate rhetorical mimesis'.

<sup>212</sup> PASCHOUD 1967, 299ff. in the context of Salvian's *De gubernatione Dei*, noting that through this technique it became possible for him to forgive much of the barbarian stereotypical tropes (Gothic *perfidia*, Saxon cruelty, Frankish faithlessness), which he uses in conjunction with his emphatic idealization. Cf. GARNSEY 1984, 17; HEATHER 1999, 244. In the interpretation of PASCHOUD (301), Salvian's technique is necessitated by his argument that providentiality has passed from Rome to the barbarians. Something rather similar, and likewise influenced by moral considerations, is stated in Iambl. *Myst.* 7.5.259, where the Greek search for new words, their very dynamism, has led them astray from the stability which barbarians display. In consequence, barbarians are 'dear to the gods' and the ones truly religious (he may have inherited this idea from Porphyry, for whom see CLARK 1999, 121); this is another manifestation of the 'alien wisdom' –theme.

<sup>213</sup> Salv. *De gub. D.* 5.6ff., 14. See BROWN 2012, 445.

<sup>214</sup> That of 'barbarian' had no doubt been more compromised than that of 'heretic' or 'pagan'.

<sup>215</sup> HARBSMEIER 2010, 284, paraphrasing and then quoting KOSELLECK 1979, 228.

<sup>216</sup> For instance, see the treatment of Ennodius' works in AMORY 1997, 118f. In Ennodius' *Vita S. Epiphaniū*, the phrase *catholicus et Romanus* seems to be opposed to the emperor Anthemius, a *Graeculus* (122). Even more pronounced is the opposition of Romanness to the traditionally articulated barbarity of the Rugi (117-8).



Greeks in order to assert both the pontifical supremacy and the doctrinal orthodoxy of Rome, only Odoacer merits the description *barbarus haereticus* in the Gelasian letters.<sup>217</sup>

Despite the apparent increase in polyvalent identities during Late Antiquity, and the consequent conceptual difficulties in applying the most old-fashioned dichotomies in terms of ethnic prejudice, religion itself—a prominent and traditional element in writings of the ethnographical register—appears to have been relatively easily adapted for continuous use. Elements that display strong continuity with the past and the appropriation of older stereotypes include the stress upon the providentiality of imperial victories over barbarians, the even more heightened focality of sacred locales and places of worship, and some surprising rhetorical vestiges from the earlier Imperial era in such registers as panegyrics. All in all, it becomes particularly difficult to distinguish between literary allusions to discriminatory stereotypes and active discrimination by the elite. With religion as an identity marker becoming even more laden with moral judgements than in the pre-Christian era, and with its application—with no loss of intensity—to groups regarded as antagonistic, the religious stereotyping of ‘outsiders’ of many persuasions became even more widespread. These ‘outsiders’, however, were increasingly just another group of insiders, or at least worryingly difficult to distinguish from good Christians. On the other hand, the label of ‘barbarian’ was just as eagerly applied in polemical attacks as before, and at least in the writing of the elite became enmeshed with a number of authorial strategies for relating the present to the past.

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<sup>217</sup> As noted by AMORY 1997, 199. Gelas. *Ep.* 7.2 THIEL p. 335 *apud Graecos, quibus multas haereses abundare non dubium est*; on Odoacer *Ep.* 26.11 THIEL p. 409. Though Odoacer's barbarian origin is not in doubt, his career is a good example of the mutable fortunes and mercenary loyalties of the barbarian elites of the age: he was considered a ‘king of the Goths’ by Count Marcellinus (*s.a.* 476.2, 489), which he obviously was not—the whole issue of nationalities being not only convoluted (his faction seems to have included at least Heruli, Sciri and Torlingi, cf. Procop. *Bell.* 5.1.6; Jord. *Get.* 242, 291, *Rom.* 344; Ennod. *V Epiph.* 95), but also, I would argue, largely irrelevant for the ancients. In any case Odoacer's ethnicizations seem to vacillate: he is called Scirian by John Ant. F 301 ROBERTO (F 232 MARIEV) *ap. Exc. de ins.* 93 (and hence probably by Eustathius of Epiphania, too: cf. TREADGOLD 2007, 316, 320 on John rather faithfully copying Eustathius' text); Rugian by Jord. *Rom.* 344; and Goth by Theoph. *AM* 5965. During his earlier career he seems to have endeavoured to set himself up as a local princeling of Iuliomagus Andecavorum (Angers) as a leader of a Saxon group (Greg. *Tur. Hist.* 2.18), after which he at some point removed himself to Italy: Eugipp. *V Sev.* 6.6, 7.1; *Anon. Val.* 10.45-46; Procop. *Bell.* 5.1.6.



## CONCLUSIONS

### 1. SUMMARY

#### a. FROM THE CLASSICAL ERA TO THE CIMBRIC WARS

In this thesis, I have sought to demonstrate the crucial role of perceptions concerning the Celts/Gauls in the formation of many enduring elements in the conceptualization of northerners' religiosity. It is nevertheless quite clear that certain conventional associations were already in place, only taking on heightened salience and explanatory power in the wake of certain historical processes. The Thracians were in all likelihood the earliest outgroup to which many of these motifs were affixed, whether in the mythologizing or the historical register: they were seen as populous, violent, intellectually deficient, cruel in their religious practices, and— from Herodotus onwards—professing alien views regarding the finality of death. The other group of outsiders whose religiosity was commented upon in this early stage were the Hyperboreans, who were nearly unanimously depicted as pious, fortunate, and far removed from the cares of the world—corresponding to the widespread tendency to project idealized utopias to the fringes of the conceivable world. Above I have argued that some elements, such as the intimate connection between the northern sages and their groves of trees, may have been connected with the imagery of the Hyperboreans.

The Scythians emerge as the first northerners to be characterized within the framework of climatic determinism, and their minimalistic, bloody religion was perceived as largely dictated by their nomadic mode of life. From early on, they were also 'known' to have plundered sanctuaries. With Herodotus, the 'hard' and 'soft' primitivisms in the Pontic area start to intertwine, demonstrating the transferability of barbarological motifs. Motifs were transferred between Thracians and Scythians, but also between some named groups of the newly refined steppe ethnography and the idealized groups in the mould of the Hyperboreans (such as the Abioi). For such creative reconstructions of the barbarian cultural space to succeed, the associativity between given barbarian groups must have been rather high. Nor can there have been many widely shared perceptions to preclude such epistemic transfers. The justice, perspicacity and uncorrupted ethics of the Pontic nomads co-exist with just as firmly articulated claims of their human sacrifice, anthropophagy and headhunting. Although both

## CONCLUSIONS

themes were perpetuated in the subsequent literary tradition, the notion of a barbaric and bloody religion was perhaps to become more influential—possibly because it offered a wider appeal for conceptualizing Hellenicity through religion than the figure of the ‘just Scythian’, mainly encountered among philosophical writers. It may be, however, that before the 270s BCE Thrace was too close and too subjugated to foster more hostile images than condescending vignettes of foolish and superstitious barbarians; Scythia, on the other hand, was too far away from the majority of Greeks to offer an image of barbarian morality and religiosity with any real epistemic power.

Most of the historiographical sources for the Galatian invasions of the third century BCE are based on lost works, but epigraphy and poetic references demonstrate an intense and swiftly mythologized Greek reaction. Mythologization, emotional content and political propaganda are all in evidence in the testimonies of the Hellenistic era, and all of these themes have strong connections with the rest of the literary preoccupations of that age. The tendency of Hellenistic poetry to entertain mythologizing ornaments and elaborate similes may have furthered the spread of certain conventional elements linked with European barbarians, while the moralizing rhetoric of the age found similar imagery both advantageous and gripping. The historiography of the age, too, cultivated rhetorical set pieces, tragic narratives and moral judgments. Novelistic tales involving barbarians did include references to the Galatae. All these developments ensured that the inferior religiosity of the invading barbarians circulated widely as a shorthand cultural stereotype, and the Celts/Γαλάται became the most universally recognizable touchstone for this imagery. With increased salience, there arose a need to circumscribe encircle the Western/Northern barbarians, leading to a Hellenistic increase in aetiological and genealogical narratives connected with the Celts. Heracles-Hercules, in particular, was used in several different modes, including his representation as a galatomachic defender, as ancestor of the barbarians, as a touchstone for the broadening geographic imagination, and as civilizer of the West.

Perhaps the most crucial element pertaining to northern religiosity that resulted from the politicized negotiation of invasion narratives was the idea that the Γαλάται had aimed premeditatedly at Delphi. Linked with this, the rather generic notion that an ingroup’s safety and freedom depended on the symbolism of their central shrine remaining inviolate led to a sense of heightened providentiality in the narratives of northern barbarian invasions that was comparable to those of the Persian invasions. Such a narrative, whether or not it was appropriated by Delphi in its entirety, strongly influenced later depictions of resistance to

barbarian invaders, as seems likely to have occurred in the context of Republican Rome. Additionally, the very fact that most Hellenistic dynasts used Galatian mercenaries in their wars may have necessitated use of the propagandistic theme of triumphing over barbarian invaders, which some dynasties embraced with particular eagerness and with extensive mythologization. This in turn would have had an impact on the elite of Republican Rome.

In the Roman tradition regarding the northerners, domestic social factionalism seems to have been involved from early on—presumably on account of the narratives of prestige-bringing heroic acts propagated in patrician family traditions. These may have had, even at this early stage, a religious or providential dimension. The nature of the written Roman sources, however, makes it nigh impossible to demonstrate ‘authentically’ Roman forms of describing the northerners’ religious or moral stance. From its very outset Roman historiography was fundamentally informed by Greek models, and the narrative presence of the *Galli* is clearly affected—in more ways than one—by the Roman elite’s Greek connections. The motif of resisting the Gauls functioned as a standard of cultural membership and a marker of providential favour, and may even have formed a kind of Graeco-Roman epideictic ‘middle ground’ for the debate over Hellenic identity at least from Polybius onwards. Delphic models for several narrative elements appear quite likely, and there are grounds for arguing that within the narrative tradition of the Gallic Sack we find what seem like indigenous Roman traditions, clear religious unease, and likely Greek models combining to form an appealing pool of resources, of which the Late Republican historians took full advantage.

It has moreover been highlighted in the course of this thesis that many of the Roman perceptions about the Gauls have been shaped by back-formations that took place when members of the elite of the Late Republic—no longer the exclusive holders of religious power, but jealous of the military glory gained by their peers, anxious to manipulate the increasingly vocal lower social classes, and deeply affected by the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones—looked back at Early and Middle Republican history. This was supported by the absence of definite ethnic categories in describing the northerners, and the interchangeability with which existing narrative motifs were applied to differently named groups (which only after Caesar’s contribution became more stable groupings). Even so, it is reasonable to argue that the Roman encounter with the Cimbric invasion not only gave increased salience to historical memories from the earlier Republic, but also formed a motivating factor in the Roman elite’s interest in knowing more about such groups. In this, they expected to be

enlightened by Greek scholars; but in all likelihood they themselves contributed part of the information that ended up in the works of Posidonius, Timagenes, and Alexander Polyhistor.

#### b. FROM POSIDONIUS TO EARLY EMPIRE

In this thesis I have offered a two-pronged argument concerning the appearance of the much-discussed ‘Gallic learned classes’ in the classical written tradition. To begin with I have sought to problematize the ‘Posidonization’ found in many modern studies, according to which the contribution of Posidonius of Apamea to ‘Celtic ethnography’ is seen as unique, formative, and based on autoptic, almost ‘anthropological’, observation. By looking at the Greek theoretical approach to northern barbarian ethnography, and at the relative detachment from ‘realities in the field’ exhibited even by such figures as Posidonius, the relationship between the ‘seen’ and the ‘read’ in the ethnographical register has (once again) been called into question. Further, when the assumption of the earliest druidic references deriving from supposed personal enquiry by Posidonius is shed, these elements can more fruitfully be located within the context of the philosophical speculation, of a quasi-ethnographical nature, that took place in Middle Hellenistic Alexandria. This is the second corollary of the approach taken in this thesis, and differs to a certain extent from previous scholarship. Sotion and Alexander Polyhistor are but two possible candidates for those shaping the early image of the Druids, as well as forging the Thracian-informed connection with the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis. The breadth of such borrowings emphasizes the lack of a need for precise definitions within the iconosphere of barbarian Europe.

Other noteworthy influences that flowed at this stage from Greek theoretical structures in the direction of stereotypical imagery were the originally Hippocratic climatic theories, now propagated by the early physiognomic writers and—in a universalizing fashion—by Eratosthenes. Even as these frameworks informed much of the writing about European barbarians down till the Early Empire, the continued appeal of mythologizing narratives and aetiologies has been well demonstrated in recent studies. The rise of provincial authors, such as Pompeius Trogus, may have led to a shortened path of transmission between the ‘middle ground’ and the literary sphere, and through antiquarian mythography the aetiological connections could have become available for appreciation by the emerging provincial intelligentsia. The extent to which these mythographical narratives influenced actual

Greek or Roman perceptions of Gallic religiosity, however, is a difficult question: they may have had explanatory power as to the perceived characteristics of barbarian moral character, and had demonstrable links with such genres as rhetoric. Rhetorical topoi, for their part, threw in what seems like a polyvalent, symbiotic relationship with the worldview of the educated elite, and the tendentiousness of their use is well demonstrated by the way a figure such as Cicero chose to use or ignore them. That the ensemble of ‘wrong’ religiosity was one of the most emotionally charged elements in the discriminatory Roman discourse emerges very clearly from the sources of this period of intensified contacts; in many cases it was the joining of emotional contents and the ideological contents of Roman elite worldview that led the internalized but literary stereotypes to condition real-life actions.

It is thus all the more surprising that so little new material was introduced at this stage. While positive imagery is slightly more in evidence than during previous centuries, even such elements as the Gallic acuity and eloquence have deeper roots. In this context, Caesar’s *Gallic War* makes the fullest possible use of the different possibilities offered by the northern iconosphere—all in a very purposeful and calculated fashion. The threat of a northern invasion is played up, the traditional stereotypes of Gallic inferiority exploited, but the ultimate barbarity is reserved for the trans-Rhenane *Germani*, a group whose distinctness is to a large extent Caesar’s creation. Religion, it is safe to argue, features importantly as a building block in these distinctions. Germanic religion is characterized by a wide range of primitivistic elements, while that of the Gauls is brought as close as possible to the Roman conception of what religion entails. Many of the traditional topoi of inferior religiosity that Caesar was led to include in his rather isolated ethnography were apparently implied to depend on the power of the druidic ‘order’, and were thus an eradicable aberration. In short, when Livy wrote his synthesis of Roman history, he occupied the confident position of hindsight buttressed by providentiality. This may partly explain the prominent but wholly conventional role he assigns to the Gauls in Book 5; their use in Book 38, in contrast, is to some extent comparable to the treatment of the Gauls by Cicero, and may genuinely reflect second-century BCE realities.

In the wake of Caesar’s conquest of Gaul—and in remarkable accordance with his narrative—trans-Rhenane Germania and the British Isles took on the role of providing a source of martial glory and providential affirmation for many of his successors. Elements of religious ethnography previously connected with the inhabitants of continental Europe were now applied to the Britons, with the additional mythologizing presence of the Ocean playing a part in shaping the tradition. The tendency to locate strange cults or obscure religious figures

## CONCLUSIONS

in the islands of the Ocean sees no diminution—perhaps even an increase. Germania too was characterized by overabundance, but instead of water it took the form of forest and swamp. The peoples of both areas were shaped by their homelands, and their moralities appeared to be barbarized by nature—another example of a continuity of perception perpetuated by the continuity of theoretical frameworks, in this case climatic determinism.

The Gallic area did not vanish from the elite mental geography of the barbarized landscape, either; during the first two centuries of the Imperial Era the literary commonplaces of druidic worship, savage rites, holy groves and Gallic religious excitability are vigorously used, and cannot be dismissed as ‘merely topoi’. The Roman elite’s unease about the area and its inhabitants exhibits an independent existence apart from literary motifs, though it was informed by them. The testimony of Tacitus, so often from the sixteenth to twentieth century read as ethnographical enquiry into the societies of ‘free Germania’, has in the light of recent scholarship been interpreted in the framework of this thesis as a literary elaboration of inherited elements for specific authorial aims. The practice of magic, a particular source of unease for the Imperial religious establishment, was increasingly associated with human sacrifice, which opened the way of casting Druids as magicians in addition to their already substantial portfolio. The providentiality of a Roman emperor fulfilling his civilizing mission by subduing the savage rites of the northerners was a powerful argument that foreshadows some of the uses we find for the same topoi in the last chronological stage of this thesis.

### c. HIGH AND LATE EMPIRE

Since, as I have argued in this thesis, as of the third century CE no individual northern ethnographies of barbarian religion had yet taken shape, it is difficult to see what increase in salience would have required such a development during the Later Roman Empire. On the contrary; the more pronounced classicizing ideals that have been well documented for this period had a preservative effect on the ethnographic mode and vocabulary—and with it, since elite education based on the classics and on rhetorical exercises remained the norm, the culturally shared imagery as well. Some modern scholarship has been prone to comment dismissively on the continued use of the old ethnonyms in particular. What we need crucially to recognize, however, is that in Late Imperial thinking these ethnonyms would probably not have served the purposes that ethnic names have had in post-Westphalian nationalistic



## CONCLUSIONS

thinking about population groups. Their value stemmed not from their accurately or ‘truthfully’ designating a politico-linguistic grouping, but from an epistemic function that still had a twofold character: they served as a marker of literary education, and they referred to what had been written in the past regarding a group that could plausibly be called by that ethnonym. What established plausibility, especially when it came to religious ethnography, was mostly a question of elite interest: just as during earlier periods, the most important thing for the educated Roman elite seems to have been that there was a barbarian way of practicing religion—not what it was specifically like.

With the classicizing ideals perpetuating an ‘ethnographic stasis’ at the level of ethnonyms, in the absence of any particular pressures either to change or to discard its elements, and on the contrary with many incentives to continue including familiar elements, the imagery of barbaric religion thus became antiquarianized. In particular the Hellenistic theme of barbarian wise men was eagerly taken advantage of by sophists, theologians, monotheistic pagans and Christians alike. The Druids, by now certainly an obsolete group, were also attractive for the purpose of bringing the Gallic past and their level of civilization closer to Mediterranean standards without dropping the classicizing pose—as Ammianus seems to have done, showcasing his early and various sources. The increased normativity of ideas connected with the immortality of the soul naturally made the Druids a less outlandish group than before, and the great antiquity of their supposed doctrines allowed them to be used along the lines of the Magi, gymnosophists, and other such sages. And, just like other such enlightened groups, both the Druids and the bards occasionally ended up ‘ethnicized’, perhaps after the pattern of increased Late Imperial alignment between perceived religious and ethnic identities. Among some elites, such as the Late Gallic episcopal circles, the classicized perceptions of popular religion may have led to a particularly wide gap between the genuine practices of the common folk and the imagined state of their religiosity in the minds of learned ecclesiastics.

The Late Antique literary gaze at the Graeco-Roman past was expressed, as during previous centuries, through more than just ethnonyms or stock descriptions. Constantly present in Late Imperial panegyrics—a mode which increasingly influenced historiography and epistolography, among other genres—the *exempla* of the revered past were showcased as rhetorical set-pieces with carefully calibrated contemporary allusions. Accordingly, the northern barbarians entered the contemporary elite worldview as brave but inferior, providentially vanquished adversaries of Herculean emperors. Occasionally the enemies of

## CONCLUSIONS

these imperial heroes are handled in a way that harks back to the assimilation between northern barbarians and Titans, in other instances by the technique of barbarizing them. This latter is connected with the first great change in Late Imperial social and political circumstances: the increased presence of 'barbarians' both in the army and in the geographical space of the empire. When needed, the received motifs of 'wrong' religiosity, bloodlust and collusion with malevolent supernatural entities was paraded in the invective of the age. In Imperial propaganda, a military lack of success could be masked as a successful pacificatory mission, and an internal crackdown on a military party could be presented as a divinely sanctioned act of salvation by a pious emperor. Thus the dearth of trust among different social groups and strata came to be expressed through the familiar themes and motifs of substandard or dangerous religion.

Connected with this was the second momentous change of the Later Imperial era, the process of Christianization. In this thesis I have made use of a large range of examples to demonstrate that most of the elements of the earlier barbarography were adopted, in largely unchanged form, in the writings of Christian writers. Both idealization and polemical condemnation were available as rhetorical techniques. The advantages of the topoi of 'wrong religiosity' are obvious in the latter context, too; indeed, the heightened epistemic poignancy of religious identities would probably have made it even more damaging to accuse hostile individuals or groups of heresy or paganism. With the construction of the in the Nicene writings of the Arians as a prominent polemical group of religious enemies, and with many barbarian groups deemed to practice this inferior form of Christianity, the opposition between 'barbarians' (increasingly meaning 'those of a military profession') and 'Romans' (undergoing its own set of semantic transformations) could be transformed into an opposition between 'heretics' and the 'orthodox'. Although this complex situation needs much more research, it would seem that in terms of both form and content, 'Christian barbarography' in the field of religion remained much the same as its earlier Greek and Roman forebears.

## 2. CONCLUSIONS

‘[The Galatians] practiced a religion beyond the imagination of any civilized Greek.’ (FREEMAN 2006, 51)

In this thesis I have sought to demonstrate that far from being ‘beyond the imagination’ of Greeks and Romans, the religion perceived as being practiced by Galatians, Celts, Gauls, Britons and Germans along with many other groups of northerners can be located quite precisely within the imagination of ‘any civilized Greek’ or Roman. The discourse of northern barbarian religiosity was firmly lodged within that of religiosity within the Greek and Roman societies themselves. As such, the conclusions drawn in this thesis should be seen as highlighting the tenuousness of reconstructing European Iron Age religion on the basis of classical literature. Such conclusions have in fact been regularly drawn, especially in Celtic scholarship; but despite powerful evidence as to the generic, literary and emic nature of ancient references to northerners’ religiosity, the widely condoned practice of using these sources to demonstrate things beyond their strict context of production can be challenged only in stages. Classical philology, even with its somewhat old-fashioned methods of interpretation and contextualization, is well positioned to administer a corrective argument that relocates the terms of discourse to the ancient literary culture.

Rather than the *visa vel lecta* problem faced by positivistic historiography, this thesis has had to navigate the ‘topos fallacy’ within the *lecta*. While much of the historical scholarship has been concerned with the relationship of literary imagery to the realities observed (‘known’) in the field by the ancients, it has seemed far more relevant here to question whether the topoi encountered are ‘mere topoi’, and what, in fact, ‘a mere topos’ entails. The great question about literary expressions of a cultural distance felt by an ingroup in contemplating or witnessing the religiosity of an outgroup, is whether the appeal of the literary images stems from their level of epistemic aptness (their correspondence to what the members of the ingroup ‘knew they knew’), or from the literary demands and hegemonic models for the use of such imagery. Ultimately this dichotomy is unanswerable, and may even be false. Since the elite worldview in most of Graeco-Roman antiquity was to a significant degree shaped by conventional tropes both in written registers and in spoken rhetoric, it is probably impossible to discern whether the same tropes by themselves drew most of their strength from being ‘good to think with’ or because they were mandated by literary convention. The two factors

would have reinforced each other, in a complex interplay between literariness and genuine epistemic use.

This ambivalence colours the whole question of what ancient religious ethnographies were meant to achieve. In the more epistemological end of the continuum, one may argue that the literary topoi of northern barbarian religion gave expression to deeply felt ‘truths’ about what was typical to societies to the north of the Mediterranean. As L. P. Hartley remarks in the opening sentence of *The Go-Between* (1953), the past may be a foreign country—but for the Greeks, foreign countries were also the past; and though they certainly did things differently there, the Greeks recognized that some cultural forms still prevailing among barbarians had once been prevalent among their own ancestors, too. So while the idea of potential for cultural development even among the barbarians was to a certain extent present from as early as Thucydides onwards, it seems that the polyvalent assemblage of primitivist imagery (both in its ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ forms) overrode it frequently. The admission of potential for change among the barbarians, in effect, was stymied by the ethnographic stasis of continuing primitivism—a likely case of literary convention clashing with, and possibly subduing, the logical conclusion of barbarian societies being able to change.

In the course of this thesis, one major line of argument has sought to demonstrate that the northern barbarian iconosphere was just as indistinct and interchangeable in the perception of religiosity as in other domains. In many studies regarding ancient barbarian groups the tendentiousness of ethnic divisions has been increasingly recognized—which naturally has clear consequences for the old style of studying groups defined by their ethnonyms. Among recent scholarly paradigms, theories propounding ethnogenesis are particularly ambivalently involved with this tradition, since they attempt to take the ethnonyms as having real life referents, yet admit that the creation of such real life commonalities has mostly consisted of the tendentious negotiation of invented identities. This does not seem to have much effect on representations of the barbarians’ religiosity, and has consequently been omitted from this thesis. The varied traditions of different ethnonyms do seem to represent the more literary end of the barbarographic continuum, but they too had their associative effects: if a Late Imperial group were called Scythians, no doubt they then partook of the whole iconosphere of Scythian barbarity—or its epistemically extant sections—in a way that would be less pronounced if the same group were called by their non-classical name. Similarly, to speak of ‘female Druids’ made eminent literary sense in the context of doom-saying in third-century Gaul.

## CONCLUSIONS

To be sure, the ethnonyms themselves would have helped the perception of a primordial, unchanging barbarian expanse stretching across the European hinterland. But despite the stability of ethnonyms, the Graeco-Roman regime of ethnographic knowledge did not go entirely unchallenged. In the course of historical development, certain occasions arose that could be characterized as ‘epistemic crises’, during which a particular group of barbarians became more salient in the minds of an ancient society. In this sense, both the Celtic attack on Delphi, with its Hellenistic reception, and the emergence of the Huns (cf. Ammianus) are quite similar; and both exhibit a decisively antiquarian outlook in locating the recently salient barbarians within the existing body of knowledge. In the case of Late Antiquity this technique was highlighted by the powerful classicizing drive, whereas the Hellenistic era had perhaps been prepared to advance more creative responses—but in both cases aetiologies narratives were an important way of locating the new groups within the existing body of knowledge.

Particularly when dealing with emotional responses to barbarian invasions or the occasionally appearing visceral xenophobia, Greek and Roman reactions seem to share the idea of impious northerners presenting an existential threat. While this offered obvious propagandistic advantages to the elites both in the Hellenistic monarchies and in the Roman oligarchy, it is possible that the existence of genuine religious unease in connection with the fear of northern barbarians is demonstrated by the choice itself to use religious providentiality as a rallying cry and source of glory. It is another matter how widely diffused in the society such feelings were. And since the expressions of such fears and hopes could be literary to a notable degree (such as in Synesius’ *De providentia*), the idea of their being ‘mere topoi’ seems very unlikely. Again, these elements seem to owe their prominence to the fact that they made sense for the Greeks and Romans, and thus belong to the epistemological pole of barbarography. The literary pole, on the other hand, became pronounced whenever the ethnographic register insinuated itself into an ancient discussion of barbarian religion. These cases, prevalent among the source material of this thesis, have divergent implications for scholars of ancient religion and for those of ancient literature.

**IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT RELIGIONS**

There seems to have existed in Graeco-Roman antiquity an epistemically meaningful, culturally shared iconosphere concerning the northerners' typical set of religious practices. In the course of this thesis, I have argued that religiosity constituted one of several components in 'borealism'. The precise balance in literary expressions of this iconosphere—between what was genuinely believed and what arose out of generic concerns of a literary nature—is difficult to specify; but the existence of such a stable assemblage of stereotypes has multiple repercussions for the study of ancient religions.

Mythological stories narrating the origin of a foreign population group in a Greek hero, or their interaction with such a hero, seem to have had a rather limited range of applications when it comes to conceptualizing the moral and religious competence of barbarians. Their main epistemic benefit seems to have been in connecting locales, groups, and (occasionally) practices with Greek predecessors or eponymic figures. Although Hercules was said to have overthrown cruel western tyrants, this is not a particularly strong indictment against the westerners, since the hero seems to have done this everywhere; and pushing the borders of the οἰκουμένη ever further back by relocating the travels and monuments of Hercules, the Argonauts, and Odysseus mostly seems to have highlighted the liminality of the western lands in an abstract, non-evaluating way. At the level of vague associations, however, such traditions may have perpetuated the idea that in the west the mythical, mostly Cronian, past was somehow more present—a notion that the numinous Ocean would certainly have invigorated. The archaic character of the western lands would in turn have affected the perception of their inhabitants' level of civilization.

The narrative register or the mode of writing would have triggered certain features of the stereotypic ensemble among the audience. For instance, in the philosophical or theoretical registers moral evaluations emerge quite clearly. Of particular significance to the study of ancient religions is the Hellenistic innovation of connecting the doctrines of the Druids with Pythagorean learning, in which the prior association with Zalmoxis and the Thracians was probably crucial. Authors seem mostly to have agreed that Pythagoras derived much of his wisdom from the east, while westerners were predominantly at the receiving end of doctrinal transmission; in later, largely Christian references, on the other hand, Pythagoras could be presented as studying the philosophy of both Brahmins and Galatians, and the Druids could even be regarded as having brought the doctrine to its highest point. Numerous ingenious theories have been advanced to justify the putative similarities between 'Celtic' and

Pythagorean doctrines, but the minimalist assumption would relegate this theme, as well as most of the Celtic belief in the immortality of the souls, firmly to the realm of philosophical speculation. Moral evaluations also appear in another cluster of theories—that of climatic, physiognomic and astrological theories. Here the religiosity and moral propensities of western and northern barbarian groups appear occasionally in rather nuanced fashion, but it seems quite clear that the appeal of this register owed more to the shared prejudiced stereotypes and even ‘ethnophaulisms’ fostered by the empire, than to ethnographic theories and their ‘pseudo-ethnographic’ literary emulators *sensu stricto*.

Religious implications are recognizably more pronounced when the written sources refer to actions initiated by the barbarians. Even so, no ancient author can in these cases be argued to have been motivated by an objective desire to give an unprejudiced picture of northern religiosity. In historical, panegyristic or poetic sources referring to warlike contacts with Greeks and Romans, the northerners gradually assumed the long-standing role of an impious and aberrant intrusion into the ordered theandric balance of the Mediterranean ingroups. Narrations of such encounters often took on providential overtones, with lack of piety inviting a barbarian invasion (an especially unnerving possibility for the Romans, it seems), or such an invasion being averted or overcome by exceptional religious measures or the restoring of the balance between gods and men. All this tells the modern scholar extremely little about the actual religiosity of the barbarians.

Since the Graeco-Roman literary classes were largely uninterested in barbarian religions unless they possessed some epistemic salience, and since such salience was largely generated by warlike contacts, the imagery could hardly have taken a particularly positive tone. When subjugated, the barbarian religions of the north appear in the written sources as frozen into a timeless, static condition, largely facilitated by a combination of literary antiquarianism and the possible ‘good to think with’ nature of such stereotypes. In this stasis, the content remained so general and was so tendentiously applied that such motifs as cruel rites, holy woods, superstitiously obeyed priesthoods and crude images of gods contain next to nothing in terms of actual anthropological information for the modern historian of religion. What figures such as Zwicker optimistically thought might testify to long continuities in the religious praxis of northern popular religion emerges in fact as an elite perception, operating in a nearly complete literary vacuum. The elite notion of the lower social classes practicing a ‘primitive’ or more barbarian form of religion seems to have been particularly influential in periods when social trust and stability were threatened; together with the enduring position of classical

## CONCLUSIONS

education even among the Christian elite, this makes it possible that some ostensibly authentic ecclesiastic references to folk religiosity are just as much literary artefacts as anything from the hands of the Early Imperial writers. While only rarely equivalent to true ‘hate speech’, in such authorities—such as the literary churchmen of Late Antique Gaul—who derived much of their *raison d’être* and privileges from portraying a constantly ongoing conversion of the land, these ideas might at least lead to discriminatory practices. A bishop, preconditioned to spot ‘pagan vestiges’ by his readings in hagiography and mindful of the recommendations banded at church councils, would have ended up recognizing this existential threat in one real-life practice or other, and would have acted according to the literary *exempla* thrust upon him. So, as before, it was the combination of elite ideology and political concerns that led largely passive and literary stereotypes to direct actual discriminatory behaviour.

All in all, the findings of this thesis seem to cast a bleak light on the possibility of deriving genuine information from ancient sources as to the religious anthropologies of ancient barbarian societies. Though it is not impossible that some details, for instance, in the numerous reports having to do with cultic practices on islands along the Atlantic seaboard have some basis in information obtained by trade or observation, the generic nature of the descriptions and their comparison with Greek cults make it difficult to regard them as anything else than a continuation of pseudo-ethnography. Nearly every first attestation for most of the elements examined in this thesis is located not in the context of a genuine desire to transmit observational information about European barbarians, but in learned speculation, literary ethnography, or poetic elaboration. In subsequent attestations the role of tradition seems undeniable, and even in such works as Tacitus’ *Germania* the inclusion of inherited elements and allusions to previous writing is so prevalent that their ‘ethnographic’ information cannot be credibly used as a basis for reconstructions. In a literary culture as rhetorical, tradition-bound and elitist as the Graeco-Roman one, the religiosity of barbarian groups became an epistemically powerful assemblage of prejudices, authorial strategies, and ethnographic posturing; it could be renegotiated and reified, but it rarely met with formative pressures strong enough to achieve this.



**IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT LITERATURE**

While the findings of this thesis may—and indeed I hope will—complicate the uncritical use of ancient literature to back up reconstructions of Iron Era religion among the European barbarians, its corollaries for the study of the ancient literary tradition are less dramatic. However, since much of the earlier scholarship on ancient depictions of barbarians was limited to only a few ethnonyms at a time—Britons and Germans, Gauls and Germans, Celtiberians and Celts—ahistorical ‘ethnic’ preconceptions precluded many scholars from recognizing and profitably examining the largely uniform iconosphere of northern religiosity. Especially when it comes to the division between Gauls and Germans—a division the tendentiousness of which has been demonstrated in many studies—this thesis has sought to demonstrate the commonalities underpinning that iconosphere. In addition to ‘northerners’ forming a meaningful conceptual assemblage in ancient sources, it seems safe to argue that religion played a fundamental role in expressions of difference between Greek and Roman ingroups and barbarian outgroups.

So what about barbarian religiosity in ethnographical literature? Taking into account the prevailing intertextuality between different ancient literary modes in matters of barbarian imagery, along with the heuristic fragility of the ethnographical register following recent scholarly contributions to the field, it is debatable whether the term ‘ethnography’ has any secure application in addition to its most basic attribute of ‘writing about population groups’. In this thesis I have frequently referred to the term ‘pseudo-ethnography’, in order to stress how in many ancient texts the author appears to have made a set of gestures towards the general form and/or content of what may have been understood as ‘ethnographical’ by the audience, as well, and have left it at that. The content of these barbarographic vignettes, as we have seen, was highly conventional, indifferent to possible real-life referents, and often extremely self-conscious and literary. Ammianus Marcellinus may not be the most typical example of this, but he and Lucan—to take but two examples—certainly capture many essential elements of this technique. Religious elements were included in such vignettes both because they were conventionally expected, and because they could offer the audience fascination, titillation and moralizing outrage.

Two other themes which I have tried to highlight in this thesis with regard to literary xenography are the normative role of a rhetorical education for the perpetuation of culturally shared imagery, and the dynamism of using pre-formed image assemblages as readily triggered shorthands for communicating values. To a certain extent, these two themes correspond to

## CONCLUSIONS

two different understandings of what a literary stereotype codifies: from an epistemic point of view, they are there to communicate socially shared ‘knowledge’ about outgroups; from a literary point of view, they act as a code of elite belonging and stylistic sophistication, of shared ‘knowledge’ about the history and tastes of the ingroup. I have argued that these two roles cannot be readily separated, at least in ancient discourse. Cases from Greek novels to Cicero to the Gallic panegyrist and Claudian all demonstrate both uses. When an ancient author wrote about a foreign group enjoying current saliency, referring to past barbarography acted as a convenient shorthand that triggered a set of ‘what-is-known’ elements in the audience. Conversely: the heightened salience of certain widely recognized traits—such as treachery, venality and temple-robbing at times of warlike threat—would have made the reader (or listener) anticipate the inclusion of these traits in the discourse. Thus the epistemic power of certain traits of northerners’ religiosity could also act as a situational feature, with a range of meanings to be communicated by the producer of the discourse to the audience. This is the most readily available epistemic explanation for the use of classical ethnonyms, although we may doubt whether most of the time the sheer power of literary style would alone have sufficed.

However conventional, tendentious, and dictated by tradition, the pseudo-ethnographic stereotypes of ancient literature constituted a primary source of information for a large section of the ancient educated elite. Prepared by such material, it need not be doubted that they looked at northern societies—whether provincial or ‘free’—through heavily tinted lenses, and would have been rather more likely to believe their own education than possible contrary information from the field. At the same time, though most of the Roman elite was not poised to form an accurate or sympathetic view of northerners’ religiosity, the very literariness of their received ideas would, one suspects, have led to a kind of permissive ignorance. This would have been even more glaring if, as seems likely, the Roman administration in the actual ‘middle ground’ of northern provinces had adhered slightly less rigidly to the age-old imagery than the truly literary classes at the urban centres of the empire. But when circumstances led the elite to experience a temporarily increased salience of the assemblage of religious borealism, the antiquarian and rhetorical imagery of septentriography was occasionally converted into active policies of suppression or discrimination. A perceived lapse from religious standards, and the ensuing breach in *pax deorum*, was among the most existentially threatening of such situations; but external threats, a loss in imperial providentiality, and even a social struggle for power seem similarly to have enabled ‘blaming the barbarians’ demagoguery.

## CONCLUSIONS

The original conception of the scope of this thesis envisioned a chronological end-point at the time of Justinian's Gothic Wars, which were surmised to have led to the possible activation of certain parts of the received anti-barbarian imagery and potential anti-Arian polemics. As it happened, the earliest Hellenistic stages of barbarography contained such a wealth of motifs and elements, with an apparently uninterrupted transmission within the literary tradition, that it turned out to be necessary to radically move the end-point back in time—the rationale being that further studies can easily address later developments in a tradition whose roots have already received relatively much attention. It will thus be both useful and necessary to examine at some later point the religious barbarography in the work of Agathias, Procopius and Cassiodorus.

More attention also needs to be devoted to the extent to which the elite regime of knowledge about the religiosity of the European barbarians affected the actions and decisions of that elite when they encountered northerners. The notion of an 'out-of-touch' elite, primed to entertain a fundamentally more optimistic view regarding the position of barbarians within the Late Roman Empire and its society, would form a particularly fascinating part of such a study. A separate case, and certainly worth of further study, would be the ideas of the Late Gallic bishops regarding the folk religiosity of their day, approachable through both the hagiographical *vitae* and the Church Councils; there is good cause to argue that many of the statements as to tree worship, cults of pagan devils, and the prevalence of magic among the Gallic peasantry are a literary artefact, created within the elite culture of the learned episcopal class in Gaul. Other themes to be covered in future studies include the 'ethnicization' of barbarian groups of sages in the later doxographic tradition; a more profound exploration of physiognomic and astrological theories concerning the mental and moral characteristics of European barbarian groups; consolidation of the more critical assessment of Posidonius' contributions to 'Gallic ethnography'; and a study of Hellenistic religious propaganda in both verbal and sculptural media involving the Galatae.

## CONCLUSIONS

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