The Rhetoric of Barbarism: Representations of Northern Barbarians and the Image of Emperors in Pagan Authors of the Early Theodosian Period

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Abstract

During the fourth century, the Roman Empire underwent major shifts in its cultural complexion. Alongside the growing influence of Christianity, there were also rapid changes in the roles and positions of northern barbarians. No longer primarily fighting against the empire, they were also an increasingly significant presence in the empire's armies, providing troops and even leading them. For some non-Romans, it was possible even to rise to positions such as the consulship. The potential for high status available to these peoples and their increased prominence in the imperial courts in turn reduced the opportunities open to the traditional pagan elite and invited questions from them and their supporters over whether these changes were positive for the empire and who could be considered truly Roman and who was a barbarian.

Pagan authors writing during the early Theodosian dynasty initially appear to have answered this in accordance with the literary tradition and contemporary visual representations; the emperor and his soldiers were Roman and embodied virtues like *disciplina* and *virtus* while those they fought were savage, greedy barbarians. However, the traditional rhetoric used to describe the barbaric non-Roman could also be developed further to encourage a deeper comparison between the two sides. Authors were prepared to create more nuanced portrayals of non-Romans, both internal and external. For panegyrists like Themistius this depth of character served as a means of showing support for imperial policies such as Theodosius' policy of Gothic integration and service in the army. On the other hand, authors such as Ammianus, Eunapius and the anonymous author of the *Historia Augusta* juxtaposed positive and negative representations of barbarians with Romans in order to evaluate whether those living within the empire were maintaining the behaviour and standards expected of Roman citizens, in particular the emperors who were responsible for the defence of the empire and who publicly portrayed themselves as model Romans. For these authors, their depictions of barbarians served as a malleable rhetorical device to assess the performance of the emperor and by extension the health of the empire itself at a time when the influence of the traditional pagan elite was under challenge.

Contents

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Abbreviations and Translations

All abbreviations of ancient authors and their works follow Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. and Eidinow, E. (eds.) (2012) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th ed.) (Oxford).

Abbreviations of modern works referred to are as follows:

CIL II – Hubner, A.E.M. (ed.) (1869) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. II Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae* (Berlin).

CIL V – Mommsen, T.H. (ed.) (1877) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. V Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae* (Berlin).

CIL VIII – Wilmanns, G. (1881) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. VIII Inscriptiones Africae Latinae* (Berlin).

OCD[4] – Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. and Eidinow, E. (eds.) (2012) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (4th ed.) (Oxford).

ODLA – Nicholson, O. (ed.) (2018) *Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity* (Oxford).

PLRE 1 – Jones, A.H.M., Martindale, J.R. and Morris, J. (1971) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume 1, AD 260-395* (Cambridge).

PLRE 2 – Martindale, J.R. (1986) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire: Volume 2, AD 395-527* (Cambridge).

RIC V.2 – Webb, P. (1933) *Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 5: Part 2 Probus to Amandus* edited by H. Mattingly and E.A. Sydenham (London).

RIC VI – Sutherland, C.H.V. (1967) *Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 6: From Diocletian's Reform (A.D. 294) to the Death of Maximinus (A.D. 313)* edited by C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson (London).

RIC VIII – Kent, J.P.C. (1981) *Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 8: The Family of Constantine I (A.D. 337-364)* edited by C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson (London).

RIC IX – Pearce, J.W.E. (1951) *Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 9: Valentinian I – Theodosius I* edited by H. Mattingly, C.H.V. Sutherland and R.A.G. Carson (London).

All translations used in this thesis are from the Loeb Collection unless specified below:

Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Later Roman Empire* trans. W. Hamilton (London, 1986).

Dexippus, *Skythica* trans. J. McInerney 'Dexippos (100)' in I. Worthington et al. (eds.) *Brill's New Jacoby: Online* accessed from Brillonline.nl 1/9/2020 https://referenceworks-brillonline-com.ezproxy.nottingham.ac.uk/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/dexippos-100-a100?s.num=40&s.start=40.

Donatus, Commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* trans. N.P. Milner in *De Re Militari* by Vegetius (revised edition) (Liverpool, 1996).

Eunapius, *History* trans. R.C. Blockley in *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Volume II* (Liverpool, 1983).

Homer, *Iliad* trans. E.V. Rieu (revised translation) (London, 2003).

Panegyrici Latini trans. C.E.V. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors*. (Berkeley, California, 1994).

Themistius, *Orations* 8 and 10 trans. D. Moncur in P.J. Heather and J. Matthews (eds.) *The Goths in the Fourth Century*, (Liverpool, 1991).

Themistius, *Orations* 14, 15, 16 trans. D. Moncur in P.J. Heather and D. Moncur *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century, Select Orations of Themistius* (Liverpool, 2001).

Tacitus, *Annals* trans. M. Grant (revised edition) (London, 1996).

Tacitus, *Histories* trans. W.H. Fyfe (revised edition) (Oxford, 1997).

Vegetius, *De Re Militari* trans. N.P. Milner (revised edition) (Liverpool, 1996).

Virgil, *Aeneid* trans. C.D. Lewis (revised edition) (Oxford, 1986).

Introduction

> During the early years of the reign of the emperor Theodosius, when the Scythian nation was being driven from its lands by the Huns, the leaders of the tribes who were paramount in reputation and nobility crossed over to Roman territory. They, being loaded with honours by the emperor and observing that everything was theirs for the taking, came into considerable conflict among themselves. One side said that they should rejoice in and accept their present good fortune, the other that they should keep the oaths that they had sworn at home and not break their pledge. This pledge, a most unholy one that went beyond the normal savagery of the barbarians, was that, even if they were to receive the greatest kindnesses from the Romans, they would plot against them in every way and use every treacherous device to harm those who had taken them in, in order that they might gain possession of all their territory… The emperor continued to honour them, inviting them to dine at his table and visit his rooms, and he gave them many gifts, for no single detail of their quarrel came to light. The leader of the virtuous and god-fearing party was Fravitta, a man young in years but the most remarkable of all in his virtue and honesty… [For the majority of the barbarians] their leader was Eriulf, a half-madman who raged more wildly than the rest. (Eunapius, fr. 59 [ll. 1-34])

In this excerpt from his history, the author Eunapius describes Theodosius' interactions with Gothic leaders. These interactions generated significant tensions within the Gothic leadership which culminated in a violent episode and the murder of the Goth Eriulf at a banquet hosted in late 392 or early 393 ahead of the emperor's campaign against the usurper Eugenius.[1] Having allowed a group of Goths to settle within the empire in 382 in

[1] The opening of the passage suggests these interactions took place early in Theodosius' reign and may be why Thompson (1963, 107-108) dates this feast shortly after the battle of Adrianople in 378. However, there is good reason to follow Heather's dating of the passage to either late 392 or early 393 (1991, 186-187). Heather argues that the military context of 392, specifically Theodosius' need for the Goths to serve in his army against Eugenius, may have prompted his feasting of the Gothic leaders and that their argument may have been over the merits of becoming embroiled in a civil war where their countrymen would suffer major casualties with no guarantee of being on the winning side. Crucially, Zosimus' (4.56) placement of these events alongside other preparations for the war against Eugenius such as the appointment of generals to replace Richomer (4.57) implies that Eunapius' history also placed these events towards the end of his reign (the close relationship between the histories of Zosimus and Eunapius is discussed in Chapter Three). Given the date of 392/393 for this banquet, the opening of this passage may therefore be a reference to Theodosius maintaining an informal policy of honouring and feasting barbarians as a means of securing their

return for a guarantee of their military service, Theodosius used Gothic soldiers as a significant component of the eastern empire's army. Although some Goths served in the Roman army, others did so under their own commanders as *foederati*,[2] semi-autonomous peoples living on Roman territory who could be called upon by an emperor for service during a campaign. It was imperative, therefore, for Theodosius to maintain the loyalty of Gothic leaders through feasts, gifts and honours. This excerpt goes on to describe one such banquet at which Theodosius had invited a group of Gothic leaders to dine with him ahead of his new campaign. However, according to Eunapius, these efforts to promote fidelity and unity among Theodosius' forces are misguided because the emperor is unaware of the political arguments dividing the Goths living inside the empire. A majority of the barbarians agree with Eriulf, who argued that the Goths should use the opportunity provided by a civil war to overthrow the empire and plunder Roman wealth. On the other hand, a smaller group, appreciating the generosity of the emperor, believe that they should serve as soldiers under Theodosius who had provided them with support over the previous decade. It is only at this dinner that the drunken Goths publicly reveal their argument to the Romans and begin to panic over the emperor's possible retribution. According to Eunapius, Fravitta takes the opportunity provided by the chaos to slay Eriulf and prove the loyalty of his faction to the empire.

For Eunapius' audience, the description of Eriulf and his followers would at first seem to be a standard depiction of stereotypical barbarians, even though these particular Goths had been living in the empire for a decade.[3] 'A half-madman' (ἀνὴρ ἡμιμανὴς) leading drunken, brawling Goths would not have been a new idea for readers familiar with uncivilised barbarians in other Roman literature and who had seen the ravages caused by non-Romans throughout the eastern empire over the previous decades.[4] However, in Eunapius' account

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loyalty visible since his acceptance of Athanaric into the empire in 381 (Themistius *Or.* 15.190d-191a).

[2] Errington, 2006, 65; Stickler, 2007, 505; Lee, 2013, 37.

[3] There is some scholarly debate about the development of the word 'barbarian' by authors in the third century to describe peoples who had long been living within the empire. Mazzarino (1984, 496) argues that in the third century, authors such as Herodian used the word 'barbarian' to describe the residents within the empire who live far from Rome, such as the Thracians and Gauls. Mazzarino considers these citizens to be classed semi-barbarian based upon their geographical origin although Dubuisson (1982, 11-16) and Casevitz (1991, 137) consider that the term 'barbarian' could be applied to any resident within the empire regardless of origin according to their cultural shortcomings or appearance respectively. However, by the fourth century the term 'barbarian' was used primarily to denote an individual or peoples of non-Roman origin or a person within the empire immediately descended from non-Romans; Chauvot, 2001, 84.

[4] The reference to the early years of Theodosius' reign would bring these memories sharply into focus for many of Eunapius' readers as between the battle of Adrianople 378 and the peace

these traditional characteristics are developed in interesting directions, perhaps with a view to emphasising the seriousness of the threat he thought these Goths posed. The followers of Eriulf are not just depicted as mindlessly savage barbarians driven by their base instincts into conflict with the empire but as actively seeking the destruction of Rome. They display an unprecedented level of deceit and greed through the oath sworn to destroy and pillage the empire. Although, as Heather notes, there was never likely to have been any actual plan by the Goths to seize the empire for themselves,[5] Eunapius' narrative of a barbarian plot to bring about the end of Roman civilisation would not have been beyond the realm of possibility for his readers because it was built upon the traditional idea that barbarians were the antithesis of Romans and must be destroyed as part of the empire's continued survival. Eriulf himself, as the leader of these conniving Goths, demonstrates aggression beyond all others, which marks him out as a threat to the empire rather than a potential ally to be courted by an emperor.

Although the descriptions of these barbarians would have been disturbing for a reader, they would not have been unrecognisable. At their core, these scheming, wild Goths were still the same sort of enemies that had fought against the empire since its inception, even if Eunapius depicts them as more barbaric than any that had gone before.[6] The figure of Fravitta, however, and his followers may have surprised a Roman reader. Eunapius suggests that these non-Romans are not only worthy of living within and serving the empire but also that they embody certain traditional Roman virtues. Eunapius specifically states that the leader of this noble group of barbarians exhibits none of the 'deceit and evasion' (ἀπάτην καὶ διάκρουσιν) that typified their people, juxtaposing these barbarians with those hiding their desire to destroy the empire. By stating that Fravitta is not only virtuous and honest (ἀρετή καὶ ἀλήθεια) but also fearfully respectful of the traditional gods,[7] Eunapius implies that this Goth and his followers are capable of meeting the

settlement of 382 the Goths raided with near complete freedom throughout the Balkans while the new emperor sought to rebuild his forces; Heather, 1991, 151-155.

[5] Heather, 1991, 187.

[6] Throughout this thesis, terms such as 'barbaric' and 'civilised' have been used to denote actions and qualities that are considered to be contrary to or in accordance with traditional Roman values in the fourth century despite the later evolution of such terms which reflect more modern connotations and their potentially controversial interpretations; Powell, 2011, 136-137.

[7] Fravitta publicly adhered to the traditional Hellenic religion and married, with the emperor's permission, a Roman noblewoman (fr. 59 [l. 26]). In the author's eyes, each of these actions indicates that Fravitta was a truly noble character as he showed not only a willingness to submit himself to the laws of the emperor and Rome but also to the traditional pagan practices that Eunapius and his audience followed, contrary to the majority of Goths inside the empire (who had embraced a form of Christianity); Elton, 1996a, 101.

author's standard for Romans.[8] The contrast between these positive representations of non-Romans and the negative examples provided by Eriulf and his followers indicates that Eunapius' depiction of barbarians could be more sophisticated and fluid according to the needs of the author. This was part of a wider trend of authors in the late fourth and early fifth century manipulating traditional stereotypes in order to advance their own agendas, as will be explored in this thesis.

One of the main reasons why authors manipulated traditional stereotypes of barbarians in this way was as a strategy to comment upon the moral quality of those within the empire, especially the emperor. Although the Gothic leaders and their quarrel form the focus of the opening passage, their actions are an implicit criticism of Theodosius by the author. Eunapius directly juxtaposes a barbarian plan to seize all of the empire with Theodosius freely giving imperial benefits to the Goths in the form of food, gifts and honours, embracing those who are secretly intending to destroy the state. Theodosius is oblivious to both their sworn oath and the true nature of their leader, 'a half-madman' whose savagery is apparently on display. In the eyes of the author, by welcoming these enemies into the heart of Roman society, reflected by their admission to both the banquet and the emperor's rooms, and rewarding them with gifts of Roman wealth, Theodosius proves himself unworthy of the position he holds. Defending the borders of the empire, and by extension Roman civilisation, from barbarians trying to force entry was one of the primary duties of an emperor, one that Theodosius fails to uphold through his willingness to allow these Goths to live freely on Roman land despite their barbaric nature.

These barbarians serve, therefore, as a means for the author to critique the emperor. His appeasement of the natural enemies of the state represents a failure to fulfil the duties of the position he holds. However, the author also makes a pointed yet subtle criticism of Christianity within the passage, consistent with his pagan sympathies. As described earlier, Fravitta is unlike Eriulf and the majority of the other Goths. He is presented as having all the attributes of a model citizen who should be allowed to live within the borders of the empire. Specifically, one aspect that makes him a suitable Roman is his respect for the traditional Roman gods, a quality noted with approval by the author. According to Eunapius, while the Christian Theodosius was failing in his duties, a barbarian and his followers demonstrate that they are truly civilised through their worship and virtues.

[8] Eunapius' description of Fravitta's subsequent service for the empire, discussed in Chapter Three, indicates that the author believed his faith to be well placed as Fravitta would go on not only to restore discipline to Roman soldiers but also to take a stand (which would ultimately prove futile) against corruption within the empire during his time as consul.

Criticism of Christianity and those who practise it is a recurring theme in the works not just of Eunapius but of many pagan authors at this time and the use of barbarians to make this criticism, as Eunapius does here with Fravitta and his followers, demonstrates how malleable the image of barbarians had become by the end of the fourth century. Barbarians are used as a recurring literary device that could emphasise the deficiencies of emperors and other leading figures, religious institutions and by extension the health of the empire in general.

The rhetoric of 'barbarism' and its uses

This thesis explores the reaction of educated pagan elites to the threat they perceived from those they considered outsiders through an examination of the rhetoric used to describe northern barbarians in the orations and literature being written by authors under the early Theodosian dynasty for an audience largely comprised of their peers. With their numbers declining amongst those involved in running or defending the empire,[9] the traditional pagan elites cast a critical eye over the emperor and those employed in imperial service who were supposedly exemplars of Roman virtue. In their view, the once clear distinction between civilised and barbaric was becoming increasingly blurred due to the growing numbers of non-Romans and Christians serving at high levels within the empire.[10] This situation could most easily be explained in two ways: either the barbarians who were inside the empire were truly capable of integration and could become Roman, or this influx of outsiders must have resulted in those virtues that the Romans and especially the elites prided themselves on being eroded.

By exploring the role of northern barbarians in the works created by pagans in the late fourth and early fifth century, it is possible to analyse how these Roman authors portrayed not only the barbaric foreigners who fought against the empire but also those within the

[9] Salzman, 2002, 229.

[10] Recent scholarly analyses of the issues of Roman identity and its wider meaning in late antiquity include Mitchell and Greatrex (2000), Mathisen and Shanzer (2011), Mattingly (2011, 203-245) and Pohl (2014). Although factors such as the rule of Roman law, the army and cultural icons like Virgil helped to unite the inhabitants of the empire, there was variation in the specific 'Roman' identity adopted by groups and peoples within the empire stemming from their own social differences, political structures and history. Within the works analysed in this thesis, the authors and readers used their own ideas of 'Roman' and 'barbarian' to assess the empire and its current rulers, but these definitions would not have been shared by others at the time who could equally claim to be Roman despite differences in both religion and culture.

empire, of both Roman and barbarian origin.[11] More than any other non-Romans, the northern barbarians who resided beyond the Rhine and the Danube were traditionally considered to represent the antithesis of Roman civilisation. While the Persians were still considered to be inferior to the Romans, they did not embody all the negative qualities of a stereotypical barbarian.[12] The archetypal northern barbarian, on the other hand, was portrayed as the complete opposite of the Romans, as we shall see later in the Introduction. Depictions of these non-Romans were also frequent within literature describing the events of the later fourth century due to the continuous interaction between the Romans and their neighbours along the Danube and Rhine in late antiquity through warfare, trade and the settlement of non-Romans within the empire. As the numbers of barbarians living within the empire, serving within the imperial bureaucracy and being rewarded with honours grew under the Theodosian dynasty, the rhetoric used to portray these individuals was developed by writers in different ways. While Christian authors tended to portray these changes and the emperors responsible for them in a relatively positive manner, their pagan counterparts generally used the image of northern barbarians to comment upon what they perceived to be a deterioration in the health of the empire. The authors examined in this thesis, who followed pagan practices and rites, provide a critical perspective of both these outsiders and the dominant Christian individuals ruling the empire. Writing for well-educated audiences, the majority of whom would have also been pagans,[13] authors manipulated the recurring image of the barbarians in order to persuade the reader of the validity of their arguments. As this thesis will argue, the rhetoric of 'barbarism' was utilised by pagan orators, historians and biographers to convince their

[11] Gillett, 2009, 403.

[12] While still considered to be relatively barbaric by earlier sources due to their deceptive and aggressive nature (in spite of the stereotypical portrayal of eastern peoples as effeminate), the Persians were often acknowledged to be formidable rivals to the Romans prior to the fourth century; Isaac, 2004, 373-375. Over the course of the fourth century, however, this transformed into an acceptance on an imperial level that the Sassanian empire was almost comparable with their own and could be treated as such, even if this fact was not always reflected in the language of our sources; Chrysos, 1976, 17-19; Lee, 1991, 374; Smith, 2016, 24-25.

[13] While Eunapius identifies that he is writing for an audience comprising primarily his educated pagan compatriots (fr. 1 [ll. 90 ff.]), the extant texts of Ammianus and the author of the *Historia Augusta* do not explicitly name their intended audience (such information would likely have been mentioned or implied in prefatory material now lost to us). However, it is likely that these works would have been written for audiences of a similar social and religious background as the authors. Certainly, the focus of both works on the reigns of pagan emperors, Julian and the pre-Constantinian emperors respectively, would imply that these are the subjects their audience were most interested in. However, this did not mean that these works were intended solely for a pagan audience. Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, for example, was read by both pagan and Christian philosophers and his history was likely intended to be read by a similar group. Similarly, the orations discussed in Chapter One, although given by pagan speakers, would have been heard or read by the elite of the region, an audience consisting of both pagans and Christians.

audience that the rise of Christian emperors, the falling status of paganism and its practitioners and the growing influence of non-Romans within the empire was generally to the detriment of Roman society.

This thesis will show that although the empire's enemies are most frequently portrayed as aggressive, treacherous and greedy in accordance with stereotypical ideas of non-Romans found in the literary tradition, this is not always the case. As John Matthews states with regard to Ammianus' history (although it also applies to all of the sources examined in this thesis), an author's nuances in his depiction of different groups of barbarians are a result of a variety of factors: 'the intrinsically different nature of the peoples and events described, the functions and literary character of the narrative and digression in Ammianus' text, the quest for variation as a purely literary aim and, not least important, the manifold nature of his source materials.' (Matthews, 1989, 376). It is the second of these factors which is the focus of this thesis as authors adapted their depictions of non-Romans in conjunction with the needs of their narrative and the expectations of their audience. The interactions between Romans and barbarians, both hostile and peaceful, over the previous centuries provided authors with a wealth of opportunity for comparisons to be drawn between the two sides and any variation on the traditional theme of Roman superiority would have drawn the attention of a contemporary reader.

There is a wide range of sources that refer to barbarians in the fourth century but they feature most prominently in histories, biographies and panegyrics due to the frequent military campaigns of emperors which were a staple of these genres. Of these, the representation of barbarians within the imperial panegyrics provides a useful starting point for this analysis due to their overt aims of providing a positive view of emperors, frequently at the expense of their non-Roman enemies. These speeches, delivered at the imperial court and often also in front of the senators in Rome and Constantinople, focused on demonstrating a subject's imperial virtues. As such, barbarian enemies and foreign campaigns supplied orators with a wealth of subject matter for promoting the military merits of the ruling emperor and by extension establishing the superiority of the empire and its inhabitants over non-Romans. Although numerous panegyrics were written during the second half of the fourth century, the surviving speeches of Themistius provide the largest extant body of work by a single author. The examination of multiple speeches by a single author, covering a range of political situations including warfare, peace and co-habitation with the Goths, delivers an unparalleled opportunity to explore the techniques used by Themistius in his depiction of barbarians for a senatorial audience and how flexible

this imagery could be according to the needs of the orator. Themistius is not, however, the only panegyrist whose work survives. Of the *Panegyrici Latini*, the speech of Pacatus Drepanius is of particular note despite the author's potentially Christian beliefs as it provides a direct comparison between the Goths serving under Theodosius and their Roman counterparts. Pacatus' praise for the former barbarians turned loyal soldiers, in contrast to his condemnation of the troops of the usurper Magnus Maximus, completes the narrative of a group of Goths first mentioned in Themistius' *Oration 8*, where they are portrayed as stereotypically villainous barbarians incompatible with a civilised society.

Beyond the panegyrics, the historians and biographers of the late fourth and early fifth century present the most complex representations of barbarian groups and their leaders. Of these, Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae* delivers an unparalleled source of information about events during the middle of the fourth century and the author's personal experience in the army fighting against and alongside northern barbarians gives him a wider perspective on the role of non-Romans in the empire.[14] This familiarity is reflected in his work where barbarian leaders, both internal and external, are developed beyond the stereotypes that he uses to describe the majority of barbarian people. Ammianus' positive portrayals of some barbarians are used to offer comparisons to the largely flawed and incompetent Christian emperors of his lifetime, contrasting a group that was usually considered to be outsiders in the eyes of his readers with figures that should be the embodiment of Roman virtues and often suggesting that the current defenders of the empire and its values were inferior to their barbaric neighbours.

By contrast, the *Historia Augusta* presents a far more simplified version of non-Romans. This biographical work, purportedly written by a series of authors in the first half of the fourth century but most likely written by a single author at the end of that century or in the early fifth century, veers away from historical accuracy and into a generally fictional account of the third century. As such, the depiction of barbarians within the work becomes increasingly a reflection of late fourth-century attitudes towards non-Romans as the author relies on his own experiences and creativity to fill in the gaps in his narrative. Of particular importance is the life of the 'barbarian' emperor Maximinus Thrax. Having declared that the emperor was of non-Roman origin (*Max.* 1.5-7), the author relies on stereotypical qualities such as savagery, arrogance and ill-discipline to demonstrate the inadequacies of non-Romans wielding power within the empire. For members of his audience who were

[14] Hunt, 1999, 51.

reflecting on both their own diminishing authority and the increasing importance of foreigners within Roman society, the example of Maximinus would have provided a stark warning of a world at risk of succumbing to the control of barbarians.

The final author to be analysed in depth in this thesis is the historian Eunapius. Although this history is now fragmentary, his work was largely paraphrased by the early-sixth-century historian Zosimus, most of whose history is extant. The latter's reliance upon Eunapius, along with the surviving excerpts of the original history, provide enough material for us to recognise his generally critical attitude towards both barbarians and Christians.[15] In a similar fashion to the other authors, Eunapius bases his depictions upon the traditional literary stereotypes of barbarians and sets them up as inferior enemies to be defeated by those responsible for the security of the state. As with Ammianus, failure to defend the empire reflects adversely upon the emperors and their generals who are supposed to be responsible for maintaining the borders. However, while Ammianus uses positive portrayals of barbarians as a means to criticise Roman leaders, Eunapius' history goes to even greater lengths by making a barbarian character comparable to the two great Roman leaders of his extant work. The barbarian general Fravitta, who features in the opening excerpt above, is depicted as being comparable to two of Eunapius' heroes – the emperor Julian and the *magister peditum* Sebastianus– and is celebrated not just for his willing integration into the empire or his victories in the defence of Rome but also for his embodiment of Roman virtues in the face of a corrupt society. His unjust execution, due to his refusal to submit to the machinations of Arcadius' courtiers, serves as the definitive example of Roman decline in the eyes of the author. It has been left to a man of foreign origin to uphold the qualities that should be innate within every Roman and his life is forfeited due to the corruption of those who should be inherently superior to any foreigner. Eunapius' depiction of Fravitta provides the ultimate example of barbarians serving as literary devices for authors to provide commentary upon the state of the empire and reinforces the attitude of the traditional pagan elites who see the deterioration of Roman values as a reflection of their own diminishing station.

However, the analysis of representations of barbarians in the works of late fourth-century authors is dependent upon more than just a close examination of the text – it is necessary to understand the context in which both authors and their audiences were living and writing. The fourth century as a whole was a period of upheaval as it saw not only

[15] Jones (2014, 112) notes that Eunapius' history is generally more critical of Christians and the decline of traditional Roman values than Ammianus' work.

Christianity becoming the state religion but also the rise and fall of a series of dynasties in both the east and west alongside an increasing reliance upon barbarians as both Roman soldiers and generals. After a review of modern scholarship on representations of barbarians in the late antique period, the Introduction discusses these major changes and how they affected the pagan elite. There then follows an overview of the earlier literature that our writers were drawing upon for the traditional depictions of barbarians and Roman virtues. This will help us understand the stereotypical imagery that late antique readers would have recognised and that the authors were subsequently manipulating. Finally, a brief section on the appearance of barbarians in the imperially approved material culture of the fourth century, specifically coinage and the most recognisable monuments, offers another insight into the common tropes of barbarians that would have been at the forefront the elites' minds when thinking of non-Romans.

Modern scholarship

Although there have been many studies on barbarians in the fourth century, the most important contributions on the representations of non-Romans in literature have been made in French scholarship. While Anglophone research has mainly focussed on issues regarding the accuracy of fourth-century depictions of barbarians, scholars such as Dauge and Chauvot have been most prominent in investigating why authors chose to present barbarians in this fashion. The seminal work exploring the depiction of barbarians in the Roman Empire was written by Yves Albert Dauge in 1981. Since its publication almost forty years ago, *Le Barbare* has become a fundamental reference point for studies on Roman attitudes towards barbarians.[16] Dauge's work provides an overview of barbarians in Latin literature from 201 B.C. through to A.D. 410. In the first part of his work, each source is explored within a chronological framework with Roman history divided into seven chapters.[17] In the second part, Dauge explores the linguistic presentation of the 'other', including a discussion of the barbaric values often ascribed to non-Romans, and the differences between the Greek and Roman models of barbarians. The third and final part of Dauge's book discusses the ideological role played by the barbarian and here the author

[16] Dauge is recommended as further reading in the entries on 'barbarians' in a variety of reference works: *OCD*[4] (2012, 223 by Thomas Wiedemann), Bowersock, Brown and Grabar (1999, 334-335 by C.R. Whittaker) and the entry for Roman attitudes towards barbarians in the *ODLA* (2018, 209-210 by Peter Heather).

[17] The chapter on late antiquity, covering the Latin sources explored in this thesis, begins in A.D. 305.

forms his conclusions: he argues that there was a clear divide between the concept of 'Romans' and 'barbarians' in Latin literature with the two being presented as complete opposites. The Romans represented culture, civilisation and order while their counterparts embodied the negative values of savagery, arrogance and chaos.

For Dauge, these traits are universal: all barbarians, regardless of their origins, demonstrate these common traits in the Latin texts. Even if a certain author fails to use consistently all of the negative attributes in his descriptions of a single group, a Roman reader would still recognise that all of these qualities apply to the non-Romans regardless of their origins or location.[18] The treacherous nature of the Carthaginians is not unique amongst barbarians, therefore, but they are merely the most visible exemplars of a trait common to all barbarians. According to Dauge's theory, little differentiates the Carthaginians or Persians from the Gauls in the eyes of the Romans and even less care is given to the differences between the peoples referred to collectively as the Goths. All of these non-Romans exist not as independent groups but subdivisions of the wider classification of 'barbarian'. Nomads, such as the Huns of Ammianus, are at the head of this grouping because they embody all of Dauge's barbaric traits and present the complete antithesis of the ideal Romans and their civilisation. However, this theory of the dichotomy of Roman and barbarian is not perfectly maintained in the Latin texts covered in Dauge's comprehensive work and the author recognises this fact. Some Romans fail to meet the standards expected of them within the literature and may even demonstrate a measure of the barbaric traits that are supposed to be the reserve of the non-Roman. In these situations, the ideal of a 'Roman' is not harmed, instead it is the individual in question who becomes less than Roman, even if it is an emperor who is being described.[19] Conversely, when a text includes non-Romans demonstrating Roman virtues, rather than this suggesting that there are peoples who are neither Roman nor stereotypically barbarian this instead indicates that the more positively portrayed non-Romans are being assimilated or are suitable for integration into the empire.[20]

[18] Levene, 2010, 219.
[19] Dauge, 1981, 349.
[20] Cf. O'Gorman, 1993, 147. As Elton (1996b, 140) notes, however, this was not always the case. Some individuals born outside of the empire or with parents who were non-Roman were considered by authors to be in some way foreign no matter what they achieved or how high within Roman society they rose – both Stilicho and Fravitta, two consuls, are noted to be not Roman despite their achievements and assimilation into Roman society. These figures appear to fall between the ideal Roman and the villainous barbarian.

Dauge's theory that barbarians act as the ideological antithesis of Romans has proved to be popular amongst scholars. Brent Shaw, for example, agrees that Roman authors see themselves as faced with an implacable foreign enemy who embody qualities diametrically opposed to those of the empire.[21] This opposition is an ideological necessity for the Romans and does not change despite the increase in the number of barbarians settled within the empire during the fourth century; rather authors reclassify who is to be considered a barbarian as circumstances change. For Edward James, 'barbarism' is not a single, fixed enemy but closer to a state of mind that is generally, but not always, embodied by those beyond the borders of the empire: 'some peoples had passed through the state of barbarism (although they could slip back again); others were still living in barbarism (but could emerge from it)'.[22] This concept of individuals fluidly moving from one state to another is most apparent in Themistius' declaration in *Oration* 10 (131c) that within every person there is a constant internal struggle for dominance between a barbarian voice and a rational voice mirroring the external conflict between the Goths and the Romans. Similarly, Thomas Burns and David Mattingly draw conclusions consistent with Dauge's theory of the contrast between barbarians and Romans and see it as a means of either reinforcing imperial authority or aiding the army respectively. Burns suggests that literary portrayals of non-Romans during this period are largely uniform and sought to serve a single purpose in highlighting the power of the emperor.[23] Mattingly, on the other hand, argues that the same uniformity and negative presentation in literature could have been used as a means of dehumanising the enemy in order to make it easier for soldiers to fight and slaughter their enemy.[24] Although neither author explicitly names Dauge or refers to his work directly, both scholars treat fourth-century barbarians as a homogenous force being presented by Romans in opposition to themselves.

However, despite providing a good foundation for analysing the barbarian in Roman literature, *Le Barbare* is not without its issues. On a practical level, Dauge's effort to explore the representation of barbarians in Latin literature from the Republic through to the sack of Rome in 410 leads to numerous issues with his coverage of the fourth century. Despite the length of the work (859 pages) and Dauge's omission of all literature written in Greek and of material evidence, the study's vast chronological range still means that it can only give limited attention to the nuances of individual authors and time periods. The chapter that

[21] Shaw, 2000, 374-375.
[22] James, 2009, 11-13.
[23] Burns, 2003, 365.
[24] Mattingly, 2011, 35.

covers the context and literary works of the fourth century takes up only 72 pages of his book with Ammianus receiving the most detailed analysis of the chapter's prose sources across 22 pages while the *Historia Augusta* (3 pages) and panegyrics (5 pages) are largely overlooked.[25]

This restriction on close analysis of texts then leads to an issue with the conclusions Dauge reaches in his study. As José Miguel Alonso-Núñez notes in his review,[26] in the first third of his book, Dauge sets out his evidence that Roman opinions about barbarians are fully formed by the end of the second century B.C. and remain largely consistent for the following six hundred years despite examples of more positive attitudes towards non-Romans in a number of works. Having made this sweeping generalisation, Dauge undertakes a sociological study of the typology of the universal barbarian in the following two parts of the book. This includes analysis of barbarian society, races and inherent qualities and how these barbarians contrast with Romans. While this study is useful for its analysis of the 'traditional' barbarian, the strict adherence to the perpetual 'bipolar' idea of Roman and barbarian is the greatest limitation of *Le Barbare* and has been developed and challenged by subsequent scholars in order to explain in more depth the complex images of non-Romans that Dauge does not fully explore. While Andrew Riggsby (2006, 47-71) and David Levene (2010, 219-223) disagree with Dauge's approach with regard to the writing of Julius Caesar and Livy respectively, in particular arguing that the non-Romans depicted by those authors do not fit neatly into Dauge's black-and-white divisions of Roman and non-Roman, Alain Chauvot has been the foremost scholar considering the literary role of barbarians in the fourth century.

Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s Chauvot produced a series of articles and papers about Roman attitudes to barbarians in late antiquity culminating in his work *Opinions romaines face aux barbares* published in 1998.[27] This text provides a comprehensive chronological analysis of the sources written in the fourth century, dealing with each author and source in turn in order to examine Roman attitudes towards barbarians and

[25] It is worth noting that the chapter on the fourth century is the second longest of Dauge's seven chapters in the first part of his study, with only the chapters covering the periods from the battle of Actium to the accession of Vespasian (81 pages) and Vespasian to Commodus (68 pages) being of similar lengths.

[26] Alonso-Núñez, 1985, 411.

[27] A number of these articles were later republished in a recent volume collating some of Chauvot's articles between 1984 and 2016 on Roman representations of barbarians and conflicts between the two; Chauvot, 2016a. Although this book does consider Ammianus' presentation of the Goths, the writing of the fourth century is not the focus of the volume and it is far more varied than *Opinions romaines face aux barbares*.

how these affected Roman policies. Unlike in Dauge's book, both Greek and Latin sources are considered, allowing for a wider view of the situation and not allowing either half of the empire to dominate Chauvot's discussion of the century. A large number of literary sources are considered by Chauvot, although later sources, such as Zosimus, who closely paraphrase the writings of earlier authors in order to create their own histories are not considered in their own right despite being cited. Alongside the literature, both material evidence and legislation introduced during an emperor's reign are considered in order to fully explore an emperor's attitude towards and interaction with barbarians. Drawing out the opinions of the emperors who were dictating policies towards barbarians is one of the aims of Chauvot in this text, alongside seeking to elucidate the attitude of the author writing each source. The author and emperor are not, however, the only people whom Chauvot suggests are visible within the sources. The soldiers in the army, who were serving alongside non-Romans, and the local population along the borders of the empire are also the subjects of his inquiries as Chauvot seeks to explore not only the opinions of the emperors who set imperial policy on barbarians but also how non-Romans are perceived at all levels within the empire in order to fully explain the process for making policy and how it was received. This approach is particularly successful when covering periods with a high quantity of imperially-authorised material such as the reigns of Constantine or Theodosius when sources like the panegyrics and monuments are at their most useful for supporting the literature and revealing an emperor's public opinions.[28]

As with Dauge, Chauvot acknowledges the ideological opposition of Roman and barbarian at the centre of all fourth-century representations of non-Romans, regardless of the genre of the source. However, unlike Dauge, Chauvot suggests that the concepts of Roman and barbarian are in some ways fluid throughout the fourth century. According to Chauvot, due to the ever increasing number of barbarians within the empire, there is no consensus between the authors of the fourth century on who exactly could be defined as a barbarian within the empire, with the Isaurians in particular being inconsistently considered barbarians. Although Chauvot argues that there is no wider uniformity amongst the authors, he does suggest that Eusebius is at the forefront of a new development in the treatment of the dichotomy between barbarians and Romans, in that he equates the idea of being truly Roman with the image of the Christian emperor and the wider Christian

[28] Beaucamp, 2000, 473.

religion.[29] This extension of what it means to be Roman in the mid-fourth century necessitated a counter-expansion in the definition of barbaric, at least in the eyes of the Christian authors who follow Eusebius' model. However, while Chauvot does acknowledge this as the beginning of an increasingly prominent Christian idea,[30] he shows less awareness that there emerges an alternative perspective in the writings of pagan authors later in the period. As we shall see later in this thesis, pagan authors do not equate being Christian with being Roman but rather compare the former and its followers with barbarians, often unfavourably, while suggesting that to be Roman is to maintain a standard achieved by a declining number within the empire as the number of Christians grows.

Dauge and Chauvot have produced the two most detailed analyses of barbarians in Roman literature, providing an overview of the entirety of Latin writing and the fourth century respectively and establishing the groundwork for further studies on the representations of non-Romans. The central argument of this thesis, that barbarians could be used as malleable literary devices for pagan authors to evaluate not just those outside the empire but also the merits of those living within the borders of the empire, is built upon their work exploring Roman depictions of barbarians. However, Anglophone scholarship appears to have given limited attention to their results and has not developed the issues raised by their French colleagues in as much depth. Instead, they have traditionally focussed on historical aspects of barbarians. Ralph Mathisen, for example, considers the treatment of barbarians from a legal standpoint in order to discuss issues of identity and citizenship in the late antique world.[31] When looking at Eunapius' treatment of Fravitta, Mathisen is concerned with the issue of whom the non-Roman was able to marry and the freedom he was allowed to practice his religion rather than why Eunapius portrays a non-Roman in such a positive manner or how unusual it was for a barbarian to become a standard-bearer for Roman values. In a similar fashion, the accuracy of Ammianus' depictions of barbarians, such as his digression on the Huns (31.2), can be the focus of a scholar's analysis despite these depictions also serving as a literary device that Ammianus did not necessarily intend

[29] Maas (2012, 62) agrees that the process of equating Christianity with Romanness took place in late antiquity, thereby morphing the meaning of Roman from its earlier definition, but he argues that it did not take place until the fifth century with Salvian. Ladner (1976, 23), on the other hand, writing prior to either of Chauvot or Dauge, suggests that Prudentius began this process nearer the beginning of the fifth century, although, as with Chauvot, he also does not see this idea being adopted unanimously by Christian writers.

[30] Beaucamp (2000, 476) actually criticises Chauvot for not emphasising this theory of Roman becoming synonymous with Christian sufficiently in his conclusion but only mentioning it during his analysis of Eusebius.

[31] Mathisen, 1997; 2006; 2009.

his audience to accept at face value.[32] Even John Matthews, in his comprehensive study of Ammianus, states that his intention when evaluating Ammianus' presentation of groups of barbarians is to compare the author's presentation of barbarians with what we know to be true, rather than question why Ammianus may have deliberately represented non-Romans in the manner he did.[33] When literary analysis of fourth-century authors (in particular Ammianus) has been undertaken by Anglophone scholars, they have either largely ignored their use of barbarians or oversimplified their representations.[34]

However, the motivations behind representations of barbarians in the fourth century have not been completely overlooked outside of France. Prior to Chauvot's work, Gerhard Ladner wrote an article regarding the attitudes of Romans towards barbarians in late antiquity.[35] This article provides a brief overview of the sources, with attention paid towards coinage and panegyrics as the key sources for the representations of barbarians in the fourth century, concluding that efforts towards integrating the Goths in panegyrics under Theodosius were undermined by the negative image of barbarians on coinage and in texts.[36] More recently, Peter Heather's work has engaged with the question of the image of barbarians, most notably in a chapter published in 1999, 'The barbarian in late antiquity: Image, reality, and transformation', in *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* and his analysis of Themistius' panegyrics. As one of the leading scholars on Romans and barbarians whose work has furthered our historical understanding of non-Romans in late antiquity, Heather's publications have usually focussed on the accuracy of the depictions of barbarians. In *Goths and Romans, 332-489* (1991) and *The Goths* (1996), Heather uses the fourth-century literary sources to explore the historical accuracy of the portrayal of the Goths but in 1991 just prior to the first of these publications, Heather and John Matthews compiled a range of sources in *The Goths in the Fourth Century*. In this book, Heather and Matthews do consider the literary role of the Goths as part of the texts they explore, especially when considering the panegyrics of Themistius. In particular, attention is given to

[32] Rohrbacher, 2002, 226; Matthews, 1989, 332-342; Heather 1995; Maenchen-Helfen, 1955, 389-390.
[33] Matthews, 1989, 305 ff.
[34] Kelly's literary analysis of Ammianus largely overlooks his use of barbarians (2008), while Seager (1986, 44 ff.) merely lists the number of times negative qualities are associated with foreigners and Barnes (1998, 182-186) argues that Ammianus did manipulate his narrative of the Gothic invasion but only to emphasise how bad the invaders were.
[35] Ladner, 1976.
[36] Ladner, 1976, 21.

the panegyrist's use of tribute as a means to make Valens look stronger despite his failure to win a decisive war.[37]

Themistius' role as a mouthpiece for imperial policy was revisited in Heather's subsequent collaboration with Moncur in 2001 in *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century*. Here, while analysing a range of orations spanning Themistius' career, Heather suggests that Themistius' inconsistent portrayal of the barbaric nature of the Goths and their suitability to be integrated into the empire are not indications of the orator's own opinion but of the political needs of the emperor at the time of each speech,[38] making panegyrists' use of barbarians another way that emperors could use the threat of barbarians either to reinforce their own authority or to castigate usurpers.[39] This idea, supported by evidence across Heather's studies, reinforces the idea that the image of barbarians is fluid and that non-Romans do not all have to be consistently portrayed as incompatible with Roman life in accordance with Dauge's argument.[40] Fourth-century authors, including Ammianus and Eunapius in Heather's opinion,[41] could decry the traditional negative image of the barbarian while being flexible over who they class as barbarians.[42] This is due to the fact that both authors and their audiences could understand and accept that the same non-Romans could be portrayed in different ways over the course of the century.

Another work on the representation of barbarians which merits discussion is Benjamin Isaac's 2004 study *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Even though it does not focus on the fourth century, this study considers the creation of stereotypical barbarians as a literary construct by Roman authors, considering why a Roman author wrote in this manner rather than how accurate it is. Isaac provides an overview of the attitudes and descriptions of non-Romans in literary sources in an effort to prove that ancient Greek and Roman societies contained the seeds of what would eventually become the racism prevalent in modern societies from the nineteenth century. Although the focus of this work is the period from the fifth century B.C. in Greece to the third century A.D. in Rome it is still of note as the author makes 'occasional forays into the fourth century'.[43] The writings of authors such as Eusebius, Libanius, Ammianus and the *Historia Augusta* are all cited by

[37] Heather and Matthews, 1991, 23-24.
[38] Heather and Moncur, 2001, 216-218.
[39] Heather, 1999, 240.
[40] The culmination of this fluid image of a barbarian would be seen within the successor kingdoms as Roman authors sought to depict their foreign rulers as truly Roman; Heather, 1999, 254-255.
[41] Heather, 1999, 234-238.
[42] Heather, 1999, 254-255.
[43] Isaac, 2004, 15.

Isaac with efforts made to consider the contents of each source despite these works going beyond the end of his timeframe.[44] Isaac argues that the Romans exhibited a form of 'proto-racism' not by judging peoples according to their skin colour or even largely due to their physical characteristics but instead according to assumed culture and social groupings. He determines that this is not the fixed ideological conflict of the one uniform image of the barbarian against the Roman as Dauge argues but instead a varied mix of barbarians, each group of which could have some, but not necessarily all, negative stereotypical qualities applied to them.

With regard to the fourth century, Isaac notes that authors maintain the traditional stereotypes that had long since been established with regard to external enemies but did allow some measure of assimilation for peoples who had been integrated into the empire. The second half of the book follows a chronological approach when dealing with each distinct people and Isaac gives attention to the Egyptians, Gauls and Syrians in the fourth century. He notes that the people of Gaul in particular have shed some of their barbaric traits such as a reputation for greediness and fickleness in Ammianus and are largely treated as fellow Romans, with the major exception being their description during Ammianus' digression on the Gauls, which Isaac argues is based on earlier sources and therefore is not reflective of contemporary views.[45] This positive attitude towards the people of Gaul is unsurprisingly even more visible in the panegyrics written by orators from that region.[46] However, the more positive attitude amongst writers towards the populations of Gaul could be explained by the fact Gaul had been part of the empire for over four hundred years by the time of Ammianus. It is impossible to extrapolate Isaac's theory about the more positive attitude towards the Gallic peoples further to say that the fourth century offered a more flexible approach towards barbarians, due to the lack of evidence that he offers regarding the Goths or Germans as the peoples most likely to be consistently presented in negative terms.

From the studies of Dauge and later scholars, it seems that it has been widely accepted that Roman authors in the fourth century did have an ideal that they considered to be Roman and this was in contrast to an archetypical 'barbarian'. In reality though, the works of

[44] For example, Isaac (2004, 205-208) analyses the use of animal metaphors by each of the first three of these authors to see if they criticise barbarians due to their culture (which could be changed) or their permanent nature.
[45] Isaac, 2004, 424-425.
[46] On the Gallic origin for the *Panegyrici Latini* and the strength of the oratorical schools of Gaul, see Nixon and Saylor Rodgers, 1994, 3 ff.

Chauvot, Heather and Isaac indicate that authors in the fourth century do not portray their subjects solely in accordance with this simplistic imagery. While Isaac argues that fourth-century authors portray those living along the northern border of the empire close to the barbarians in a more positive light than earlier authors and offer a measure of assimilation for peoples who have been previously vilified, Chauvot sees no such uniformity of approach and argues that each author was largely free to demonstrate their own viewpoint. This generally corresponds with Heather, whose analysis of Themistius reveals that even within the corpus of a single author, portrayals of a single subject could vary according to circumstance. However, Chauvot recognises that during the fourth century there is the beginning of a movement from Christian authors to associate their religion and emperors with this ideal of the perfect Roman, although this is by no means universal, but he does not consider that this may also apply to pagan authors, who see the rise of Christianity not as a movement of the empire and its inhabitants towards this positive ideal but instead towards the negative barbaric world instead. Non-Romans are no longer the ultimate evil in the mind of pagan authors under the Theodosian dynasty, contrary to what Chauvot argues,[47] nor are all barbarians incapable of changing their spots.[48] Instead, stereotypical barbarians form a baseline against which all others can be compared. While some characters, both inside and outside the empire, rise above this standard to embody Roman values in some fashion, others prove to be unworthy of living within the empire and are revealed to be corrupting the values they should be defending.

The changing fortunes of fourth-century elites

The reduction in the emphasis placed upon the threat seemingly posed by the external barbarian in the eyes of pagan authors and their audiences was not a literary development happening in isolation, rather it was a reflection of the wider issues facing the pagan elites at the end of the fourth century. As will become apparent in this section, the fourth century was a period of great change for the empire and especially the pagans living in Rome. Not only was there a measure of political instability as powerful dynasties gave way to child emperors, but the traditional roles held by pagans within military and bureaucratic institutions were increasingly held by non-Romans and Christians, reflecting the growing numbers and influence of these two groups over the course of the fourth century. Tracking

[47] Chauvot, 1998, 386; 2001, 88; Heather, 1991, 324.
[48] Dauge, 1981, 342.

the major transformations in imperial power, the military role of non-Romans and the growth of Christianity within the empire and recognising their impact upon elite pagans makes an important contribution to understanding how and why pagan authors manipulated the image of the 'traditional barbarian' to comment upon their contemporary society.

At the beginning of the fourth century, a measure of stability had been restored to the Roman Empire. Diocletian, the tetrarchs and subsequently the Constantinian dynasty were able to secure the borders of the empire against foreign incursions and offered the promise of solidity after the rapid turnover of rulers during the previous century. Over the course of the century, however, this stability came under significant challenge. The Constantinian dynasty ended with the death of the pagan emperor Julian on campaign in Persia in 363 and was succeeded, after the brief reign of Jovian, by the Valentinianic dynasty. The gradual demise of that regime due to the premature deaths of emperors from unexpected physical infirmities and from enemies both external and internal left the empire in the hands of the Theodosian dynasty by the beginning of the fifth century. Valens' defeat and death in battle against the Goths at Adrianople in 378 could be considered the most significant blow to the stability of the empire in the latter half of the fourth century. It left the two young emperors of the western empire as the senior figures in the Roman world and the remainder of their reigns were characterised by growing instability. Although Gratian was 19 years old at the time of his uncle's death in 378 and had been an Augustus since 367, he would die in 383 aged just 24 as a result of the usurpation of his general Magnus Maximus, leaving the twelve-year-old Valentinian II as the sole legitimate ruler of the western Empire. The suicide of the young emperor in 392, possibly due to the actions of the Frank Arbogast,[49] whom Theodosius had assigned as *magister militum* and de facto ruler of the west, was symptomatic of the political upheaval in the western empire at this time. Valentinian II's death, and the absence of Theodosius in the east, left a barbarian general as the sole arbiter of the imperial power in the west and would lead to future strife as Arbogast and Eugenius, the man he appointed as emperor, subsequently fought and lost a civil war against Theodosius. The weakness of the Valentinianic dynasty towards the end of the fourth century provided opportunities for those outside or on the fringes of the empire. Usurpers were common throughout the period, with men such as Procopius,

[49] Croke (1976) has argued persuasively that Valentinian's death was suicide rather than the murder sources such as Zosimus (4.53-54) claim that it was. However, even if Valentinian killed himself, it is likely that Arbogast's actions and dominant position over the young emperor played some part in his death.

Firmus and Magnus Maximus joining others such as Magnentius, Silvanus and Julian, who had all attempted usurpations against Constantius II or his brothers. Primarily a western phenomenon,[50] the usurpations that plagued the latter half of the fourth century were a result of perceived imperial weakness – an idea only strengthened by the inexperience of the emperors after Adrianople.

However, the weakening of the ruling dynasty was not the only impact of Adrianople. The eastern empire was also severely weakened as the destruction of Valens' army forced the new emperor Theodosius to rely on a combination of new inexperienced recruits and an increasing number of Gothic and Germanic troops and officers to ensure the protection of the empire.[51] Settlements were agreed with the invading Goths to allow them to live within Roman territory in return for their service to Theodosius. The result of this settlement was that, by the beginning of the fifth century, many of the soldiers stationed permanently along stretches of the empire's borders were either of barbarian descent or had been born outside of the empire.[52] These Goths also went on to occupy high-ranking positions in the Roman army, leading campaigns on behalf of the emperor at the head of both their own countrymen and Roman soldiers.

These campaigns were often against their former compatriots after incursions into the Roman Empire. Following Julian's failed war with the Sasanian Persians, and Jovian's subsequent peace agreement, that border remained relatively stable for the remainder of the century. The next greatest external threats remaining to the empire were, therefore, the barbarians living along the Danube and the Rhine who made incursions into Roman territory.[53] The near constant campaigning along these borders not only weakened the military might of the emperors but also placed further burdens upon taxpayers within the empire. Throughout the fourth century, the amount of money that was demanded by the

[50] As Wardman (1984, 233-234) notes, Procopius was the only major usurper in the east in the latter half of the fourth century with the Gallic and British armies not only promoting several of their leaders to become usurpers but also prompting emperors and their advisors to move potential candidates such as Sebastianus to prevent further usurpations (Amm. Marc. 30.10.3).
[51] Stickler, 2007, 504-505; Treadgold, 1995, 11.
[52] Burns, 2003, 321.
[53] Elton, 1996b, 59; Heather, 2001; Raimondi, 2001. This point is questioned by Drinkwater (2007, 177) who argues that the threat posed by the Germani was negligible in reality and that emperors used wars with barbarians as political tools to bolster their support. He argues that Valentinian, for example, chose to rule the western half of the empire and intentionally drew the ire of the Alamanni following his accession in order to prove his *virtus* by emulating Julian rather than be forced to renew war with the more dangerous Sasanians in the east (270-271). However, even if this is the case, conflict with an external enemy appears, therefore, to be inevitable for an emperor seeking to secure his rule and expensive campaigns against Germanic or Gothic tribes were frequently sought, resulting in reciprocal raiding into Roman land.

emperors increased, creating resentment amongst those obliged to cover the rising costs.[54] One of the main concerns voiced towards imperial policy was that large areas of land near the borders of the empire were left empty.[55] This land was frequently raided but its abandonment increased the amount of money that had to be provided by remaining liable citizens.[56] Theodosius' settlement of the Goths in 382 was, according to the panegyrist Themistius, to be celebrated because it offered a solution to this problem. Former barbarians would contribute not only soldiers but also taxes in order to alleviate the burden upon his wealthy audience in Constantinople (*Or*. 16.211d). Nor was this the only occasion that orators made the alleviation of financial burdens a focal point of their panegyrics. The repeated attempts by orators to reassure their audiences that their financial obligations would lessen, or those occasions where they celebrated the success of emperors in supposedly completing that process, indicate that this was a major concern for the elites of the empire.

However, Theodosius' settlement of the Goths also created an internal threat to the empire. Despite his use of barbarian soldiers to great effect against the usurper Maximus (*Pan. Lat.* II(12)), Theodosius' decision ultimately led to the empire coming under threat from those charged with its defence.[57] Theodosius had agreed to reward the Gothic leaders in return for their service but after his death the chaos and destruction caused by the

[54] MacMullen (1984, 577) argues that the stationing of troops in small groups along the borders of the empire when not on campaign was a cost saving measure as any massing of the soldiers into a single army put too great a financial burden on the state. Lenski (2002, 243-244) also states that the army, in particular the costs of grand campaigns or donatives, represented an emperor's largest cost in the fourth century and the burden to pay these extra demands placed great strain upon the taxpayers (Amm. Marc. 26.6.7).

[55] Although Grey (2007, 164-165) has argued that empty land was not a major issue in reality and the procurement of draftees through the resettlement was the main intention of these settlements, numerous orators mention citizens' fear of farmland being raided in Gaul as well as later celebrating the resettlement of this land (e.g. *Pan. Lat.* VIII(4) 21.1; VI(7) 6.2; Them. *Or.* 10.136; *Or*. 16.211a-b). Regardless of whether panegyrics promote imperial policy to an audience or convey a message from the orator and his city to an emperor, the fact that this issue is raised in these public addresses indicates that people were still concerned enough about the problem of the *agri deserti* along the borders and felt it or its solutions needed to be publicised.

[56] Following the edict of Caracalla in 212 and its implementation over the course of the third century, Roman citizenship and the *ius civile* were expanded to include almost all free inhabitants within the empire at the time although, according to Mathisen (2006, 1036-1037), barbarians settled on Roman soil after 212 were not automatically eligible for citizenship even if they did follow Roman laws and practices. While this expanded the number of people who could be considered Roman, the edict also decreased the importance of citizenship as a distinguishing feature of an individual's identity in contrast to their association with a particular town or province, social standing or their wealth (1015). The expansion of citizenship to include a new range of people also meant that the association between citizen (*civis*) and civilised (*civilis*) behaviour was further diluted. When discussing the late fourth century, therefore, the word citizen can be used to refer to a generic inhabitant of the empire without its earlier connotations.

[57] MacMullen, 1988, 185-186.

rebellions of Alaric and Gainas, both of whom had been appointed *magistri militum* by Arcadius, could be seen by critics as an indictment of Theodosius' policy. As bands of Goths roamed the empire pillaging the land in the late 390s and sacked Rome itself in 410, both pagan and Christian elites cast doubts over the ability of non-Romans to become civilised and questioned imperial policy favouring these newcomers to the empire.[58]

Beyond these factors there was another major transformation in the fourth century as the Roman Empire became increasingly Christianised under the Constantinian dynasty (with the brief exception of Julian's reign). Not only did this mark an end to the persecutions of Christians engaged in by earlier Roman emperors, it also led to a growing number of Christians amongst the officials who ran the empire and eventually resulted in their preponderance within the imperial bureaucracy and the senates of Constantinople and Rome by the end of the century.[59] The animosity of earlier emperors towards Christianity was replaced by financial and political support for both individuals and churches under Constantine (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.1) and by the end of the period it was pagan monuments, rather than Christian churches, that were in danger of being removed.[60] It was apparent to all that by the early fifth century, the traditional pagan practices of the empire had been irrevocably supplanted by Christianity and that those who continued to follow the religion of their ancestors would enjoy no support from emperors.[61]

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[58] Mitchell, 2007, 95. The Christian writer Synesius' *de Regno* is the most forthright criticism of allowing the Goths to hold high honours or even serve as officers in the army. The work calls for a restoration of the traditional relationship between Romans and barbarians as the latter are considered to be inherently inferior and fit only to be slaves, not senators (15.2). It also draws upon traditional Roman imagery and virtues as Synesius argues that Roman farmers should take up arms against the barbarians to defend their lands (14.7). Regardless of whether this work was written in response to Tribigild and Gainas' revolt (Southern and Dixon, 1996, 47) or Alaric (Heather, 1988), it reflects a groundswell of opinion against Theodosius' policies of settlement and assimilation.

[59] Salzman, 2002, 225-229.

[60] Support for Christianity as a whole was consistent throughout the fourth century, although a range of distinct theological groups existed within the church and enjoyed imperial favour from different emperors during the period. The exception to this was a brief reversal of policy under Julian who restricted the freedom of Christians during his sole reign. The brevity of his reign and his subsequent succession by Christian emperors meant that his policies had little effect on the broader trend towards Christian dominance over their pagan counterparts.

[61] While Valentinian II's refusal to return the Altar of Victory, at the behest of Ambrose, was a blow to the prestige of the pagans in Rome and showed that the balance of power had shifted towards the Christian faith, Theodosius' actions to restrict the ability of pagans to hold office or worship prove that emperors were now hostile towards the pagan elites. Theodosius banned imperial officials in Rome and Alexandria from entering pagan temples (*Cod. Theod.* 16.10.10-11), closed some temples and outlawed rituals. Zosimus (4.59.1) even claims that the emperor directly addressed senators and asked them to convert. These new laws indicate that at the time our authors were writing, their pagan readers were under tremendous pressure to convert and were facing strong imperial opposition; Lee, 2013, 52; Salzman, 2002, 183.

For the traditional pagan elites in Rome and the other major cities of the later fourth century, these political, military, financial and religious changes resulted in large changes to their prospects and attitudes towards the empire and those within it. Their previously uncontested position at the head of Roman society, controlling the senate and providing the civil leaders who enjoyed the majority of the honorific positions in the capital,[62] was now being supplanted by foreigners from beyond the boundaries of the empire or Christians who were enjoying their newfound imperial favour.[63] Opportunities for well-educated and wealthy pagans to serve in the highest positions within the empire were ever more restricted; by the end of the period, almost all of Theodosius' *magistri militum* were individuals of non-Roman origin and the majority of the holders of the major military and civil positions were Christian.[64] The need for the pagan general Fravitta, after his successful defence of the state from the traitor Gainas, to use his favour with Arcadius to request the freedom to practise his pagan rites (Eunapius, fr. 69,4 [ll. 31-34]) emphasises how rare it was for practising pagans to be in service to the emperor at the upper reaches of society following the restrictions of paganism under the Theodosian dynasty, while conversely it also demonstrates that it was not rare for non-Romans to be serving at this time. Even the consulship, which in the fourth century remained the ultimate honour achievable by an individual who was not a member of the imperial family or an emperor himself, was no longer the sole preserve of the traditional elites but open to an increasing number of Christians and foreigners in return for their service to fourth-century emperors.[65]

As James notes, a majority of the influential barbarians who entered into the service of an emperor acted in defence of the empire and its inhabitants, married Roman wives and held the same broad career ambitions as their Roman counterparts including the desire to hold the consulship.[66] To all intents and purposes, they sought to assimilate themselves into the

[62] Salzman, 2002, 225.

[63] Chrysos (1997, 199) notes that as citizenship had become less important as a mark of status, an individual's relationship to the emperor became the true measure of their status. Potter (2004, 574-575) argues that while this new system allowed for an expansion of who could be Roman, i.e. anyone willing to serve an emperor, it moved away from the traditional roles and structures that formed Roman society.

[64] Liebeschuetz, 1990, 10; Salzman's table (2002, 229) only includes data from the western holders of major offices but under Theodosius and his sons we could expect the ratio to favour Christians even more heavily.

[65] Although both Salzman (2002, 130) and Burns (2003, 322) argue that these foreign newcomers were restricted to military careers and honours so were not in competition with the senatorial elite or civil bureaucrats outside of the imperial court, as Lee (2015, 111) notes the large number of generals who held the consulship indicates that by the end of the century this new military elite were also a source of competition for the indigenous pagan senators.

[66] James, 2009, 172; see also Southern and Dixon, 1996, 50.

upper echelons of Roman society and to enjoy the same benefits as those who traditionally held that station – a social invasion into the elite's territory paralleling the literal invasions of the barbarians into Roman territory. As might be expected, this new elite were not quickly accepted by those whose influence they were encroaching on.[67] Men who regarded themselves and their rank as the last bastion of traditional Roman virtue saw these Christians, bureaucrats and non-Romans as restricting their opportunities and diluting their status, especially following the creation of a new Senate in Constantinople and with a decline in the prestige of the pagan priesthoods.[68] Therefore, the portrayal of barbarians became even more important for the self-definition of the elites as they sought to convince themselves that their, and by extension the empire's, moral superiority persisted.[69]

Literary traditions

The fluctuating political and social standing of pagans were not the only influences on depictions of barbarians for fourth-century authors and orators. They were also developing their imagery out of the Greco-Roman literary tradition. By the late fourth century, the traditional image of the barbarian was well established in Roman society. It was an image that featured in the education of every member of the pagan elite through their reading of works in Latin and Greek stretching back to Herodotus and Thucydides.[70] A fourth-century author would not only be building upon the treatment of non-Romans in the literary tradition that came before but also expect members of his audience to have an appreciation of when he adapted or conformed to it. Thus, as Shaw notes, Ammianus' digression on the Huns would be immediately recognisable to his audience as it is grounded in literary *topoi* regarding nomads dating back to the Scythians of Herodotus and developed in further detail their everyday life.[71] By establishing the qualities associated with the stereotypical barbarian and how these are used in texts that were still read by both fourth-century writers and their audiences, this section will explore the role that barbarians could play in the literary tradition, a role that would be developed further in the fourth century.

[67] Chauvot, 2001, 85.
[68] On the decline in the prestige of the Senate, see Lee, 2013, 64. On the decline of priesthoods, see Salzman, 2002, 64-65.
[69] James, 2009, 12-13.
[70] Treadgold, 2007, 2.
[71] Shaw, 1982, 25.

According to that literary tradition there was a clear divide between barbarian and Roman. The barbaric vices that defined the former were contrasted with virtues all Romans should demonstrate but which, by the fourth century, should be embodied by the emperors above all else.[72] This range of imperial traits expanded over the course of Roman history and the frequency of their use or their specific meaning in any single source could vary according to both the creator's sensibilities and his audience's.[73] However, the most prominent were frequently used by authors as a means of differentiating between the ideal of those capable of living within a civilised society and those who were unable to do so. For this thesis, the most important of these imperial traits were *virtus*, *disciplina*, *liberalitas* and *pietas* as they were contrasted frequently with a barbarian's *ignavia* or *ira*, *discordia*, *superbia* and *vanitas*.

The first of these imperial traits, *virtus*, was a combination of a Roman's martial prowess, his courage and his manliness generally in service to the state.[74] *Virtus* was not restricted to soldiers and emperors but it was most often on display through warfare, as Romans demonstrated their superiority over their enemies, resulting in the accumulation of g*loria* for both the individual and the empire.[75] As such, *virtus* was contrasted with cowardice (*ignavia*),[76] a moral weakness inherent in barbarians regardless of their martial reputation.[77] However, despite its positive qualities, *virtus* could also quickly devolve into two barbaric qualities, *ira* or *ferocia*; these two qualities represented the uncontrolled rage of the barbarian and, while they could still prove to be a source of military strength and courage as proven by northern barbarians,[78] they were indicative of a lack of self-control that could harm the empire as much as its enemies.[79] Given the fine divide between *virtus*

[72] As Noreña (2011, 45-55) notes, the panegyrics of the fourth century represented the culmination of a process of 'Hellenization' begun in the third century BC by which the ideal Roman became synonymous with a 'good' emperor.

[73] On the growing range of imperial virtues, see Wickert, 1954 and Ware, 2014, 87-89. Despite the similarities in both audience and purpose for each of the Latin panegyrics and Themistius' *Orations*, the authors are able to praise different virtues of an emperor as necessary. Noreña, 2011, 54; Wallace-Hadrill, 1981, 304.

[74] For a discussion of *virtus,* its uses and its composite minor virtues, see Noreña, 2011, 77-82. For the evolution of the precise meaning of *virtus* throughout the Republic and early Principate, see McDonnell, 2006; Balmaceda, 2017.

[75] For example, in Livy, 28.17.2; Tac. *Ann*. 15.16; Amm. Marc. 29.2.16.

[76] Coulston, 2013, 7.

[77] Although, as Isaac (2004, 369) notes, cowardice is usually seen amongst the eastern barbarians including the Egyptians, Moors and Parthians, it could be applied to any barbarians. According to Cassius Dio (78.6.1a), the Gallic people have a reputation for cowardice, alongside faithlessness and impetuosity.

[78] Sen. *Ira*. 1.9.2-4.

[79] This often led to the association of *ira* and *ferocia* with usurpers, conspirators and people rebelling against the emperors; Phang, 2008, 47-48.

and *ira*, another major virtue that emphasised the difference between Roman and barbarian was stressed by authors: *disciplina*.[80]

As with *virtus, disciplina* was another reflection of the moral superiority of the Romans that was often seen in a military context.[81] While *virtus* was the source of an individual's strength, *disciplina* was the virtue that allowed the Romans to act as an effective unit both militarily and as a civilisation.[82] On a practical level, *disciplina* was the training, tactics and organisation of the army but the virtue also represented the willing submission of an individual to authority and the suppression of his personal desires for the benefit of the state and was regarded as a vital part of being Roman.[83] This was considered to be readily apparent in the contrast between the Roman army and the northern barbarians throughout Roman history. According to Seneca, for example, while the barbarians may have been stronger in body, they are easily killed by Roman legionaries because they inevitably attack prematurely while 'disorganised, unafraid [and] reckless' (*Ira*. 3.2.6).[84] Their *discordia* and inability to control their *ira* or greed undermines any advantages from their physical strength or the initial fervour of their attack and thus they will always crumble in the face of a disciplined Roman force or when faced with a long-term war.[85] Likewise, Roman *disciplina* was needed in order to combat excessive greed or luxury. Overindulgence was a barbaric quality as shown by the barbarian obsession with plunder and their propensity for drunkenness, and could only be overcome through discipline.[86] This was often embodied through the trope of barbarians being slain while lying drunken after plundering Roman lands, an image which survived through to the fourth century but could equally apply to Romans who had given in to their desires.[87] *Disciplina*, therefore,

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[80] Although Wheeler (1996, 232) argues, unlike the other scholars below, that *disciplina* is not explicitly identified as a separate virtue, he does note that as a combination of *virtus*, *labor* and *patientia* it was a useful indicator of a subject's suitability to reside within the empire.

[81] Mattern, 1999, 202-207.

[82] Walsh, 1961, 66; Lendon, 2005, 177-178.

[83] Mattern, 1999, 203; Phang (2008, 79-80) argues that discipline, rather than birthplace, was the defining factor for whether a soldier was considered Roman. Anyone could become Roman provided they conformed to the army's 'strict training, work, and social control' but on the other hand a lack of training and disorder led to soldiers becoming 'barbarian' regardless of where they originated from.

[84] For a discussion of *discordia*, see Dauge, 1981, 431-432.

[85] While Strabo (7.3.17) suggests that no barbarians can face a disciplined force, Tacitus notes that the Chatti show unusual organisation and discipline for Germans, allowing them to mount longer term campaigns (*Germ*. 30). However, this serves to highlight the deficiency of the rest of the German peoples in the author's mind.

[86] Mattern, 1999, 205.

[87] Phang, 2008, 261. For example, Tacitus (*Ann*. 1.50-51) and Ammianus (27.2.2) both use this imagery as a means of indicating the barbaric nature of the enemy and the inherent superiority of the Romans. However, both authors also recognise a lack of *disciplina* could also affect Romans

played a key role in separating Roman from barbarian and, in the later fourth century, the growing ill-discipline in the army and moral decline of the inhabitants of the empire were repeated motifs amongst authors. Those individuals who restored lost discipline were seen as restoring the natural order between Roman and barbarian and were praised in texts and orations.

The final two virtues and barbaric qualities were less frequently seen in a martial context but were still used in the fourth century as literary tropes to differentiate between true Romans and non-Romans. The contrasting pair of *liberalitas* and *superbia* were used to demonstrate the difference between the generous spirit of a Roman and the mindless arrogance of barbarians and usurpers.[88] While a good emperor could demonstrate their *liberalitas* through their wise expenditure on public services, their gifts to their subjects or their just governance of the empire,[89] barbarians thought only of themselves and consistently overestimated their personal strength, necessitating a Roman response.[90] *Superbia*, therefore, reflected either a refusal to recognise the natural superiority of the Roman or, especially when used of individuals within the empire, a rejection of one's own natural limitations which required correction by an emperor.[91] *Liberalitas*, on the other hand, was an act of generosity, selflessly putting the needs of others within society ahead of your own. *Liberalitas* and *superbia* acted, therefore, in a similar fashion to *disciplina* and *discordia* as both contained a contrast between service to the state and acts of self-interest.

Finally, Roman *pietas* was presented in contrast to barbarian *vanitas* or *perfidia*. Although the Roman concept of *pietas* is a complex construction, it can be broadly seen as a system of interconnected duties owed to and from an individual in Roman society.[92] A Roman was

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leading to military and moral weakness, for example Vitellius demonstrates a lack of self-discipline in Tacitus' *Histories* (2.62 ff.) and a drunken soldier is killed after leaving camp without orders during Julian's Persian campaign (Amm. Marc. 24.1.16).

[88] Bragova (2018, 275) notes that Cicero presents *sapientia* and *liberalitas* as the opposing traits to *superbia*. Phang (2008, 76) presents *modestia* in opposition to barbarian arrogance but, for the purposes of this thesis this can be treated as a subsidiary virtue of *liberalitas*, due to the promotion of the latter as an important imperial virtue during the second century. Wallace-Hadrill, 1981, 312; Noreña, 2011, 87-88.

[89] On *liberalitas* as an imperial virtue, see Noreña, 2011, 82-92. Over time, *liberalitas* became more associated with the first two qualities (public expenditure and gifts) while the last (good governance) was praised separately as *iustitia*, e.g. *Pan. Lat*. XI(3) 19.2.

[90] For examples of barbarian *superbia* in Ammianus, see Seager 1986, 33. For earlier examples, see Mattern, 1999, 175-176.

[91] As Virgil writes, while mercy could be shown to the conquered, it is Rome's duty to 'subdue the arrogant' to maintain the natural order; *Aen*. 6.851-853.

[92] Noreña, 2011, 72-77; Michels, 1997, 405-406.

expected to demonstrate *pietas* to their family, the gods and the state at large, regardless of their social standing, and it became associated with emperors through the duty they owed towards their subjects as well as the duty owed to the emperor.[93] However, *pietas* was also associated with the fulfilment of oaths and therefore could be seen on a wider scale, linking the empire with the peoples around it. In Roman eyes, bonds between themselves and their allies demanded loyalty in return for their mercy (*clementia*), while all barbarians should respect Roman strength and the peace that was allowed them. The Romans saw themselves as the centre-point of a *pax deorum* and thus their expansion was completely justified through the *pietas* of their society.[94] Barbarian attacks on Roman territory, however, were seen as a treacherous attack on the natural order, regardless of any treaties existing between the two sides.[95] The *vanitas* of barbarians, demonstrated through their faithlessness with regard to oaths (*perfidia*) and their devious tactics in warfare,[96] presented a natural contrast to the dutiful Roman's *pietas* – failure to keep one's word and an undermining of duty was portrayed in contrast to Roman fidelity.

At the end of the fourth century, the ideal Roman demonstrated a number of virtues including *virtus, disciplina, liberalitas* and *pietas*. Above all, these values should be embodied by the emperor, an association which was actively encouraged by imperially-authorised material and panegyrists, as we shall see in the next section and Chapter One respectively. Equally, the stereotypical barbarian was also represented by a number of qualities: barbarians demonstrated *ignavia*, *ira*, *discordia*, *superbia* and *vanitas*. Any number of these qualities could be visible within a single barbarian or group, but the application of these traits immediately marked out the subject as inferior to the Roman.

One of the Romans who established a precedent for the manipulation of these traditional qualities and influenced many fourth-century authors was the late-first/early-second-century historian Tacitus. The malleable image of barbarians is evident throughout Tacitus' writing, most notably in the *Germania*, as he uses 'barbarians as a foil for Roman vice' through his depiction of noble Germans, whose existence emphasises the moral failings of

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[93] Virgil's Aeneas demonstrates obvious examples of familial *pietas* (e.g. *Aen.* 2.707-725) and introduces himself in the first book by his *pietas* towards the gods and his fatherland (378-380). For more examples of *pietas* from the Republic and early Principate, see Noreña, 2011, 72-73. In his panegyric to Trajan, Pliny says that the emperor should be acclaimed for his devotion to duty (*Pan. Lat*. II(1) 4-6) but also in return must act in the best interests of the empire (7.5-6).

[94] Amm. Marc. 14.6.3-6.

[95] As Ladner (1976, 11) states, barbarian attacks and raids on Roman lands are depicted in the language of rebellion throughout the Principate.

[96] E.g. *Pan. Lat*. 6(7) 11.4; Amm. Marc. 27.10.5, 31.2.11; Tac. *Germ*. 43.5. For an overview of *vanitas*, see Dauge, 1981, 433-434.

the Romans.[97] Tacitus modifies the pre-existing negative images of barbarians that had been established by earlier Roman authors, such as Cicero, Strabo and Velleius Paterculus,[98] in order to present an image of a more noble barbarian. For Tacitus, distance from Roman civilisation does not make the Germans good yet barbaric fighters, as Julius Caesar saw them, but rather 'uncorrupted' from the temptations of grand spectacles or excessive banquets (*nullis spectaculorum… corruptae*; Tac. *Germ.* 19).[99] In contrast to Rome and its inhabitants, Tacitus' Germans are virtuous and refuse to compromise their morals, while their love of liberty compares favourably with the attitudes of Tacitus' contemporaries.[100]

Nor were these more positive depictions of barbarians restricted to the *Germania*. When describing the travails of the Ampsivarii in the *Annals* (13.55-56) and the request from the loyal tribe for permission to settle on land currently unoccupied within the empire, Tacitus presents Boiocalus, the leader of the tribe, as having a number of positive qualities. Tacitus begins by describing Boiocalus' loyalty to the empire for over fifty years, including his imprisonment by a rival tribe for his opposition to their revolt. This is combined with his piety, as he invokes the gods as part of his appeals, and his willing submission of himself and his tribe to Roman and imperial authority, which is a necessary attribute for life as part of a civilised society. Finally, when, after his appeal has been denied, Boiocalus is offered private lands as a personal reward for his service and speech, the barbarian rejects this gift, asserting that it would be treasonous to betray his people to death so that he alone may survive. Although the character of Boiocalus and the contents of his interactions with the Roman general Avitus are fictionalised, this only makes Tacitus' portrayal of the 'noble' barbarian all the more poignant;[101] a pious, loyal servant of the empire is left to suffer and die with his people outside the empire at the hands of other barbarians while Roman lands were left empty or in the hands of those less deserving.

Similarly, in both the *Agricola* (15) and the *Annals*, the barbaric queen Boudicca and the rebelling Britons are not presented as wholly negative.[102] In the former, the revolt of the

[97] Maas, 2012, 62.
[98] Balsdon, 1979, 64.
[99] Allen-Hornblower notes Caesar's appreciation of the 'great purity, both moral and physical' of the Germans, creating an image of the 'noble savage' (2014, 684). However, her assertion that Caesar equates the barbarians with the wild animals that supposedly live in the German forests suggests that the Germans are still to be treated as less than human by the Roman author despite his praise.
[100] Maas, 2012, 69; O'Gorman, 1993. For a more negative interpretation of Tacitus' presentation of the Germans, see Krebs, 2011.
[101] Ladner, 1976, 6-7.
[102] Adler, 2011, 119-127.

Britons is characterised as a fight for freedom and family against the cowardly tyranny of officials so corrupt that 'nothing was exempt from their avarice, nothing from their lust' (*nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum*; 15.3). Once again, Tacitus' barbarians, as they reveal themselves to be through their later savagery (*barbarus saevitia*; 16.1), are capable of Roman traits like *pietas* and compare favourably to Romans who display traditionally barbaric traits. This is further demonstrated in the *Annals*, where Boudicca is depicted in a manner that Tacitus' Roman audience could sympathise with (14.35). Despite emphasising some foreign elements of Boudicca's nature,[103] Tacitus presents the queen in a style reminiscent of that of a wronged Roman matron, decrying the defilement of her daughters and exhorting her countrymen to avenge the wrongs done to her.[104] As with the depiction of the Britons in the *Agricola*, the effect of Tacitus' speech is not to present those rebelling as Roman but instead as barbarians with sympathetic aspects.

Although the Britons and Ampsivarii are considered to be barbarians by Tacitus, it is very apparent that he does not treat them solely according to negative stereotypes from the established literary tradition. Despite still retaining some negative qualities,[105] Tacitus' non-Romans demonstrate loyalty, piety and a love of freedom even though these traits are usually associated with Romans. In fact, they compare very favourably to the Romans Tacitus presents, especially those 'tyrants' serving in Britain who are greedily abusing their authority. Thus, Tacitus juxtaposes his positive representations of barbarians with Romans who are failing to meet the standards the author requires of them.[106] In this fashion, therefore, even if Tacitus may not have been a conscious model for all late fourth-century writers, he provides an exemplar which fourth-century authors would follow – manipulating the image of barbarians in order to pass comment on the inhabitants of the empire.[107] However, for Tacitus, these barbarians are all external forces, separate peoples

[103] Tacitus opens Boudicca's exhortation to her people by stating that it was not unusual for Britons to fight under a woman's leadership as well as emphasising her noble heritage, both of which are for the benefit of the reader rather than the audience within the text. As Adler (2011, 124) notes, the effect is to immediately make Romans consciously aware of both Boudicca's foreign nature and gender.

[104] Adler (2011, 125) suggests the references to the rape of her daughters could be evocative of the rape of Lucretia for the reader as it also served as a rallying cry against a tyrannical ruler.

[105] Mattern, 1999, 204.

[106] Isaac, 2004, 432-433. Tacitus closely associates *perfidia* for example with the Vitellians, who have abandoned their duty and loyalty to Rome and its citizens, in contrast to the Flavians who demonstrate Roman *fides*; Bartera, 2019, 268.

[107] The use of Tacitus as a model for even the historian Ammianus, the beginning of whose work appears to have followed directly on from the end of Tacitus' *Histories*, has been questioned by scholars; see Wilshere, 1973, Matthews, 1989, 32 n.45 and Kelly, 2008, 214. However, allusions to Tacitus in Ammianus (Kelly, 2008, 20-22) and even direct references to him in the *Historia Augusta*

whose merits could be safely contrasted with Romans as their inherent inferiority remains despite their positive traits.[108] Despite their conquest, the Britons are portrayed as distinct from the empire rather than true inhabitants of it, a concept that we shall see Ammianus echo in Chapter Two with his depiction of the Isaurians as barbarians. Unlike the authors examined in this thesis, Tacitus did not have to present truly foreign barbarians living within the empire, defending its borders or even becoming consuls. For Tacitus, the difference between Roman and barbarian could be defined relatively simply, while in the later fourth century the issue had grown increasingly complex.

Material culture

As well as the image of barbarians in the literary tradition, authors in the fourth century could also have expected their audiences to have been regularly exposed to the image of the barbarian from imperially-authorised material sources. This final section of the Introduction will discuss how emperors aimed to present barbarians to their subjects, especially the elite, through an examination of coinage, monuments and the private items gifted by the emperors. These pictorial representations of non-Romans widen our understanding of the public image of northern barbarians that would then be manipulated by the pagan authors of the late fourth century.

Late antique coinage offers a remarkably consistent image of barbarians despite covering a wide range of emperors and situations. Barbarians and personifications of their nations repeatedly appear throughout Roman coinage as defeated enemies,[109] often subservient to the conquering emperor or Victory to reinforce Roman superiority as well as to legitimise the military credentials of the individual responsible for the coin.[110] As we shall see, the

(*Aur.* 2.1) indicate that he was still read by authors in the late fourth century and recognisable to their audiences, a point conceded by Wilshere (1973, 225), allowing for the transmission of his use of non-Romans.

[108] Ladner, 1976, 26; Tan, 2014, 201.

[109] Howgego, 1995, 83.

[110] Although emperors were not likely to have overseen the design of every coin, they were likely to have approved the minting of specific coin types in order to present stylised images of themselves in accordance with their needs, see Pearce, 1951, xxxiii; Levick, 1999, 56. On imperial legitimacy being linked to coinage, see Ando, 2000, 225; Crawford, 1983, 55-56; Bruun, 1966, 17. The success of these messages has been disputed by Jones (1974, 62-63), who argues that the symbols and legends on coins could have been misinterpreted, and Crawford (1983, 59), who sees the reminting of older coins as devaluing their message. However, the continuity and simplicity of the images on the coins emphasises rather than diminishes their message. Roman superiority and imperial virtues could be portrayed in a manner that was recognisable throughout the empire through the repetition of the

imagery on certain coin types had almost become standardised with each emperor merely substituting his name and titles while maintaining the same characters and poses.[111] However, there are some new coin types introduced over the fourth century which reflected the changing circumstances facing the inhabitants of the empire.

By the fourth century, provincial coinage, which had previously allowed for specific messaging targeted at a local audience,[112] had ceased to be minted leaving only imperial coinage being produced. Although these coins would have been initially disseminated within a limited area, they could potentially have reached an empire-wide audience over the course of an emperor's reign and therefore needed to carry symbols that could be interpreted by the majority of citizens.[113] While Levick suggests that in earlier centuries the emperor himself was the intended audience of this coinage, ahead of those who were using the coinage,[114] the lack of references to specific imperial campaigns in the latter half of the fourth century and the court's close control of the mints suggest that the emperor was not the main audience for messages being sent to him by the mints.[115] Instead, they were probably designed to appeal to those who would use the coins, in order to portray images of imperial authority. This explains why coins which were to be initially distributed to soldiers or in provinces which faced the threat of invasion often carried messages emphasising an emperor's *virtus*.[116] The dissemination of imagery from coinage into the wider public consciousness does appear to indicate that the messages being sent by emperors were being understood and engaged with by the general population of the empire. Globes, trophies and *cornucopiae* began to appear on tombs, furniture and jewellery over the course of the second and third centuries.[117] Likewise, coin legends and

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pre-existing *topoi* while, as Ando (2000, 226) and Mitchell (2007, 158) suggest, also legitimising the current emperor through linking him with his predecessors.

[111] As Hill, Kent and Carson note (1960, 42), the most major changes with regard to the standard coin type of the emperor alongside a captive in the fourth century were not to do with the representation of the barbarian but rather with the presence or absence of the emperor's cloak. This implies that the emperor and those in charge of the mint were largely satisfied with their representation of their enemies on the coins but were still trying to improve their representation of the emperor.

[112] Butcher, 2005, 149.

[113] Harl, 1996, 160; Bruun, 1999, 19.

[114] In her view these coins were designed to portray an ideal ruler and reign to the emperor either reassuring him of how successful his reign had been through reference to specific events or appealing to him to display those qualities depicted on the coins; Levick, 1999, 44-45; Levick, 1982, 107.

[115] Bruun, 1966, 22.

[116] Kemmers, 2006, 223-242; Manders, 2012, 67.

[117] Manders, 2012, 36.

imagery have been found on bakers' moulds in the Danube.[118] It appears, therefore, that the public's perception of barbarians and their stereotypical representation was in some manner shaped by the coinage and products being disseminated during late antiquity.

The two main coin types to feature barbarians coming into the fourth century depicted the captive barbarian being dragged by a larger Roman figure, in the form of either the goddess Victory or the emperor, and the defeated personification of a nation beneath captured trophies. While the former coin type not only survived but indeed flourished throughout the period, the reign of Constantine marked the last time that emperors minted coins featuring the personification of defeated peoples to celebrate their victories.[119] Despite this coin type offering a clear indication of imperial power to its audience through its portrayal of the spoils of war and reference to specific victories, it fell out of favour. Instead, more general declarations of imperial power not linked to actual victories were preferred by emperors.[120] Rather than portraying specific nations as being conquered or in mourning, emperors decided to mint coins of themselves or Victory dragging or standing on a defeated enemy. These coins allowed emperors to proclaim symbolic victories over all barbarians without the need to win real battles beforehand or try to explain the narratives of these campaigns.[121]

Despite the opportunity provided by making peace with the Alamanni in 354 and earning himself a new victory title,[122] Constantius II struck a coin promoting his *virtus* which does not refer to any of his campaigns against these barbarians (Appendix - Figure 1). Even though Ammianus (14.10) suggests that this was not a particularly successful campaign, this would not necessarily have prevented an emperor from exaggerating the outcome of a war. For most citizens the only information about the victories of their emperor would have come from the sight of the inscriptions on public monuments visible in towns and cities,[123] captive barbarians working the land and coins such as this informing them that their enemies are being brought under the power of the emperor. Instead Constantius

[118] McCormick, 1986, 32.
[119] Levi, 1952, 27.
[120] Levi, 1952, 27.
[121] Levi, 1952, 4. McCormick observes that coins are not the only image of imperial power to become more generic in this period. *Trophaea* also lose 'their specific historical and geographical references [to] become universal, abstract symbols of imperial victory'; McCormick, 1986, 26.
[122] Ammianus (14.10) narrates the campaign against the Alamanni which Drinkwater (2007, 205) believes prompted Constantius to claim the title of *Germanicus Alamannicus Maximus* on his inscriptions in the same year.
[123] The word *Sarmatico* can be found amongst Constantine's titles on inscriptions across the empire, advertising to those who read it of Constantine's success against the Sarmatians; *CIL* II 481; VIII 8412.

prefers to make a general comment on his role in the empire, rather than give a specific example of his *virtus*. The emperor's depiction on the reverse of the coin, in military dress and holding a spear, leaves no doubt over the role in which he wants to portray himself. To aid this military image a captive barbarian is placed to the right of the emperor seated directly below the representation of the emperor's control, Victory on a globe. The male captive is crushed towards the edge of the coin beneath the foot of Victory to emphasise the difference between their respective powers, reducing the barbarian threat compared to the strength of the emperor. Roman trophies are included on the coin to represent the spoils of war and the conversion of external threats into symbols of Roman power through the victory of the emperor. There are no indications of the *ira* and *ferocia* of the barbarian, helping to reassure the viewer that they remain superior to and safe from their enemies, while Victory assumes her traditional role as a divine force that bestows her blessing upon the emperor, emphasizing his *pietas* and the benefits that follow the emperor's maintenance of the *pax deorum*.[124] Finally, the positioning of the globe and Victory directly above the generic barbarian captive implies that there are no geographical limits to the emperor's authority or, as the inscription (*VIRTVS AUG*) and military dress indicate, to his conquests.

Coins in this, or a very similar style,[125] were minted by subsequent emperors throughout the fourth century as each emperor tried to reassure their subjects that they could bring security and glory to the empire. To emphasise that point, the position of the barbarian on these coins was further debased over the period. The traditional image of the barbarian as seated captive or under the foot of an emperor,[126] images that had been growing steadily more popular over the third century,[127] were joined by depictions of the emperor or Victory dragging captives by the hair (Figure 2).[128] Although the imagery used on these coins remains broadly consistent with the earlier coin types, the emperor's physical domination of the captive does add weight to his claims to be securing the borders and establishing Roman superiority. It would also have served as an explicit reminder for the viewer that the

[124] Fears, 1981, 744; Manders, 2012, 78.
[125] *RIC IX* 52a was minted by Theodosius I at Rome and featured the same scene (barring the barbarian being to the left of the emperor) on an aureus.
[126] Valentinian II minted a coin whose imagery matches Figure 2 except that the emperor's foot was placed on top of a captive. The inscription (VIRTVS EXERCITI) indicates that this coin is also meant to promote the emperor's military qualities; *RIC IX* 24a.
[127] Levi, 1952, 27.
[128] See also *RIC IX* 3c and *RIC IX* 4b for examples of emperors dragging captives and *RIC IX* 65a and *RIC IX* 67b for Victory dragging captives.

captives were not just defeated but being led into slavery as the spoils of war, mirroring the trophies held in the emperor's other hand.

There are few examples of truly new coin types featuring barbarians entering into circulation during the fourth century. Emperors were often content either to develop slightly or reuse the designs of their predecessors as they sought to secure their rule. There were a few occasions, however, when new coin designs were introduced and carried with them different messages about an emperor and his enemies. A series of coins minted by the Constantinian family between 348 and 350 introduced new coin types which depicted barbarians in various ways that had not been seen before.[129] As they celebrate both the imperial family and the eleventh centenary of Rome,[130] imperial power and Roman superiority are unsurprisingly the themes of the coinage. Out of the four Constantinian coin types to feature barbarians, two of these designs were adaptations of earlier designs while the other pair had never been seen before by the Roman people.[131]

The most basic of these designs is a simple expansion of previous designs. Previous emperors, including Constantine himself,[132] had distributed coins depicting themselves on horseback spearing barbarians. Constantius II and Constans minted coins based on this design but added an extra enemy being defeated by the emperor (Figure 3). Despite the addition of the extra figure, the emperor remains the focus of the coin with the barbarians cramped against the inscription. The military role and power of the emperor are publicised to all viewing the coin and are enhanced by the extra enemies the emperor defeats. The second barbarian serves to escalate the extent of the emperor's conquest both through its implication that there were a vast number of enemies and through doubling the potential rewards from these conquests. The same effect is brought out in another coin minted by these emperors. A coin depicting the emperor standing over two captives (Figure 4) also carries a message of the prosperity and security that the emperor is promising for his subjects.[133] Again, this coin is an adaptation of previous coin types as it is a combination of the traditional coinage showing the emperor either alongside or standing on a captive with

[129] Coins were minted honouring Constans and Constantius II. Some of these coin types continued to be used by Constantius Gallus and Julian while Caesars under Constantius II during the 350s.
[130] Mattingly, 1933, 182-187.
[131] Levi, 1952, 47.
[132] *RIC VI* 82b.
[133] This promise is also reinforced by the inscription on this series of coins. All of the coins promise a return of the joyous times (FEL TEMP REPARATIO) through the rule of the Constantinian dynasty.

Numerian's unique coins where he stands with a globe, flanked by a pair of captives.[134] As with Numerian's coin, Constantius II and Constans indicate the breadth of their dominance through the number of barbarians on the coin and their positioning at the foot of the emperor, while including the *labarum*, military dress and shield to prove their military credentials.

Although these two coin types are new, their designs are expansions and adaptations of earlier coin types. However, all four members of the Constantinian dynasty also introduce a new series of coins that could indicate a shift in how barbarians are being represented by Romans. This coin type depicts a Roman soldier standing over a fallen barbaric horseman (Figure 5). As with all representations of non-Romans on late antique coinage, the barbarian is smaller than the soldier, who acts as the symbol of imperial power, in order to reflect their respective positions in the world. This is, however, the first coin type to show a fallen horse beneath the barbarian, which publicly highlights that Rome's western enemies includes cavalry, which was evident not only from Roman recruitment of Germanic horsemen as auxiliaries since the time of Julius Caesar but also their involvement in German and Gothic military forces throughout the fourth century.[135] As Levi notes, this coin does not appear to have been introduced to reflect any particular sculpture;[136] instead it may be a recognition of the increasing interactions of Romans with members of the German and Gothic nobility who would have served in the cavalry. This could explain why the barbarian is wearing a Germanic helmet, to represent the empire's western enemies, but why there are no indications of any specific campaign. The inscription gives no indication as to a particular people being represented and there are no symbols to identify the barbarians beyond the helmet. Unlike other coins, which sought to reduce the threat posed by the empire's enemies by minimising them or putting them in chains, this coin type displays a barbarian who has only just been subdued. The presence of the horse also means that, although the Roman soldier is still bigger and is in a position of power on the coin, the barbarian still takes up a significant proportion of the coin and thus is not marginalised as in other coin types. This, combined with the original imagery on the coin, would have promoted the idea that the emperor is defending citizens from dangerous and increasingly powerful enemies.

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[134] *RIC V.2* 422. These two captives are not identical. One wears a Phrygian cap whilst the other is bareheaded. The difference between the two is intended to show the emperor's dominance over the entire world as they represent the enemies of the east and west respectively.
[135] Thompson, 1958, 5-6.
[136] Levi, 1952, 47.

Citizens would also have been given a taste of the unfamiliar from the fourth coin type minted by Constantius II and Constans. This coin depicts a soldier leading a captive from a hut (Figure 6). Although we have seen captives being dragged into slavery before, this is the first coin type to feature barbarian buildings. The presence of the hut beneath a tree, which viewers would recognise as a symbol representing the savage and uncontrollable forests traditionally depicted beyond the Rhine,[137] is designed to give those using the coin a glimpse into the uncivilised world beyond the boundaries of the empire. The wooden hut would seem barbaric to citizens in contrast to the grand structures to be found in cities across the empire. Even for those living in the countryside who had never visited any large towns, the hut would still seem backwards in comparison with the depictions of grand temples and monuments on coinage.[138] The simplistic nature of the hut serves as a reminder to citizens of their superiority over their enemy which is also reflected in the comparative sizes of the captive and the soldier, as had become standard on coinage. The imagery on this coin also emphasises the scale of imperial conquest by showing Roman power penetrating to the homes of their enemies, conquering and enslaving barbarians in their homeland rather than facing them on Roman soil. This coin type, like the other new coin types introduced at this point, was minted across the empire giving a wide range of citizens an image of their enemies' homes as seen by the Romans and an example of the global power of their emperors.

Later in the fourth century, a new coin type was introduced by the emperors Valens and Valentinian I. This coin shows the two emperors as equal partners, seated side by side facing out towards the viewer with two captives under their feet (Figure 7). Levi notes that in the coins minted in the west,[139] which was under the control of Valentinian, the barbarians at the bottom of the coins are absent.[140] Given Valens' relative lack of military experience prior to his appointment as emperor (only four and a half years' worth),[141] and

[137] Tac. *Germ*. 5.1; Amm. Marc. 15.4.4. Beare, 1964, 64.
[138] Constantine minted coins depicting Roman architecture during his reign with Roma shown seated within a temple (*RIC VI* 164) and Constantine seen with two of his sons beneath an arch (*RIC VII* 15). These coins would have given viewers a glimpse of Roman architectural styles.
[139] Levi, 1952, 48. However, she does not offer an explanation for the difference between east and west.
[140] *RIC IX* 3a was minted in Milan by Valentinian and omits the barbarians. Lenski (2002, 33) focusses on another difference between the coins minted by the emperors. Whereas Valens depicts both emperors raising their *mappa*, Valentinian is the only emperor raising his *mappa* on his own coins to indicate his higher status in the partnership. However, this does not explain the lack of barbarians.
[141] Lenski, 2002, 53.

his inconclusive campaigns against the Goths before this coin was minted,[142] it could be argued that Valens is including images of barbarians to emphasise his military might. As Hedlund notes, emperors in the third century had attempted to cover deficiencies in their rule through coins with Postumus, Victorinus and Tetricus all attempting to legitimise their reigns by minting coins depicting their efforts to secure the empire against barbarian threats.[143] It would not have been unusual for Valens to have sought to have consolidated his own reign in a similar fashion.[144]

The depiction of captive barbarians beneath the feet of the emperor acted as a clear indication of imperial power and is typical of the role that barbarians played on fourth-century coinage. This coin, along with the other coin types introduced during the fourth century, broadcast across the empire simple yet emphatic messages about the role the emperor and his soldiers played in maintaining and expanding Roman rule.[145] Coinage could emasculate barbarians by removing all trace of military threat from those held captive or lying at the feet of a dominant force. At the same time, these captives could be seen entering or within the empire to hint at the benefits they could provide once they had been subdued. These images helped to reassure those within the empire that there was nothing to fear from those beyond their borders. For citizens who were unable to hear panegyrical speeches or visit the urban monumental structures built by emperors, coinage served as the principal medium for implying that the emperor maintained Roman superiority over their enemies and gave audiences reasons why they should remain loyal to the emperor.

While coinage provided imperial courts with the opportunity to promote an image of imperial victory throughout the empire, it was not the only visual medium through which barbarians could be seen. Highly visible buildings and structures could also prominently feature foreign enemies being defeated by the emperor, while private images distributed

[142] These campaigns would end in a stalemate the year after this coin was minted. Themistius' *Oration* 10 implies that the Senate of Constantinople asked Valens to make this decision, rather than a failure to conclusively end the war; Heather and Matthews, 1991, 14.
[143] Hedlund, 2008, 166-167.
[144] There are also examples of Valentinian minting the coin at Constantinople with the barbarians beneath the feet of the emperors (*RIC IX* 29a.) which could be explained in a number of ways: There could have been a greater fear of barbarians in the east than the west, although this was unlikely given the raiding along both the Rhine and Danube. Alternatively, imagery of barbarians could have been more popular in the east but Valentinian does not avoid putting barbarians on his other coins. A third possibility is that Valentinian may have included the barbarians as a measure of reinforcing his martial reputation within Constantinople specifically. However, the simplest explanation is that the workers at the mint in Constantinople were more skilled than those in the west, allowing for the depiction of a more complex variant on the imperially approved design.
[145] Ladner, 1976, 14.

by the imperial court often depicted barbarians lying at the feet of an emperor. These public and private images offered opportunities for more complex representations of barbarians to be created, but in turn could not reach as wide an audience. The monumental, commemorative structures built in the capital cities in the name of various fourth- and early-fifth-century emperors broadcast a range of scenes which helped to reinforce the emperor's position as leader of the state and the empire's superiority over their enemies.[146] When barbarians feature on these works, they are generally portrayed as either captives or slain foes in order to emphasise an emperor's *iustitia*, *clementia* or *virtus*.[147] Alternatively, barbarians are displayed as paying tribute to emperors acting as symbols of the breadth of an emperor's power.[148] Two structures constructed in Constantinople in this period exemplify this style of imperial monument and its portrayal of barbarians: the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius.

The Obelisk of Theodosius depicts foreign envoys arriving to perform *proskynesis* before and pay tribute to four emperors (Figure 8).[149] These are most likely Theodosius I, as the largest emperor, Valentinian II, Arcadius and Honorius, who is not depicted with a diadem on the obelisk base. The obelisk was erected in the hippodrome following Theodosius' victory over the usurper Maximus in 388 and was positioned upon a base that featured both inscriptions and depictions of the imperial court. The base is split into two parts. The upper section features an image on each of the four sides of a different scene of imperial civil life, broadcasting images of the emperors' unity and authority while the lower section of the base features a variety of scenes and inscriptions. Barbarian envoys are depicted on the upper north-western side of the base in a scene where they are received by the four emperors.

On the balcony which forms the upper part of that scene four imperial figures are seated in a box which is flanked by magistrates and the imperial guard, whose spears appear

[146] On the tradition of building arches and columns, see Blagg, 1983, 60. Arches dedicated to the ruling pairs Valens and Valentinian and Honorius and Arcadius were also erected in Rome; Lenski, 2014, 192-193. On the position of the emperor on monumental structures, see Noreña, 2001, 146.

[147] As Noreña and Manders have argued, *clementia* was not generally considered one of the key virtues for an emperor to advertise prior to the fourth century and is generally absent from coinage; Noreña, 2011, 61; Manders, 2012, 162. However, the Arch of Constantine emphasises the emperor's role in offering mercy and justice to his barbarian captives perhaps indicating that it was coming back into favour at the beginning of the fourth century.

[148] The Arch of Constantine exemplifies all of these situations through both its statues of captured Dacians and the friezes on the southern and northern faces of the arch depicting Constantine receiving both free and captive barbarians. On the use of barbarians in the arch of Constantine, see Ferris, 2013.

[149] Canepa, 2009, 113.

between their figures. Below the balcony, the barbarians kneel and offer up their gifts to the emperors. The scene is, therefore, neatly divided into two parts with the superior Romans placed above the kneeling supplicants.[150] The imperial bodyguards and the magistrates reinforce the civil and military power wielded by the emperors at the heart of the scene. By contrast, the barbarians appear cramped and powerless in their section of the base, their limited space and position on their knees making them appear smaller than the Romans above them. Furthermore, this effect is compounded by the positioning of the barbarians between the Romans above and the lower section of the base with its inscription celebrating the emperor's erection of the obelisk below. For those who could understand the inscription, it appears that the barbarians are trapped between submission or defeat. The depiction of two types of barbarian on this face, the barbarians on the left wear Persian caps and Phrygian tunics whilst those on the right wear sheep-skin clothes, also serves to further emphasise imperial authority. This implies to the viewers that non-Romans from all over the world come to Constantinople to pay tribute to the emperors,[151] emphasising the reach of imperial power and the importance of the city as the place to which all foreigners will come to pay homage to the emperor, even if the emperor himself is not present in the city.

The base of the Obelisk of Theodosius was not the only Theodosian monument to depict barbarians in Constantinople as the base and entrance of the Column of Arcadius also featured numerous barbarian captives while the story of Arcadius' campaign against Gainas wrapped around the column itself.[152] The base of the column separated the themes of war and peace on different sides of the base.[153] On the west side, the emperors Arcadius and Honorius met in the middle of the scene alongside their armies and above a field of trophies. On the east side, the armies were replaced by magistrates and senators. On the south side the two scenes were combined as the emperors met in the middle of the scene with tiny captives at their feet, dwarfed by the power of the Romans. The scale of the victory was reflected in the trophies that took up the majority of the upper half of the base. This manipulation of scale, to emphasise the bounty of war while minimising the threat posed by the barbarians, created and promoted an image of the ideal outcome of the war, one which brought nothing but prosperity for the Romans. For a viewer walking through

[150] Kiilerich, 1998, 40; Grünbart, 2018, 135.
[151] Hannestad, 1988, 336; Geyssen, 1998, 49; Ferris, 2000, 146; Canepa, 2009, 114.
[152] The most reliable images of the column that survive are the drawings in the Freshfield folder, Trinity College, Cambridge and the Bibliothèque Nationale. Examples of these drawings are reproduced in Liebeschuetz, 1990.
[153] Matthews, 2012, 219.

the forum, this image would have reassured them that the empire was prosperous and the two emperors acted as equal partners to maintain this state.[154]

The imagery on the remainder of the column also emphasised imperial superiority although it did not rely on the manipulation of scale to achieve it. The Goths were presented as equal in size to the Romans throughout the column, their leaders identifiable thanks to their sheep-skin cloaks. Their inferiority was made evident in the military defeat at the top of the column but it was also evident in more nuanced images which depicted the vulnerability of the non-Romans. The presence of a child, for example, as the Goths left Constantinople made it evident that they were refugees rather than a competent army that could have posed a threat to the Romans.[155] Likewise, the appearance of Gothic huts later in the narrative reminded the audience of the cultural inferiority of their opponents. These huts appeared three bands above the representation of Constantinople, allowing the viewer to compare the civilised culture of the grand walls and sculptures of the Roman city with the primitive homes of their opponents, just as similar huts could be seen in the coinage produced during the mid-fourth century which offered Romans a glimpse of the supposedly primitive buildings of those outside the empire. The Column of Arcadius, like other examples of monumental architecture in this period, used the image of barbarians to emphasise Roman superiority and imperial authority. While not presented as beneath the foot of the emperor on the column itself, the emperor's enemies were again seen as weaker figures and helped to establish the image of the dominant emperor. This was most evident on the base of the column, at eye-level, where the two emperors were shown as equally powerful figures bringing prosperity and victory to their empire.

Barbarians also featured on the materials produced by the imperial workshops in late antiquity. These products were being created regularly and were distributed on special occasions such as imperial anniversaries, consulships and on an emperor's accession.[156] They played an important role in establishing and maintaining imperial rule. Cameos and dishes provided emperors with the opportunity to project 'an idealized image of themselves' and their families which would be given out to subjects as both financial reward and items to be prominently displayed as marks of favour amongst the elite.[157] Barbarians naturally featured when an emperor wanted to promote their *virtus*, appearing once again as the defeated enemy at the foot of the emperor as they did on the coinage.

[154] Liebeschuetz, 1990, 277; Kiilerich, 1993, 64.
[155] Matthews, 2012, 214.
[156] Leader-Newby, 2004, 15; Strong, 1966, 199.
[157] Leader-Newby, 2004, 7, 16.

Although cameos and dishes were frequently distributed by the emperor to 'army and court officials, as well as the senatorial aristocracy',[158] relatively few examples survive intact due to their inherent value and fragility and it is therefore difficult to truly judge how common these examples of barbarians on private imperial imagery were. Therefore it is necessary to examine two cameos from earlier in the fourth century that provide examples of the traditional representations of barbarians to understand the types of cameos that would have been in production later in the period: a cameo of Licinius that shows the emperor in a chariot, riding over his enemies, and one of an emperor, Constantius I or Constantine I, riding on horseback amongst his fallen foes. In two of the surviving *largitio* dishes from the later fourth century, barbarians again feature in scenes with emperors. However, on these occasions they are presented as being inside the framework of the empire rather than external threats which had been conquered. The imperial guard that flank the emperors in both pieces are formed of non-Romans, presenting the elite with an impression of the military authority of the emperor and a hint of the role that barbarians could play in Roman society.

The Cameo of Licinius presents the viewer with a traditional image of the emperor in triumph and in turn of the role of the barbarian in Roman society (Figure 9).[159] Given its subject matter, it was probably distributed in the east in celebration of either an *adventus* or triumph of Licinius. Made in the early fourth century, it portrays the emperor riding in a chariot which is driven by four horses. He wears a diadem and carries a globe in his left hand and a spear in his right and is accompanied by two winged Victories who carry standards and a trophy respectively. Behind the chariot, Sol and Luna appear, holding globes up on either side of the emperor. Beneath the feet of his horses are six enemies whose barbaric identity can be implied through the trousers and beards of some of the fallen. These figures fill the entirety of the bottom of the cameo and lie crushed, symbols of the *virtus* of the emperor and reasserting the natural position of Rome above her enemies. The relatively large number of barbarians, compared to the individual enemies who normally appear beside the emperor on coins, helps to emphasise both the scale of the threat which the emperor has overcome and that his victory is without limits or boundaries, an idea which is reinforced by the inclusion of the globe in the hands of the emperor.[160] The presence of Sol, Luna and the Victories behind the emperor once again

[158] Leader-Newby, 2004, 42.
[159] Kulikowski, 2016, plate XIV.
[160] Although there are no indications on the cameo of which specific enemies are depicted, viewers may have associated the defeated with any of Licinius' enemies during his campaigns against the

emphasises the *pietas* of the emperor and confirms that he is fulfilling his duty of securing the empire's pre-eminence. The emperor's triumph over these barbarians allows the celestial bodies to in turn give their blessing to the empire and perform their duties.[161]

While the Cameo of Licinius primarily portrays barbarians as symbols of the emperor's *pietas* in a triumph, the Belgrade Cameo uses barbarians as symbols to emphasise the *virtus* of the emperor more powerfully (Figure 10). The sardonyx cameo depicts an emperor mounted on horseback and wearing a diadem holding a spear aloft. At the feet of his horse lie three fallen enemies, while following the emperor a soldier takes another enemy captive. Just as we have seen with barbarians on coinage, the emperor's enemies are depicted as falling beneath the spear of a member of the Constantinian dynasty.[162] Their barbarian nature is evident from their beards and trousers, while a Roman soldier follows behind the emperor capturing those left alive. As Krug argues, the angle of the emperor in relation to the remainder of the Belgrade Cameo implies that the surviving portion of the cameo formed a small section, most likely a corner, of a larger cameo.[163] If this is the case, then the emperor's defeat of the barbarians would have formed a rim around a central image of the emperor, as it would be improper to marginalise the only image of the emperor on the cameo. It is unlikely, therefore, that this part of the cameo is meant to celebrate a specific event or battle, as the Cameo of Licinius celebrates an *adventus*, and instead acts as a more general indication of the emperor's *virtus*.[164]

Silver *largitio* dishes, in contrast to the cameos, appear to have been distributed only on regnal anniversaries.[165] Two of these dishes are notable as they display non-Romans serving the emperor as members of the imperial guard. The most detailed of this pair is the

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Sarmatians (310 and 318), the Persians (313/314) or the Goths (314/315). This ambiguity would have helped reinforce the message of the cameo, one of perpetual victory over all of the empire's enemies. Barnes, 1982, 81-82.

[161] A similar situation can also be seen on the Arch of Constantine, where Sol and Luna appear on tondos on the eastern and western sides of the monument respectively. These scenes appear below scenes of the emperor's departure and triumphant return from campaign, closely associating imperial victory with cosmic order and the progress of an emperor's campaign with the movement of both time and the gods; Lenski, 2014, 169.

[162] The cameo is accepted to have been made during the second quarter of the fourth century, but there is a measure of debate over the emperor depicted. Constantine is the most frequently referenced as the emperor depicted due to his position as sole Augustus of the empire after 324. However the lack of details on the cameo or specific dating opens up the possibility that either Constantine's sons or even his father could have been depicted on the cameo; Krug, 2011, 187; Ferris, 2013, 35.

[163] Krug, 2011, 188.

[164] Krug, 2011, 190.

[165] Although, as only 19 dishes have survived, the images displayed on them and the occasions on which they were distributed may not be indicative of the wider distribution of dishes; Leader-Newby, 2004, 15-16

largitio of Theodosius (Figure 11) which portrays Theodosius I with his co-emperors Arcadius and Valentinian II.[166] Theodosius sits underneath the arch of a building at the centre of the scene, identifiable through the inscription recognising his *decennalia*, with his co-emperors to either side. The left-hand emperor holds a sceptre and globe while the emperor on the right holds only a globe. All three emperors wear diadems and are flanked on either side by two members of the imperial guard who each carry a spear and shield with a design mirroring their counterpart on the other side of the dish (Figure 12). The final figure in the upper half of the dish is a magistrate approaching Theodosius. Below this scene a female figure holding a cornucopia reclines accompanied by three putti who hold their bounty towards the emperor. In modern scholarship, the imperial guards are usually identified as German soldiers due to their torques,[167] the designs on their shields and their weapons.[168] That these items were in reality now more frequently used by the Roman army than their foreign counterparts is beside the point.[169] Even if the imperial guards were in fact Roman, for the viewer the emperors appear to be supported by soldiers whose appearance closely resembles the traditional imagery of the empire's barbarian enemies. Although these soldiers are 'carefully aligned with the columns' so as to not interfere with the emperors in the foreground of the image,[170] they still act as reminders both of the potential dangers beyond the boundaries of the empire and of the power of the emperors who can harness these barbarians and turn them into productive members of society.

This is made even more evident in the *largitio* of Valentinian I or Valentinian II (Figure 13). Here there is only one emperor, and no building, magistrate or goddess present, which leaves the imperial guard to fill out the remainder of the dish. The emperor stands in the centre of the *largitio* dish holding the standards in his left hand and a globe upon which Victory stands holding a laurel wreath out to him. Three soldiers flank the emperor on either side, each with a crested helmet, shield and spear. The designs on their shields are mirrored, as with the *largitio* of Theodosius, to either side of the emperor. As before, the

[166] Strong, 1966, 200.
[167] Halsall, 2007, 105.
[168] Ferris, 2000, 138; Leader-Newby, 2004, 14.
[169] Halsall notes that the archaeological evidence for non-Romans wearing torques decreases through late antiquity whilst classical barbarian influences on the cavalry's armour and Roman standards increased. 'The impression is given of an army adopting what it thought were barbarian styles and customs, but ones which are very likely to have been inspired by classical ethnic stereotypes rather than actually being imported by the barbarians employed in the army'; Halsall, 2007, 105.
[170] Leader-Newby, 2004, 33.

non-Romans have frequently been identified by their shields and their dress.[171] At the foot of the figures lie a sword, shield and helmet, which symbolise the spoils of battle. In this dish, the power of the emperor is the focus of the piece. The globe, Victory and the laurel wreath symbolise the breadth of the emperor's power and the unending glory that it is his right, while at his feet lie the weapons of the defeated, acting as symbols of his *virtus*. Likewise, the barbarian guards behind the emperor act as visible symbols of his power and his ability to harness the threat of those beyond the border. While Ferris sees this mass of soldiers to be a threatening reminder of the emperor's reliance upon the faithless barbarians,[172] that must not have been the intent of Valentinian; no emperor would want to portray his hold on power as tenuous, instead the uniform ranks of the soldiers on this *largitio* must have emphasised that the emperor has brought *disciplina* to those who had previously been stereotyped by their *ignavia*, an act that serves as further evidence of his authority and that this in turn brought wealth to the empire through the spoils at his feet.

Imperially-authorised imagery, which pervaded everyday life through its appearance on coinage, monuments in the capital cities of the empire and the private items given to the elite, maintained a consistent image of both the emperor and non-Romans. Due to the relatively limited changes to the *topoi*, these images were understandable throughout the empire and circulated uncomplicated messages of imperial authority.[173] While the emperor is presented in a manner that promotes his imperial virtues, barbarians are depicted in one of two ways:[174] the majority of barbarians are presented as defeated or subservient figures, cramped at the bottom of the scene under an emperor's authority.[175] On the other hand, when living within the empire, non-Romans are depicted as weapons completely under the control of the emperor. These two images co-existed and served as symbols of the emperor's *virtus*, *pietas* and *disciplina*. The amount of threat posed by defeated or integrated barbarians is limited within these images, along with their negative stereotypical qualities, in order to reassure the viewer of the empire's security. It is these images which would have been in the minds of the elites as they listened to the panegyrics of the late fourth century. As shall be seen in Chapter One, orators like Themistius built upon these

[171] Ferris (2000, 139) argues that the shields of two of the soldiers, which have 'a parallel with designs on shields of barbarian units depicted in the *Notitia Dignitatum*', and their crested helmets mark them out as non-Roman troops.
[172] Ferris, 2000, 138-139.
[173] For an overview of the changing image of imperial authority and the overall decline in the number of non-Romans represented in the archaeological evidence after the fourth century, see Grünbart, 2018, 135-140.
[174] Demougeot, 1984a, 133-134.
[175] Ferris, 2011, 197.

widespread images of imperial victory and barbarian inferiority to promote further the achievements of individual emperors.[176] Furthermore these traditional depictions of barbarians were manipulated by contemporary authors like Ammianus Marcellinus, the anonymous author of the *Historia Augusta* and Eunapius, as shall be examined in Chapters Two, Three and Four respectively, in order to question the moral quality of those at the head of the empire and persuade their readers that the empire and its inhabitants were becoming as barbaric as or, in some cases, even more barbaric than these northern barbarians.

[176] MacCormack, 1976, 47.

1. The Panegyrics of Themistius and Pacatus

1.1. Introduction[1]

Following the battle of Adrianople and three years of inconclusive warfare, the emperor Theodosius made peace with the Goths in 382 and allowed them to settle inside the boundaries of the Roman Empire. At the beginning of 383, to celebrate the consulship of Saturninus, Themistius delivered an address on behalf of the Senate of Constantinople to the emperor and his court (*Oration* 16). During his speech, the orator praises the settlement of the Goths within the empire and insists that they will soon become fully integrated within the empire. This was a significant departure from earlier speeches by Themistius, which had demonised the Goths and claimed that they were incapable of change (especially *Orations* 10, 14 and 15), as well as the general images of barbarians in the fourth century outlined in the Introduction. The orator now had to convince his audience that barbarians, who were frequently presented as the antithesis to Roman values, were capable of change and becoming part of Roman civilisation. To do this, Themistius manipulates his depictions of the Goths, avoiding references to the threat barbarians pose to the empire and emphasising their ability to change through the power of the emperor. Therefore, by tracking Themistius' changing oratorical techniques and portrayals of the Goths across the speeches he makes during the reigns of Valens and Theodosius, it is possible to analyse how Themistius uses the Goths as a literary device to support the changing imperial message he is promoting.[2]

Themistius is the main focus of this chapter as his speeches provide us with the opportunity to track a single orator's presentation of a particular group of barbarians throughout his career but comparison will also be drawn with other panegyrics, in particular that of the Gallic orator Pacatus delivered in 389, after Theodosius' suppression of the western usurper Magnus Maximus (*Pan. Lat.* II(12)). During this speech, Pacatus had occasion to comment on the Goths and their contribution to the success of Theodosius' army. Despite

[1] A version of parts of this chapter has appeared as Stone, R.G. (2020) and permission for its republication and expansion has been granted by Liverpool University Press.

[2] The shift in Themistius' focus between *Oration* 14 and 16 has already been analysed by Heather (1991, 164-166; Heather and Moncur, 2001, 255-264) with regard to its portrayal of the relationship between the two emperors, Theodosius and Gratian, and the emphasis on clemency and governance rather than martial ability. However, beyond an article by Daly (1972), who interpreted Themistius' rhetorical treatment of the Goths as promoting peaceful interactions between Romans and non-Romans over the course of his career, there has been little in-depth analysis of the presentation of barbarians and how Themistius manipulates this imagery across multiple orations.

the author's debated religious beliefs,[3] his work is still worth analysing in this thesis as it provides an additional perspective on the representation of the Goths under Theodosius and the techniques used by another contemporary orator to persuade his audience that it had been beneficial for barbarians to be incorporated into the empire.

Imperial panegyrics were ostensibly presented by an orator outside of the imperial bureaucracy to the emperor and his court in return for favours, which may initially suggest that the flattery employed by panegyrists was primarily a device to help secure the emperor's goodwill or persuade him on points of policy.[4] The personal rewards on offer for an orator who successfully ingratiated himself into a regime do suggest that emperors were receptive to praise. Themistius, for example, was given a number of rewards over the course of his career, not only being made a senator of Constantinople but also proconsul of the city by Constantius II and prefect of Constantinople by Theodosius towards the end of his career.[5] Likewise, appeals to the honorand for aid would not have been made if the subject of an oration did not occasionally accede to the requests of the speaker. Eumenius' oration *For the Restoration of the Schools* (*Pan. Lat.* IX(4)), an appeal to the local governor for permission to divert the speaker's public salary to fund the renovations of Autun's schools of oratory,[6] serves as a very clear example of an oration designed to influence the honorand. Similarly, Libanius' *Oration* 19 seeks to convince Theodosius to temper his punishment of the citizens of Antioch for tearing down his statues, directly querying the emperor's intended policies on behalf of the elite. These speeches suggest that orations

[3] Mention of Theodosius' divinity (*Pan. Lat.* II(12) 4.5) combined with the absence of references to Christianity in his panegyric and his assumed collation of earlier pagan panegyrics to form the *Panegyrici Latini* had led to Pacatus traditionally being identified by scholars as a pagan orator. However, the recent work of Turcan-Verkerk (2003) has reopened this question as she argues that Pacatus is the true author of the Christian devotional poem *de Cereo Paschali*, an argument accepted by Cameron (2011, 227-230). However, as Nixon and Saylor Rodgers and Rees have argued, if Pacatus was Christian, he saw no need to infuse his work with explicitly Christian references despite his honorand Theodosius being Christian and instead preferred to rely upon traditional pagan models such as Pliny for his speech; Nixon and Saylor Rodgers, 1994, 439; Rees, 2018, 305-307. The result is a traditionally styled oration presented to a mixed audience containing both pagans and Christians discussing the Goths fighting in service of Theodosius. As such, it can be analysed in a similar fashion to Themistius' earlier orations about those same Goths.

[4] Vanderspoel, 1995, 5.

[5] As Vanderspoel (1995, 71) notes, Themistius enjoyed his greatest successes at the beginning and end of his career under Constantius II and Theodosius, but he was still the *princeps senatus* during the reigns of Jovian (Errington, 2000, 874) and Valens (Lenski, 2002, 376-377) and was utilised by these emperors to help secure their rule. This was due to his influence over the Senate of Constantinople stemming from his apparent choice of almost 1,700 citizens to become senators during the reign of Constantius II (*Or*. 34.13). Although this number was a clear exaggeration as the expansion was not solely undertaken by Themistius (Penella, 2000, 219 n.19), it emphasised the influence he felt he had over those listening to his orations at Constantinople.

[6] Nixon and Saylor Rodgers, 1994, 146.

could be used to communicate messages from the speaker or those they represent to emperors. However, orations could also broadcast messages about imperial policies to a wider audience of influential citizens.

An imperial panegyric's audience was not just the emperor and members of the imperial court present at its initial reading but also included local elites through repeated deliveries of the speech and the subsequent distribution of written copies beyond the speaker's hometown. Although this meant the range as potential media for the promotion of imperial policies was limited for many orators from small towns,[7] this is not the case for Themistius and Pacatus, who are the particular focus of this chapter and would have spoken in front of senators in Constantinople and Rome respectively. Their audience included the most influential men in the empire, both inside and outside of the imperial court. Because of this potential audience, and because many of the points advocated in panegyrics accorded with existing imperial policy, Heather has argued that orators such as Themistius provided an emperor with a method of garnering support for his policies amongst a politically important, wealthy and well-educated audience.[8] In this light, Pacatus' proconsulship in 390 or the honours given to Themistius mentioned earlier, and the latter's personal wealth and long career, could all be interpreted as indicative of approval for their services in promoting imperial policy rather than as rewards for successful flattery. We also know from Socrates' *Ecclesiastical History* that a speech, such as Themistius' *Oration* 5, which was initially presented in front of the emperor Jovian in Ancyra, was subsequently repeated before the Senate at Constantinople (Soc. 3.26.3) and could potentially have been disseminated even further in either written form or through senators or members of the imperial court communicating the central points of the speech back to other influential men in their home towns and private estates.[9] Arguably, the promotion of current imperial policy within panegyrics, or as we will see in Themistius' orations, references to potential future policies could indicate that orators received some form of advice from the court as

[7] Rees, 2002, 24.

[8] Heather and Moncur, 2001, 31-42.

[9] Omissi, 2018, 60-65. In a letter to Themistius, Libanius (*Ep*. 368) reminded the orator that he should remember to send copies of his speeches beyond their initial audience to other influential citizens, an act that would not only help establish Themistius' influence but would also spread positive imperial imagery; Cribiore 2007, 63. If, as Nixon and Saylor Rodgers suggest (1994, 6-7), Pacatus was a professor of rhetoric in his hometown of Bordeaux and compiled the *Panegyrici Latini*, then his speech would have had access to another important audience, the future elite of his hometown. As a teaching manuscript, Pacatus' oration and the themes it raises would have been studied, emulated and advanced by his students, in turn influencing an entirely new generation of orators and policy makers within the empire.

to what subjects to cover in their speeches.[10] This is also alluded to in Themistius' *Oration* 1 (1a) where he claims to be the first 'independent' and 'truthful' panegyrist before he ingratiates himself with Constantius' regime, implying that all earlier orators had modified their speeches in accordance with the wishes of the imperial court.[11] In the hands of skilled orators and well connected members of the elite like Themistius or Pacatus, imperial policies and successes could be portrayed in a persuasive manner to those who may have doubted the credentials of a new emperor or those who might not agree with imperial decisions.[12]

Overall, therefore, fourth-century panegyrics had the potential to act as a means of communication between an emperor and his subjects by offering both an orator and those he represented an opportunity to appeal to a receptive honorand and be rewarded (*communication ascendante*) as well as an opportunity for the head of the Roman state to circulate his own messages outward beyond his imperial court (*communication descendante*) to the benefit of both parties.[13] As Roger Rees argues, the level of imperial input and independent writing within panegyrics was fluid and changed from oration to

[10] Themistius' sudden celebration of Athanaric's introduction into the empire in the middle of *Oration* 15 (190d) has been interpreted by Heather and Moncur (2001, 234-235) as indicative of Themistius beginning to prepare his audience for the possibility of a peaceful end to the war with the Goths. At the very least, it shows that orators could be given new information of imperial policies to praise within their speeches at short notice. Similarly, the praise specifically for Arcadius at the end of *Oration* 16 (213a-b) 18 days prior to any official announcement of his appointment as Augustus suggests that Themistius was preparing his audience for Arcadius' promotion on behalf of Theodosius. While Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994, 215-216) see the linking of Constantius I to the third-century emperor Claudius (*Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 2) as the work of an individual orator trying to flatter an emperor, Rees (2002, 24) suggests that, although the remainder of the speech was the independent work of the orator, this section would have required the prior approval from the imperial court. Since this association was made in the speech prior to its appearance on imperially-authorised materials it could potentially indicate that the panegyrist had been encouraged to claim Claudius II was an ancestor of Constantine as a means of gauging the reaction amongst his elite audience. If so, it would imply that any panegyric was subject to imperial modification according to the needs of the court and that regular orators, such as Themistius, or orators who would be repeating their speeches to an important audience, such as Pacatus at Rome, would have been advised on what topics the honorand would like them to cover in advance.

[11] Later, during the reign of Theodosius, Themistius would again insist that other, earlier orators were merely flatterers while he spoke the truth to the emperor (*Or*. 15.190a). As Rees notes, in this instance Themistius was using this proclamation of his newfound freedom to speak the truth to emphasise Theodosius' mild and fair rule, in contrast to his predecessors. It also served as a reminder to the audience that an aspect of Themistius' public persona, as a philosopher, was that he would speak the truth impartially regardless of his subject; Rees, 2018, 291.

[12] Lenski (2002, 376-377) argues, for example, that when Symmachus and Themistius (*Orations* 2 and 10 respectively) delivered speeches at around the same time in separate halves of the empire, it formed part of a pre-meditated effort by Valentinian and Valens to promote their building programmes along the frontiers. Likewise, to begin securing his rule amongst the elite, Jovian turned to the skill and influence of Themistius; Errington, 2000, 874.

[13] This terminology was first used to describe how a source allowed the transmission of information in Sabbah, 1984.

oration,[14] just as the nature and background of the speaker could vary as well as the quality of their speech.[15] However, a number of factors imply that the orations of Themistius examined in this chapter contain more *communication descendante* than other speeches during this period. Due to the illustrious nature of his audience in Constantinople, the uniquely influential position of the orator within the senate and his successful integration into the imperial courts of the later fourth century despite the many upheavals of the period, Themistius appears to have been perfectly placed to have promoted the actions of Valens and especially Theodosius, with whose family Themistius was even more closely linked through his position as tutor for the future emperor Arcadius (*Or*. 16.213a).[16] Therefore, the view taken in this chapter is that the flexible rhetoric regarding barbarians across Themistius' orations is reflective of changing imperial policies, rather than a personal shift in the orator's opinions, and acts as a means of persuading the Senate in Constantinople and other local elites to support the emperor's actions in return for imperial favours for the orator. Similar themes are then adopted and developed by Pacatus following Theodosius taking control of the western empire, despite Pacatus' differing social background and religious beliefs from his eastern counterpart.

Traditionally, barbarians were used in panegyric as a tool to emphasise an emperor's *virtus*.[17] In accordance with the guidelines set out by Menander Rhetor in his handbook *Logos Basilikos* (373.7-8) close to a century before, late antique orators generally promoted four cardinal virtues of an emperor within their speeches: courage (the most important), justice, temperance and wisdom.[18] Accomplishments in battle were the ideal way to display the first. Thus, panegyrics normally presented barbarians as inhuman savages crushed

[14] Rees, 2002, 23-25; Rees, 2007, 145. For a summary of the scholarly debate surrounding the question of orations as imperial propaganda, see Rees, 2012, 40-41.
[15] Omissi, 2018, 54-56.
[16] Penella, 2000, 3.
[17] Dauge, 1981, 319.
[18] Written in the late 3rd century, Menander Rhetor's *Logos Basilikos* sets out a model for orations to the emperor to follow. After introducing the oration with a contrast between the great subject of the piece and the unworthy speaker, the orator begins by discussing the emperor's background and early life. Next, the orator should discuss the subject's actions in war and at peace with weight placed upon the deceit of the enemy and the subjugation of foreign territory to contrast with life within the empire. In Menander's view, the four virtues that should be emphasised by the speaker can be brought out through a description of the emperor's actions. Finally, a favourable comparison to earlier emperors precedes a prayer for the emperor's safety and continued health of the empire. Although orators such as Themistius did not follow this model exactly, they incorporated certain aspects into their orations as applicable. Themistius, despite claiming in his initial oration (*Or*. 1.1a) that he would be the first truthful and independent speaker in front of an emperor, still resorts to including certain stock aspects in his speeches such as *Oration* 8 where he demonstrates Valens' virtues through affairs of the military and state and concluding his speech with a favourable comparison to Julian and a prayer for the emperor to continue to lead wisely.

under the feet of a victorious emperor, symbols of both Roman dominance and the inherent superiority of their civilisation.[19] As MacCormack notes, these images of non-Romans are comparable to their presentation in the imperially-authorised material of the fourth century, such as those discussed in the Material culture section of the Introduction. Over time both media refined their depictions of non-Romans to portray more succinctly an understandable and evocative image.[20] In a panegyric to Maximian (*Pan. Lat.* X(2)) in the late third century we see examples of these stereotypical barbarians with their negative qualities on full display: the threat of the 'wild and untamed nations' (*feras… indomitasque gentes*; 7.6) across the Rhine caused 'extreme fear' (*summus metus*; 7.4) amongst the Roman population of Gaul, a fear that could only be quelled by the military intervention of the emperor, emphasising his *virtus* and his importance in protecting the empire (including the audience) and reasserting Roman superiority at the head of the natural order. It takes only 'one blow' from 'a few cohorts' led by the emperor (5.2), who 'did battle in each spot and over the whole of the battlefield' (5.3), not only to defeat but also to bring about a total 'massacre' of the Chaibones and Eruli (5.4). The domination of these tribes precedes 'countless battles and victories all over Gaul' (6.1) against the Franks, reinforcing the impression of Roman military dominance. Once Maximian has intervened, the enemies of the empire tear themselves apart due to their 'stubborn savagery' (16.5) and are the cause of their own 'ruin' (17.4). Thus, while in the oration those tribes situated beyond the Rhine provide a consistent source of fear for the general population of the empire, for the emperor and the true Romans in the army, they are a source of glory and opportunities to prove their superiority.[21] Similarly, in a panegyric to Constantine, the 'perpetual hatred of that race [the Franks] and their implacable fury' (*gentis illius odia perpetua et inexpiabiles iras*; *Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 10.2) is highlighted by the orator so that their eventual defeat and incorporation into the empire appears an even greater achievement for the emperor because he overcomes their negative qualities through his own virtues.

These negative barbaric representations could even be applied to those within the empire who fought against an emperor and his position at the head of the state. In a panegyric to the Tetrarch Constantius in 297 (*Pan. Lat.* VIII(4)), the speaker contrasts the civilised and

[19] Quiroga Puertas, 2013, 57.
[20] MacCormack, 1976, 47-48.
[21] Another panegyric to Maximian (*Pan*. *Lat*. XI(3)) also reasserts Roman superiority through interactions with barbarians. Not only do the native inhabitants of Maximian's homeland demonstrate more *disciplina* during the repeated raiding of barbarians, but they are also 'braver than the men of other lands' (3.9). The cessation of these raids while Diocletian and Maximian met later in the oration is attributed to barbarian fear in the face of Roman unity (14.1), reinforcing the idea that Roman superiority is closely tied to the role of the emperor.

un-civilised through appearance. The symbol of the primitive and aggressive British barbarians is their 'half-naked' status (11.4), which is then imitated by internal enemies of the emperor later in the speech. In this instance the emperor is forced to fight against not only barbarians but also Romans who 'imitated the barbarian in their mode of dress and flowing red hair' (16.4). These citizens have abandoned the virtues of the empire and emperor, becoming no better than the barbarians they should have been fighting. The subsequent description of these quasi-barbarians fallen alongside non-Romans and covered in dirt is consistent with scenes like the Cameo of Licinius and reinforces a listener's idea of inherent Roman superiority over their enemies, including those Romans who had thus given in to their barbaric instincts. Likewise, in Julian's first panegyric to Constantius II, he declares the usurper Magnentius to be a German slave (*Or.* 1.34a) whose support comes not from loyal Romans but instead groups of barbarians such as the Franks and Saxons (34d). By overtly transforming Magnentius from an internal usurper into an external enemy, Julian could reinterpret what would normally be considered a civil war against fellow Romans as a foreign war against the empire's natural enemies (42a) and he could hail the emperor for preventing the corruption of the empire through an impious barbarian being in control of Roman laws and prayers (42b-c). By presenting usurpers in this fashion, these orators transform civil wars into moral wars between the representatives of Roman civilisation and those who would destroy civilisation, a traditional *topos* used by earlier Roman authors.[22]

This traditional portrayal of non-Romans continued into the reign of Theodosius as exemplified by the orations of Libanius. In his panegyrics to an earlier emperor, Libanius characterises undefeated barbarians as threatening the lives of citizens.[23] This opinion of barbarians does not appear to have changed after the accession of Theodosius. Five years after the settlement of the Goths, in the spring of 387,[24] the orator refers to the Goths as the emperor's slaves whom any other man would have killed (19.16) and twice highlights an instance of the emperor being angry with his subjects after the murder of a Goth in Constantinople (*Or.* 19.22; *Or.* 20.14), showing the emperor's concern for the barbarians in

[22] One of the earliest imperial examples of an author turning a war between two Romans into one between two morally opposed cultures is Virgil's representation of Antony as having adopted Eastern customs and wealth in order to wage his war with the truly Roman Augustus and Agrippa (*Aen*. 8.675-688).

[23] In July 362, Libanius describes the barbarians who have been sacking Gaul becoming 'hunters hunted' through Julian's victory; διώκοντας φεύγοντας (*Or.* 13.27). Imperial victory once again subordinates the enemy allowing them to be put to more productive tasks rebuilding the cities they have sacked (*Or.* 13.30).

[24] Dating of the orations: Norman, 1969, lii.

his service. This may have implied to Libanius' audience that the emperor is excessively lenient towards barbarians.[25] The orator's relatively indifferent attitude towards the murdered Gothic soldier and reference to the Goths in service to the empire as slaves indicates that it is still possible for orators to present non-Romans serving within the empire as outsiders despite the changes in imperial policies during Theodosius' reign. By contrast, Themistius deviates from earlier traditional presentations of the Goths over the course of Theodosius' reign in order to cast the emperor's decision to integrate the barbarians in a more positive manner.

Prior to Theodosius' reign, Themistius depicts the Goths as his audience would have anticipated and in a comparable way to Libanius. Having established himself as an important intermediary between the senate of Constantinople and the imperial court since the reign of Constantine,[26] Themistius was in a good position to promote imperial policies. Having briefly discussed the beginning of Valens' campaign against the Goths in *Oration* 8 in March 368, Themistius focusses on the end of the war in *Oration* 10. Delivered before both the senate of Constantinople and the emperor Valens in January or February 370,[27] Themistius sought to publicise and embellish the peace treaty established with the Goths the previous year.[28] This treaty specified that trade between the Romans and Goths would be restricted to two cities instead of the free trade along the frontier that had previously existed.[29] In order to reinforce the idea that this restriction of trade was wise, Themistius portrays the Goths as lawless 'brigands who called theft the spoils of war' (λῃσταὶ… φώρια τὰ λάφυρα ὀνομάζοντες; 136c), highlighting the barbarity of these peoples who cannot recognise the criminality of their actions and therefore should not be allowed to interact with the empire. Themistius rejects the idea that these savages could be incorporated into the empire as even Valens 'is unable to change [barbarian] nature' (135d) emphasising that

[25] These orations were dedicated to the emperor but not delivered in his presence; Quiroga Puertas, 2013, 59. This distance between the orator and the imperial court may have allowed Libanius to present his own view on the treatment of barbarians.

[26] The only time Themistius does not appear to have enjoyed imperial favour was under the emperor Julian as indicated by his celebration of a return to the limelight in *Oration* 5 (63c-64d) when speaking to the emperor Jovian. Otherwise, Themistius appears to have successfully ingratiated himself into a series of regimes with contrasting focusses and polices, reflecting his rhetorical flexiblity.

[27] Dating of the orations: Heather and Matthews, 1991, 14.

[28] Heather and Matthews, 1991, 14.

[29] *Or.* 10.135b; Matthews (1989, 329) suggests that this may have led to worse relations between Romans citizens and their Gothic neighbours from 369 until their integration in 382 than those which had existed prior to Valens' peace deal. As such, it would mean that Themistius' audience for *Oration* 16 would have been even less receptive to his arguments that the Goths could be successfully integrated.

people who represent the antithesis of civilisation and refuse to submit to the rule of law deserve no place within the empire.[30] Over the next decade, however, Themistius reversed his stance and argues instead that these same Goths deserve to be celebrated for integrating into Roman society.

This shift was not down to a change in Themistius' personal view of the empire's former enemies but instead reflected the political circumstances at the time of his speeches. Following a discussion of *Orations* 8 and 10, this chapter analyses Themistius' three Theodosian 'Gothic' orations in sequence, charting their changing depictions against their historical contexts. After the death of Valens at the battle of Adrianople in August 378, Theodosius took control of the eastern empire in January 379. *Oration* 14 was likely delivered in the spring or summer of that year and was Themistius' first speech to the new emperor.[31] It was not delivered immediately upon Theodosius' accession, as was customary,[32] but instead once the emperor was better established and had begun to build up a new army to replace that which was lost at Adrianople the previous year. As the Gothic conflict was still ongoing and to contrast the promise of Theodosius' rule with the incompetence of Valens' campaigns, Themistius focused on Theodosius' military qualities. He also anticipated a grand victory which would re-establish natural Roman dominance over the barbarians, leading to a traditional depiction of the Goths as savages. By contrast *Oration* 15 was delivered in January 381 when this victory was far more uncertain.[33] It would still have been possible for Themistius to portray an image of imperial victory over barbarians but recent developments in the war led to Themistius shifting from a military to a civic focus for this speech. Due to Theodosius' defeat in battle the previous summer and Gratian's increasing prominence in the war, Themistius limited his descriptions of the war in order to highlight the areas where Theodosius could win acclaim. The major shift in the representation of the Goths occurs, however, in *Oration* 16. After the peace settlement of October 382, this oration was delivered to mark the start of the consulship of Saturninus on 1st January 383, which honoured Theodosius' general for the role he played in achieving the

[30] As we shall see, Themistius directly addresses the differences between citizens and barbarians in this oration by stating that there is a barbarian within every person and, just as the empire stands against the Germans and Goths, their rejection of base desires is what makes them citizens (*Or.* 10.131b-c).

[31] Dating of the oration: Heather and Moncur, 2001, 218.

[32] Themistius was ill during the original embassy from Constantinople to the emperor (*Or.* 14.180c) and travelled later to give this speech.

[33] Dating of the oration: Heather and Moncur (2001, 230) suggest that *Oration* 15 was given between the 19th and 25th January during the third year of Theodosius' reign.

peace.[34] It offered a far more conciliatory view of the Goths and promoted the idea that, through the intervention of the emperor, barbarians could change their nature and be integrated into the empire to serve faithfully as soldiers and farmers. Themistius wanted to reassure his audience that the new citizens of the empire, settled without having been first defeated in battle, could be productive members of society. The orator therefore sought to deconstruct the image which he and other orators had cultivated up to that point and presented barbarians as harmless. Pacatus took up the same theme in 389 following the defeat of the usurper Maximus the previous year,[35] in a speech which highlighted the role played by the Gothic soldiers in defending the empire in direct contrast to those troops who fought against Theodosius.[36]

1.2. *Orations* 8 and 10

Orations 8 and 10 (given in March 368 and January or February 370 respectively) provide us with a useful starting point for understanding Themistius' 'traditional' representations of barbarians and his initial depiction of the Goths who would seek refuge within the empire later in Valens' reign. By exploring his presentation of the Goths under an earlier emperor, it is possible to analyse in more detail how Themistius moulded his depiction of barbarians to suit the circumstances surrounding his later speeches. Unlike *Oration* 16, for example, Themistius' imagery of the Goths during the peace settlement with Valens is largely negative and he devotes no time to the idea of integration in either *Oration* 8 or 10. Rather, Themistius uses barbarians to emphasise the importance of Valens' successes away from the battlefield and the importance of the upcoming war.

In retribution for their support of the usurper Procopius in 365,[37] Valens conducted a series of campaigns across the Danube in Gothic territory between 367 and 369.[38] Despite failing to coax the Greuthungi into a decisive battle, Roman incursions resulted in the agreement

[34] Although this speech was given in honour of Saturninus, Theodosius and his policies remained the focal point of the speech and Saturninus' achievements are presented as part of the emperor's successes.
[35] Dating of the oration: Nixon and Saylor Rodgers (1994, 443) date the oration between 13th June and 1st September 389.
[36] Although there are no surviving Gallic panegyrics to Maximus, Rees (2013, 43) argues that there is no credible evidence of resistance to his rule either. As such, Pacatus was eager to toe the imperial line in order to appease Theodosius and would have represented the Goths in line with imperial policy.
[37] Amm. Marc. 26.10.3.
[38] Lenski, 2002, 111 ff.

of a peace deal between Gothic leader Athanaric and Valens, ceremonially agreed on boats afloat on the Danube. The treaty of 369 (the contents of which are described in *Or.* 10.135b) reduced contact between the two sides, restricting trade between the Romans and Goths to two cities along the river, with newly rebuilt and refurbished border forts along the frontier further dividing the two sides, and ended the subsidies that had been paid to Gothic leaders.[39] Although this final act resulted in an easing of the financial burdens upon the state, it also reduced Gothic dependency upon the empire and allowed those groups who neighboured Roman territory to act more independently over the following decades, creating numerous problems for Valens' successors. For Themistius' purposes, however, and his intention in *Orations* 8 and 10 of promoting Valens' achievements, particularly his reduction in the burdens on Roman taxpayers, Valens' interactions with barbarians could be portrayed as examples of the emperor's success.

Although the focus of *Oration* 8 is not on Valens' ongoing war with the Goths but instead on his fiscal policies, Themistius does not completely ignore the peoples beyond Roman borders or the war with the Goths. Instead, his panegyric manipulates the image of different barbarian groups in order to portray Valens in the best possible light. The audience are told, for example, that the Alamanni 'did not so much alarm as irritate' (119c) and are juxtaposed with the 'looming' threat of the Goths and their demands for tribute that Valens faced. By minimising the threat posed by the non-Romans Valentinian is campaigning against in the west, the orator emphasises that the upcoming war against the Goths and Valens' successes in lowering taxes represent the greatest acts an emperor could undertake. Thus, Themistius states that, while any victories over the Alamanni would only be celebrated by 'each neighbouring territory' (114c), conquering those who 'terrify' (115a) the Roman populace is the true mark of an emperor, regardless of 'if it is a Scythian [Goth][40] or a Roman who wrongs him' (115c).[41] The 'intense war' (πόλεμον ἀκραιφνῆ; 113b) against the Goths embarked upon by Valens is 'welcome' for the listener because the emperor is managing to perform his duties in reasserting Roman superiority without the need to raise taxes or put undue strain upon the people.[42] In this oration, therefore,

[39] Mitchell, 2007, 82.

[40] Themistius consistently refers to the Goths as Scythians in his orations, using the name for these barbarians that had a classical pedigree dating back to Herodotus (4.1.1) in order to demonstrate his knowledge of the pre-existing literary tradition. As we shall see, this name was used by many authors in the fourth century.

[41] This idea that interior threats could be presented as more hazardous to an emperor than exterior enemies is a common one across Themistius' works and will recur in *Orations* 10 and 15.

[42] Moncur translates πόλεμον ἀκραιφνῆ as 'total war.' There are two problems here. First, a better translation of the Greek would be 'intense war', and second, the phrase 'total war' is normally

Themistius does not focus on barbarians to prove the *virtus* of the emperor, but instead uses them to prove his wisdom and good governance of the empire. By *Oration* 10, however, the focus of Themistius' panegyric has shifted significantly.

Celebrating Valens' peace settlement with the Goths in 369, Themistius uses the rhetoric of barbarism to emphasise that Valens had got the best possible result from this treaty with the Gothic leader Athanaric. This stereotypical imagery is set out in *Oration* 10 through a description of what separates Romans from barbarians. Themistius draws upon Plato's theories to internalise the role of the barbarian:[43] just as the Germanic and Gothic tribes fight against the Romans so too does an internal barbarian tribe fight against each man's 'rational elements' (131c). In order to become Roman, each man must defeat his internal demons, which are 'overbearing and intractable' and have the typical barbarian traits of 'temper and the insatiate desires'. Therefore, in this panegyric barbarians are presented as the antithesis of Roman values, justifying for the audience Valens' decision to limit interactions between Romans and non-Romans along the Danube. It is only because the Roman soldiers failed in their *disciplina* and allowed the border forts to fall into disarray that the barbarians were able to raid Roman land – Roman weakness allows barbarians to demonstrate their *superbia* and *discordia*, providing the 'opportunity for piracy with impunity' (136c) and letting the barbarian 'brigands' roam the lands not as an army but in ones and twos, claiming the products of their 'theft [as] the spoils of war' (λῃσταὶ δῆθεν, οὐ στρατιῶται, φώρια τὰ λάφυρα ὀνομάζοντες). In this oration, Themistius depicts Roman failure as allowing barbarians to flourish and engage in their base instincts.

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reserved for warfare in the modern age when the entire population of a nation is involved in the conflict as combatants, producers of supplies for the war or as legitimate targets (Jarausch, 2015, 75). Walzer (2015, 160) and Kern (1999, 5) have argued that if any form of warfare in the ancient world could be considered a precursor to the modern concept of 'total war', it would be siege warfare due to the entirety of a society within the city being targeted by a siege and its aftermath. By contrast, Valens' campaigns between 367 and 369, being restricted to a single stretch of the Danube and not requiring the full strength of the eastern army, could not in reality be considered a 'total war'. However, Moncur's use of 'total war' reflects Themistius' exaggeration that these campaigns are grand military mobilisations which involve the requisitioning of supplies on a large scale and should be putting a great strain on the populace of the empire, creating the impression that the entirety of the eastern empire's population is heavily involved in the war. Moncur's use of 'total war' therefore is an attempt to mimic Themistius' emphatic celebration of Valens' success in keeping the burden away from the taxpayers.

[43] Plato put forward the theory that each man must be at peace with himself before he can accept peace with other people. Thus, those who neglect internal affairs should never be responsible for the state; Plato, *Laws,* 628d-e. Themistius develops this theory by equating the struggle between the force for destruction and peace with the competing ideologies of the barbarian and Roman; Heather, 1999, 236.

However, it is the role of the emperor, as the embodiment of Roman virtues, to reassert Roman superiority. As we shall see, this is a recurring theme in Themistius' orations and here a Roman's taming of his inner barbarian is paralleled with Valens' taming of Athanaric and his Goths. According to the orator, Valens proves himself superior to the Goths in 'two respects' during the negotiations, namely his mastery of speech and thought (134c). The emperor completely overwhelms his Gothic counterpart, whose title of 'Judge' is mocked by Themistius,[44] and earns a victory so complete that for the Goths, it is 'more hazardous than the armed [combat]' thereby establishing his *virtus* without the need for battle and his *sapientia* through his skill.[45] The superiority of Roman speech and thought and its demonstration of virtue comes as no surprise in a work by a man who considered himself to be an expert in both oratory and philosophy but nevertheless it offers an example of Roman civilisation and culture overwhelming the inferior barbarians.

Finally, the superiority of the emperor is demonstrated when Valens converts a barbaric 'horde defying enumeration' into a 'docile and amenable' mass on the eve of negotiations (ἥμεροι καὶ χειροήθεις, πλῆθος οὐ ῥητὸν ἀριθμῷ; 133c). As we shall see in later orations, such as *Oration* 16, Themistius makes clear that it is the emperor himself who brings about this change in the barbarians just as he restored the *disciplina* of his own soldiers. Only through the ability of Valens have the barbarians become 'supplicants' to the Romans, a position that implies they owe the Romans their loyalty and have submitted to imperial authority. However, unlike *Oration* 16, this oration also states that integration is not possible as even the emperor is 'unable to change their [barbarian] nature' (135d). Even

[44] Athanaric's title as leader of the Thervingi is that of 'Judge'. Themistius states that Athanaric prefers this title to 'King' because 'one denotes power but the other wisdom', although Valens' apparent successes in the negotiations prove that he is far superior to the Judge in that regard; Heather and Matthews, 1991, 42-43.

[45] This claim for *virtus* through negotiation is necessary because Valens had not managed to secure any victories on the battlefield during the campaign. Because, in the eyes of the orator, the Goths acted like 'cowards' and had 'been persuaded of their great inferiority' (139b) and refused to face the Romans in open battle, Themistius claimed the equivalent of two victories a year for the emperor. The reality was that Themistius had to find other ways to demonstrate imperial virtues such as a victory in negotiation or again claiming that internal reforms were of greater value to the state. Therefore, as in *Oration* 8, Themistius claims that Valens' victories came in the form of internal reformation. The threat previously posed by garrisons to the local population is exaggerated in order to contrast it with the *disciplina* that Valens had restored. Not only has 'luxury… been banished from the lists' and the garrisons once again supplied (138b-c), but Valens also makes it more difficult for the soldiers to exploit those farmers who were supplying them. The result of this is that the soldiers 'despise the barbarians but are terrified of the farmers; the censure of the latter is much more frightening to them than ten thousand attacking Scythians.' By playing down Roman fear of the enemy and by bringing the attention of his audience to Valens' successes in reversing the threat posed by Roman soldiers to her own populace, Themistius once again draws attention to the strengths of his emperor. However, these points also reinforce the idea of inherent Roman superiority over their enemies.

while they are held in check by the authority of the emperor, the Goths have not completely overcome their barbaric desires and Themistius gives no indication that the Goths will remain subdued in the long term, implying instead that their supplication is a temporary situation until their true nature reasserts itself and they attempt to attack the Romans once again. In the face of these unchanging, stereotypical barbarians, therefore, Themistius celebrates Valens' peace as he argues that limiting interactions with the Goths to only two cities and ending subsidies to the non-Romans limits the danger posed by the inevitable barbarian betrayal.

1.3. *Oration* 14

Any reference to the potential future integration of the Goths under Valens' successor Theodosius is similarly absent in *Oration* 14. Rather than changing his style immediately under the new emperor, Themistius continues to place the Goths in their traditional role as the incorrigible barbarians who oppose the Romans in every way. At the time this speech was given, in the first half of 379, Theodosius had recently been appointed Augustus by Gratian and taken control of the eastern empire.[46] Following Adrianople and the destruction of Valens' army the previous year,[47] Theodosius was largely occupied training a new army rather than directly confronting the plundering bands of Goths roaming the countryside,[48] largely leaving the inhabitants of the empire from Thrace to Illyricum to deal with the barbarians alone. The oration acknowledges this period of Roman weakness and makes it clear that the Goths have the upper hand in the conflict at the time of this speech in order to emphasise the threat the Goths pose and to instil in the audience an understanding of the magnitude of the challenge which faces Theodosius. As we shall see, Themistius relies upon a series of metaphors to highlight the implacability and inhuman nature of the threat and, in turn, persuade his readers that only Theodosius will be capable of saving the empire through his restoration of traditional Roman virtues in its inhabitants. Finally, Themistius ends the oration by raising the current crisis to an epic scale through a Homeric comparison by casting Theodosius as a second Achilles, the only individual capable of winning the war for the Romans from such a perilous position.

[46] The lack of contemporary sources describing what exactly happened to Theodosius between his recall from Spain after Adrianople and his appointment as emperor has led to some scholars, such as Sivan (1996) and McLynn (2005, 88-94), to question the legitimacy of his accession.
[47] For the course of Valens' final Gothic war culminating in his death at Adrianople, see Lenski, 2002, 267 ff. and Heather, 1991, 122 ff.
[48] Mitchell, 2007, 85.

Themistius admits at the very beginning of the speech that following Adrianople the Romans 'were once ourselves pursued' (*Or.* 14.181a), reminding his audience of both the situation prior to the reign of Theodosius and the potential threat of their enemies in this war. The orator escalates this threat in the following sentence by equating the roaming barbarians with 'the conflagration that devours all things' (τὴν νεμομένην τὰ πάντα πυρκαϊάν; 181b). By comparing the Goths with an unstoppable force of nature, Themistius adapts an oratorical trope that had been employed over the previous century by orators such as Eumenius and Libanius to express the relentless aggression and destruction of barbarians. In Eumenius' eyes, speaking at end of the third century,[49] the devastation caused by the Frankish soldiers of the usurpers Carausius and Allectus makes Gaul appear 'as if the river flowing about it and the sea washing against it had covered it over'(*Pan. Lat.* IX(4) 18.3). For Libanius, writing in praise of the emperors Constantius II and Constans between 344 and 349,[50] the repeated attacks of the Franks on the empire are comparable to 'a continuous succession of waves' hitting the shore (*Or.* 59.130). Other orators, although not using metaphors to describe the destruction caused by barbarians, also closely linked non-Romans and the lands they inhabited. In *Pan. Lat.* VI(7), delivered approximately a decade after Eumenius' oration, an anonymous author talks of the Goths 'who had burst forth from the Straits of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube' (2.2) only to be defeated by Claudius II. In this case the threat facing the empire was not just comparable to a force of nature, it was itself born from nature. Similarly, while describing Maximian's victories over the 'fiercest tribes of Mauretania', the orator of *Pan. Lat.* VII(6) describes the tactics of the barbarians (8.6): when facing the overwhelming forces of the empire, the tribes 'trusted to their inaccessible mountaintops and natural fortifications' to protect them from the foreign invaders. Although this oration does not present the tribes as taking on the characteristics of the mountains or infringing upon and threatening Roman territory, it does once again present an emperor having to overcome nature in order to restore Roman superiority over barbarians. Drawing upon this *topos*, Themistius adapts these images of forces of nature destroying the empire by replacing flooding and the ocean with fire but the effect remains the same with all the orators emphasising the scale of the

[49] Dating of the oration: Nixon and Saylor Rodgers, 1994, 147-148.
[50] Dating of the oration: Malosse, 2001; Ross, 2016b, 302.

threat by drawing their audiences' attention to the extensive area that was being destroyed so that their listeners' fear of their enemy increased.[51]

The scale of the threat is also matched by the implacable nature of the enemy loose within the empire. Themistius emphasises to his audience that the Goths display the traditional stubbornness and 'wilfulness' of the barbarian in order to remind those listening that the barbarians are opposed to the Romans and what it means to be Roman (τὴν αὐθάδειαν; *Or.* 14.181c). These qualities make the Goths unsuitable to serve in an empire where a willingness to submit oneself to the rule of law and the emperor is essential to being a citizen.[52] As mentioned above, the metaphor describing the barbarians as a 'conflagration' (181b) emphasises the threat posed by the Goths – however, it also serves to dehumanise the barbarians. As a wild fire, they are stripped of all human qualities and are left only with the ability to destroy.[53] This destructive nature is immediately contrasted with the constructive work of the farmers and miners (181b) who are engaged in military preparations and demonstrating the *disciplina* required of inhabitants within a civilised society in order to combat barbarians who are emblematic of chaos and destruction. Thus, non-Romans were placed in direct contrast to the Romans who are hearing this speech in the court and senate and see themselves as possessing this *disciplina*. For these citizens, the idea of incorporating those barbarians would seem impossible at this point as there is no possibility of redemption or indication that they can change their nature, contrary to their later presentation in *Oration* 16. Their status as irredeemable outsiders is crystallised when they are condemned as 'guilty' and 'damned villains' (τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους… τοὺς κάκιστα ἀπολουμένους; 181c). There is no prospect that their nature can be changed or that they can serve the empire in some way. Instead their destructive role has been set and the villains will be punished for their actions by the man cast in the role of hero, Theodosius.

Oration 14 is designed to present the barbarians as a potentially overwhelming threat to the security of the empire. The responsibility for stopping this menace lies primarily with Theodosius, as would be expected in a speech being presented to him. His main duty in this panegyric is to 'check the impetus of success for the Scythians' (181b) and re-establish Roman dominance over their traditional enemies. Every reference to the Goths discussed so far is included in order to magnify the threat posed by the barbarians in the minds of the

[51] This scale was also enhanced by the epic resonances of the fire metaphor (Hom. *Il.* 2.455-458), a technique Themistius also used later in the panegyric to increase the grandeur of both Theodosius and the conflict.
[52] Heather, 1999, 236.
[53] Goffart, 1981, 277.

audience. This in turn will make Theodosius appear even greater in bringing about the victories that will surely follow in due course (181d). However, this is not the only role that Theodosius performs in the oration. As well as bringing victory, Theodosius also brings about improvements in those living in the empire. He makes 'even farmers a terror to the barbarian' (181b), raising these ordinary citizens up to the point where they can overcome those who previously posed a great threat to their lands and their lives. This provides an example of the ability of the emperor to bring about a positive change in others,[54] which is a theme Themistius would later rely heavily on to explain the integration of the Goths but in this instance explains how Theodosius will achieve victory and ensure the safety of the empire.

The final technique used by Themistius to emphasise both the scale of the barbarian threat and the significance of Theodosius' role in defeating it, is to raise the conflict to an epic level. In this instance Themistius introduces a literary comparison, with the introduction of Theodosius to the conflict being compared to the return of Achilles in Book 18 of the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 18.215 ff.). Just as 'Achilles struck dismay into the barbarians who were victorious up to that moment' (*Or.* 14.181c), so too does Theodosius through his skill and ability to inspire those under his rule to achieve feats of which they would not normally be capable. The comparison reminds the audience of the ability of one man to influence a conflict and reverse the fortune of battle and links the two men, promising the glory and fame of Achilles to the emperor as both men are destined to rescue their countrymen from being overrun.[55] However, an unintentional by-product of this comparison is to align the Goths with the Trojan barbarians. In both cases, the barbarian side had been able to inflict serious damage on their enemies prior to the intervention of the hero – burning the Greek ships in the case of the Trojans and defeating the Roman army at Adrianople for the Goths.[56]

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[54] Chauvot, 1998, 294.

[55] As Rees explores in his study of the use of Virgil in the *Panegyrici Latini* (2004), an orator's use of appropriate literary canon serves not only a rhetorical function within the speech itself, as the Achilles comparison does here, but also to emphasise an orator's cultural authority and shared culture with his audience. As we shall see in the remainder of this chapter, Themistius utilises the *Iliad* and other mythological stories in a similar fashion. Through his references to Homer, the orator is able to emphasise the epic nature of his subject while also persuading his audience of his literary knowledge and reminding them of their communal heritage.

[56] Although linked with the Goths, the Trojans are also linked to the Romans through the mythological foundation of Rome, civilised lifestyle within cities and geographical link with some of Themistius' audience. This foundation myth was evidently still part of the public consciousness of educated inhabitants of Constantinople as indicated by statues of Virgil and Aeneas (alongside other figures from the Trojan War, deities and famous Romans) erected at some point during the fourth and fifth centuries at the Baths of Zeuxippus in the city; Bassett, 1996. However, any unwitting alignment between Goths and citizens is clearly outweighed by the recognisable epic example in the

Oration 14 carries a simple message regarding the enemy loose on Roman soil. In accordance with oratorical traditions, Themistius asserts that barbarians are a threat to Roman society that can only be controlled by the emperor. They can and will be defeated but at this point there is no prospect of them playing any beneficial role in Roman society. This speech would have been what the senatorial audience and elite throughout the east would have expected to hear upon the accession of a new emperor – a promise to secure the borders and re-establish Roman dominance over those they naturally consider as less civilised.[57]

1.4. *Oration* 15

By the beginning of 381 and *Oration* 15, however, the situation had not improved for the Romans. The defeat of Theodosius' newly trained army in battle with Fritigern during the previous summer had led to Gratian's assumption of overall command in the war with the Goths and these two setbacks for Theodosius necessitated a change in Themistius' focus for the oration and his depiction of the barbarians.[58] With no imperial victories over the Goths to celebrate, the focus of this speech is on Valens' earlier mismanagement of the east and the partnership between Gratian and Theodosius rather than the latter's *virtus*.[59] Due to the shift in subject matter, the Goths are presented in a much less threatening manner. They are still considered to be the antithesis of the citizens of the empire, as indicated by the direct comparison between Romans, barbarians and the values they represent,[60] but the immediate danger they posed in *Oration* 14 is replaced by new concerns for both orator and emperor.

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mind of the orator as he returns to the comparison at the start of *Oration* 15 (184b), where he compares his praising of Theodosius' virtues to, amongst other pairings, Homer singing about Achilles and in *Oration* 16 (209b-c), where he compares Theodosius and Saturninus with Achilles and Patroclus.

[57] Errington (2000, 893) argues that this oration was an attempt by Themistius and the elite of Constantinople to ingratiate themselves with a new imperial court but this may be overestimating the political strength of Theodosius in 379.

[58] Heather and Moncur, 2001, 231; Heather, 1991, 151-155. Eunapius' negative depiction of these years, which present the barbarians and emperor in very different terms, will be discussed in Chapter Four.

[59] Heather and Moncur, 2001, 232-233.

[60] In comparison to the empire, which relies upon 'order' and 'organisation', the barbarians are weakened by their 'disorder' and 'chaos'. This has an explicit impact upon their respective military strength; Roman 'valour' and 'discipline' will inevitably overcome 'credulity' and 'insubordination'. This direct comparison makes it obvious that Themistius, and most likely Theodosius, want the audience to understand that the two sides of this war represent opposite ends of a spectrum –

Despite their reduced role, the Goths are still presented as less than human to the audience. Both emperors are charged with working together to seek out and heal the wounds inflicted on the state by the 'lawless tribe' (ἀθεμίτου φύλου; *Or.* 15.197a) that remains within the empire's borders,[61] and to remove 'an infection which still endures, is deep-seated and dies hard' (τὴν λήμην… ὅση ὑποβέβηκεν ἔτι καὶ ἐγκάθηται δυσθανατῶσα; 198c).[62] Just as in *Oration* 14, the barbarians are dehumanised through a comparison to a purely destructive force. In this case they are likened to a medical condition, stripping them of any potential human qualities and reducing them to a damaging force of nature. Likewise, the Goths are compared to 'wild beasts' (τὰ θηρία; 186c) seeking to snatch livestock from shepherds and cowherds. Although they are an omnipresent concern and could have caused some damage through their hunger-fuelled attacks, they are not presented by Themistius as being as significant a concern as the effective management of the herds.[63]

The more limited focus on barbarians is reflected by Themistius' use of Homer in the speech. Once again, the oration ends with the Goths and Romans being presented to the audience as the Trojans and Greeks. The Goths are likened to '"the Trojans coming against our cities, they who once were like fleeing harts"' (198c-d),[64] while Themistius appeals to Theodosius: '"Son of Atreus… lead the Argives in doughty battles"' (198d).[65] Again, this is a ploy by the orator to raise the conflict to an epic level in the minds of his audience by

barbarians are unable to control their desires and think of anyone besides themselves whereas the Romans, who are willing to subordinate themselves to the communal written law and the authority of the emperor, are inherently superior and will inevitably win the war; *Or.* 15.197b. This comparison between Roman and barbarian echoes Themistius' discussion of each man's inner conflict with his internal barbarian in *Or*. 10.131b-c.

[61] By referring to the Goths as the 'rebellious dregs of the ill-omened and lawless tribe' that was settled by Valens inside the empire, Themistius not only draws to the audience's attention the failure of the previous emperor but also the Goths' rejection of Roman law and the *pax deorum* having agreed to abide by it when entering the empire. The effect is to emphasise that these enemies are not just invaders, but rebellious subjects who had the opportunity to live peacefully within the empire but rejected it. On barbarians being presented as rebellious even when not under Roman rule, see Ladner, 1976, 11.

[62] This comparison of the Goths to a disease is reminiscent of the dehumanisation of barbarians through Themistius' description of them as either animals or forces of nature. In all these cases, the non-Romans are stripped of agency and presented as mindless yet brutal.

[63] This comparison does associate Roman citizens with cattle but it is not meant in a negative manner. Instead, it implies the relationship between the emperor and his subjects is one of care and duty.

[64] Themistius quotes Hom. *Il.* 18.99 ff. but substitutes references to the Greek ships for cities to make the quotation resonate more strongly with his audience.

[65] Hom. *Il.* 2.344 ff.

depicting the emperors as Greek heroes.[66] This reference also compares the barbarians to animals, a technique Themistius repeats when describing the Goths as 'hounds of Hell' (199a).[67] In both cases, the animal comparison is used to dehumanise the enemy and make them more alien to the audience. 'Hounds' are incapable of forming strategies and civilisation, they act on instinct rather than thought – a fact Themistius reinforces by stating that these are enemies 'whom the Fates bring' rather than enemies who invade of their own volition. By removing agency from the Goths, Themistius implies that they are incapable of using military tactics to match the imperial army instead relying on their amoral aggression to threaten the empire.[68] At the same time, the orator uses Homer to de-emphasise the military role of the emperor by highlighting Agamemnon's qualities as 'a good king',[69] thereby increasing the importance of other imperial virtues besides courage (187b-188c). These references to Homer add weight to Themistius' change in focus but it would also have encouraged his audience to reflect on the use of Homer to heighten the military scale of the conflict both in this and the previous oration, indicating that the war is a continued concern for the emperor despite the focus on improving his rule.

Theodosius' efforts to become a better ruler did, however, start to bring about some changes for the Goths. An emperor who was less committed to destroying the enemy opened up the possibility of accommodation without the need for defeating the enemy in the field. Themistius certainly puts forward this option with his description of Athanaric being welcomed into Constantinople.[70] Athanaric becomes a willing suppliant and cast aside his *superbia* not due to Roman military strength but 'through faith in you [Theodosius]' (190d). While this passage celebrates the political coup of the surrender of a figure who had fought against Theodosius' predecessor and indicates that some victories could be won without the need for battles, it can be seen as anticipating the positive presentation of integration that Themistius would follow in *Oration* 16, even if at this point

[66] Themistius also attempts to make the Gothic war appear more impressive by drawing upon examples from other conflicts in history. He compares Theodosius with Lucullus against Tigranes, Pompey against Mithridates and Caesar against the Galatians (i.e. the Gauls) amongst others (198a).
[67] Hom. *Il.* 8.527.
[68] Similarly, another beast metaphor in *Oration* 15 (187a) emphasises the backwards nature of the enemies of the empire. While beasts lack laws and courts, the marks of a civilised society, Themistius notes that they still possess a measure of cunning and stubbornness. He does, however, warn the emperor and audience to be on guard not against those external animals but the ones within the walls, who are more numerous, cunning and implacable than the foreign beasts. Even while dehumanising barbarians, Themistius is turning his audience's attention inwards to reflect Theodosius' increasing concerns not with the war but with his governance of the empire.
[69] Hom. *Il.* 3.179.
[70] Athanaric was the former leader of the Thervingi and had fought against Valens in the war of 367-369. He entered Constantinople on the 11th January 381 and died a fortnight later.

he is not indicating that Athanaric will be of use to Roman society, nor advocating the use of this policy on a wide scale.[71]

1.5. *Oration* 16

After the peace settlement of 382, Themistius portrays the Goths in a very different manner from his earlier orations. With Gratian's army having forced the Goths back eastwards the previous year and the Romans beginning to stabilise their situation, the war was brought to an end without another major confrontation in October 382.[72] The treaty agreed between Theodosius and his Gothic counterparts allowed the barbarians greater freedom than that traditionally given to enemies when settled on Roman land. The Goths became *foederati* and were granted land south of the river Danube. In return for the freedom to live under their own rulers and laws,[73] the Goths could be called upon to serve the emperors as soldiers in the Roman army although, once again, they did so under their own commanders rather than under Roman officers.[74] Now that the Goths are being settled within the empire and given a relatively large measure of freedom, Themistius sets about deconstructing the stereotypes that he himself had helped to reinforce over the previous years in order to persuade his audience of the wisdom of allowing former enemies to live freely on Roman soil. Although, at first, Themistius begins by praising his subjects in a traditional fashion, including a celebration of Theodosius' apparent victory over the barbarians, he swiftly moves on from that topic and begins downplaying the scale of the threat that the Goths represented. The orator recognises that continuously referring to the danger that this group had posed would only serve to highlight the folly of inviting an uncontrollable threat to reside within the empire, before the qualities that separated citizens from barbarians were transformed by the emperor. After limiting the threat, he needed to indicate to his audience how they could benefit from this new integration of

[71] Heather and Moncur (2001, 235) suggest that this passage indicates that Theodosius was already considering the possibility of a compromise with the Goths. However, the Homeric references at the end of this oration indicate that at this point continuing the theme of eventual imperial victory from *Oration* 14 was more pressing for Theodosius and Themistius than considering the idea of accommodation. Therefore, the last-minute inclusion of this passage, in the eight days between Athanaric's arrival and the likely date of the speech, was an attempt to capitalise on the situation rather than an indication of a change in policy.
[72] Heather, 1991, 155.
[73] Synesius, *De Regno*, 19.43.5 ff.; Heather, 1988, 160.
[74] Heather, 1991, 164-165.

their former enemies which he achieves once again through the use of comparisons, in this instance to both epic and historic examples.

At first, this oration appears to be continuing a very traditional theme in panegyrics, describing how the empire will benefit from the integration of its former enemies. As in an earlier panegyric to Constantine (*Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 6.2), the orator highlights the positive role that foreigners could play within the empire. The difference between the two orations, however, is that the panegyric to Constantine portrays a far more traditional situation. After Constantine defeated his enemies, he was able to separate them and integrate them into the empire on his own terms,[75] compelling them 'to put aside not only their weapons, but their ferocity as well' (*Pan. Lat.* VI(7) 5.3) through his military prowess. Similarly, in an oration for Constantius I, the emperor is able to put defeated barbarians to use farming throughout Gaul to restore the lands of the empire (*Pan*. *Lat*. VIII(4) 21.1).[76] Unlike these two emperors, Theodosius did not have this military victory before his settlement with the Goths, a fact that may have unsettled those listening to Themistius' oration.[77] Instead, his situation was built upon a diplomatic negotiation, similar to Valens' in *Oration* 10, which had promised that without military victory, barbarians were eventually certain to revert to their old ways.[78] Therefore, in order to depict Theodosius as being able to control these non-Romans, Themistius is forced to depart from the traditional narrative of *virtus* keeping errant barbarians in check and to rely on a wider array of rhetorical techniques to persuade his audience that the Goths can serve a useful role within the empire.

At the beginning of his speech, Themistius does not appear to do anything unusual in his depiction of the Goths. In the previous oration, Themistius describes the barbarians Theodosius faces as a flood, here he develops this theme further. The orator not only

[75] Heather, 1999, 241.

[76] Wide swathes of Gaul had been left depopulated by the raiding of the Germanic tribes but, under the orders of the emperor, 'turn green again under cultivation by the barbarians' (21.1). Despite their incorporation into the empire, the orator still considers the barbarians to be distinct from the 'Ambiani, Bellovaci, Tricasses and Ligones', whose lands they tend. This, combined with the absence of any reference to the possibility of them becoming Roman or becoming the rightful owners of the land in the future, may suggest that the orator does not believe that barbarians can change their inherent nature.

[77] Ziche, 2011, 210-212.

[78] Similar sentiments had also been expressed in a panegyric of Maximian and Contantine the greater part of a century earlier, where the anonymous orator declares that 'by his [Maximian's] pardon he made them [the barbarians] gentle' (*Pan. Lat.* VII(6) 4.4). Here, as with Themistius' *Oration* 10, the nature of the defeated can be subdued and their insatiable ferocity tamed. However, just as under Valens, the orator does not believe this change is permanent – the 'slippery faith of the whole race' (4.2) threatens to resurface once the Franks are no longer 'satisfied to keep the peace' or act 'as if friendly' (8.5).

includes a list of barbarians facing the state upon the accession of Theodosius but also describes how nature itself has turned on the empire. Themistius specifically names the Celts, Assyrians, Armenians, Libyans and Iberians as 'encircling' the Roman world in order emphasise the idea that the state was being overwhelmed by the number of her enemies, combining this with 'nearly the whole of the earth and sea' as the terrain itself sought to aid the Goths in the aftermath of Adrianople (16.206d-207a). The 'impassable mountains, unfordable rivers… [and] trackless wastes' which once helped separate the empire from her enemies had, according to Themistius, moved aside to allow the barbarians to sweep across the east.[79] Once again facing the force of nature and suffering 'great and momentous blows', the state had been saved from destruction by Gratian's promotion of Theodosius. However, having established the perilous situation Theodosius faced at the beginning of his reign, Themistius uses a pair of epic examples, from the Gigantomachy (208a) and Trojan War (208c) respectively, to reframe Theodosius' settlement as a total victory over the Goths. These comparisons serve to promote the success and virtues of the emperor whilst simultaneously helping to draw the audience's attention away from any potential military threat posed by the Goths, a point that is absent from the remainder of the speech, to persuade the listener to accept the wisdom of Theodosius' settlement.

The Gigantomachy provides a natural comparison for Themistius to parallel the battles between Romans and barbarians with those of the gods and the giants. The giants threatened the natural order established by the gods just as barbarians threaten to overwhelm the Roman Empire and the *pax deorum* it maintains. The war between gods and giants was repeatedly used as a symbol of the conflict between Roman order and barbaric chaos,[80] the same themes that Themistius touches on in *Orations* 10 and 15. Comparing Theodosius' situation to the Gigantomachy heightens the scale of the conflict to cosmic proportions, indicating that barbarians need to be opposed not just because they embody values that opposed the empire's but also that, like the giants, they are aggressively seeking to destroy the rightful rule of the emperors and overthrow the natural order established throughout the entire world. Initially, this appears to be the case as Themistius seemingly uses the comparison with the Gigantomachy to emphasise the strength of the emperor's enemies. Just as 'the giants resisted Ares to the utmost' (208a),

[79] Once again, the dehumanising of the barbarians through their equation with nature highlights their power but also distances them from the audience by stripping them of free will.

[80] The Gigantomachy had been a feature of Roman imagery throughout the imperial period. During the reign of Augustus, for example, the Gigantomachy was used by Virgil, Horace and Ovid to symbolise Augustus' reestablishment of Rome and victory over foreign influences; Hardie, 1983, 312.

so too have the Goths resisted all Roman efforts to destroy those rampaging across Illyricum and Thrace. However, the victory over the giants belongs to Hermes who overcomes his enemies not through warfare but through avoiding direct battle.[81]

Immediately following this story, Themistius makes this point explicitly – warfare is no longer a viable means of overcoming the Goths, leaving negotiation as 'the only power left to the Romans unscathed and untested by the barbarians' (208a). Roman military superiority and victory are no longer to be taken for granted but, as with *Oration* 10, Roman cultural superiority is still unsurpassed. Although in both cases it is implied that Ares and the empire may eventually emerge victorious or at the very least can create a stalemate with their enemies, Themistius wants his audience to understand that this struggle will take a toll on the Romans. The decision to focus on this story and include a reference to Ares' impotence, rather than a story that could highlight the military strength of the gods,[82] reflects the aims of Themistius in this oration by emphasising that a victory achieved without resort to military strength can still be considered an impressive victory.

The next image of Theodosius we are given is also designed to portray Theodosius' qualities in the preceding war. However, in this simile the focus is not on a diplomatic victory but the use of subordinates to repel threats. Theodosius is compared to Achilles (208c) with the role of Patroclus given to Saturninus, the general who helped the emperor in the war and whose promotion to the consulship provided Themistius with the opportunity to present

[81] Although this story of Hermes putting the giants to sleep is not mentioned in any other source, Heather and Moncur note (2001, 276 n.237) that it is possible that it was known to Themistius through a bronze relief displayed in Constantinople or he was appropriating the story of Hermes putting the Greeks to sleep as narrated in Hom. *Il*. 24.340 ff.

[82] For example, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1:151-176) includes a brief description of the Gigantomachy. The story he tells revolves around the dominance of Jupiter and the threat presented by the Giants to the natural supremacy of the gods. This story or one like it could have been used by Themistius to emphasise the military role of the emperor in securing victory; it is Jupiter alone who defeats the invaders, thereby demonstrating not just the military superiority of the gods but also the importance of a leader in battle. Although Ovid does not appear to have been widely read in the eastern half of the empire at this time (Fisher, 2011, 26-29), it is not unreasonable to assume that either this myth or other stories of individual exploits during the Gigantomachy would have been known by Themistius. According to the tenth-century poet Konstantinos' *On Constantinople and on the Church of the Holy Apostle* (125-152) Constantine had installed on the doors of the senate house in Constantinople a scene from the Gigantomachy; Kaldellis, 2016, 723-724. As with the statues of Virgil and Aeneas, the public nature of this artwork and its prominent position within the city suggests that Themistius' senatorial audience would have been relatively familiar with the stories it was based on. Therefore, his decision to include a story about the success of Hermes rather than any other deity was made not because there was a lack of knowledge about the myths of the Gigantomachy but rather because it suited the needs of the orator.

this oration at the court.[83] However, Themistius is not satisfied with merely casting the two Romans as Homeric heroes. Instead, the Romans surpass their literary counterparts both in the threat faced and in their success in overcoming that threat. Not only do the Romans have 'better fortune' and 'better auspices' for their conflict against the barbarians than Patroclus and Achilles, but Themistius explicitly states that the Goths are a greater source of danger than the Trojans. Despite the epic nature of the Trojan War, Themistius plays down the threat played by the Trojans by emphasising the limits of their attack on the Greek camp: it is a 'single Thessalian ship that had just been fired' and 'a single line of defence' which had been breached. On the other hand, Theodosius and Saturninus face the prospect of a land completely annihilated at the hands of the barbarians. By juxtaposing the threat posed by the Trojans and Goths, Themistius underlines the superiority of his Roman subjects, an image completed by the contrast between the inability of Patroclus to use Achilles' spear and Saturninus being able to wield Theodosius' 'heavenly' qualities.

Having established the scale of both the barbarian threat and Theodosius' diplomatic victory through these grand comparisons, Themistius switches his focus instead to the ease of overcoming these challenges with only a brief word on how Saturninus 'needed no time at all to achieve this victory' (οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐδέησεν αὐτῷ χρόνου πρὸς ταύτην τὴν νίκην; 209a),[84] implying that not only have the emperor and his general surpassed all possible points of comparison but that the settlement can be regarded as being as complete as any military conquest. Whilst we might have expected Themistius to have continued to exaggerate the threat posed by the Goths so that the subjects of his panegyric, Theodosius and his general Saturninus, seemed even more impressive in overcoming their foes, he instead removes all trace of the threat from the remainder of his oration to reassure his audience that no problems would result from the integration of these non-Romans into the empire.[85] Reminding the audience of the potential threat posed by those who are now

[83] Themistius uses the story of Patroclus donning Achilles' armour from the *Illiad* Book 16 for his comparison because it features a subordinate fighting on behalf of their superior. At the beginning of the Book, Achilles refuses to help the other Greeks as the Trojans threaten to burn their ships, but his companion Patroclus fights in his stead while wearing the armour of Achilles in order to trick the Trojans into believing they were fighting the greatest of the Greek warriors.

[84] Themistius' emphasis on Saturninus' role in ending the war can be attributed to the general's earlier patronage of the orator (*Or*. 16.200b). However, Theodosius remains the overarching subject of the oration and can claim even more acclamation for his role (200c).

[85] Later in the oration, Themistius does compare the achievements of Theodosius and Saturninus against the Goths to those of Nero and Corbulo against the Armenians, concluding that the 'unyielding spirit' of the Goths (210b) means that they have once again surpassed their predecessors by overcoming a greater enemy. The Armenians were 'easily subdued and easily led' while the Goths consider 'the slightest submission… worse than death'. Rather than interpret this as highlighting the folly of expecting the Goths to serve faithfully, however, the audience is meant to recognise this as a

farming the land or being trusted with the defence of the empire might prompt doubts about the wisdom of the emperor's decision. Instead, the absence of imagery such as the fire metaphor used in *Oration* 14 helps to avoid provoking thoughts of the Gothic threat in the minds of the audience.

As part of Themistius' efforts to persuade his audience that the settlement of the Goths was a wise decision, he emphasises that those qualities which had previously marked the barbarians out as 'damned villains' (*Or.* 14.181c) can be transformed into qualities associated with model citizens. In *Oration* 14, the emperor had been presented as able to improve the nature of citizens to allow them to overcome their enemies. This theme not only continues here but is developed further as Themistius uses it to introduce the idea of changing the nature of barbarians. In this oration, the emperor 'subdues all nations, turns all savagery [to] mildness' (πάντα μὲν ἔθνη χειροῦται πάντα δὲ ἥμερα καθίστησιν ἐξ ἀγρίων; *Or.* 16.207c). Theodosius can even calm the traditional barbaric aggression of his enemies, a quality that if left uncontrolled would make them unsuitable to live in the empire. These barbaric qualities – 'the intransigence of the Scythians, the boldness of the Alans, [and] the madness of the Massagetai' (καὶ αὐθάδεια Σκυθικὴ καὶ τόλμα Ἀλανῶν καὶ ἀπόνοια Μασσαγετῶν; 207c) – are all named as qualities that Theodosius can tame without relying on weaponry. In doing so, Theodosius turns his enemies, even the Alans and Massagetai who were outside the borders of the empire, into potential citizens: 'their boldness [is] to be cut short, their spirit humbled' (ἐξεκόπτετο δὲ ἡ τόλμα, συνεστέλλετο δὲ ὁ θυμός; 209a) as they submit to the emperor and in turn to Roman law. This universal psychological submission to Roman rule is made physical through the acts of the Goths, as 'they are now turning the metal of their swords and breastplates into hoes and pruning hooks' (211b), transforming the symbols of their warlike instincts and opposition to the empire into peaceful tools that allow them to contribute to Roman society. Similarly, he claims that their love of war has begun to fade and already they show little more than 'distant respect to Ares' and instead they offer 'prayers to Demeter and Dionysius' (211b), reflecting their new, more agriculturally-orientated role and an implicit rejection of the imagery which the senators had seen in the previous two orations.[86]

comparison emphasising the skill of the current emperor in the same manner as the comparisons to Achilles and later Orpheus.

[86] As Heather and Moncur (2001, 280 n.253) note, although two other gods have overtaken him, Ares has not yet completely faded from the minds of the former barbarians, implying that used correctly they could still play an important military role for the empire if required but Themistius

Through this transformation and the limited references to any barbarian threat in the remainder of the oration, Themistius attempts to reassure his audience that the Goths could play a positive role in the empire. As well as reworking the reputation of those who used to be Roman enemies, the orator also points to the success of the policy over the past year by proclaiming that the 'most hated name of Scythia is now beloved' (210d) and celebrated by the general population. This would have been highly unlikely as many of those in the east would have had fresh memories of the horrors of the previous six years. Nonetheless, by claiming that other citizens of the empire have accepted the Goths, Themistius encourages those amongst his senatorial audience who may maintain some reservations about these new Romans to accept imperial policy by deploying an element of peer pressure. To support this argument, he also offers evidence of how well the integration has progressed over the last year. Already, the Goths are showing a willingness to adapt and become Romans by taking part in the traditional customs of their new home. As Themistius notes, 'they join together with us… and partake of the feasts that celebrate the triumph over themselves' (210d) as they are now part of the empire rather than barbarians living beyond its boundaries. This public celebration parallels the beginning of the oration which depicts the Goths voluntarily surrendering their weapons under the emperor's gaze (199c); an image of the submissive barbarian previously restricted to histories or coinage and imperial monuments, such as those discussed in the Material culture section of the Introduction, is apparently now enjoyed by the entire population.[87] The later celebration explicitly including the Goths as part of the feasting emphasises the visibility of the integration.

In order to demonstrate emphatically how positive this integration has been for the empire, Themistius contrasts the situation with what could have happened had Theodosius not suppressed the base nature of the barbarians. In section 211 a-b, Themistius compares the positive outcome of the Goths farming and cultivating the land with the grim alternative of a wilderness inhabited only by the tombs of the dead. In the light of this stark description, Theodosius' policy of assimilating rather than destroying his enemies is presented as the right one, especially as there is the promise of further benefits to come. 'We shall soon receive them to share our offerings, our tables, our military ventures and public duties' (211d). Themistius claimed earlier in his oration that the first two parts, shared offerings and tables, are already occurring but soon the Goths will be fully

wants his audience to avoid feeling threatened by the Goths and avoids overt references to the Goths as soldiers.

[87] Heather and Moncur, 2001, 265 n.189.

integrated by providing both troops and assuming some public duties. The latter is most likely a reference to paying taxes, which would be particularly welcome news for the audience as it meant that there would be a wider tax base to collect from.

To convince his audience that welcoming their former enemies into the empire is the right decision, Themistius uses a number of different tactics. After the brief introductory celebration of Theodosius' victory, he avoids any suggestion of the barbarians posing a threat to the inhabitants of the empire and describes Theodosius as quelling their natural instincts. These are replaced with Roman customs and traditions, beginning the process of transforming the Goths from barbarians to citizens. After this he gives examples of the practical benefits of integration and promises more to follow in the future. However, truly to persuade his audience, Themistius once again raises the issue to a higher plane by bringing in a mythological comparison. In this case, Themistius invokes a myth involving the taming of wild beasts – that of Orpheus.[88] By attributing Orpheus' ability to charm wild animals to Theodosius, Themistius is able to elevate his achievements. But whereas Orpheus' power had had its limits, in that 'he could not charm the harsh nature of men' (209c), Theodosius is not constrained by these limitations and even his subordinate Saturninus, acting as an 'interpreter and disciple of the celestial Orpheus' (209d), can charm the Goths and change their very nature.[89] Rather than merely equalling the feats of the mythological past, Theodosius and Saturninus are once again surpassing all those who have come before including mythological heroes, leaving no doubt that their policy of integration will be vindicated.

More proof was offered in the form of the historical precedent of the integration of the Galatians (of central Anatolia) into the empire during the early Principate.[90] These barbarians gave up their traditions, just as the Goths have begun to do, and 'now no one would ever refer to the Galatians as barbarian but as thoroughly Roman… their way of life is now akin to our own' (211c-d). Through this allusion, Themistius seeks to reassure his audience not only that Theodosius is acting in a manner befitting an emperor by continuing a Roman tradition that dates back to the time of Augustus but also that full integration has been successful in the past and will work again with the Goths. It also offers an example

[88] Once again this aligns the Goths with beasts in the minds of the audience, reinforcing the reassuring image of Roman superiority.
[89] Surpassing the mythological precedent was necessary as Themistius wanted his audience to ignore the violent fate of Orpheus and the potential threat posed by those Goths now in a parallel position to the Thracian women.
[90] Chauvot, 1998, 292.

that may have held particular significance for some members of the eastern Senate, who may have had Galatian heritage. Themistius himself was most likely born in Paphlagonia, a region just north of Galatia, so his claim that the Galatians are now model citizens would gain even greater credence from his audience.[91]

This rapid shift in attitude towards the Goths between *Orations* 14, 15 and 16 is not solely due to the cessation of hostilities between the Romans and Goths. It is also prompted by changes in imperial policy and a need to convince the senatorial and elite audience that the emperor's decision to integrate the former barbarians into the empire is the best policy. The relatively limited references to the barbarian threat and praise for the positive steps already taken by the Goths encourages the audience not to dwell on the representation of the Goths in previous orations and accept their new position within the empire. Even Themistius' comparison between the current situation and the Trojan War, a technique that he had previously used at the end of his orations to heighten the scale of the war and increase the threat posed by the Goths, is only deployed at the start of the speech to celebrate the honorands. Instead, Themistius uses references to other mythological figures like Hermes and Orpheus to offer non-violent alternatives to military victory and, at the climax of his speech, he uses the Galatians and an implied connection to himself and members of the audience as the ultimate examples of the successful integration of barbarians.

1.6. Pacatus

Another panegyric which manipulated the rhetoric used to depict the Goths now living within the empire was that of the Gallic orator Pacatus in 389, which was delivered at Rome six years after Themistius' *Oration* 16. Theodosius, helping to restore Valentinian II, had used the Gothic *foederati* as part of his army during his successful campaigns against the usurper Maximus the previous year.[92] In the aftermath of a civil war, rather than a war against a foreign enemy, those same barbarians whom Themistius claimed could contribute

[91] Daly, 1972, 373. As Heather (2001, 1) and Penella (2000, 1) note, Themistius freely acknowledged that he was not native to Constantinople and most likely shared the same birthplace as his father.

[92] Having defeated Maximus, Theodosius became the dominant emperor in both the east and west. Valentinian II was placed under the authority of the general Arbogast. This shift in power allowed western orators, such as Pacatus, to make speeches in Theodosius' honour. On the usurpation of Magnus Maximus, see Mitchell, 2007, 86-88.

to society were amongst those praised for their discipline and service whilst the usurper's troops were stripped of their Roman status.

This panegyric offers its contemporary audience,[93] which was primarily the senate of Rome and western elite,[94] confirmation of what Themistius had claimed to the senate of Constantinople and again seeks to assure the elite that those settled within the empire's borders are acting on their behalf, this time in direct contrast with the soldiers of Maximus.[95] As with earlier panegyrics (such as Julian's *Oration* 1 and *Pan*. *Lat*. VIII(4)), the usurper and his followers are portrayed as being less than Roman, transforming the civil war into a conflict between a traditional Roman emperor and a foreign enemy who would have destroyed civilisation had he won. Pacatus identifies Maximus as a 'tyrant' (*tyrannus*; *Pan. Lat.* II(12) 25.1), a 'butcher' (*carnifex*; 24.1), a 'pirate' (*pirata*; 26.4) and compares him to a wild animal (*ferus*; 38.4), implying that he is sub-human and on a par with traditional barbarians, although this is not expressly stated. Similarly, after the usurper's defeat, Theodosius 'bade them [Maximus' soldiers] become Roman' (36.3),[96] allowing them re-entry into Roman society. This indicates that until they received the emperor's forgiveness, the usurper's soldiers could be considered as non-Romans, just like the foreigners beyond the borders of the empire. Unlike those earlier orations, however, Pacatus is able to develop the *topos* further by juxtaposing Maximus and his soldiers' barbaric desire to destroy the state with 'civilised' Goths serving under Theodosius who are acting as the

[93] Although Pacatus is an outsider to the senate of Rome and can not claim to be representing the views of the traditional Roman elite, the first person plural language he uses in his oration implies that he is speaking on behalf of the wider population of the empire; Ross, 2020, 269-270. The result is similar to Themistius' claim in *Oration* 16 that the Roman people are celebrating the name of the Goths (210d) with an element of peer pressure employed to imply widespread support for the emperor's actions beyond the immediate audience.

[94] For the western elite, any usurper would have posed a far greater menace than an invasion by the Goths which may provide another explanation for the absence of barbarian threat in this panegyric; McCormick, 1986, 82.

[95] Although MacCormack's interpretation (1976, 62) that no policies of the new emperor are made explicit in this oration is correct, the orator's support for Theodosius' use of the Goths in battle indicates that one of his aims is to promote Theodosius' earlier settlement of the non-Romans into the empire to Rome's senate. As criticism of Gratian which had contributed to his downfall had included the favour he showed to the Alani, Pacatus may have been using this oration to try to deflect any such criticism being levelled at Theodosius for his failure to be strict with the Goths; Nixon and Saylor Rodgers, 1994, 447.

[96] While Nixon (Nixon and Saylor Rodgers, 1994, 503 n.128) queries the effectiveness of this line within the speech, it aligns closely with the recurring theme present in Theodosian panegyric of the emperor being able to transform the nature of individuals and successfully integrate non-Romans into the empire. Throughout the oration, the emphasis on the positive role played by former barbarians within Theodosius' army is meant to reassure the audience that the decision to allow the Goths to settle on Roman territory is correct and Pacatus is deliberately echoing that event here to portray this latest act of mercy in a positive fashion.

defenders of Roman virtues (33.5). This contrast is only strengthened by the descriptions throughout the panegyric of the Goths seeking to become ever more civilised.

Whilst the emperor's authority over all non-Romans is demonstrated either by making external enemies of the empire avoid conflict or subservient foreigners rejoice (22.4), the willingness of the now settled Goths to 'supply soldiers for [Roman] camps and farmers for [Roman] land' (22.3) is offered up as specific evidence for the wisdom of Theodosius in allowing them permanent residence earlier in the decade. According to Pacatus, the policy of integrating the Goths has only strengthened and secured the empire and is working well. Certainly, he describes the former barbarians as willing to enter into even closer ties with the empire – one of the final parts of Theodosius' preparation for his campaign against Maximus is to grant 'the privileged status of fellow soldiers to the barbarian peoples who promised to give [him] voluntary service' to ensure their loyalty and build his army (*populis barbarorum ultroneam tibi operam ferre voventibus commilitum munus*; 32.3). The opportunity to serve Theodosius is apparently widely welcomed by the Goths who 'flocked to [him] in such great numbers that [he] seemed to have imposed a levy upon [the] barbarians' (32.3). This means that the emperor does not need to call upon his other subjects.[97] Just as Themistius had implied six years before, the Goths are fulfilling Roman roles which in turn not only secure the state but lift the burdens from other citizens.

The willingness of these barbarians to control their base desires for the good of the empire also helps Pacatus to reassure his audience about the reliability of these new soldiers. 'There was no disorder, no confusion and no looting, as is usual among the barbarian' (*nullus tumultus, nulla confusio, nulla direptio ut a barbaro erat*; 32.5). Instead there is caution and discipline even in the face of food shortages out of a desire to 'be spoken of as yours [Theodosius']' (32.5).[98] Once again the emperor is presented as the catalyst for the transformation of barbarian soldiers into true Roman soldiers who are able to maintain their discipline and resist their base desires. Later in the oration, Pacatus no longer even differentiates between the soldiers of foreign origin and their Roman counterparts, implying that through respect for the emperor and by extension the empire, the army can be considered one single, unified body that has helped Theodosius to secure his reign. All

[97] According to Liebeschuetz (1990, 30), the military reserves of the east at this time were still relatively limited following Adrianople. Theodosius had no choice but to rely upon barbarians to strengthen his army in order to fight Maximus.

[98] Chauvot (1998, 297) notes that the formerly barbarian soldiers display none of the traits associated with non-Romans but argues that there is no notion of assimilation in Pacatus' oration. On the contrary, as we shall see, the integration occurs during the battle when the soldiers show complete respect for Roman traditions and the emperors.

the soldiers act in a way that is 'mindful of their ancient valour, their Roman name and last but not least their emperors, [to support] the cause of the State by engaging hand to hand' with their enemies (*milites pristinae virtutis, Romani nominis, imperatorum denique memores causam publicam manu agere*; 35.4). This is a long way from the start of the campaign where the Goths merely hold 'dubious loyalty' (*suspectus*; 32.3) to Rome before being transformed by the emperor into soldiers and marching 'under Roman leaders and banners' (32.4). Even those who were not previously integrated into society are now recognised as Roman and have a claim on the heritage that results from being in the Roman army.

In reality, the barbarian soldiers did not prove to be as disciplined as Pacatus described and Theodosius struggled to maintain control over the Goths settled within the empire throughout his reign.[99] However, this does not change the rhetorical techniques that Pacatus uses to attempt to persuade his audience that the barbarians are playing a productive role in society. Nor does it alter the fact that the emperor is presented as being responsible for the integration of a productive and loyal group who are already proving to be beneficial to society.[100]

1.7. Conclusion

In both Pacatus' oration and Themistius' *Oration* 16, the Goths no longer offer a threat to the empire and are presented as highly successful in suppressing their nature through the power of Theodosius. To avoid inciting any fear of the Goths amongst his audience, the techniques Themistius had relied upon to heighten the threat posed by the Goths in *Orations* 14 and 15 are quietly dispensed with in the final two orations examined in this chapter. Neither the metaphors that had been used to dehumanise the empire's enemies and reinforce traditional stereotypes nor the military references to Homer that heightened

[99] While some soldiers integrated into Roman culture and willingly served as *foederati*, Theodosius' barbarian soldiers rebelled during and after the campaign; Heather, 1996, 138-139. Furthermore, a large number of those settled after 382 remained hostile to Theodosius and were still not called upon to serve even during the war with Maximus; Thompson 1982, 41-42. These Goths would go on to cause trouble in the following decade and Heather (1991, 184) argues may already have begun to do so, leading Pacatus emphatically to proclaim the loyalty of the auxiliaries in service to Theodosius as a counterexample.

[100] Lippold (1968, 378) argues that the circumstances surrounding Pacatus' oration may have added to the appearance of the emperor's success. The triumph over the Goths in Constantinople in 386, the victory over Maximus and the lack of barbarian attacks in the west that year may all have encouraged acceptance of the imperial policy of integrating a supposedly submissive people.

the scale of the conflicts at the end of *Orations* 14 and 15 are used at the climax of the later orations. Instead, Pacatus and Themistius refer to visible examples of the Goths integrating into Roman society through their military service and involvement in communal celebrations in order to reinforce the wisdom of imperial policy, belying the claims of earlier orators and those of Themistius himself in *Oration* 10 that only military victories could lead to true integration.

The subject of barbarians appears, therefore, to be a flexible rhetorical device in Theodosian orations. Although they are based largely on the stereotypical barbarians found elsewhere in panegyrics and the wider literary tradition, their presentation can be adjusted according to the circumstances of the panegyric. Despite the fact that a barbarian always demonstrates contrasting traits to the Roman ideal embodied by the emperors, both the threat they pose to the empire and their ability to be successfully integrated into the empire are determined by the circumstances of the speech. For a career orator like Themistius in particular, whose orations depict the Goths interacting with Valens and Theodosius both in peacetime and at war, barbarians are useful as a malleable tool for promoting imperial policy and ingratiating the speaker into a regime rather than for demonstrating the author's personal opinion. It is apparent that Themistius does not maintain one consistent image of barbarians throughout his work. Nor does his depiction of barbarians evolve over time;[101] he does not start his work believing that barbarians pose no threat to the empire's military superiority and change his mind after the battle of Adrianople, for example. Instead, the image his audience is given changes according to the way he thinks he can best present his subjects. When the emperor Theodosius loses control of the campaign against the Goths to his co-emperor Gratian, Themistius presents barbarians in *Oration* 15 as posing less threat to the stability of the empire than civil unrest, thus limiting the amount of glory Gratian can earn in battle while maximising the importance of Theodosius' reforms. However, this is not an idea unique to Themistius. Rather, it is an example of the wider oratorical tradition which can also be seen in the works of the orators who wrote the *Panegyrici Latini*.

These shifts in an orator's presentation of barbarians could reflect the ephemeral nature of orations, with audiences hearing or reading these particular speeches over the course of Valens' and Theodosius' reigns. The speaker may not have expected his listeners to

[101] Salzman (2006) argues that Symmachus' opinion of barbarians changed over the course of his career and his later, positive attitude visible in his letters can be contrasted with the earlier, negative attitude presented in his orations. For the panegyrics analysed here, however, it is not possible to discern the orator's private opinion as each is closely tied to changes in imperial policy.

remember how the Goths had been depicted in a speech he made under a different emperor several years previously and thus believed each panegyric offered him a measure of freedom to reshape his subject matter as needed. On the other hand, there was consistency in the use of certain techniques despite the changing representation of the Goths, which would have been more effective if those listening to the speeches were alert to what they had heard previously. In *Oration* 16, Themistius continued to use a Homeric reference to enhance the importance of the war he described and aggrandise the honorands of his oration but in this speech, he gave more prominence to other mythological and historical comparisons as they referred to changing barbaric nature rather than achieving military success which suited his immediate purposes. The idea of an emperor being able to transform people's natures also recurs throughout these orations. Theodosius was depicted initially as being able to prepare his own subjects for effective military service and later as being able to suppress and change barbarian nature to the point where they contribute usefully to society. The continued reference to this theme, and its development across various panegyrics over the course of Theodosius' reign, may have aided the audience to accept the idea of barbarian settlement and integration despite the lack of a definitive military victory – and despite Themistius and earlier orators having presented a rather different view previously.

2. Ammianus' *Res Gestae*

2.1. Introduction

The *Res Gestae* of Ammianus offers a unique perspective on the representation of barbarians in the fourth century. Unlike the orations of Themistius and Pacatus discussed in the previous chapter, Ammianus' work was not closely associated with the imperial court with a view to disseminating a certain image among the Roman elite, nor was it written by an author hoping to win imperial favours on either his own behalf or that of his hometown. Instead, the surviving books of Ammianus' history offer a relatively independent view of both the empire and its enemies based on the author's own opinion of the events that occurred during his lifetime. The conclusion of the narrative prior to the inauguration of the emperor Theodosius, under whom Ammianus published his history, also provided a measure of independence as Ammianus was able to criticise previous emperors without insulting the ruling dynasty. That is not to say that Ammianus' history paid no attention to the political climate in which it was written; Matthews suggests that Ammianus may have read his history in Theodosius' court following the emperor's visit to Rome in 389,[1] which in turn may have added more weight to the description of Constantius' *adventus* and the digressions on Roman senators.[2] Nevertheless, the majority of the text had been written without this imperial audience in mind in the late 380s and Ammianus was able to put forward his own view at the time of composition.[3]

Ammianus' personal background as a soldier serving throughout the empire during the reigns of Constantius and Julian gave him an invaluable insight into the nature of the enemies of the state (31.16.9). Although the majority of his campaigns were in the east, he still spent some time in Gaul with Ursicinus, helping to put down the rebellion of the Frankish usurper Silvanus. This position not only allowed him to see in person the destruction caused by Alamannic raids across the borders of the empire, but also provided access to a number of witnesses who had spent much of their lives fighting against Germanic and Gothic barbarians. As Matthews notes, Ammianus' sources range from eyewitness accounts to the reports of commanders to emperors.[4] These accounts allowed Ammianus to build a narrative less dependent upon literary tropes, avoiding the generic

[1] Matthews, 1989, 9.
[2] Matthews, 1983, 33; Rohrbacher, 2007, 471-472.
[3] Matthews, 1989, 30.
[4] Matthews, 1989, 376-377.

description of imperial victory often found in less informed writing. First-hand accounts of the conflicts and in particular of the individuals involved, offered a greater level of accuracy and provided an opportunity for Ammianus to develop his descriptions of non-Romans beyond the traditional stereotypes of barbarians evident in other works at the time.

The barbarians of the *Res Gestae* still exemplify those negative characteristics that we have seen in other sources but Ammianus develops their role in the narrative beyond enemies waiting to be defeated and absorbed into the empire. Their traditional inferiority is still a recurring theme in the narrative and is neatly exemplified by cowardice and a lack of discipline when non-Romans are faced with the symbols of both an emperor's and his soldiers' power in the form of standards and shining weaponry. Ammianus' use of animal metaphors to describe barbarian peoples also makes it clear that he considers them to be less than human. However, in the latter case, Ammianus develops his point by using this negative image of barbarians to comment also on the Romans facing them. Rather than merely use the barbarians as a tool to promote an emperor or imperial policy, as we have seen with the panegyrics, Ammianus shapes his account to critique those on both sides of the conflict, echoing the literary trope used prominently by Tacitus.[5] Just as barbarians are capable of rising above their nature to integrate successfully into the empire, Ammianus makes it clear that Romans could descend to a level comparable to those they are fighting. As we shall see, this is especially apparent in the portrayal of individual barbarian leaders both inside and outside the borders of the empire. While Ammianus chooses to present some, such as Chnodomarius, as the embodiments of the savage peoples that they lead, he also offers more positive images of other barbarians, such as Athanaric, which reflect on those who interact with them in the narrative.

2.2. Standards and shining weapons

Ammianus' general attitude towards barbarians is exemplified by his rhetoric depicting barbarians being frightened of shining Roman weaponry and standards. At a number of points throughout his work, Ammianus encapsulates the innate superiority of Roman order and civilisation over the *discordia* and *ignavia* inherent within their enemies through descriptions of barbarians being terrified and overawed by the gleaming army facing them. According to Ammianus, the mere sight of these representations of military might could be

[5] As discussed in Literary traditions in the Introduction.

enough to force barbarians into either flight or surrender; physical symbols of the power of the army and the emperor bring the enemies of the state to heel.

Following the defeat of Roman forces at the hands of Alammanic raiders in 366 (Amm. Marc. 27.1), Valentinian appointed Jovinus to re-establish Roman dominance. Jovinus successfully surprised and slaughtered two barbarian parties before overcoming an Alammanic army prepared for battle. At the beginning of this battle, the German charge apparently stalled. As Ammianus writes, 'when the signal had been given by the trumpet and they began to engage at close quarters, the Germans stood still, terrified (*territi*) by the usual (*sueta*) sight of the gleaming standards (*vexillorum splendentium*)' (27.2.6). The barbarians are presented as being so overwhelmed by the symbols of Roman power that they are at a disadvantage for the remainder of the battle and suffer heavy losses. The imagery implies that the gleaming standards serve as physical embodiments of the superior nature of the Roman army and are instrumental in overcoming non-Romans. While the symbols of discipline are considered 'usual' by the Romans and have no effect on them, they are foreign to their enemies and overwhelm them at the start of the battle.[6] The standards in question served as representations of both the emperor's power and the legions' as each standard featured both imperial portraits and symbols of the legion's past glories and identity.[7] For Roman soldiers, the standards were symbols of their loyalty to the empire, the emperor and the army. They acted as a reminder of the *disciplina*, order and the obedience required to be a soldier in the imperial army and were literally a shining example of the glory of the empire. That these standards are presented as being able to halt enemy soldiers and strike fear into their hearts implies that Romans thought even barbarians could recognise that the standards were the physical embodiments of imperial power and Roman values, both of which were diametrically opposed to the empire's enemies.

The arms (*arma*) of the Romans can be seen having the same effect as the standards in an episode from the final book of Ammianus. As with Jovinus' campaign over a decade

[6] Den Boeft et al., 2009, 24. Manuscript E reads *et insueta* in place of *sueta*, emphasising that symbols of order and discipline remained unfamiliar to the Germans despite their years of conflict with the empire. In this case, Ammianus would still be contrasting Roman acceptance of order with barbarian chaos but would be focussing on the reaction of those outside the empire rather than the perception of the soldiers defending it. However, manuscript V is considered more authoritative than manuscript E so *sueta* should perhaps be the preferred reading.
[7] Ando, 2000, 260.

before,[8] Roman forces are again presented as achieving victory thanks to the barbarians being immobilised by fear. In this instance, the decisive moment comes when the Romans regroup after being overwhelmed by the Lentienses in open combat. Having restored their discipline, the Romans 'stood their ground with greater confidence and gleaming (*fulgentes*) with like resplendence and brilliance of arms (*splendore… nitore… armorum*) when seen from afar, they struck the barbarians with fear that the emperor was coming' prompting them to flee and the battle to turn into a rout (31.10.9). Once again, the barbarians are portrayed as being terrified of the symbols of Roman virtues and imperial power. On this occasion, the armour and weaponry of the Romans only becomes dazzling in the eyes of their enemies after the Romans have re-established their discipline and order. By displaying the *disciplina* inherent in Roman soldiers, the troops take on the same status as the standards in the previous extract and are able to terrify enemies merely through their presence. In this instance, the soldiers personify Roman values to such an extent that the Lentienses supposedly believe that the emperor, the embodiment of those military values,[9] has appeared on the battlefield himself leading his troops to victory.

According to Ammianus, these overwhelming examples of Roman values have the potential not only to turn battles in favour of the Romans, but even to bring about the direct surrender of barbarians. Saxon raiders are shown as willing to surrender when 'dazzled by the gleam of the standards and eagles' (*signorum aquilarumque fulgore praestricti*) but are subsequently betrayed by the Romans (28.5.3-7). Initially, Ammianus uses this recurring image in the same manner as other examples in his work. Once again readers are presented with the ideal, virtuous army first embodying their discipline in the ordered ranks of the Romans drawn up by their general, which terrified and confused the arrogant barbarians (*superbos barbarous… terruit et turbavit*), before dominating the barbarians through the gleaming images of the state, legions and emperor (28.5.3). However, Ammianus follows this surrender with an ambush that spirals out of control due to Roman soldiers losing discipline and attacking early. The author even concedes that the ambush itself could be considered as treacherous (*perfidum*) by a just judge (*iustus… arbiter*) although he personally regards it as acceptable as it results in the destruction of an enemy (28.5.7). If the shining standards and eagles represent the army at its best, ordered in the

[8] The battle between the Romans, led by the Frankish Mallobaudes, and the Lentienses took place in 378, under the reign of Gratian, following 'treacherous raids' by the barbarians (31.10.2).

[9] In Ammianus' eyes 'the role of the emperor was in the first instance a military one' with military values and skills among the cardinal virtues of an emperor. This included the preservation of military discipline (30.9.1); Matthews, 1989, 283.

face of a chaotic enemy, the ambush provides an example of Roman troops losing control while acting in a dishonourable fashion. In this case, the rhetorical device of the standards and armour frightening barbarians is potentially used to juxtapose the Roman soldiers at their best not only with barbarians but with their own nature at its worst.

Ordinarily however, Ammianus uses the idea of gleaming standards impressing barbarians to emphasise the differences between external barbarians and those living inside the empire. This is most evident in the examples of Macrianus and Firmus. In both cases, an outsider enters into a Roman camp seeking peace with the emperor and is apparently overwhelmed by the sight of Roman arms and standards. In the first example, 'when Macrianus and his brother [Hariobaudus] found themselves among the eagles and standards [the former was] overwhelmed (*stupebat*) by the magnificent appearance of our armed forces, which they had never seen before, and begged mercy for their peoples. Vadomarius, on the other hand, who lived near our frontier and was no stranger to us, admired our splendid field equipment but remembered often seeing the like from his early youth' (18.2.17). This description implies that fear of the Roman standards and arms stems from unfamiliarity with Roman traditions and civilisation and that the further away from the borders a barbarian originates, the less civilised they become.[10] For Vadomarius, the Roman forces are impressive, but not stupefying precisely due to their familiarity. The idea that the enemies of the empire become more barbaric the further away from the Mediterranean they live is also evident in the author's digressions where the Huns are the most distant and least civilised peoples discussed.[11] However, if this is the sole reason for barbarian fear of Roman arms, it does not explain why Ammianus feels he can describe the Alamanni as being afraid of the shining standards after innumerable encounters with Roman forces.

Instead the standards become intimidating to the enemy when acting as a symbol of the army's and emperor's power. When Firmus comes to the general Theodosius seeking peace he is forced to his knees by the 'gleaming standards (*fulgore signorum*) and the fear-inspiring expression of Theodosius' (29.5.15). Here, the symbols of the army act in conjunction with a general's personal gravitas to bring enemies of the state to their knees. Once more, the standards represent the power and discipline of the Roman army and strike fear into an individual who lacks these characteristics. This image recurs later in Ammianus'

[10] Matthews, 1989, 316.

[11] This idea of people displaying increasingly barbaric traits the further they live from the Mediterranean dates back to Herodotus and is a prominent literary tradition; Wiedemann, 1986, 194; Burgersdijk, 2016, 117.

history when Valentinian himself is presented alongside flashing standards. As the Augustus sets out to meet Macrianus, Ammianus describes the scenes around the two figures (30.3.4-5) – flanking the barbarian leader are soldiers clashing their shields exemplifying the chaos and aggression that is traditionally associated with barbarians. On the other side, the emperor sails 'attended by a host of officers of various ranks amid the splendour of gleaming standards (*signorum fulgentium nitore*)', a complete contrast to their opposites on the shore. Just as in imagery produced by the state,[12] Valentinian, supported by his uniform and ordered army, is presented to the readers as calm and civilised in the face of barbarian aggression.

However, Ammianus does not restrict the imagery of flashing armour to the Romans. The Persian troops are also identified wearing 'gleaming (*radiantes*) breastplates and glittering (*corusci*) corslets edged with iron' which identifies them from afar when they suddenly appear at the beginning of Book 25 (25.1.1). Although this description does make the Persian soldiers appear more impressive and the scene in general more striking,[13] it differs from the other examples of this theme by not stating that the Romans were overwhelmed by the sight of their enemies. In fact, the sight of the Persians approaching provokes the opposite response in their enemies. The Roman soldiers are inflamed (*accensum*) by the sight and are so eager for battle that they must be restrained by their emperor (25.1.2). The lack of any reference to fear on the part of the Romans implies that the Persians are in no way superior to the Romans even with their shining armour. In fact, in the face of this sight the Roman soldiers are eager for battle but do not lose their discipline or obedience to the emperor. Ammianus thus acknowledges the wealth and impressive nature of the Persians without suggesting they are comparable to the Romans. The difference between this example of shining armour and the others examined in this section is reinforced by the difference in the vocabulary between the passages. Ammianus here uses the word *radiantes* to describe the gleaming of the armour, whereas in the other uses of this theme Ammianus prefers to use forms of *splendor*, *fulgor* and *nitor* when referring to the Roman

[12] As discussed in the Introduction, imperial imagery on the silver *largitio* dishes presents emperors flanked by their personal guard. These soldiers are presented in a uniform manner, holding the same weaponry and wearing the same armour and hairstyles to emphasise the impression of discipline and order created by the mass of soldiers surrounding the emperor, an effect that may have been made more visually impressive by the natural gleam of the silver.

[13] As Den Boeft et al. (2013, 174) note, Ammianus repeatedly includes references to shining armour and standards throughout his history. However, not all of these uses are intended to reinforce Roman superiority. 'The glitter and shine of the armour' in this example makes the narrative more visually engaging for the reader as is the case here when, after Ammianus describes a night passing with no light shining from the stars (*nullo siderum fulgore splendentem*), the Persians suddenly appear injecting light into the scene; Den Boeft et al., 2005, 3.

arms and standards.[14] In the absence of these words, it appears that Ammianus does not intend to use this example to make a comment about the Persian soldiers representing civilisation or military values.

Ammianus' repeated use of *splendor*, *fulgor* and *nitor* in these examples could also have been allusions to earlier authors who also presented shining armour overwhelming enemies. The literary tradition of enemies fleeing in terror from the shining armour of an individual can be seen as far back as the *Iliad*. Achilles, having received his new divine armour and seeking revenge for the death of Patroclus, terrifies the Trojans in his shining (λαμπόμενον) new armour and causes them to run in panic (Hom. *Il*. 20.46).[15] Unlike in Ammianus, however, Achilles' own troops are also susceptible to this effect.[16] Rather than distinguishing civilisation from barbarians, the trope of shining armour frightening soldiers was originally used to separate mortals from the divine. This epic origin of the theme lends a measure of heroism to Ammianus' subjects by making their ability to frighten their enemies comparable to an act performed by the mythic heroes.[17]

However, Homer's imagery is not the only model Ammianus may have drawn inspiration from. Ammianus may also have been alluding to Tacitus' use of this idea in the *Annals*. At two points, Tacitus refers to shining arms and standards terrifying Rome's enemies. In the first instance, a defeat against the Germans was reversed thanks to 'the blare of trumpets, the glitter (*fulgor*) of weapons, [which] was all the more effective because it was totally unexpected' as the Romans attacked their enemy in the rear (Tac. *Ann*. 1.68). Likewise, at the end of Tiridates' meetings with Corbulo (Tac. *Ann*. 15.29), Persian and Roman troops line the Euphrates. While both sides carry their ensigns, it is the Roman standards, eagles and symbols of the gods that are 'glittering' (*fulgentibus*). In both cases, there is no mention of the glittering causing non-Romans to cower but by describing weaponry and standards as shining, Tacitus drew attention to the imagery and implied that Roman organisation and discipline are superior to their barbarian counterparts. In his *Histories*, however, the theme of gleaming armour is not used to denote Roman superiority. Instead it is inverted after a Gallic victory to describe the enemy standards as the Roman standards

[14] Ammianus uses *splendor* in 27.2.6 and 31.10.9, *fulgor* in 28.5.3, 29.5.15, 30.3.5 and 31.10.9 and *nitor* in 30.3.5 and 31.10.9.

[15] This is not the only occasion of the shield and armour shining in the poem. The shield is first described as shining (φαεινήν) while it is being forged, 18.479. Upon the completion of this artefact, Homer again describes the shining (φαεινότερον) armour, 18.610.

[16] Achilles' own Myrmidons are afraid to look upon the armour when they first see it; Hom. *Il.* 19.15.

[17] There is no comparable moment to Achilles' act in Virgil's *Aeneid*, the closest comparison is when Turnus' glittering (*fulgentem*) sword is used to kill a Trojan but this does not cause any fear as the sword is described as glittering after the fight is over (12.358).

are stripped of their imperial images and honour (Tac. *Hist*. 4.62). The glittering of the enemy standards, denotes their superiority in an inversion of the natural order.[18]

A number of other authors, some closer in time to Ammianus, also use the rhetorical device of emphasising the power of the standards when describing meetings between Romans and barbarians to reinforce the idea of inherent Roman superiority to the reader. When describing Aurelian preparing to receive the envoys of the Juthungi, Dexippus (*Skythica* fr. 6) notes that the emperor pays particular attention to the positioning of both the soldiers and the standards behind him in order to affect the visitors. The author describes in detail the features of the standards and the gold and silver on display, symbols of both the power and wealth of the empire, before stating that the envoys are 'struck dumb with astonishment'. While this fragment does not describe the scene with the same literary flair as Ammianus and does not imply that the standards were emanating any sort of light, it does highlight that this image of barbarians being overawed by the standards was in the minds of both authors and readers prior to and during the time of Ammianus.

The idea is even deployed in non-historical texts as shown by the military handbooks of Onasander and *De Re Militari* by Vegetius and in Tiberius Claudius Donatus' commentary on the *Aeneid*. In the first, Onasander mentions battle lines of shining armour causing 'fear and confusion' amongst an enemy (28) while Vegetius notes that 'the glitter of arms (*armorum splendor*) strikes very great fear in the enemy' (2.14.8) when talking about how the cavalry should keep their weaponry and armour clean and noted that poor maintenance makes soldiers appear less frightening. Likewise, Donatus' commentary twice acknowledges that there was a practical reason to keep shields bright, 'since the shine of arms (*fulgor armorum*) conveys very great fear to the enemy'.[19] That these three authors, the latter two writing nearer the time of Ammianus,[20] all acknowledge the practical importance of shining armour and weaponry could imply that barbarians truly were

[18] Tacitus also uses *flugente* to refer to Roman arms at three other points in the *Histories* but in the absence of any reference to non-Romans (2.22, 2.89, 3.82).

[19] Donatus and Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7.626 and 8.402, quoted in Milner, 1996, 46 n.5 (see Abbreviations and Translations).

[20] Onasander's handbook was written during the mid-first century AD as indicated by his dedication of the work to Quintus Veranius Nepos. While little is known of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, he has been dated to the late fourth or early fifth century (Starr, 1991, 26-27) but the dating of Vegetius' work has been more contentious. Traditionally, the handbook has been dated to the reign of Theodosius I due to the words '*ad Theodosium*' being present in the titles of two manuscripts and Mazzarino's argument surrounding the position of the office of *Primiscrinius* (Gianelli and Mazzarino, 1956, 542; see also Barnes, 1979 arguing in favour of a date under Theodosius I). However, these traditional arguments have been challenged by Goffart (1977) who argues that a date under Valentinian III was more likely as the work was intended to be read by an emperor inexperienced in the field of battle, an idea supported by Charles' (2007) analysis of the text.

distracted or overwhelmed by the sight of bright objects but more importantly it implies that the Romans believed that it was a weakness of those outside the empire.[21] As such, Ammianus' extension of this idea, to the point where it could be the turning point of a battle or force the surrender of the enemy, would have been understood by his audience as representative of civilisation overcoming barbarism.

As we have seen, Ammianus' choice of language, by using *nitor* and *splendor* as well as *fulgor*, echoes and expands the traditional imagery of barbarians being overwhelmed by shining armour and standards. Likewise, he expands the range of situations in which this theme could be used by implying that it could bring about the surrender of barbarians without a fight. In his work, the gleaming standards serve as a literary device to help readers visualise the superior order and discipline of the Roman army with an almost physical ability to overwhelm the barbarian enemies opposed to the army. However, as we shall see, not all Romans are capable of maintaining the standards implied by the discipline of the soldiers in these examples.

2.3. Animal and nature metaphors

Throughout Ammianus' work animal imagery is repeatedly invoked to aid the reader in visualising and interpreting the extreme differences that citizens perceived between themselves and their nearly feral enemies. Ammianus creates evocative images of wild animals such as serpents and lions in order to dehumanise his subjects whilst also emphasising the negative qualities of those who stand opposed to the civilised citizens living within the borders of the empire.[22] In the eyes of Matthews and Wiedemann these metaphors are used primarily with reference to certain inhabitants of the empire. They propose that Ammianus' use of animal metaphors to describe barbarians is relatively rare. For example in the case of the Goths during the battles of 378, Wiedemann argues that the author prefers to compare the Goths to fire-darts or a torrent.[23] In their eyes, Ammianus primarily uses the metaphors as a way to highlight the presence of un-Roman behaviour in officials.[24] However, the author frequently uses animal metaphors to portray barbarians as

[21] This idea of barbarians being afraid of shining weaponry would remain a part of the Roman literary tradition and was still being referred to by panegyrists such as Corippus after the western empire had fallen; Corippus, *In Praise of Justin II*, 3.235-245.
[22] Isaac, 2011a, 248.
[23] Wiedemann, 1986, 197.
[24] Matthews, 1989, 258.

less than human.[25] This is to be expected as *feritas* is a key barbarian attribute and this can often be emphasised by an author describing the empire's enemies as animals.[26] Likewise, portraying barbarians as animals allows Ammianus to accentuate their threat, at times heightening the tension within the narrative, while also emphasising the qualities that make them unsuitable to be part of Roman civilisation and by extension human. This could culminate in barbarians being associated with not just animals but nature and the landscape itself.

The association of animals with barbarians was also an important part of the literary tradition. As we shall see, Ammianus uses the words of Cicero to support his argument about the Isaurians but the tradition also included Julius Caesar (*Gal.* 6.28.4) and Manilius (4.794). In both cases, the authors are referring to the nature of Germany and argue that it is impossible to tame. While the tone of the two works is very different – the former almost admiring the wildlife, the latter expressing disgust for the landscape – in both instances the imagery is intended to be extrapolated also to refer to the barbarians who inhabit the land.[27] The inclusion of animal imagery in relation to barbarians provides a useful rhetorical device for Ammianus to reinforce his literary credentials and conform to the expectations of his readers. However, by using animal metaphors and comparisons to nature in order to criticise barbarians, Ammianus also increases the emotional response those same comparisons would have evoked when they are used in relation to citizens. Having established that any association of a non-Roman with an animal implies that the subject is to be considered as less than human, the same imagery is then associated with citizens who have given in to their non-Roman desires. This encourages the reader to place the subject on the same level as the animal and the barbarian.

From the very beginning of our extant sections of Ammianus, the author introduces the idea that barbarians and brigands can be equated to beasts.[28] He implies that the causes of repeated raids by the Isaurians lie in their base instincts, referring to their wild and reckless

[25] According to Blockley (1975, Appendix B) almost a third of the animal imagery in Ammianus' history relates to barbarians. Of the remainder, the majority refer to individuals within the empire.
[26] Dauge, 1981, 606; Chauvot, 1998, 388; Smith, 1999, 93.
[27] Allen-Hornblower, 2014, 690; Isaac, 2004, 430.
[28] There is debate over the extent to which the Isaurians can be classified as barbarians given that they resided within the empire and Ammianus refers to them as brigands (*praedones*; 27.9.6) rather than barbarians, implying that they were a part of the empire despite their rebellions; Matthews, 1989, 361. However, the Isaurians were certainly considered to be uncivilised by contemporary citizens and Ammianus' treatment of them, instilling them with the traits common to barbarians, marks them as distinct from other residents within the empire and on a par with barbarians; Chauvot, 1998, 391. As mentioned in the Literary tradition section of the Introduction, this was the attitude adopted by Tacitus of the Britons.

nature (*audaciam… spiritus irrequietis*; 14.2.1). The author quotes Cicero's *pro Cluentio* 67 (*Atque (ut Tullius ait) ut etiam… revertuntur*; Amm. Marc. 14.2.2)[29] in order to compare the attacks of the bandits to wild animals returning to the place where they once fed, implying that the Isaurians are not justified in their raiding but instead act out of greed and a lack of self-control.[30] The inclusion of a quotation from Cicero, despite originally referring to Roman corruption rather than barbarian qualities, lends weight to the account through the use of literary allusions and to the strength of the image by implying that those opposed to civilised Romans can always be considered to be less than human.[31] This idea is reinforced by both the reason credited with inciting the conflict and descriptions of them later in the chapter. Ostensibly, the Isaurians attack because Isaurian prisoners had been thrown to the wild animals in the arena,[32] associating the humans with animals at the beginning of the chapter and implying to the reader that they are on the same level. Ammianus goes on to describe the bandits, when they make an attack, as climbing on all fours (*quadrupedo gradu*; 14.2.2) and howling (*ululatu*; 14.2.5) both of which may have put the reader in mind of animals. Later in his history, Ammianus returns to the idea of the Isaurians displaying the qualities of animals, in this case serpents. In their first appearance since Book 14, the Isaurians once again begin harassing and stealing from the Romans just as snakes reappear from their pits in the spring (*ut solent verno tempore foveis exsilire serpentes*; 19.13.1). The simile reduces the Isaurians to the level of vermin, recurring annually to the annoyance and discomfort of civilised people. As with the first metaphor, there is no indication that the animals act on anything more than instinct and this in turn encourages the reader to interpret their human counterparts as acting out of little more than greed and savagery.

The two examples of animal metaphors that Ammianus provides when describing the actions of the Isaurians are typical of his use of the metaphors throughout his work. Some negative element of barbarians and rebellious bandits – in the first two examples their greed and their persistence – become so pronounced that enemies of the empire seem closer to animals than to humans in the eyes of Ammianus, a fact that is then reflected in

[29] Ammianus omits the word *bestiae* from his quotation of Cicero but as the comparison is between the subject and wild animals feeding, Ammianus' intention of calling the Isaurians beasts is clear.
[30] The Isaurians are feeding off the land and citizens of the empire, profiting from them both as humans and animals without giving anything back to civilisation.
[31] Matthews, 1989, 258. The idea that the Isaurians can be considered as animals by true Romans is exemplified at the end of a conflict when they are slaughtered like cattle (*pecudum*) at the end of a battle; 14.2.7.
[32] As both MacMullen (1964, 443) and Matthews (1989, 260) note, the amphitheatre would be the place where citizens were most familiar with wild animals. It is this image that most readers would think of when they read the metaphors comparing barbarians with feral beasts.

his work. The Alamanni, for example, behave like wild beasts when they persist in attacking the empire despite the appointment of Julian as Caesar in the west (16.5.17). Their display of stubbornness (in the face of stronger borders), greed (for plunder) and lack of self-control (in consuming their plunder, causing further hunger) prompts Ammianus to compare them to mad animals attacking increasingly well-guarded flocks out of hunger with no regard for their own well-being (*Utque bestiae… sed tumescentes inedia sine respectu salutis armenta vel greges incursant*). By acting like animals, they can be treated as animals in the eyes of both the author and the Caesar, thus providing justification for their later destruction at the hands of Julian. Ammianus has no hesitation in comparing the murder of Alamanni women and children to the slaughter of cattle (*ut pecudes*; 16.11.9) and does not intend to evoke any sympathy for the humans from a contemporary reader.[33] Through this simile it is clear that in his eyes, the Alamanni and any other barbarians who display bestial qualities are not only to be described as animals but are to be treated as animals.

The Goths are also treated in the same manner by Ammianus when they display a number of bestial qualities, most notably in Book 31 whilst dealing with the events surrounding the battle of Adrianople. Comparing the Goths to wild animals is a recurring theme in the preliminaries to the battle of Adrianople, one that is picked up again by the author immediately afterwards. These metaphors are used to remind the reader of the threat and savagery of the Goths, heightening the tension ahead of the battle of Adrianople. According to Ammianus, in the lead up to the battle of Ad Salices both the Roman army and their barbarian counterparts spend a sleepless night watching one another (31.7.8-9). The Romans are forced to remain vigilant due to their fear of the enemy and their insane leaders as they would fear rabid beasts (*verebantur hostes et male sanos eorum ductores ut rabidas feras*; 31.7.9). In the absence of sane and rational thought on the part of the Goths, the Roman soldiers have to be prepared at all times for an attack from the larger Gothic force. The use of the animal simile here reinforces the idea of the barbarians not deserving to be recognised as people due to their lack of rational thought which takes on the image of extreme ferocity even amongst wild animals. The metaphor portrays this madness as the most noteworthy feature of the barbarians at this point, implying that it is their inherently

[33] The reference to cattle specifically is likely designed to imply that the barbarians pose no threat while retaining their status as animals who should not be treated with the respect reserved for civilised people.

chaotic and deranged nature that poses more of a threat to the Romans than their numbers.[34]

The animal metaphors recur twice more before his account of the battle of Adrianople (31.13). Firstly, in chapter 8 after the Goths are allowed free rein across Thrace they act like wild beasts breaking out of their cages (31.8.9). Whilst Ammianus implies that there was once a measure of Roman superiority and dominance over the barbarians through the implication that they had previously caught and imprisoned the animals, the main message is of barbaric savagery roaming unchecked. There is no indication that the aggression inherent in both Goths and wild animals has in any way been tamed by their time under Roman control. In the second metaphor, the persistence of the Goths in hunting the Roman commander Frigeridus, coupled with their savagery, prompts a brief comparison to wild beasts (*ut ferae*; 31.9.1). Although simple, this image continues Ammianus' theme of dehumanising the barbarians, presenting them in terms of their basest qualities and stripping them of motives beyond savagery and desire.[35] The ultimate example of this process is not comparing barbarians to animals, who still maintain their base instincts, but to nature itself.

As they initially make their way into Thrace, the barbarians are described not as humans but forces of nature, providing the reader with no motive for the destruction but leaving them with no doubt about its power. The torrential flood of barbarians would wash away anyone left behind to observe them (*ut amnis… observantes*; 31.8.5). In the face of such an image, the reasons for the Roman defeat at Adrianople begin to become more understandable for the reader, whilst the enemy continue to be less than human. Ammianus' linking of barbarians with hostile floods presents us with an image similar to one we have already seen in Chapter One, for example in Eumenius' *For the Restoration of the Schools* (18.3). However, while that image made Constantius appear even more powerful through his overcoming nature, this scene merely prepares the reader for the major Roman defeat that is to come.

After Adrianople, Ammianus offers one final animal metaphor to describe the victorious barbarian army. Once again, greed is the motivator for the conflict and this barbarian trait lowers the Goths from the level of humans to that of animals. Here, the reader is presented

[34] Ammianus does still note the inferior numbers of the Romans (*numero satis inferiores*) ahead of the battle and acknowledges that this may have contributed to the fear (*verebantur*) of the soldiers but balances this by mentioning the just nature of the Roman cause (*iustiorem sui causam*) giving solace to the men as well.
[35] Seager, 1999, 602.

with the image of the barbarians acting in the manner of wild animals being incensed by the taste of blood (*ut bestiae sanguinis irritamento atrocius efferatae*; 31.15.2). Ammianus implies that this greed has stripped them of all rational sense as they are willing to pay any price to get the 'blood' from the Roman city. This series of metaphors exemplifies Ammianus' use of animal imagery to dehumanise the enemies from beyond the empire's borders. He presents them with no sympathy and portrays them in such a negative light that he expects his readers to be able to view barbarians not as sentient enemies but as malevolent forces of nature or creatures acting on base instincts.

Another use of the animal metaphor comes within the ethnographical digressions of the empire's nomadic enemies. The first digression in the surviving sections of the *History* describes the peculiar nature of the Saracens (14.4.3-7). It is preceded by an animal metaphor, comparing the speed and avarice of the barbarians to kites seizing prey (*milvorum… immorantur*; 14.4.2) once again encouraging the reader to see the foreigners as less than human. The idea is then reinforced by the traditional contents of a digression on nomads with the lack of farming, constant movement, passionate sexual relations and odd diet of the Saracens all being presented as normal to the barbarian but foreign to the Roman way of life.[36] These people do not possess the self-discipline to settle in one location, farm the land and obey laws unlike those within the empire. This comparison is made explicit when Ammianus describes how he has personally met many Saracens who have never seen grain or wine before (*plerosque… ignorantes*; 14.4.6). The author himself, therefore, provides the evidence for his reader that the 'stereotypes of social conduct' they are presented with are real and that the Saracens are less civilised than the reader.[37]

Similarly, the digression on the Huns also presents the nomads in accordance with the traditional literary style. Although Ammianus concedes that the Huns are human, their moral deformities are reflected in their appearance to such an extent that they appear to be two-legged animals (*ut bipedes existimes bestias*; 31.2.2). A deliberate absence of civilisation also leads the Huns to eat like animals as they have no need for fire as they prefer wild plants or half raw meat (*ut… vescantur*; 31.2.3). This association between the Huns and animals is further enhanced when Ammianus states that they spend both night and day on horseback, performing the normal day to day duties in conjunction with an animal (31.2.6). By consistently returning to the theme of animals, Ammianus attempts to make the Huns appear as monsters to his readers rather than a human foe to be faced. Not

[36] Dauge, 1981, 337.
[37] Matthews, 1989, 353.

only have they appeared and caused chaos due to 'the wrath of Mars' (*Martius furor*; 31.2.1), but they are presented as being a new threat never before encountered.[38] The positioning of the digression, alongside omens of the death of Valens and defeat of Adrianople, also implies that Ammianus wants to unnerve his audience and build tension ahead of the climax of the work as well as explain the reasons for the Gothic invasion.[39] Those traditional criticisms of nomads, present in the digression on the Saracens, recur as Ammianus notes that the Huns do not plough the land, eat strange food and spend their entire lives on the move.[40] However, these non-Roman traits are exaggerated further and made more barbaric by another comparison to wild animals. The lack of self-discipline amongst the Huns is compared to that of 'unreasoning beasts' (*inconsultorum animalium*; 31.2.11) as they succumb to their 'maddest impulses' (*furori incitatissimo*). Through the recurring comparisons with beasts and an unusual introduction to the section, the Huns are presented as the most alien of the nomadic barbarians as well as the most threatening.[41]

During another digression, this time on the barbarians beyond the Black Sea (22.8.42), Ammianus not only compares the Scythians with animals but develops the metaphor further by implying that this deplorable state of living has come about because of a refusal of the Goths to farm the land which has in turn made the land incapable of supporting human life. In a circular fashion, the lack of farming by the barbarians has led to the land becoming 'desert wastes… rough from neglect' (*solitudines vastas… squalentes*) which in turn forces the barbarians to feed in the manner of 'wild beasts' (*ferarum*) in this harsh land. Ammianus describes to the reader how the barbarians not only influence the landscape through their lifestyle but also become like the animals living in that land because of it.[42]

Ammianus does not, however, restrict the animal metaphors solely to barbarians beyond the limits of civilisation. Those of barbarian descent within the empire can also be targeted and equated to animals. Eunuchs, for example, are dismissed by Ammianus as being little

[38] Matthews (1983, 335) argues that by not attempting or implying a comparison between the Huns and any other peoples, Ammianus is making the Huns appear as something completely new for his audience.
[39] Burgersdijk, 2016, 119.
[40] Matthews, 1983, 336; Isaac, 2011a, 250.
[41] Dauge, 1981, 338.
[42] The idea of the barbarians being closely linked to the land they live on can be seen again in 15.4.3. Here, the Romans are portrayed as overcoming the 'opposition of the barbarians, the nature of the region and the rigour of the climate' (*barbaris et natura locorum et caeli inclementia refragante*) by constructing a road through the 'bristling woods' (*horrore silvarum*). Nature combines with the barbarians to form an imposing tricolon of enemies in opposition to the soldiers, whose skills are enhanced by the alliteration of *vetus* and *virtus*.

more than thorns or wild beasts (*vepres… feras*; 16.7.4).[43] Even the concession that sometimes a good eunuch may exist is tempered, however, by the description of the exemplar Eutherius as a rose or tame beast. The reference to roses and thorns, for example, implies that any service provided to the empire by eunuchs conceals the damage that they are capable of doing. Their very existence can hurt those who come into contact with them, once more reinforcing the negative connection between nature and the barbarian. Though the author is praising Eutherius and goes on to say that only one other eunuch can compare to him (16.7.8), the Armenian-born eunuch is still compared to a tame animal implying that he remains in some way less than human or retains some of those bestial qualities.[44] Equally, a rose is attractive but not in itself useful and still has thorns. Although Ammianus' hostility may stem from the foreign origin of eunuchs, since Roman law forbade castration within the empire,[45] it is most likely due to the reputation of eunuchs for being greedy, secretive and manipulative. These traits, which are considered to have no place in a citizen, allow eunuchs to be compared to wild beasts. Rather than their birthplace or social status within the empire, it is their barbaric traits that allow Ammianus to criticise them and thus portray them as beasts and therefore on the same level as barbarians.[46]

The same effect can be seen with the Gallic soldiers during the siege of Amida. When denied the opportunity to sally forth against a weakened enemy, the soldiers turn on their officers and act like 'wild beasts maddened by the stench of carrion, which hurl themselves against the revolving bars of their cages in an effort to get out' (*Utque dentatae in caveis bestiae taetro paedore acerbius efferatae evadendi spe repagulis versabilibus inliduntur*; 19.6.4). In this instance, Ammianus praises the Gallic spirit that imbues the soldiers with such bravery but blames their actions on a lack of discipline and self-control. It is a reasonable but poorly timed impulse (*rationabili quidem sed intempestivo motu*; 19.6.3) that overcomes the soldiers and causes them to rail against the discipline that they should display as soldiers. This ill-discipline is the barbaric quality that Ammianus seeks to

[43] Once again, Ammianus equates those whom he does not consider as civilised with both animals and nature in an effort to dehumanise them in the eyes of the reader. As we have seen with the Goths in the lead up to the battle of Adrianople, these metaphors imply that the subjects are incapable of thought and act only to harm or destroy those around them.

[44] If, as Wiedemann argues (1986, 200), all animal comparisons in Ammianus are negative, then this comparison between Eutherius and a tame beast is indeed meant to imply that despite his positive qualities the eunuch will always be a civilised barbarian to Ammianus.

[45] *Codex Justinianus*, 4.42.1-2.

[46] As we shall see, a person's birthplace and social status do not protect them from the author's criticisms if he deems them to be acting in an uncivilised manner and this is often demonstrated through a metaphor equating the subject with a wild animal.

emphasise through this comparison. Madness overtakes the beasts and causes them to attempt to act despite the harm they do to themselves. Likewise, the Gallic soldiers wish recklessly to leave the town despite the futility of their sallies.[47] Arguably, this reference to the wild animals being caged could be implying that the barbaric nature of the Gauls has been suppressed rather than tamed by Roman civilisation but it is most likely to be simply a parallel to the besieged town of Amida itself.[48]

The soldiers at Amida are not the only imperial subjects who succumb to barbaric urges over the course of Ammianus' work. The Christians, a Roman mob and the supporters of Magnentius all receive animal comparisons due to their failure to maintain Roman standards. The first are brought into the spotlight by the emperor Julian who believes that 'no wild beasts are such dangerous enemies to man as Christians are to one another' (*nullas infestas homnibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique*; 22.5.4). Their lack of self-control and unwillingness to submit themselves to the rule of law and the authority of the emperor makes them not just equal to animals, but less than them. Likewise, the Roman mob also shows a lack of discipline and respect for officials which marks them out as less than human. When they crowd the prefect of Rome's carriage, they appear on all sides like snakes (*veluti serpentium vultus*; 15.7.4) to the disdain of the prefect. As with the Christians, these citizens are disrupting the order of the empire, acting like barbarians, and therefore can be cast in a negative light. As for the supporters of Magnentius, who rejected imperial rule by siding with a usurper, there is no need to treat them any better than wild animals (*belua*; 14.5.3). Even those suspected of treason are treated in the harshest terms. As we saw in Pacatus' panegyric, to side with a usurper means giving up all claims to be Roman in the eyes of the imperial court and the senate and aligns one with other outsiders such as barbarians. Being portrayed as a wild animal thus symbolises this rejection of Roman society and equates subjects with others who have been characterised as less than human. Ammianus even uses the imagery of *bestiarii* going to fight wild beasts (*ut bestiarii obiceremur intractabilibus feris*; 15.5.23) in order to help the reader visualise the author

[47] Ammianus notes the same behaviour earlier in the previous chapter (19.5.3) where he also refers to the troops as beasts (*bestiae*) although does not refer to the cages.

[48] The absence of references to traditional barbaric qualities, such as *ferocia*, *ira* or *discordia* in relation to the soldiers' desire for battle is perhaps indicative of the fact that Ammianus does not believe or intend to imply that the Gallic troops are still barbarians. Instead the author prefers to use *fidentissime* in chapter 5 to convey the soldiers' fearless nature and refers to the pride of the soldiers for Gaul's reputation for moulding a strong spirit (*magnanimitate*) in troops. Without references to negative barbarian qualities, and given the fact that the walls of the town parallel the cage surrounding the wild animals, it appears that these metaphors are not attempting to imply to the reader that the Gallic soldiers are barbarians but that they are merely acting on the same level as barbarians and animals on this occasion.

and Ursicinus' soldiers going to fight the usurper Silvanus. The soldiers of a usurper are presented as being no more than animals to be killed by those who remain in Roman society, just as the gladiator is supposed to kill the animals he fights. In all three cases, Ammianus presents these Romans as being on a par with, or below, animals and by extension the barbarians who have previously and traditionally been associated with wild animals.

There are a number of Roman individuals in Ammianus' work who are also compared to animals when they give in to their base instincts. Procopius is potentially referred to twice as an animal during his retreat from Roman society before his attempted usurpation. According to the less authoratitive manuscript E, having withdrawn from Roman society, Procopius is said to be living the lifestyle of a wild animal (*ferinae*; 26.6.4).[49] Without civilisation, it is impossible to be truly Roman and so by retreating from that lifestyle, in combination with the luxuries that Procopius had to give up, he has become no better than a wild animal.[50] Later in the chapter, both manuscripts E and V state that Procopius acts like a beast of prey (*praedatrix bestia*; 26.6.10), waiting for an opening before striking rather than facing his enemies out in the open. The usurper is presented, therefore, as less than human, a creature of instinct rather than of thought. This change stems not from his birthplace but his rejection of legitimate Roman authority, just as it had for the supporters of Magnentius, and a separation from civilisation and Roman society over the course of the chapter.

The most notorious of Constantius' informants are also singled out by Ammianus for failing to live up to Roman standards.[51] Paul the Chain and Mercurius are both criticised by Ammianus but it is the latter who is potentially of foreign origin and is compared to an animal to emphasise his despicable nature.[52] Due to his practice of ingratiating himself at

[49] *Formae* is used by the generally more complete manuscript V, however, given Procopius' later comparison to an animal and the emphasis subsequently placed upon his distance from his fellow men, *ferinae* would reinforce Ammianus' dehumanisation of Procopius and the linguistic references to hunting throughout the chapter; this wording has been argued for by den Boeft et al. (2008, 134). If manuscript V is accepted as more accurate then this passage still serves to prepare the reader for Procopius' subsequent presentation as an animal.

[50] Ammianus even specifies that Procopius is particularly suffering due to his lack of communication with other people (*hominumque egebat colloquiis*), indicating that this is a vital part of being human and civilised.

[51] Ammianus views all informants with disdain. During the trials following the death of Gallus (15.3.3), informants are implied as being unworthy of being classed as human due to their bestial attacks on those who should be above reproach. Later on, their hunting for profits in the homes of the wealthy leads to Ammianus comparing the same group to Spartan or Cretan hounds (30.4.8).

[52] Although issues with the manuscripts make section 15.3.4 of Ammianus difficult to read, Mercurius appears to have been associated with Dacia. Manuscript V reads *hic persanatus in Dacia*

dinner parties before revealing what he had learned to the emperor, Ammianus comments that Mercurius is like a savage dog that wags its tail in order to hide its true nature (*ut clam mordax canis interna saevita summissius agitans caudam*; 15.3.5). Although the savage nature of the dog is hidden to others at the time, Ammianus makes it clear to the reader in order to emphasise that Mercurius has no place in a true Roman society due to these destructive qualities. Likewise, the other informants who have given in to their base desire for greed have no place in a society for human beings.

However, even emperors can be criticised by Ammianus and compared to beasts for their failures to embody Roman virtues. The emperor Valens, having abandoned the path of tranquillity (*aequitate*; 29.1.27), flies into rages like a wild beast in the arena if someone escapes it (*in modum harenariae ferae, si admotus quisquam fabricae diffugisset*). Despite an emperor's position as head of the state, Ammianus still feels able to dehumanise and portray Valens as the antithesis of a Roman, an animal to be killed in the amphitheatre rather than as a Roman whose role is to take part in society. Likewise, Gallus is portrayed as an animal to emphasise that he is not fulfilling his role as emperor and therefore is not truly part of Roman society. When his outrageous behaviour has been discovered by Constantius' quaestor, Gallus is like a snake wounded by a spear or stone (*ut serpens appetitus telo vel saxo*; 14.7.13). Later, his bloodlust while conducting executions is compared to that of a lion that has tasted human flesh (*ut leo cadaveribus pastus*; 14.9.9). In these two images, the Caesar is presented in a similar manner to the other Romans who had failed to fulfil their roles in society. In the first example, he resorts to underhanded tactics to resolve his problems, like Arbitio who was also compared to a snake.[53] In the second example, the nobility of the lion, embodied by Ursicinus and Julian in other metaphors within the work,[54] is transformed through Gallus into a savage animal that has no place in Roman society.

Animal metaphors provide Ammianus with a rhetorical device for quickly indicating that a group or single person does not belong in civilised society. It is a flexible tool that can be used to associate the bestial traits of animals with those of barbarians and then highlight

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while Gelenius, generally working from V's twin M where extant, has *ille natus in Dacia* and declares that Paul was a Persian. However, elsewhere in Ammianus Paul is said to be from Hispania (14.5.6). On the relationship between the two manuscripts and Gelenius' use of M, see Kelly and Stover, 2016.

[53] Arbitio, when master of cavalry, is compared to a snake due to his deadly attacks, underhanded nature and jealousy towards better men. His public support for Ursicinus whilst privately plotting against him prompts Ammianus to compare the situation to a snake hidden in the ground attacking humans as they walk past (*ut enim subterraneus serpens… incessit*; 15.2.4).

[54] 19.3.3 and 23.5.8.

the existence of those traits within both citizens born outside the empire, who may have retained some element of barbarism, and even those who should have embodied traditional Roman values, such as emperors. References to wild animals emphasise the uncontrolled greed and ferocity of the subject, neither of which belong in a civilised human. The metaphors also serve to dehumanise the subject, removing any potential sympathy for them and making it easier to view barbarians in particular as forces of nature rather than people who can be empathised with.

2.4. Barbarian leaders

Barbarian leaders in the *Res Gestae* offer the author another opportunity to reflect not only on the empire's enemies but also on the Romans themselves. As distinct individuals, foreign leaders can be given more characterisation and play a larger role in the narrative; Ammianus is able to contrast Roman leaders with their counterparts and comment on the comparative values embodied by each figure. A conflict with a distinct barbarian leader offers Ammianus the opportunity to manipulate the traditional narrative of Roman superiority either to approve or critique a subject. Over the course of his history Ammianus refers to more than forty-five barbarian leaders by name but the great majority of barbarian leaders are not given distinct personalities within Ammianus' texts as they do not play a large enough role. Instead, they are generally introduced as savage rulers, spoiling for a fight.[55] There are, however, some individuals who are given more detailed characters by the author due to the major role they play in the narrative and the opportunity they offer for comment on matters of central importance. In the cases of Chnodomarius, Vadomarius, Macrianus, Fritigern and Athanaric it is possible to analyse the extent to which they fit the traditional archetype of the barbarian and how they are used by the author in relation to other characters, most notably the emperors whom they encounter.

Comparative analysis between barbarian leaders and emperors in Ammianus has been made previously but pairs of individuals have generally been treated in isolation, rather than across multiple conflicts and enemies. Blockley does begin to cover this theme in his analysis of Chnodomarius and Julian, touching on how they compare to Fritigern and Valens, but does not develop it further by bringing in other barbarians who fought Julian.[56]

[55] For savage barbarians, see for example Ermenrich (31.3.1), Mallobaudes (30.3.7) and Suomarius (17.10.3).
[56] Blockley, 1977, 222-226.

Similarly, while Kelly has highlighted Macrianus' role in the text as a means of comparing Valentinian and Julian,[57] for example, he did not include Vadomarius in his argument despite the similarities between the two barbarian leaders.[58]

It is also worth considering how barbarians serving within the empire are presented within Ammianus' history. As with barbarian leaders, Ammianus develops some individuals' characters to make points about the nature of the ruling emperor but he also characterises some individuals in isolation which allows us to analyse the extent to which these people are viewed as integrated into the empire and capable of playing a full role in society. Although Chauvot and Rohrbacher briefly explore this idea, they give an overview of a number of major figures in Ammianus without going into detail on them.[59] Close analysis of four individuals, Silvanus, Frigeridus, Nevitta and Agilo, will allow us to explore how Ammianus is presenting individuals of barbarian descent and the extent to which their barbarian background is influencing their depiction.

2.4.1. Chnodomarius

The Alamannic leader Chnodomarius is consistently presented as a stereotypical barbarian by Ammianus. Unnamed in the historian's surviving narrative until the description of the Battle of Strasbourg, Chnodomarius was the ruler at the head of a considerable German confederation which opposed Julian's campaign in 357. Although Chnodomarius had previously come into conflict with the empire – he defeated Magnentius' Caesar Decentius in 352 (16.12.5)[60] – in the extant books of Ammianus he is presented to the reader solely in the context of his conflict with Julian. As such, in those books the author focusses on his attitude ahead of the decisive battle, his actions during combat and his submission to Julian rather than mentioning his prior campaigns or giving more than a brief overview of his subsequent exile in Rome. The traditional barbarian arrogance and savagery is evident not only in Chnodomarius' actions ahead of the battle against Julian but they are even reflected in his physical description. After his defeat, Chnodomarius is presented as adopting a very

[57] Kelly, 2008, 308.
[58] Dauge (1981, 345) does not devote much time to the idea of barbarian leaders as parallels for their Roman counterparts, instead focussing on the leaders as stereotypical examples of their peoples.
[59] Chauvot, 1998, 402-404; Rohrbacher, 2002, 231-232.
[60] Drinkwater, 2007, 201. These events and Chnodomarius may have been introduced in a previous book but Ammianus appears to have held off his main description of Chnodomarius' character and appearance until this point.

different attitude of meek humility, but although this stands in marked contrast to his earlier presentation, it is also consistent with the tradition of portraying defeated barbarians as submissive.[61] This image of the barbarian leader serves not only to reinforce the traditional narrative of Roman superiority but also specifically to make Julian appear greater through the virtues he exemplifies both before and after the battle.

Chnodomarius is introduced to the reader as leading six other German rulers ahead of the Battle of Strasbourg.[62] Immediately, the barbaric arrogance of all seven leaders is highlighted as they believe themselves to be in a position of strength and 'held their heads high and acted with increased confidence' (16.2.2). This overconfidence even leads them to demand from Julian his withdrawal from lands that they believed they had fairly won through 'their own valour (*virtus*) and the sword (*ferrum*)' (16.2.3), falsely claiming for themselves martial values that are normally attributed to the Romans. Ammianus also notes how the inherent ferocity (*feritas*) of all the barbarians is growing out of control and turning into savagery (*rabies*) as they approach Julian (16.2.2). Although these initial sections present a uniform image of the Alamannic leadership, Ammianus goes on to describe the virtues and physical traits of Chnodomarius which mark him out as a notable 'literary construct' of a 'crude bully' beyond a standard barbarian.[63]

Having previously described the increasing arrogance of the collective German leadership, Ammianus states that Chnodomarius' pride leads to him overshadowing all others (16.2.4). His insistence on being 'the first in any dangerous exploits' is not presented as a positive trait but rather a symbol of his arrogance superseding that of even his compatriots. The

[61] Matthews, 1989, 317.

[62] The rulers fighting under Chnodomarius are named as Vestralpus, Urius, Ursicinus, Serapio, Suomarius and Hortarius. Although the first three leaders are not given much attention, Serapio, Suomarius and Hortarius do recur later in the work. Suomarius is mentioned in the next two books: when suddenly appearing to Julian and his soldiers as a supplicant, his arrogance and cruelty towards the Romans are at the forefront of the author's mind (17.10.3). Then, in the following book, he is forced to betray his recently made oaths of loyalty to the Romans by other Alamannic leaders (18.2.6). Serapio, on the other hand, is presented relatively positively (16.12.25). He is described during the battle as 'capable beyond his years' (*effacia praecurrens aetatem*) highlighting Ammianus' respect for the non-Roman ruler despite his youth, barbarian origins and the treacherous nature of Mederich (Serapio's father who had rejected the Roman lifestyle despite his integration into Greek mysteries while a Roman hostage). Hortarius, however, is not initially presented in a positive light either during this battle or afterwards. Instead, he retains his barbaric pride (17.10.10) and attacks the empire again. It is only after he is defeated a second time that the barbarian leader learns humility and shows an ability to reform. This change in his nature is reflected by Ammianus' assurances the following year (18.2.13) that despite Hortarius hosting his neighbours he 'had no thought of revolt' (*non novaturus quaedam*). Hortarius's eventual reformation and loyalty make it clear that Ammianus could have presented Chnodomarius in a more positive light after his surrender, but it serves his purpose to present the barbarian in a more traditional manner.

[63] Drinkwater, 2007, 237.

same attitude is adopted by the author with regard to his physical characteristics.[64] Ammianus emphasises just how extraordinarily 'huge' (*immanis*; 16.2.24) and strong (*ingenti robore*) Chnodomarius is in comparison to his compatriots in order to emphasise that he should be viewed as the definitive barbarian.[65] Likewise, the savagery that has been growing in the barbarians ahead of the battle is even reflected in the equipment used by Chnodomarius. The 'flame-coloured plume' (*vertici flammeus torulus*) on his helmet and the 'javelin of appalling size' (*iaculum formidandae vastitatis*) are visible indications of his overwhelming savagery and aggression. Furthermore, the barbarian's 'foaming steed' (*equo spumante*) implies to readers that Chnodomarius is not only incapable of instilling discipline but also infects those around him with his own barbaric qualities. This is placed alongside the more positive image of the capable Serapio, whose description focusses on his youth rather than any barbaric traits in sharp contrast to the excessive size and strength of Chnodomarius (16.12.25).

After the battle, however, the arrogant and savage barbarian is replaced with a humiliated figure (*humilis*; 16.12.61). As Seager and Matthews note, Chnodomarius now embodies the fear he had expected Julian to exhibit at the start of the chapter and this leads to his total submission.[66] From this position, he is finally able to recognise the depravity of his actions and Ammianus suggests that this is the moment his view aligns with that of the Romans as he shows 'consciousness of his crimes'. In accordance with the traditional Roman ideal, the defeated barbarian can now be successfully brought into the empire as he has acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor and renounces his previous actions and nature, although Ammianus does not feel the need to provide evidence of this complete reformation as he did with Hortarius (16.12.65).[67] This surrender and integration is, therefore, presented as a victory for Julian, one made greater by Chnodomarius' earlier presentation as the embodiment of barbarian qualities. The barbarian's position at the feet of the Caesar is reflective of their relative standings in the eyes of the author. However, the superiority of the Roman is also evident at other points in the chapter as Ammianus contrasts the two figures.

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[64] Matthews (1989, 314) suggests that Chnodomarius' impressive 'physical and moral authority', presented by Ammianus as indications of his barbaric nature, are the qualities that allow the ruler to lead this alliance against Julian.

[65] Blockley, 1977, 222.

[66] Seager, 1999, 589; Matthews, 1989, 297.

[67] After this, Chnodomarius was sent to Constantius and on to Rome but died shortly after arriving in the city. There is no indication by the author that during this short period he had become loyal to the emperor.

As noted above, the savagery and ferocity of the Alamanni grows out of control ahead of the battle due to their arrogance, culminating in their headlong rush into battle with little regard for caution (*et properantes concito quam considerato cursu Germani*; 16.12.36). Chnodomarius and his subordinate rulers are as susceptible to this as their troops, highlighting their lack of discipline and their inability to control their troops. On the other hand, when Julian is put in a similar position through his soldiers' desire for battle, he is not swept up in the general mood of his soldiers but instead carefully plans his actions (*utilitati securitatique recte consulens*; 16.12.8), a position of which Ammianus approves. Once battle has been joined, the two figures again offer contrasting images as leaders. While the majority of Julian's troops maintain their discipline,[68] the right-wing collapses and the cavalry leads the flight from the battlefield (16.12.37). Julian's reaction to the battle turning against his soldiers is to inspire his cavalry to return to their duty (*munia*; 16.12.41) through the recognition (*agnitio*; 16.12.39) of his person and the speech he gives to his soldiers and he ends the battle by demonstrating his control over his soldiers to prevent needless losses (16.12.55). By contrast Chnodomarius tries to avoid being recognised by covering his face (*vultum ne agnosceretur operiens*; 16.12.59), selfishly attempting to save himself.[69] The contrast between the two leaders is also evident after Chnodomarius' capture. As seen above, the barbarian is presented in a traditionally submissive position. This allows Ammianus to advertise Julian's clemency as he not only spares his enemy but even offers him some words of encouragement (16.12.65). These contrasts, throughout Ammianus' description of the Battle of Strasbourg, allow the author to magnify Julian's superior qualities of prudence, discipline and mercy in the face of the archetypal barbarian,[70] as his strengths are presented so as to contrast with his enemies' weaknesses.

2.4.2. Vadomarius

Vadomarius is another barbarian who is presented as an opponent to Julian but he is also characterised as a more complex figure than Chnodomarius. This stems from his initial depiction as a Roman client, the rumours of his loyalty to Constantius II and his later service within the empire. Unlike Chnodomarius, who features in Ammianus' narrative only during the Battle of Strasbourg, Vadomarius' career is more fully explored in the *Res Gestae*. He

[68] Blockley, 1977, 223.
[69] Ross, 2016a, 152.
[70] Blockley, 1977, 223.

first appears as an Alamannic ruler alongside his brother Gundomadus raiding Roman territory in 354 (14.10). These raids result in a treaty between the brothers and Constantius, which is subsequently broken when Vadomarius aligns with Chnodomarius after Gundomadus' death (16.12.17). Two years after Strasbourg in 359, Vadomarius is described as seeking peace with Julian, once again securing a treaty that he will break in a further two years (18.2.16-19). Having begun to raid Roman territory again, Vadomarius is captured by Julian and brought into the empire (21.3-4). Although less attention is paid to his time within the empire, Ammianus does mention that, after being sent to Spain by Julian (21.4.6), Vadomarius later serves under Valens and is sent on campaign in the east (26.8.2, 29.1.2). These differing situations allow for Ammianus to develop the barbarian's character over the course of the narrative.

In his first few appearances, Vadomarius is not presented in as negative a light as Chnodomarius. His first appearance is alongside his brother Gundomadus as a leader of his people in raids against the Romans (14.10.1). Although the brothers are engaging in traditionally barbarian acts, they are not described as possessing any particular barbarian qualities such as the exceptional cunning that Vadomarius would later display and so do not stand out as exceptional examples of barbarian leaders. Vadomarius' reappearance at the Battle of Strasbourg (16.12.17), following the death of his brother (which will be explored in more detail later), again does not indicate that the barbarian possesses any particularly noteworthy qualities. Only Vadomarius' claim that he was reluctant in going to war with the Romans indicates that he is any different to the other rulers who follow Chnodomarius.[71] His first major appearance occurs later when he reappears alongside the brothers Macrianus and Hariobaudus as the three leaders come to appeal to Julian. As discussed in section 2.2 of this Chapter, the contrast between the three is immediately apparent as Macrianus and Hariobaudus are amazed by the symbols of the army, while Vadomarius is impressed but not overawed (18.2.17). The difference between the reactions is attributed to Vadomarius' long familiarity with the Romans from his life near the border of the empire (18.16.17). This exposure to Roman civilisation and strength, represented in this instance by the eagles, standards and equipment, leads to the barbarian not fearing the Romans but instead it inspires admiration (*mirabatur)*,[72] a sign that

[71] Matthews (1989, 315) suggests that this excuse was probably accepted as there are apparently no repercussions for Vadomarius' actions in 357.

[72] Although *mirabatur* can have a more emphatic translation than 'admired', Ammianus' efforts to contrast the reactions of Macrianus and Hariobaudus with Vadomarius implies that the latter does not have as strong a reaction to the sight as those who are unfamiliar with the Roman army.

Vadomarius is not necessarily as uncivilised as those from further away.[73] This respect is mirrored by the Romans upon receipt of a letter written by Constantius 'in which he [Vadomarius] is warmly spoken of' (18.2.16) and which said that he is a Roman client. Even though Vadomarius' negotiations are not entirely successful, this is not presented as being due to any fault of his own but rather the 'more fickle loyalty' (*fluxior fides*; 18.2.18) of those rulers he represents and he is able to agree terms for himself with Julian. The representation of Vadomarius in this passage, therefore, is generally positive. Not only does he admire the Romans, and is shown due respect in return, but he is also excluded from Ammianus' criticism of traditional barbarian behaviour. His close relationship with Constantius and his proximity to the Romans are offered as explanations for his more civilised lifestyle. However, another possibility for this initially positive image is to make his future betrayal of Julian more contemptible in the mind of the reader.

Three books later, Ammianus reintroduces Vadomarius as he once again raids Roman lands (21.3). Rather than immediately tell the reader what happened, Ammianus begins the chapter with Julian's feelings on the betrayal. Vadomarius is not named in the first sentence as the reader is told of the 'sadness and grief' Julian felt from an unexpected quarter (21.3.1). Delaying knowledge of the source of this misery, even if only by a sentence, could be an attempt by Ammianus to create tension within his narrative especially when combined with the revelation that Vadomarius, who had been portrayed relatively positively before, has turned on the empire. From this point onwards, his barbarian traits are presented at the forefront of Ammianus' account. Particularly of note are his cunning and arrogance, qualities which the author claims have been prevalent since his youth (21.3.5) but had not been mentioned during his previous interactions with Julian. However, Ammianus had hinted at this side of Vadomarius' character earlier on in his work. In the description of Vadomarius' role at the Battle of Strasbourg Ammianus offers a comparison between Vadomarius and his deceased brother (16.12.17). He determines that Gundomadus is not only the stronger of the two but also the more trustworthy (*fideique firmioris*) before his murder. This is presented to the reader alongside the claim that Vadomarius is being forced to attack the empire by his subjects. Although the idea of Vadomarius' deceitful nature is not immediately developed in this section, Vadomarius' supposed history of treachery later in the work may encourage Ammianus' readers to consider whether the barbarian may have been the one who 'treacherously murdered' (*insidias interempto*) Gundomadus and how unwilling Vadomarius truly is to break the

[73] Matthews, 1989, 316.

treaty he made with Constantius and lead his and his brother's now eager subjects to war with the Romans.

Likewise, Vadomarius' arrogance later in the history could also reframe his earlier entrance to the Roman camp. Arguably, his familiarity with the Romans and friendship with Constantius may not be the reason for his lack of fear as he comes to negotiate the treaty; rather it could be barbarian arrogance as he feels himself to be the equal or superior of the Romans.[74] This interpretation is only possible due to the later arrogance that Vadomarius displays while attacking the empire. Vadomarius falls into Julian's trap (21.4) because he continues to act as if he is at peace with the Romans even as his subjects attack the empire.[75] By emphasising his treachery and arrogance, Ammianus is able to recast Vadomarius as a cunning threat to the empire. The suddenness of his betrayal, especially in contrast to the more positive portrayal of Vadomarius earlier, also encourages the reader to empathise with Julian and to see him as the victim of barbarian treachery. This is important as it gives credence to both theories put forward by Ammianus to explain the raiding (21.3.5), that Vadomarius is either an opportunistic barbarian or working under orders from Constantius in an attempt to undermine Julian. In the case of the former, Vadomarius' treachery is merely a continuation of his earlier habits. Vadomarius' message to Constantius, an act that could be merely a subordinate naively reporting to his emperor as he feels is his duty,[76] is reinterpreted as an attempt to undermine Julian by a cunning enemy for his own benefit. On the other hand, Ammianus also leaves open the idea that Vadomarius is more than a deceitful barbarian. As a servant of Constantius, Vadomarius' attacks are alternately presented as part of a wider conspiracy to undermine Julian by an emperor willing to align with his enemies,[77] a theory also put forward by Libanius (*Or.* 18.107-108). The subsequent removal of this threat to Julian's political security is therefore presented by Ammianus positively as it is not an aggressive political move by Julian but the defeat of a treacherous barbarian by a Roman.[78]

Prior to his capture by Julian, Vadomarius is used by Ammianus as a means of presenting the Caesar as the victim of barbaric treachery and political machinations. As the victim,

[74] As Matthews (1989, 316) notes, the familiarity of the Alamanni at Strasbourg with Roman equipment also leads to barbaric arrogance as they consider themselves to be superior to those Roman detachments they had previously defeated (16.12.6).
[75] Philagrius is only able to capture the Alamannic leader because he attends a feast as if nothing was amiss, willingly separating himself from his subjects and allowing the Roman to arrest him easily (21.4.3).
[76] Matthews, 1989, 315.
[77] Woods, 2000, 694.
[78] Seager, 1999, 593.

Julian's retaliation is presented as self-preservation rather than an attempt to rebel against the emperor. However, after his capture by Julian, Vadomarius serves the Romans and returns to the narrative under a later emperor.[79] He is mentioned as serving as a *dux* under Valens on two occasions (26.8.2, 28.1.2) but Ammianus offers no opinion on his service.[80] This is unusual as Ammianus has made clear in an earlier passage, while describing how Vadomarius' cunning has been apparent from his youth, that he will continue to show how 'adept at intrigue' he is while serving as governor in Phoenicia (21.3.5). The absence of any negative qualifiers to descriptions of Vadomarius later in the work offers more evidence that Ammianus' main intention in emphasising Vadomarius' barbarian qualities is to excuse Julian's actions towards him. Alternatively, it could also indicate that upon his entrance into the empire, the German has begun to integrate into civilisation. In either case, as he is no longer working against the Romans but on their behalf against their enemies, Ammianus no longer feels the need to criticise Vadomarius. However, as we will see, Ammianus does not always withhold criticism of barbarians solely because they are serving the empire. Nevertheless, the repeated appointments of Vadomarius to positions of authority within the empire indicate that the formerly critical attitude of Ammianus was not necessarily shared by those emperors who evidently trusted him enough to grant him offices, possibly even including Julian himself.[81]

2.4.3. Macrianus

An interesting parallel to Vadomarius is offered in the form of Macrianus. Not only is he introduced alongside Vadomarius at Julian's camp, but Macrianus is another Alamannic ruler who is described in accordance with the traditional barbarian stereotypes. In order to counter this threat to the borders of the empire, a Roman emperor attempted to abduct the barbarian, although whereas Julian was able to capture Vadomarius, Valentinian failed to capture his target. As with Vadomarius, Macrianus went on to fight on behalf of the empire, although he was not given an official command and retained some negative characteristics.

[79] Lee (2009, 6) notes that this is not an unusual career path for an Alamannic ruler in this period.
[80] Woods, 2000, 693.
[81] Matthews (1989, 318) suggests that it was Julian who first appointed Vadomarius as governor, prior to Valens offering him further commands.

Introduced alongside his brother Hariobaudus, Macrianus, leader of the Bucinobantes, is initially presented as a submissive barbarian, arriving at Julian's camp in 359 to sue for peace (18.2.17). After this initial mention, Macrianus is not described again in the narrative for over a decade before Valentinian decides in 370 to temper the unchecked aggression of the Alamannic ruler (28.5.8). The following year, Valentinian fails in an attempt to capture Macrianus due to inopportune noise created by his soldiers (29.4.2). Although Valentinian is able to install his own leader, Fraomarius, over this group of barbarians, Macrianus returns to drive out his choice and Valentinian is forced to agree a peace treaty in 374 (30.3). Subsequently, Macrianus serves Roman interests loyally until his death at the hands of Mallobaudes over five years later (30.3.7).

Unlike with Vadomarius, Ammianus does not initially attempt to present Macrianus as anything more than a stereotypical barbarian. As mentioned previously, Macrianus is overcome by the symbols of Roman military strength upon his entry into the camp. This is in accordance with the trope that we have seen Ammianus rely on throughout his history, that of barbarians being distracted and frightened of the military standards ahead of battle. Macrianus and Hariobaudus are intimidated by the physical representations of the emperor's power even before they enter his presence and are so susceptible due to their distance from the borders of Roman civilisation that they beg for mercy from Julian (18.2.17). In this initial appearance, Macrianus is portrayed as being completely overwhelmed by Julian's personal authority and any natural arrogance is replaced by submission, in a similar manner to Chnodomarius after his defeat.

Once outside of the influence of the emperor, however, Macrianus' natural traits are no longer suppressed and Ammianus presents him as an arrogant and reckless barbarian. His description upon his reappearance in the work, during the reign of Valentinian, focusses on his arrogance (*fastus*; 28.5.8) in threatening the empire and equates it with the arrogance of his people. The lack of a strong response from the Romans allows Macrianus to continue to grow in power before Valentinian eventually decides to try to emulate Julian by capturing an errant barbarian ruler (29.4.2). Ammianus even suggests in his final analysis of Valentinian's reign that capture of this 'formidable figure' would have been the crowning glory of the emperor's life (30.7.11). The emphasis placed by Ammianus on this attempt suggests that, as with Chnodomarius and Vadomarius, the figure and threat of the foreign ruler is being manipulated in this instance to heighten the scale of the conflict and to draw

a comparison between the two emperors.[82] The comparison with Julian and Vadomarius is even made explicit by the author in a manner that suggests that it is at the forefront of the emperor's own mind and is influencing his policy (29.4.2).[83] The reader is, therefore, encouraged to bear earlier events in mind over the coming chapters as Valentinian fails to capture Macrianus.

The contrast between Julian and Valentinian is directly emphasised by Ammianus through their actions towards Vadomarius and Macrianus. The similarities between the two arrogant barbarians prior to this point of divergence likewise serve to emphasise the contrasting results. This effect is only strengthened through the humiliating peace talks that Valentinian is forced to conduct along the Rhine (30.3.4-6). In contrast to the hopeless Vadomarius who faced Julian, Macrianus instead negotiates from a position of equality to the Romans and is able to remain on his own bank whilst Valentinian negotiates from the river in order to appease Macrianus' pride.[84] Whereas Vadomarius and Chnodomarius have been stripped of their arrogance as they speak to Julian,[85] here the barbarian leader retains his 'prodigious self-confidence' ahead of the peace talks (30.3.4). It appears, therefore, that Ammianus uses Macrianus as a means to criticise Valentinian and to highlight his failure. The lack of any repentance from the barbarian and his position of strength during the negotiations appear to indicate that Valentinian's campaign is an absolute failure, which in turn serves to make Julian's success seem greater by comparison.[86] However, Ammianus does concede that the treaty and favourable terms given to Macrianus result in his 'steadfast loyalty' until his death (30.3.6).[87] The symbolic acknowledgment of Macrianus' authority in the emperor's meeting him at the Rhine may have played an important role in securing this result, despite it indicating that the Romans have failed to defeat the Alamanni.[88] Overall, the end result in Ammianus' work is an immediate shift from the stereotype of the arrogant barbarian to that of the faithful ally (*constantis in concordiam*;

[82] Drinkwater (2007, 305) argues that Macrianus makes no direct attacks on the empire at this time, but instead that it is the growth of his power beyond the borders that is considered 'arrogant'. Ammianus expands upon this idea to suggest that he is threatening the empire, justifying Valentinian's actions.
[83] Kelly, 2008, 308.
[84] Den Boeft et al., 2015, 54; Matthews, 1989, 314.
[85] Seager, 1999, 599.
[86] Seager, 1999, 599.
[87] The author goes on to note that Macrianus dies when he raids the lands of Mallobaudes too rashly (30.3.7). This could be an indication that despite his loyalty to Rome, he retains some of his barbaric traits, most notably his arrogance.
[88] Matthews, 1989, 314-315.

30.3.6), without passing through the stage of the submissive enemy which Julian had inspired with his personal authority.[89]

2.4.4. Fritigern

Compared with his treatment of the leaders discussed above, Ammianus offers a nuanced view of Fritigern. Whilst he is characterised as being motivated by some traditional barbarian qualities, most notably his cunning,[90] Ammianus is willing to acknowledge that he is forced into conflict by the Romans rather than fighting due to his own arrogance or savagery. Although the author does not take every available opportunity to do so, Fritigern ultimately serves the same purpose as Chnodomarius, Vadomarius and Macrianus – he is a means by which Ammianus can manipulate his reader's view of an emperor, in this case Valens, in a positive or negative manner.

Fritigern is introduced in the final book of Ammianus' work as a leader of the Thervingi, who had appeared on the Danube and sought to settle within Roman territory in 376 (31.4). The following year, having been mistreated by the Romans after being allowed to enter the empire, the Gothic tribe revolts whilst Fritigern is being hosted by Lupicinus, who had been ordered by Valens to organise the settlement (31.5). Fritigern negotiated his own release and takes charge of the Thervingi and other Gothic tribes who join in the revolt. After waging war on the Romans for over a year, Fritigern's role in the narrative culminates with the Battle of Adrianople (31.12-13). After attempting unsuccessfully to negotiate with Valens three times, Fritigern faces the emperor in battle and defeats the Roman army. Although Fritigern is briefly mentioned in the final chapters of Ammianus' history (31.15.15, 31.16.3), his battles with Theodosius in the following years are mentioned in other sources.[91]

The first appearance of Fritigern at the border of the empire is alongside Alavivus (31.4.8). At this point, Ammianus offers no opinion on the qualities of the barbarian leaders, in sharp contrast to his opinions on their Roman counterparts. Valens' orders to give food and land to the Goths are supposed to be carried out by Lupicinus and Maximus. However, these two Romans are responsible for the crisis that is to follow due to their reckless (*temeritas*; 31.4.9) natures and their greed (*aviditas*; 31.4.10), traits that would traditionally be

[89] Seager, 1999, 597.
[90] Dauge, 1981, 345.
[91] Jord. *Get*. 140; Philost. IX.17; Zos. IV.34.2.

associated by an author with the barbarians.[92] Even though Fritigern displays his 'innate shrewdness' (*genuina*… *sollertia*; 31.5.4) at the beginning of the next chapter,[93] he is not considered to be at fault for the disaster.[94] On the contrary, it is only when he has been betrayed and nearly captured by Lupicinus whilst his guest that he begins to work against the Romans (31.5.5-7).

At this point, however, Fritigern transitions into the role of a more conventional enemy rather than that of a neutral leader. His intelligence and wariness combine to aid his escape from Lupicinus as he quickly works out what is happening and tricks the Roman into freeing him (31.5.7). It is these qualities that dominate the characterisation of Fritigern for the remainder of the history. The ruler's political cunning is on display again when the 'shrewd' leader (*sollertia*; 31.16.3) wins over the Huns and Alans through promises of wealth. Although Ammianus does acknowledge that Fritigern makes wise military decisions, such as his recognition that his troops are severely limited in the field of siege warfare (31.6.4),[95] he also attributes some decisions to caution rather than wisdom. After the destruction of some of his raiding parties, for example, Fritigern's decision to recall his troops to a more defensible location is attributed to his great fear (*extimescens*; 31.11.5) rather than wisdom or experience. Ammianus' emphasis on Fritigern's ingenuity and carefulness is apparent in the descriptions of the messages to Valens ahead of Adrianople. The author dismisses the first message, carried by a Christian presbyter, as a trick instigated by a man 'who was an old hand at any kind of deception' (31.12.9). The final attempt to negotiate ahead of Adrianople, while given more credence by Ammianus, is still presented negatively as it apparently is developed out of fear (*pertimescens*; 31.12.14) for his prospects in battle and barbarian shrewdness (*callidus*).

As with Vadomarius' potential loyalty to Constantius, Ammianus' depiction of the cautious but cunning Fritigern allows him to dismiss the idea of a peace settlement as a mere

[92] For example, *temeritas* is displayed by the Aedui when they betray Julius Caesar (Caes. *Gal.* 7.42.2). Likewise, the Gallic and German soldiers are unable to control their desire (*aviditas*) to swim in the Tiber despite it contributing to their illness. This inability to control themselves separates the soldiers from Romans; Tac. *Hist.* 2.93.1.

[93] Although *sollertia* is frequently used of barbarians (Caes. *Gal.* 7.22.1; Tac. *Ger*. 30.2), it can also be used in relation to Romans (Caes. *Civ*. 2.8.3).

[94] Although Ammianus emphasises the barbarian's cunning and foresight, there is no indication that he could have predicted the danger resulting from attending a Roman banquet despite the parallels with previous attempts to capture leaders such as Vadomarius; Den Boeft et al., 2018, 85-87.

[95] This estimation is later proved to be correct in 31.15.15 where the Goths lament not listening to Fritigern.

barbarian trick.[96] The Christian presbyter, a man both Ammianus and Valens dismiss because of his low status and whom Ammianus considers to be a poor choice for an envoy, can instead be interpreted as a symbol of Fritigern wishing to connect with his fellow 'Arian' through their common religion.[97] As Seager notes, Ammianus' distrust of barbarians even outweighs his dislike of Valens as he does not use these envoys as an example of an error in judgment by the emperor.[98] The generally negative portrayal of Valens through Book 31 does, however, highlight another manipulation of Fritigern's characterisation. Parallels are drawn between Fritigern and Valens on the one hand and Chnodomarius and Julian on the other, although the roles are reversed with Fritigern acting cautiously whilst Valens is ill-disciplined.[99] Valens fails to maintain control over his troops, resulting in the battle beginning at an inopportune moment as his men rush into battle (31.12.16). By contrast, Fritigern is able not only to use the landscape to his advantage, by setting fire to the countryside to increase the heat (31.12.13), but also to stall long enough, through the apparent trickery of the false envoy, for his cavalry to arrive (31.12.17). By creating this parallel between Strasbourg and Adrianople, Ammianus is not just raising Julian above Valens, he lowers Valens to the level of the barbarian Chnodomarius through his troops' ill-discipline and his own arrogance ahead of the battle. Although Fritigern is portrayed more positively than Valens, Ammianus is not attempting to establish the Goth as on an equal level to Julian through this comparison. Fritigern's victory is still the product of his cunning and cowardice, qualities that had no place in a true Roman such as Julian.

2.4.5. Athanaric

Not all barbarian leaders are presented negatively in Ammianus' work. As mentioned above, Serapio and Gundomadus are portrayed positively compared to those around them. However, these figures very rarely play a major role in the history; instead they are often introduced as a point of comparison for a more negative figure.[100] Athanaric, however, is mentioned at multiple points by Ammianus and is presented as a more balanced character

[96] Seager, 1999, 604.
[97] Matthews, 1989, 332.
[98] Seager, 1999, 604.
[99] Blockley, 1977, 226.
[100] As we have seen, Serapio and Gundomadus offer an image of a more positive alternative to Chnodomarius and Vadomarius respectively. Other positive figures such as Gabinius (29.6.5), Hortarius (18.2.13) and Zizias (17.12.9-30) are praised for their leadership or loyalty alongside less deserving figures, both Roman and barbarian.

than any other barbarian. While he shows errors in judgement and a measure of arrogance, he is generally treated with a level of respect by the author which is not present in his treatment in the orations of Themistius in Chapter One.

The leader of the Thervingi, Athanaric first appears in Ammianus' history in the final campaign of Valens against the Gothic tribes ahead of the peace settlement of 369 (27.5.6-9). Athanaric is introduced as the strongest of the Gothic leaders but, after he is defeated, he meets with the emperor midstream on the Danube to agree terms. Athanaric's attempts to prevent the Huns and Alans overrunning his lands are described in the final book of Ammianus' work (31.3.4-8), which also mention that following his failure, Fritigern defeats Athanaric to take control of the Thervingi. In 381, Athanaric appeals to Theodosius to be allowed to enter the empire and briefly resides in Constantinople before his death and public funeral with Roman rites a fortnight later, on 25th January (31.4.13, 27.5.10).

Athanaric's first appearance in the history is as a leader during a Gothic conflict with Valens. At this point, he is presented in accordance with the stereotypes accorded to most barbarian leaders. While he is acknowledged to be the 'most powerful ruler' (*iudicem potentissimum*; 27.5.6) of the Goths, his arrogance is evident from his overestimation of his own strength. Athanaric does not use his full army to resist the Romans but instead only relies on what he considers to be an adequate force. This proves to be a mistake as the Goths are defeated and he sends multiple embassies asking for peace (27.5.7). Although this is granted, an oath made by Athanaric to his father forbids him from setting foot on Roman soil (27.5.9). While this can arguably be interpreted as an indication of barbarian arrogance in a similar manner to Macrianus' refusal to cross the Rhine to meet with Valentinian, this passage is not presented to the reader as a deliberate insult on the part of the Goths.[101] Ammianus' inclusion of the 'tremendous oath' sworn by the ruler to his father indicates that he has an awareness of the importance of ancestors in Gothic worship and can understand it to an extent.[102] It also offers a legitimate reason for the two leaders to meet in the middle of the river, a decision made by those of good judgement (*recte noscentibus placuit*).[103] This phrasing reflects the author's approval of the compromise and importantly implies that Athanaric has not been arrogant during the peace settlement.

[101] Den Boeft et al., 2009, 121.
[102] Matthews, 1989, 330.
[103] This phrase, implying that the just compromise was agreed to on both sides, contains none of the hyperbole that characterised Themistius' account of the peace treaty. There is no emphasis placed on Valens' mental and oratorical superiority over Athanaric, nor the *disciplina* of the Romans in contrast to the barbarians on the far bank. These differences highlight the role Athanaric and the

Athanaric himself, however, supposedly did not think that he avoided barbarian arrogance during the peace talks. Rather than try to appeal to Valens in Book 31, Athanaric chooses to remain outside of the empire. According to Ammianus, this is due to his recollection that 'he had treated Valens with some contempt at the time of the treaty' (31.4.13). However, it is important to consider that these are Ammianus' words being put into the mind of a barbarian leader. From a Roman perspective, even the compromise of the two leaders meeting in the middle of a river can still be considered too much, despite Ammianus having previously approved of the measure. Attributing these words to Athanaric also serves to portray him as regretful of his earlier arrogance. Arguably, this can make his death and funeral within the empire a more acceptable measure for the reader.

While the war and peace talks with Valens do contain some minor criticism of Athanaric, there is little to no criticism of Athanaric's strategic decisions during the war between the Goths and the Huns. Although we have seen other barbarian leaders criticised for their rash decisions or wariness, Ammianus approves of the ruler's 'suitable' (*opportunus*; 31.3.5) positioning of his soldiers despite the outcome of the battle. Likewise, the 'hastily but diligently constructed' rampart fails to hold back the Huns but Ammianus does not suggest that Athanaric did anything wrong (31.3.7). Ammianus even writes that Athanaric is determined to put forward his whole strength against the Huns if necessary (31.3.4), implying that he has learnt from his underestimation of the Romans. Unlike those leaders examined earlier, it is evident that Ammianus does not feel it necessary to characterise Athanaric as a stereotypical barbarian leader during this conflict. It could be argued that this is due to the conflict being described not involving the empire. Ammianus can therefore write without feeling pressure to demonise those fighting Rome. However, this does not explain why Athanaric is presented relatively positively during his conflict with Valens.

The funeral of Athanaric may also offer an alternate explanation for the relative respect shown by Ammianus towards Athanaric. In 27.5.10, Ammianus mentions that Athanaric later dies in Constantinople and is given an extravagant funeral with Roman rites. Although there is little detail in Ammianus' history, we know from both Zosimus (4.34.4) and Themistius (*Or.* 15.190d) that Athanaric was welcomed into the empire by Theodosius in 381 a fortnight before his death with the latter treating it as a major coup and swiftly

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Goths play as rhetorical devices to promote or critique an emperor and his soldiers in Themistius' oration and Ammianus' *Res Gestae* respectively. However, in Ammianus' account, the relative parity between the two sides also indicates that Athanaric is not merely a stereotypical barbarian but a more developed figure beyond his basic literary role.

adding it into his speech, as we saw in Chapter One. Even though Ammianus was most likely not in Constantinople at the time, he would have been aware of the scale and prestige of the funeral through widespread promotion of the event.[104] He may, therefore, have avoided unnecessary criticism of Athanaric due to the favour the barbarian was shown at the end of his life by Theodosius. Alternatively, Ammianus may not have felt a need to criticise Athanaric due to his burial with Roman rites. These meant that, although Athanaric did not serve the interests of the state as Vadomarius and Macrianus did, he could be regarded as having been, in some sense, integrated into the empire upon his death.[105] Regardless of the reason, Athanaric is not presented in the same negative manner as other barbarian leaders. His example indicates that Ammianus could have presented others in a less stylised manner if he had not wanted to manipulate the characterisation of the barbarians as part of his portrayal of various emperors.

2.4.6. Barbarian generals in Roman service

Just as with his depictions of non-Romans, Ammianus' representation of citizens of barbarian origin varies according to how the individual reflects on the main subjects of the historian's narrative, the emperors. However, whereas those individuals discussed above largely do not feature in Ammianus' work while serving the empire, there are a number of individuals who originate from outside the empire and play prominent roles in the Roman army.[106] As such Ammianus often also considers these individuals according to their own merits,[107] as well as for how they reflect on or act as counterpoints to emperors. Ammianus presents both positive and negative examples of integration, with individuals such as Silvanus, Frigeridus, Agilo and Nevitta offering a range of men who exhibit characteristics that are either suitable or unsuitable for citizens.[108]

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[104] Kelly, 2008, 149.
[105] Den Boeft et al., 2009, 126.
[106] As discussed earlier, Mathisen (2006, 1026) argues that not only are those barbarians brought into the empire in the fourth century as a source of taxation, but they are also 'assimilated into the Roman legal system' and protected by it. This, combined with imperial efforts to present reformed barbarians in a positive manner, means that those of non-Roman origin appear not to have had any legal distinction from those born within the empire.
[107] Rohrbacher, 2002, 232.
[108] Other individuals, such as Richomer, Daglaif, Malarich and Merobaudes, offer further examples of positive or negative images of barbarians within the state but are not discussed here as they are generally presented in a similar fashion to those discussed in this section.

Silvanus offers the most notable example of an individual of barbarian origin acting as both a reflection of the emperor and displaying a unique character. Entering into Roman service like his father the Frank Bonitus,[109] Silvanus is on the side of Magnentius until the Battle of Mursa Major where he defects to the side of Constantius II.[110] After his appointment as master of infantry in 354, Silvanus is sent by Constantius to secure the Rhine and end the Alamannic raids in the region (15.5.2). However, due to the intrigue of men in the court (15.5.3-14), Silvanus is left with no choice but to rebel against Constantius and declare himself an Augustus in 355 (15.5.15-16). Ursicinus is dispatched to eliminate the usurper and Silvanus is put to death that year (15.5.18-31). Despite Silvanus' Frankish origins and his questionable position as a usurper, Ammianus is sympathetic towards him and regrets that he was driven to this point (*agibatur extrema*; 15.5.16).[111] Ammianus consistently refers to his positive qualities, most notably his very brave nature (*fortissimum*; 15.5.19) and his skill as a military leader (*dux haut exsilium meritorum*; 15.5.32). There is no indication that Silvanus retains any barbarian qualities, despite Ammianus having numerous opportunities to include references to savagery or arrogance, instead preferring to remain silent about those negative qualities and emphasising that Silvanus acts against his will. Even when discussing Silvanus' betrayal of Magnentius, an instance that could be presented as an example of barbarian treachery, the author never implies that Silvanus is a barbarian instead pointing out that Silvanus is the one who is betrayed (15.5.33).[112] Not only should Silvanus' decision to side with Constantius have ensured the faith of the emperor but also the loyal service of his father Bonitus under Constantine should have served as proof of Silvanus' trustworthy nature. It is the emperor Constantius, not the Frankish usurper, who displays the barbaric traits of disloyalty and arrogance to such an extent that Silvanus thinks that he may be safer with barbarians beyond the frontier than in

[109] That Silvanus was not the first generation of his family in Roman service does not appear to make him inherently less barbarian in Ammianus' eyes. His Frankish nature is still considered to be one of his distinguishing features.
[110] Drinkwater, 2007, 203.
[111] Mathews, 1989, 38. Both Hunt (1999, 58) and Ross (2016a, 90) argue that Ammianus' sympathy towards Silvanus evaporates upon his own entry into the narrative under Ursicinus. Instead, Silvanus is temporarily portrayed in a more negative light in order to glorify Ursicinus. However, this image is not built upon barbarian stereotypes and Ammianus resumes his more positive portrayal after Silvanus' downfall.
[112] Silvanus' Frankish allies at court are also presented in a positive light with Malarich leading others in an attempt to save their compatriot (15.5.6, 11). This respect for the Franks is so widespread amongst other Romans that Jovian promotes Malarich to secure his loyalty upon his accession, having recognised Malarich as a potential rival (25.8.11).

the empire.[113] Through this presentation of Silvanus, and the comparison with Constantius, Ammianus presents the Frank as more Roman and sympathetic than the emperor despite his barbarian origin.[114]

Another commander of non-Roman origin, Frigeridus, is respected by Ammianus despite facing criticism from other citizens.[115] Under Gratian's orders, Frigeridus marches east with a force of Pannonian and Transalpine soldiers in order to aid Valens against Fritigern's Gothic revolt (31.7.5). Despite defeating Farnobius and his allies (31.9), Gratian replaces Frigeridus with the 'corrupt' (*venalis*; 31.10.2) Maurus ahead of Adrianople. This replacement may have been necessary due to Frigeridus' failing health as he had earlier been unable to take the field for his first confrontation with the Goths due to an illness (31.7.5).[116] However, those who dislike Frigeridus recast this illness as an excuse used by the commander to avoid taking part in the conflict. Although Ammianus mentions this rumour in his narrative, he gives no credence to the idea as he consistently praises the tactics used by Frigeridus.[117] Rather than portray him as a coward, Frigeridus appears as a capable and 'very cautious leader' (*dux cautissimus*; 31.9.4) who acts in the best interest of the state. It is these qualities that makes Frigeridus a 'formidable obstacle' (*obicem validum*; 31.9.1) to the Goths as his deployment of his soldiers avoids any reckless waste of lives and resources (31.9.1-2). While the portrayal of Fritigern indicates that not all of Ammianus' barbarians were incapable of caution, Frigeridus' careful (*diligens*; 31.10.22) nature not only distinguishes him from the average non-Roman but it also emphasises the flaws of his successor. As Maurus, whose name may imply African barbarian origin, is criticised for being too rash and unreliable (*incertus*; 31.10.21), Ammianus bemoans the

[113] Constantius consistently demonstrates a high level of faithlessness through his paranoia despite Silvanus' loyal service (15.5.5). After Silvanus' death, the emperor shows excessive pride (*insolentia*; 15.5.35) in his victory. Silvanus has such a low opinion of his emperor that he considers joining those Franks outside the empire as they may be considered more reliable than Constantius (15.5.15).

[114] As Drinkwater (2007, 152) argues, although Silvanus' 'Frankish' origin may have precluded him from claiming the purple legitimately, he has been raised in the empire and is part of a prominent group of Frankish courtiers (159). It is these individuals, led by Mallarich (15.5.11), who attempt to thwart the plot and save Silvanus, indicating that multiple Franks are closely integrated into Roman society and hold a measure of influence over the emperor; Chauvot, 1998, 401. This loyalty amongst the non-Romans is contrasted with the machinations of the other courtiers, highlighting the devious natures of the latter; Hunt, 1999, 51.

[115] Waas (1971, 82-83) argues that Frigeridus is of German origin, as suggested by his name.

[116] Den Boeft et al., 2018, 178.

[117] The man who takes command of the battle, Richomer, offers another example of a non-Roman considered respectable by common consent (*ex communi sententia*; 31.7.5). Richomer's offer to act as the Roman hostage so that negotiations between Fritigern and Valens can take place indicates that he is considered to be of sufficiently high birth and rank by the emperor, the Goths and the author. It also offers a comprehensive indication that he is loyal to the empire and considers the state's welfare ahead of his own, in contrast to the tribune Aequitius (31.12.15).

dismissal of a man whose qualities means that he should have been recalled to lead soldiers even if he had retired willingly from public service (31.10.22). Despite the rumours of Frigeridus' cowardice indicating that he is not universally celebrated by other Romans, Ammianus' consistent respect for his careful and sensible nature emphasises the 'useful' (*utilis*; 31.10.21) role he played for the empire, especially when replaced by a man who lacks those qualities.

As a soldier, Nevitta also serves the empire admirably in the field and displays loyalty to his emperor. However, unlike Silvanus and Frigeridus, his barbarian qualities are evident upon his promotion to the consulship in 362 and he is portrayed negatively in this position. Nevitta rises through the ranks under Julian. Following his performance in battle against the Juthungi in 358 (17.6.3), Julian appoints Nevitta master of cavalry during his march against Constantius (22.3.1) and appoints him as a judge during the trials of Constantius' adherents (22.7.1). This service is rewarded with the consulship (21.10.8), before Nevitta once again serves under Julian during his campaign against the Sassanids (24.1.2). His final act in Ammianus' account is to argue for a Gallic successor for the deceased emperor (25.5.2). His initial introduction as a subordinate of Barbatio highlights his martial prowess as he performs 'valiantly' (*fortiter*; 17.6.3) while in command of a cavalry troop against the Juthungi. Under Julian, Nevitta's loyalty (*fidus*; 21.10.2) and competence are evident in the eyes of the emperor as he is entrusted with a garrison at Succi during the campaign against Constantius. At this point, the qualities described by Ammianus imply that Nevitta is a competent soldier of non-Roman origin with no indication of an inherent barbarian nature. When describing his character upon his elevation to the consulship, however, Ammianus raises a number of reasons why Nevitta is unsuited for the office. In contrast to the 'barbarians' Constantine first appointed to the office, Julian's non-Roman consul is described as 'uncultivated and rather boorish and… cruel in the conduct of his high office' (*et inconsummatum et subagrestem et… celsa in potestate crudelem*; 21.10.8). While Ammianus uses the example of Nevitta to undermine Julian's attack on Constantine,[118] his criticisms of Nevitta's fierce nature and lack of culture may also indicate that he is failing to truly integrate into the empire on a social level which makes him unworthy of holding the highest honorific position open to those outside of the imperial family,[119] a post traditionally the preserve of the pagan elite who made up the majority of Ammianus' readership. Nor is Nevitta the only consul of non-Roman origin to whom Ammianus offers

[118] Matthews, 1989, 448.
[119] Chauvot, 1998, 404.

no endorsement – Mereobaudes and Daglaif are also criticised by the author upon attaining the highest social rank in the state.[120] The author's treatment of Nevitta makes his attitude towards Gothic integration clear, barbarians are capable of contributing to the empire adequately as soldiers and in that role can be described in a positive fashion but their inherent savagery and lack of civilisation means that an emperor should never promote them into the upper echelons of Roman society as they are not truly Roman.

The Alamannic commander Agilo also demonstrates a barbaric quality when serving inside the empire, in this case disloyalty. A tribune during the campaign against the Alamanni in 354 (14.10.8), Agilo serves Constantius and is appointed master of infantry in place of Ursicinus in 360 (20.2.5). In service of Julian, Agilo maintains the same rank and his reputation is used to encourage Aquileia into surrendering to Julian following the death of Constantius (21.12.16-19). As with Nevitta, Agilo is appointed as a judge to try Constantius' supporters (22.3.1). Agilo comes out of retirement with Gomoarius to serve Procopius in 365 (26.7.4) and helps his father-in-law Araxius to secure the praetorian prefecture (26.7.6). However, he betrays the usurper and defects to Valens at a critical moment in a battle near Nacolia the following year, leading to Procopius' defeat (26.9.7). Despite Araxius being on the wrong side of the war, Agilo retains sufficient influence to reduce his father-in-law's sentence to deportation (26.10.7). In his first appearance, Agilo and his compatriots, Latinus and Scudilo, fall under suspicion for betraying Roman plans to the Alamanni due to their race but the positive reputation of the men serves as sufficient evidence of their innocence (14.10.8).[121] However, Ammianus undermines this image of Agilo when describing his actions during the usurpation of Procopius. In Agilo's efforts to secure his father-in-law, Araxius, a position as praetorian prefect, Ammianus sees the worst examples of ambition and greed. Having named Araxius and Agilo, the author declares that in a time of crisis someone always rises from the dregs of the people to take advantage of the situation (*emergebant ex vulgari faece non nulli*; 26.7.7). Agilo's betrayal (*defectio*; 26.9.7) of Procopius during the battle allows him to not only save his own life but also

[120] While recognised for his shrewdness (*sollertia*; 30.10.2) in securing Valentinian II's reign Merobaudes, who held the consulship in 377 and 383, is also implied to have undermined efforts by Gratian to defeat the Goths (31.7.4). More tellingly, Daglaif, who is portrayed positively when appointed to office by Julian (21.8.1) and when arguing that Valentinian should appoint the best candidate as his fellow Augustus rather than his brother (26.4.1), is criticised immediately before he is appointed consul as he refused to risk battle with the Alamanni in 366 (27.2.1). Although these examples are not as extreme as that of Nevitta, they still indicate that Ammianus felt that while non-Romans can serve the empire admirably, they do not necessarily embody all the qualities that a consul should display.

[121] Drinkwater (2007, 176) suggests that there may be some truth behind the rumour as the three may have revealed plans about Constantius' invasion to the Alamanni as part of a negotiation.

Araxius'. While Ammianus' hostility towards Agilo may stem from him replacing the author's commander Ursicinus as master of infantry in 360 (20.2.5), it is apparent that the author uses barbarian character flaws to attack Agilo. Ammianus accuses him of disloyalty and placing personal gain over the wellbeing of the state, two characteristics that would make the subject a poor citizen in the eyes of the reader. Unlike Nevitta, whom Ammianus recognises as being loyal and a capable soldier, Agilo's military capabilities are not acknowledged by the author despite them presumably playing a role in his promotion to Ursicinus' former rank.

2.4.7. Conclusion

Although the majority of barbarian leaders in Ammianus are not given any significant role, some individuals who recur within the narrative are given more developed characters. As we have seen, these characters often embody traditional barbaric qualities such as savagery, treachery and arrogance. As such, they are well positioned within the text to act as counterpoints to emperors who theoretically should embody civilised values and thus be superior to their enemies. In the case of Chnodomarius and Julian, the contrast is relatively straightforward. However, when an emperor fails to meet the standards required by the author, barbarians can also be used to highlight this deficiency as is the case with Macrianus and Valentinian. In this instance, Macrianus is presented as a traditional barbarian who can only be subdued by Julian. Valentinian's failure to emulate the successes of his predecessor result in a negotiation between a Roman emperor and a barbarian leader who is not cowed in defeat. However, not all representations of barbarian leaders conform to the barbarian stereotype. Despite being presented as at war with the Romans, Fritigern compares favourably with the emperor Valens and is frequently praised for his shrewdness (*sollertia*) during the campaign. Likewise, Ammianus shows respect towards Athanaric for both his campaign against the Huns and his eventual submission to Rome. Arguably, this more positive attitude could be due to Athanaric's Roman funeral, a symbolic indication of his having been accepted into the empire.

Ammianus is certainly more willing to be positive towards those individuals of barbarian origins within the empire than he is to those who remain distinct from it. Frigeridus is presented as a model commander, inclined towards caution rather than uncontrollable savagery, and compares favourably with the Roman commanders around him. Similarly,

Silvanus is largely depicted as a sympathetic character despite both his Frankish heritage and his position as a usurper. It is the emperor who has failed to be loyal to Silvanus rather than the subject who has ambitions above his station. However, Ammianus is not wholly oblivious to the barbarian nature of some individuals within the empire. While capable of serving in the military, Nevitta's nature and background make him unsuited to serve as consul. The disloyalty of Agilo is also consistently raised, with soldiers accusing him of aiding his countrymen and Ammianus highlighting his self-serving nature. The depiction of these four men indicates that Ammianus is capable of presenting as integrated those barbarians who display no signs of their heritage within his narrative but he can also use traditional barbarian qualities to emphasise the inadequacies of individuals where necessary.

2.5. Conclusion

There is a degree of complexity in Ammianus' representation of barbarians throughout his *Res Gestae*. This stems from Ammianus' use of non-Romans to highlight the deficiencies of those residing within the empire. Ammianus shows himself to be willing to use the same metaphors and rhetoric to describe Romans as those who are considered to be the antithesis of civilisation in order to emphasise the depravity of those he deems to be less reputable citizens. For this comparison to be effective, however, the author needed to establish the standard of the average barbarian. As such, the traditional imagery of barbarians being cowed in the face of Roman standards and shining weaponry is used to reinforce the pre-existing hierarchy. The standards, acting as symbols of an emperor's authority, and the shining weaponry, representing the discipline of the soldiers, are indicative of Roman civilisation and overwhelm barbarians giving the civilised Romans the upper hand in all the situations that follow, be it negotiation (29.5.15) or battle (27.2.6). On the rare occasion that the situation is reversed, with the Romans facing shining Persian weaponry, they are inflamed (*accensum*; 25.1.2) and are eager for battle, displaying their superior nature. Similarly, Ammianus uses animal metaphors to establish Roman superiority over their enemies. Barbarians and wild animals are frequently equated in order to emphasise the inability of the former to control their natural urges. While citizens are defined by their willingness to suppress their own desires for the good of the empire, Ammianus uses animal metaphors to accentuate the savagery, greed and lack of control of those outside the empire. These metaphors, and others comparing non-Romans with

nature, also serve to de-humanise barbarians, discouraging the audience from identifying with the subject and encouraging them to be seen as mere forces of nature.

Ammianus also extends his use of animal metaphors to include those serving within the empire. In the case of those of barbarian origin, this implies that there is still a measure of barbarism inherent within those integrated into the empire. This idea can be seen across both individuals, such as Mercurius (15.3.5), and groups, as in the case of the Gallic soldiers at Amida (19.6.4), and marks them out as unsuitable to be allowed free reign within the empire. However, the animal metaphors are also used to describe those who have no barbarian blood in them. Having established that barbarians are comparable to wild beasts, Ammianus uses the metaphors to immediately reduce a citizen to the status of a barbarian. Even emperors such as Valens are not immune from this criticism, emphasising the extent to which they have failed in their duty (29.1.27).

The comparison between citizens and barbarians is most apparent through the depiction of individuals of non-Roman origin. Unlike the people they represent, Ammianus' presentation of barbarian leaders offers a level of nuance. Even individuals who appear largely stereotypical, such as Chnodomarius, are given a character in order to create a better contrast with their Roman counterpart. Barbaric flaws often highlight Roman strengths and the success or failure of an emperor to overcome these individuals invites further comparison between emperors due to the similarities between the conflicts. However, Ammianus is not limited to presenting non-Romans as negative. Both Athanaric and Fritigern are praised for their wisdom in battle, with the latter offering a stark contrast to the incompetence of Valens at Adrianople. Similarly, those serving on behalf of the empire can be presented in a multitude of ways. Silvanus and Frigeridus are presented sympathetically, for example, with emphasis placed on their loyalty in contrast to the political machinations which undermine them. Agilo, on the other hand, is frequently criticised by the author for his corrupt and treacherous nature. The figure of Nevitta offers a mid-point as Ammianus approves of his service as a general but considers him completely unworthy of the office of consul. Upon becoming consul, Nevitta fails the state by not embodying traditional Roman values, opening himself up to criticism from Ammianus. Nevitta's example and those of Mereobaudes and Daglaif, his fellow barbarians who are described by the author after reaching consular rank, make plain that while Ammianus has no issue with these barbarians serving the empire, he does not feel that they are worthy of the office bestowed upon them and should never have been allowed to enter into the upper echelons of Roman society, which should be the sole reserve of Ammianus' readers,

the pagan elites. Leaders of barbarian origin act, therefore, as a rhetorical device by which Ammianus can measure those living within the empire against his ideal of how a citizen should behave, opening up both the barbarian and the individual to whom he is being compared to either praise or criticism.

3. The *Historia Augusta*

3.1. Introduction

The *Historia Augusta* is presented to the reader as a collection of biographies covering the rule of the emperors from Hadrian in the early second century to Carinus in the late third, including the Caesars and usurpers who claimed the purple during that period. Nominally the work of six authors writing towards the beginning of the fourth century, questions have been raised since the late nineteenth century over the authorship of the biographies and the usefulness of the *Historia Augusta* as a historical source, due to inaccuracies, inconsistencies and anachronisms within its narrative. Despite the claims within the text itself that the *Historia Augusta* was the work of six largely unrelated authors writing during the reigns of Diocletian, Constantius I and Constantine I,[1] Dessau put forward the theory that the entire *Historia Augusta* was the work of a single author writing later in the fourth century due to inconsistencies within the autobiographical comments and linguistic and stylistic similarities between sections supposedly written by authors with no knowledge of one another as well as historical anachronisms, such as mention of Maximinus being the son of a Goth and an Alan despite the latter peoples not being situated near Thrace at the time.[2] This theory, supported by older scholarship such as that of White (who noted thematic similarities throughout the text)[3] and Adams (who observed particular linguistic tendencies which were unlikely to be repeated by separate authors)[4] and more recently by linguistic computational analysis, such as that by Stover and Kestemont,[5] has now gained widespread acceptance.

However, this recent consensus on the idea of a single later author writing under six pseudonyms has led to its own series of issues. Most notably, the anonymity of the author and ambiguity over the date when he was writing has led to ongoing scholarly debate about his motivations for writing the text and his knowledge of other literature. It has, for

[1] Of the six authors, only Flavius Vopiscus suggests that he has heard of the works of the other authors. He defends the inaccuracies in the work of Trebellius Pollio (*Aurelian,* 2.1) and wishes to imitate the examples of Julius Capitolinus and Aelius Lampridius (*Probus*, 2.7). The remaining five authors do not display this level of awareness of the other contemporary biographers despite all six authors claiming to be writing under the patronage of the same three emperors.
[2] Dessau, 1889.
[3] White, 1967.
[4] Adams, 1972.
[5] Stover and Kestemont, 2016, superseding Marriott, 1979; on issues with Marriott's earlier analysis, see Sansone, 1990.

example, been argued that the author was a pagan using his work to criticise Christianity. The subsequent use of fake names was supposedly due to a fear of reprisals. However, this theory has come under heavy scrutiny in recent years,[6] with religion not appearing to play a major role in the narrative. In contrast to Ammianus, whose movements we can trace with relative certainty, the career of the author of the *Historia Augusta* is shrouded in mystery. As a result, we have no real idea of the extent of his interaction with barbarians, either in service to the empire or in conflict with them, making it more difficult to identify whether his descriptions were influenced by personal experience, his sources or the general attitude towards barbarians in the late fourth century. Even one of the author's key themes, his consistent sympathy for the Senate throughout the work,[7] does not confirm whether he was a member of that group or merely an external supporter of the traditional Roman elite.[8]

While there is broad consensus about the text's late-fourth-century or early-fifth-century date, there continues to be contention over the more precise dating. Although Cameron argues that the author's emphatic criticism of child emperors applies more readily to the early 380s and the reign of Valentinian II than the accession of Arcadius in 395,[9] other historians have suggested that the author was writing shortly after the later date.[10] Chauvot, for example, highlights allusions between the situation of the Athenians in 267 within the narrative and 396 at the hands of Alaric, while Rohrbacher's identification of allusions to Ammianus would appear to indicate that the work was written at a point after the publication of Ammianus' history during the early 390s.[11] However, contrary to these points, Cameron has persuasively argued that the *Historia Augusta* predates Jerome's *Life of Hilarion* which would require the former work to have been published by the end of the 380s, likely before Ammianus published his history and certainly before Alaric's invasion of

[6] The central argument in favour of this theory, set out by Straub (1963) and Stertz (1977) and accepted by Birley (2003, 143-144) has recently been refuted by Cameron (2011, 743 ff.) and Rohrbacher (2016, 87 ff.) calling the religious allegiance of the author into question once more alongside the motivations driving the work.

[7] This theme is traced throughout the work by White (1967, 116).

[8] As Syme (1968, 193) notes, sympathy for the senatorial elite does not indicate that he was a senator in and of itself, despite what Birley (2003, 141) would later argue.

[9] Cameron, 2011, 751-753.

[10] Syme (1968, 79; 1971b, 2), Barnes (1978, 18), Kreucher (2003, 22) and Thomson (2012, 37) all argue that the *Historia Augusta* was most likely published either around the time of the death of Theodosius in 395 or in the following years. On the other hand, Birley (2003, 139) suggests that the work was completed at a slightly later date between 399 and 406.

[11] Chauvot, 1998, 407; Rohrbacher, 2016, 6-8. Rohrbacher concludes (2016, 168-169) that the *Historia Augusta* was completed in 409 due to Honorius' recognition of Constantine III as emperor and Alaric's capture of Galla Placidia being potentially alluded to within the text.

Greece.[12] The *Historia Augusta* is, therefore, most likely a product of the 380s or at the very latest the early 390s and as such the reader is presented with a product of the late fourth century which reflects the values and opinions not of the time period it describes, or even of the period it claims to be written in, but instead of the world of its author. More specifically, this was a time when the empire was increasingly dependant on the military support of barbarians and an increasing number of high ranking officials were of non-Roman origin but was also a time when the threat of invasion from external barbarians or rebellion from those settled within the empire was ever increasing.[13]

The nature of the *Historia Augusta* itself is also sometimes questioned as the later lives often devolve into fiction rather than history.[14] As stated above, Rohrbacher dates the *Historia Augusta* to the 390s or later due to the allusions within the text to passages and linguistic similarities with Ammianus' history.[15] However, if Rohrbacher is correct, Ammianus is not the only source used by the author of the *Historia Augusta* as a model for his own work. As Kulikowski notes, Marius Maximus, a source disparaged by Ammianus (28.4.14), is a source relied upon heavily for the early lives in the *Historia Augusta* which convey relatively accurate information.[16] Marius' model, combined with certain Suetonian influences,[17] provides the author with both the framework for his narrative and parallels to allude to,[18] ones that would be relatively familiar for an elite intellectual audience in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.[19] Likewise, the formulaic nature of imperial panegyrics either delivered before or distributed amongst the elite, are alluded to by the author through his exploration of similar themes in his life of each emperor.[20] The *Historia Augusta* manipulates the techniques of these earlier authors which they use to lend credibility to their works, such as the citation of earlier writers, official texts and the authorial voice, in

[12] Cameron, 1965, 244-245; 2011, 761-772; this argument is likely to also have been revisited in Cameron, A. (2020) 'Jerome and the Historia Augusta' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 110 although I have not been able to see a copy; Barnes, 2012, 190-191.
[13] Moralee, 2008, 65-73.
[14] Syme, 1971b, 9; Rohrbacher, 2016, 8-9.
[15] Rohrbacher, 2016, 135-153.
[16] Kulikowski, 2007, 244.
[17] Syme, 1971b, 10; Meckler, 1996, 365.
[18] Rohrbacher, 2016, 57.
[19] For a wider discussion of the sources the author draws upon and alludes to, see Rohrbacher (2016) and den Hengst (2010).
[20] As we shall see, lineages, martial prowess and bureaucratic skills are often included to praise or condemn an emperor by the author. These are the same themes that Menander suggests should be used in imperial panegyric. Thomson (2012, 12) argues that the use of multiple pseudonyms in the *Historia Augusta* could be an attempt to imitate the collection of panegyrics in the *Panegyrici Latini*.

order to produce a veneer of 'hyperauthenticity' for his history.[21] That his history often has little factual basis did not apparently bother the author, instead it may even have been the aim of his work – to create a parody of the biographical and historical genre,[22] one that his educated audience would appreciate.[23]

The *Historia Augusta* retains value as a source on the representation of barbarians, however, despite its sometimes fictional narrative. In fact, because the author is often drawing upon his own imagination alongside earlier sources in order to embellish the lives of his subjects, the rhetoric he uses to describe barbarians to the reader reflects his own view of non-Romans combined with the more widely accepted tropes expected in such a work.[24] When combining this interpretation of the text with what we can reasonably assume of the author, it is possible to use the *Historia Augusta* to gain a measure of insight into the view of barbarians held by members of the Roman elite near the beginning of the fifth century. Given the allusions to a wide variety of texts, the author is a well-educated individual writing at some point near the beginning of the 390s.[25] His sympathy for the senatorial elite and praise of 'good emperors' who respect the Senate suggest that he is either of that class or has close ties to it and holds a traditional view of Roman society.[26] This sympathy and the level of allusion may also indicate that his intended audience is made up of senators or their associates.[27] Finally, his lack of detailed battle scenes may indicate limited (or non-existent) military experience when contrasted with Ammianus' more detailed accounts.

Given the idea that the author is a supporter of the traditional Roman society embodied by 'good emperors' and the Senate, it is worth exploring how barbarians are presented in this text to see the roles they play in the author's version of Roman history. We shall begin this Chapter by exploring the ways in which barbarians are presented before analysing their use

[21] Meckler, 1996, 374.
[22] Syme (1968, 205-207) originally put forward the idea that the author's main aim may be to entertain rather than inform his readers. This theory has been accepted by others including Cameron (2011, 781) and Rohrbacher (2013, 148).
[23] Rohrbacher, 2016, 4.
[24] Burns, 1979, 540.
[25] Syme (1968, 207) suggests that the author might be a *grammaticus* due to his knowledge of earlier texts and links to the senatorial class. This argument is supported by Chauvot (1998, 407) and Cameron (2011, 781).
[26] Moralee (2008, 62) notes that the author's description of the barbaric Maximinus is designed to prey on the traditional Roman elite's fear of the wild margins of the empire, suggesting that both author and audience are a long way from those borders, a fact supported by his critical attitude towards the provincial origins of Septimus Severus (*Sev*. 15.7) and Severus Alexander (*Alex. Sev.* 28.7); Isaac, 2011b, 506-507.
[27] Thomson, 2012, 12.

within the work. As the next section highlights, when these barbarian peoples are given characteristics within the narrative, they are often portrayed in accordance with the traditional stereotypes.[28] They are usually presented as treacherous, greedy or drunkards, highlighting their lack of civilisation. As with Ammianus, this is often used to indicate that they embody inferior values in contrast to Roman emperors or alternatively they are given a more detailed description in order to emphasise an emperor's failings. Given the parallels between the *Historia Augusta* and the panegyrics, it is no surprise to find that barbarians are often neglected by the author except when they are used as a literary device to reflect the positive and negative qualities of each emperor. Campaigns against barbarian tribes are either briefly summarised (e.g. *Did. Iul.* 1.7-8) if they are considered unimportant when discussing that emperor's life or eulogised (e.g. *Claud.* 6.2) if the author intends to praise the military qualities of a Caesar.[29] Unlike Ammianus (or Eunapius as we will see in the next chapter), however, individual barbarians are very rarely mentioned and non-Romans within the empire are generally relegated to the minor role of masses serving in the army or working the fields. The major exception to this rule is worth exploring in more detail. The figure of Maximinus, who is presented within the text as a barbaric emperor due to both his origin and rule, will provide a case study of how the author, and possibly his audience, perceive the wider growth of non-Roman influence within the empire. However, even within this largely negative depiction, the author does not completely ignore the positive impact Maximinus had within the army prior to his rise to imperial power possibly indicating that the author does not support a wholesale rejection of barbarians serving within the empire.

3.2. Presentation of barbarians

Throughout the *Historia Augusta*, traditional stereotypes are largely maintained within the text with almost all Germans and Goths being characterised according to their barbaric qualities whenever the author mentions their nature.[30] Barbarians are portrayed as treacherous and unruly masses who constantly succumb to their base desires. Their ill-discipline and disorder are contrasted with the Roman soldiers that they face, emphasising

[28] Dauge, 1981, 354.
[29] Syme, 1968, 190.
[30] The exceptions to this rule are neutrally described with no inherent qualities on display as in the case of Gallienus' barbarian mistress (whose mere existence is sensationalist enough) or those barbarians being fought in campaigns the author cares little about (e.g. *Did. Iul.* 1.7-8).

their lack of control. However, as with the panegyrics and Ammianus, submission to the emperors and settlement within the empire allows for a measure of integration into the Roman world, once again implying that these non-Romans can be tamed under the right circumstances. But, in contrast to the panegyrics and especially Ammianus, the author of the *Historia Augusta* does not take many opportunities to name those defeated barbarian rulers to be integrated into the empire or even those in service to the empire, despite this providing an easy way to glorify or condemn the subjects of his lives.

The reliance of the author upon the traditional representation of barbarians is evident throughout the work with various qualities often being brought to the attention of the reader. The idea of treachery and cunning being commonplace amongst the empire's barbaric enemies is referred to in the text in relation to the tactics of the barbarians to avoid a fair fight against the Romans.[31] This treacherous nature is even apparent in dealings between barbarians and Proculus (whose supposed barbaric origins are introduced to the reader at this moment to emphasise the perfidious nature of barbarians).[32] Proculus is turned over to the pursuing Probus by his fellow Franks 'whose custom it is to break faith with a laugh' (*quibus familiare est ridendo fidem frangere*; *Quad. Tyr.* 13.4). This episode, closely echoing the attempted usurpation of Silvanus in Ammianus,[33] emphasises both the unsuitability of a barbarian, whose first instinct is to flee from an honest battle, to hold high command and also the fact that even barbarians cannot trust each other and should not be relied upon.

Barbaric ill-discipline is also highlighted by the author as a common trait amongst the empire's enemies, with the author using stories of greed, drunkenness and disorder to emphasise the inferior nature of barbarians in contrast to Roman discipline and imperial virtues. The story of Pescennius Niger banning the use of silver cups during campaigns (*Pesc. Nig.* 10.1-3) exemplifies this point: recognising that barbarians should not be allowed to gain any plunder by robbing their baggage, the emperor orders his soldiers to use wooden cups instead.[34] In order to emphasise imperial diligence, the author highlights that barbarians will take any opportunity to gain wealth, especially through underhanded

[31] Barbarians fake a retreat against Marcus Aurelius (*Marc.* 14.5) and fall back into woods to avoid fighting Aurelian in a pitched battle (*Aurel.* 21.1-4).
[32] Despite the author having said he was from Italy earlier in the life; *Quad. Tyr.* 12.1.
[33] Syme (1968, 57) and Rohrbacher (2016, 141) both note this allusion with the latter saying that the reference to Frankish treachery is purely part of the allusion. While this may have been a reason for its inclusion, it also ties into the wider themes of the author which includes the repetition and reinforcement of traditional stereotypes associated with barbarians.
[34] It should be observed that the soldiers are reluctant to follow this order, another indication that Roman discipline is not always absolute.

means.[35] Likewise, drunkenness, a quality that we have previously seen observed by Ammianus in the Gallic barbarians of the past (Am. Marc. 15.4)[36] and will see repeatedly in Chapter Four in Eunapius' history, provided further examples of barbarian ill-discipline.[37] It is used to indicate both a barbarian's, and sometimes a barbaric emperor's, excessive greed and lack of self-control. Naturally, barbarian *discordia* is anathema to Roman civilisation. Barbarian attacks throw 'everything into confusion' (*Marc*. 14.1) and as we shall see, dealing with this is one of an emperor's primary duties. An emperor, reinforcing Roman virtues in the face of such barbaric qualities, has to defeat those he confronts to confirm Roman superiority.

Once defeated, the author no longer highlights the traditional barbaric qualities to the same extent. As with Themistius and Ammianus, the author recognises that in order to portray the settlement of barbarians within the empire in a positive manner, those qualities which make barbarians poor citizens can no longer be emphasised. In defeat, barbarian rulers are subservient at the feet of their conquerors (*Prob*. 14.2) but are not characterised further as we saw with Chnodomarius. The settlement of barbarian slaves within the empire, portrayed as the act of a wise emperor for the good of the entire empire, can produce mixed results. The settlements of both Claudius (*Claud*. 9.4-7) and Probus (*Prob*. 15.2-6, 18.1-2) are initially presented positively by the author due to the influx of new slaves and farmers for Roman land but the latter settlement results in a rebellion of these defeated barbarians. While the rebelling barbarians are portrayed as treacherous due to their betrayal of their new masters (18.2), the author recognises the loyalty of those who do not rebel (*qui omnes fidem servarunt*; 18.1). He even states that some Germans have changed so much that they prefer servitude to a 'good' emperor to the prospect of freedom or even dominion over the Romans (*Germani omnes… Probo servire maluerunt quam cum Bonoso et Proculo imperare*; 18.7). Although there is no implication that these settled barbarians are becoming truly Roman, as we saw in the panegyrics, there is no criticism of those the author recognises as serving the empire.

The same is true of barbarian soldiers enrolled within the army. As with those who work the land, as soon as they have been defeated the author does not maintain his antagonism

[35] As noted later in the *Historia Augusta*, any plunder leads to an inflation of barbarian arrogance (*Prob.* 13.6).
[36] Syme, 1968, 58.
[37] Bonosus (c.280) plies his guests with wine upon their visits until they drunkenly reveal their secrets (*Quad. Tyr.* 14.4), highlighting a barbarian lack of control. As we shall see, these same issues plague Maximinus (*Max.* 4.1-3) due to his heritage.

for these barbarians. While Victorinus (c.268-271) is praised for defending the empire against barbarians (*Tyr*. *Trig*. 5.5-6) he is not criticised for relying on Germanic soldiers during his wars (6.3). The author's attitude is once again most evident in his panegyrical life of Probus. A model emperor, Probus has no qualms using barbarian auxiliaries as long as their help is 'felt but not seen' (*sentiendum esse non videndum*; *Prob*. 14.7), indicating that those foreigners in service to the empire should be dispersed widely throughout the armed forces to avoid any large concentrations of barbarians which may potentially destabilise the empire through their actions. Thus, barbarians are used by the emperor against both other barbarians (15.2-6) and usurpers (18.5) with no issues. When used appropriately in this manner, barbarian soldiers provide emperors with a valuable tool and their barbaric origins can at times even be overlooked.[38]

The same cannot be said of individual barbarians within the empire. In stark contrast to Ammianus, who considers both individual barbarians and Romans of barbarian origin on their merits, the author of the *Historia Augusta* uses the foreign origin of named individuals as an insult to either the individual or to the emperor who associates with them. Before we examine the few named barbarians in the text, it is worth noting that very few individuals of non-Roman origin are named and offering a possible explanation as to why. Again, whereas Ammianus, Eunapius and the orators performing the panegyrics often take opportunities to name those barbarian leaders whom their subjects defeated or those barbarians serving the state, this is not the case in the *Historia Augusta* despite the fact that naming and characterising the names of the defeated may make the victory seem even greater.[39] While this may have been due to the author not knowing the names of the defeated, his willingness to invent the names of other barbarian characters such as Hunilla (Bonosus' wife), Mica and Hababa (Maximinus' parents; *Max*. 1.6) indicates that he has no qualms about filling in his own names when he feels it appropriate.[40] Instead the author's

[38] Severus Alexander (*Alex*. *Sev*. 62.2-5) assumes that his prophesied death at the hands of barbarians indicates a glorious death in battle but he is later killed by his imperial guard. That these Germanic soldiers' origins are almost forgotten both offers a clever solution to the prophecy for the reader and also a reminder by the author that some barbarians can serve so long they were considered to be almost Roman and thus offer no threat. Another incident where an emperor's Germanic guard display a lack of loyalty is in the lives of Maximus and Balbinus (14.8). Following the death of the pair of emperors, the guard see no reason to take vengeance for their masters and instead retire from the scene.

[39] Only one defeated ruler is named, 'Cannabas, or Cannabaudes as he is also called' who is defeated with his large army of Goths by Aurelian (*Aurel*. 22.2). The reason this ruler is named may be down to the scale of the defeat, the survival of the name to the time of the author or it could merely be one of the author's attempts to make Vopiscus appear different to the other pseudonyms.

[40] As Hohl (1941) recognised, these names are deliberately derived from a deconstruction of Herodian's use of the word μιξοβαρβάρων.

decision to refer only to barbarian leaders by their titles may be another means by which he can show his distaste for non-Romans.[41] By refusing to name them, the author dehumanises the enemies of Rome and they become less individual and more representative of the peoples they lead. Unlike in Ammianus, they are given no individual qualities to differentiate them from those they lead and instead embody the qualities we have seen the author criticise earlier. Meanwhile, on the few occasions individuals of barbarian origin are named within the narrative, they are used by the author as rhetorical devices to emphasise the negative role of barbarians. We have seen that Proculus' Frankish origin is used as a means to criticise him earlier in this section and we shall explore the case of Maximinus in more detail later but two barbarian women are also named in the text, Hunilla (wife of Bonosus, *Quad*. *Tyr*. 15.7) and Pipa (mistress of Gallienus and daughter of a foreign ruler, *Gall*. 21.3).[42] Although the name of the former is fictionalised and there is no characterisation of either individual,[43] the inclusion of these women is designed to make clear to the reader the extent to which these emperors have neglected their duty – they sleep with the enemy rather than defeat and subjugate them, thus failing in their imperial duties.

The author's presentation of barbarians is clear and consistent throughout the *Historia Augusta* with his distaste for non-Romans evident in all situations other than when they have been successfully enslaved or are serving within the army. When depicting barbarians as fighting Romans, the author emphasises their negative qualities in contrast to Roman virtues with particular emphasis placed on barbarian lack of control. As we have seen, their treachery is referred to at multiple points, with the betrayal of Proculus drawing particular attention to the perfidy ingrained in barbarians. Even those barbarians within the empire who play roles within society such as Severus Alexander's imperial guard, noble women of non-Roman origin and even emperors suspected of being barbarian are open to criticism from the author. The only exceptions to this disapproval are barbarians who have completely submitted to Roman authority through their enslavement or service in the army. These non-Romans are not described negatively and indeed can even be praised when displaying loyalty to the empire. This makes the opinion of the author clear. Barbarians only play a positive role when they are serving the empire but not trying to rise

[41] Barbarian leaders are referred to as king (*rex*) (e.g. *Marc*. 14.2; *Prob*. 14.2).
[42] Pipa is also mentioned in Aurelius Victor's *De Caesaribus* (33.6). As Thomson (2012, 51) notes, the introduction of the idea of emperors being in relationships with non-Romans offers further evidence that the *Historia Augusta* was written in the late fourth century when intermarriage between high ranking generals of non-Roman origin and Roman women was not uncommon.
[43] Syme, 1971a, 271-272; Rohrbacher, 2016, 139-140.

to greater heights within society (as is the case with Maximinus and his seizure of imperial power which we shall explore later). Given this, it is the duty of all emperors to defend the state from those who are incompatible with civilised society. In the author's eyes this is the most critical duty of any emperor.

3.3. Barbarians reflecting on emperors

Within the *Historia Augusta*, the majority of barbarians appear as the external enemies of the empire. They are introduced and used within the narrative in a similar fashion to those barbarians within other works of literature in the late fourth century. As with the panegyrics, the author of the *Historia Augusta* introduces barbarians as opponents to be overcome by victorious emperors in order to emphasise both an emperor's and the empire's military superiority and an emperor's fulfilment of his traditional imperial duties. However, barbarians are not solely used in praise of emperors, with the failure to subdue the enemies of the state being presented as a means by which the author can criticise his subjects.

That defeating barbarians is one of an emperor's primary duties is in no doubt in the mind of the author. In the life of Severus Alexander it is plainly set out that the emperor is failing in his duty to the empire by his inability to control German invasions into Gaul.[44]

> It was, indeed, a very grave matter both for the state and for himself that Gaul should be plundered by German inroads, and his sense of humiliation was increased by the thought that now that the Parthians had been defeated a nation should still be hanging over the neck of the commonwealth, which, even under insignificant emperors, had seemed to be in a state of subjection. (59.2-3)

Despite his victories over the 'Parthians' (i.e. Sasanian Persians), it is an embarrassment to the emperor that 'a nation should still be hanging over the neck of the commonwealth' and one that needs to be rectified quickly. The author takes Roman superiority over the Germans for granted, suggesting that the non-Romans are normally in a 'state of subjection' (*subiecta*) and that this traditional order should be restored. The importance of this mission is further suggested by the statement that even 'insignificant emperors'

[44] Severus Alexander (222-235) led a campaign against the Sassanids in 233. This representation of the mindset of the emperor is inserted prior to his preparations for war against the German tribes in 235.

(*minusculis imperatoribus*) manage to maintain or re-establish Roman dominance through their defeat of the barbarians.[45] Similarly, the first speech of Marius (*Tyr. Trig.* 8.11) to his soldiers exclaims that he will prove to the Alamanni and other Germanic peoples that the Romans are a strong iron-clad race (*Romanum populum ferratam gentem*).[46] That, in the mind of the author, one of a usurper's first priorities should be to prove his military dominance not against the emperor he is attempting to overthrow but the empire's foreign foes emphasises how important the author and presumably his audience consider the duty of an emperor to defeat barbarians.[47]

The success of multiple emperors in proving Roman superiority over the barbarians living beyond their borders is celebrated by the author throughout the text. It is often used by the author as an indication that an emperor is successfully fulfilling his duties. The emperor Marcus Aurelius, for example, is described as displaying his valour during the Marcomannic wars (*Marc.* 17.2).[48] His success in these conflicts is made to seem even greater by the author's inclusion of a list of barbaric enemies that the emperor defeats on two separate occasions over the course of his biography (17.3, 22.1). The sheer number of these defeated peoples – four tribes are named in the first list and seventeen in the latter list alongside the threat of potential wars with the Parthians and in Britain – helps to justify the author's praise of the emperor's martial skill. Although we have seen lists of enemies in other works such as Themistius (*Or*. 16.207a), the lists in the *Historia Augusta* are more reminiscent of the lists appearing on imperial victory monuments. Rather than list the number of enemies yet to be overcome in order to emphasise the magnitude of the task ahead of an emperor and the failures of his predecessors (as Themistius did) the author is celebrating the scale of the victory achieved by such great emperors. This is a technique used frequently by emperors in their own self-promotion to emphasise the range of their

[45] Both Maximinus Thrax (235-238) and Proculus (280) are criticised by the author during his description of their reigns, not least because of their barbaric origins. However, both are praised for their campaigns against barbarians (*Max.* 10.2-3; *Tyr. Trig*. 13.3-4), reinforcing the statement made in the life of Severus Alexander. This suggests that in the mind of the author the protection of the state is of paramount importance, despite the other failings of these subjects.

[46] Marius' supposed background as a metal-worker is referenced at this point and others in the speech. His brief reign was restricted to 269 according to his coinage.

[47] The emperor Tacitus (275-276) is also praised for his desire to re-establish Roman superiority over barbarians as soon as possible during his reign. His successful campaign against the Heruli is described to the reader alongside his initial actions taking vengeance against those who had killed Aurelian.

[48] Marcus Aurelius (161-180) campaigned against the Marcomanni and various other Germanic tribes throughout his rule. This reference is to his final campaigns against the Marcomanni at the end of his life.

imperium and their conquests.[49] The allusions to imperial monuments offer the author another genre to allude to throughout his work, helping to reinforce the impression of a more serious tone. It is also important to recognise that the emperor is said to have saved Pannonia and his subjects there from servitude (*servitium*, 17.3) through his defeat of the barbarians; the emperor fulfils his duty by protecting the liberty of those living within the empire and maintains the natural order with barbarians, rather than Romans, as slaves.[50]

The panegyrical description of Probus' reign also highlights the subject's victories over barbarians and asserts Roman dominance.[51] The initial description of his reign within the life of Tacitus (16.6) highlights that he is not just appointed by the vote of 'all good men' (*omnium iudicio bonorum*; an important point about his interaction with the Senate that we shall explore shortly) but also that he 'had brought perfect peace (*pacatissimum*) by destroying barbarian tribes and…the very many pretenders who arose in his time'.[52] Once again, the reader is reminded that victories over non-Romans are an important part of any emperor's reign and those who succeed in this should be praised. Probus reasserts Roman dominance over the Germans who were 'puffed up with glory' (*efferebantur ad gloriam*) after their plunder of Gaul following the death of Aurelian (*Prob.* 13.6). The author declares that following Probus' victory the emperor manages to seize as much barbarian plunder from the enemy as the Germans had taken from the Romans. This complete reversal in fortunes is an indication that Probus successfully restores Roman superiority over barbarians and is one way in which the author uses barbarians to indicate a 'good' emperor.[53]

One major theme in the *Historia Augusta* is the author's sympathy for the Senate and insistence that a 'good' emperor pays respect to the authority of the senators.[54] It is no surprise, therefore, that the campaigns against barbarians within the text offer multiple situations where a 'good' emperor can demonstrate his respect for the senate and Roman traditions. In the case of Probus, this takes the form of not just being appointed by the

[49] For example, arches honouring the emperor Augustus at La Turbie (Plin. *HN.* 3.24) and Segusio (*CIL V* 07231 with discussion in Cornwell, 2015, 42) listing defeated barbarian tribes.
[50] Similar language is used of Claudius II (268-270) who frees the 'Roman nation… from its terrors' (*Claud.* 11.4) by successfully defeating a multitude of Gothic tribes (eight tribes are named at 6.2).
[51] Syme, 1968, 116.
[52] Probus (276-282) is an emperor 'to be preferred to Aurelian, to Trajan, to Hadrian, to the Antonines, to Alexander and to Claudius', according to the author, due to his many virtues.
[53] Probus' victories over barbarians are so important to his reputation as an emperor that the inscription on his tomb, supposedly built by his own troops despite their revolt, celebrates him as 'conqueror of all barbarian nations' (*victor omnium gentium barbararum*; *Prob.* 21.4). This suggests that in the eyes of soldiers, and possibly the author as well, this is the key aspect of his reign.
[54] White, 1967, 116.

senate in the first place (as mentioned above) but also describing his victory over the Germans as being a victory shared by both the Senate and the wider empire (15.2-6). In a letter to the Senate, Probus transfers the supplication of nine barbarian princes from his own feet to those of the senators and informs them that the Germans now serve the interests of the entire empire as farmers and soldiers.[55] In return for the fulfilment of his duties, the emperor requests that he be honoured by the Senate. The author uses imperial victory and the defeat and settlement of barbarians as a means to reaffirm the position of the senate in relation to the emperor in this example.[56] For Aurelian (270-275), on the other hand, victory itself can only be earned through submission to Roman tradition and the Senate.[57] When initially attempting to defeat the Alamanni and Marcomanni, the emperor fails in his duty to protect the empire due to his own incompetence in planning the campaign (*Aurel.* 18.2). However, when the Senate turn to the Sibylline books for guidance (18.4-6) the emperor demonstrates his piety by also submitting to their guidance (20.4-8) which in turn results in Roman victory.[58] Campaigns against and victories over barbarians are used by the author, therefore, as a means to persuade his readers of not just Roman superiority but also the primacy of the Senate and the piety of 'good' emperors.

However, barbarians also serve as rhetorical devices with which to criticise emperors. In a similar fashion to Ammianus' use of Fritigern and the Goths to criticise Valens, although in a less personalised manner as very few barbarians are named in the *Historia Augusta*, the author emphasises the failure of emperors to perform the task he considers to be the most fundamental of all imperial duties. The emperor Gallienus (253-268) is severely criticised

[55] Although the author does not give a list of the tribes to which the princes belong as we have seen in other instances, the reference to victory over nine princes (and by implication nine different tribes) still creates a similar, if less powerful, effect. The number creates an impression of the scale of the emperor's victory reinforcing the claims in the letter that 'all of Germany, throughout its whole extent, has now been subdued' and 'all the barbarians' now are in service to the empire (15.2). The scale of Probus' achievements is further enhanced by the references to the numbers of men slain, enslaved and cities rescued later in the letter (15.3).

[56] As Kreucher (2003, 188) notes, this letter, and others sent by the emperor to the Senate in the life of Probus, is used by the author to lend credence to his idea that an emperor should respect the authority of the Senate. Neither the fact that this letter was fabricated by the author nor the actual emperor's less than harmonious relationship with the Senate (193) affects the role of Probus within the work – he offers the reader an example of an emperor whose victories over the barbarians successfully enhance his own reputation and that of the Senate.

[57] As Syme (1968, 135) notes, the life of Aurelian provides the author's example of a model emperor, although Aurelian himself does not always measure up to the ideal.

[58] The spoils from Aurelian's campaigns against barbarians are later used to build temples at Rome (41.11), another example of barbarians being used as a device to demonstrate an emperor's piety.

for his failure to deal with the Gothic invasions during his reign.[59] These invasions, introduced immediately following a mention of the usurper Postumus' (260-269) valiant defence of Gaul from barbarians (*Gal.* 4.6),[60] are described as being a direct result of Gallienus' poor leadership (5.1). For the author, a 'bad' emperor who neglects his duties and revels in sloth and indolence (4.3) invites disasters onto the empire such as usurpation and invasion.[61] Despite not successfully campaigning against his enemies, Gallienus celebrates a triumph over various people including the 'Goths and Sarmatians, Franks and Persians… [in an attempt] to delude (*eludere*) the people of Rome' (8.7-9.1). This faux-triumph summarises the author's criticism of Gallienus as an emperor – the emperor cares merely for the appearance of power rather than the duties that he should be fulfilling, duties which are left to usurpers to fulfil. The final emphatic example of Gallienus' failure to deal correctly with the Goths is the time he spends 'in debauchery and taverns… [growing] weak in loving a barbarian woman' (*cum Gallienus… consenesceret*; *Tyr. Trig.* 3.4) while Postumus fights on behalf of the empire. Not only is he failing in his duty as an emperor, Gallienus is bringing a barbarian into the heart of the empire. Rather than proving Roman superiority on the battlefield, the emperor is lowering himself to the level of a barbarian through his abandonment of all self-control alongside his foreign mistress. This presentation of a Roman emperor is the complete antithesis of the Roman emperors we have seen above and seeks to present the reader with a negative image of Gallienus. However, despite the author's distaste for Gallienus, he is not the most barbaric emperor to appear in the pages of the *Historia Augusta*. In the figure of Maximinus, the author suggests that a barbarian is able to seize the most powerful role in Roman society and describes the disastrous consequences.

[59] The author's negative view of Gallienus may stem from the author's sympathy towards the Senate. Gallienus' exclusion of senators from military commands is noted by Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* 33.33-34), a source less 'partial' towards the Senate (Starr, 1956, 179-180), suggesting that this is still a noteworthy aspect of his reign in the second half of the fourth century. For the author of the *Historia Augusta*, who measures the worth of an emperor in part by the respect they show to the Senate, Gallienus is considered to have failed the state and is therefore a character to be criticised while his rivals are to be praised; De Blois, 1976, 58.

[60] Postumus is not the only usurper to be praised for his campaigns against the barbarians in contrast to Gallienus. Lollianus is also recognised for his later efforts to maintain the forts of Postumus (*Tyr. Trig.* 5.4). The author even suggests that had he failed to protect the border at that moment, the combined weight of the empire's enemies might have 'put an end to this venerable empire' (5.8).

[61] An earthquake follows the description of the Gothic invasion (5.2), the placement of which indicates further displeasure with Gallienus' reign (both divine and authorial).

3.4. The barbarian emperor

Although Maximinus is not the only individual of barbarian origin referenced in the *Historia Augusta*, nor in fact the only emperor said to have close ties with barbarians,[62] he is a unique character in the work as the author devotes considerable time to the narrative of his life. As such, it is possible to analyse the author's presentation of Maximinus, in particular the difference between his presentation as a soldier and as emperor. While certain elements of his character remain constant throughout the life, the increased criticism levelled at Maximinus upon his entry into the upper echelons of Roman society reinforces the idea that the author is not averse to the presence of barbarians in the army but resents their growing role in Roman society.

The emperor Maximinus was born in the province of Thrace in the mid-second century. According to both the *Historia Augusta* (*Max.* 1.5-7) and Herodian (6.8.1), upon whom the former draws for its narrative, the future emperor's parents were of barbarian origin and he was exposed to little Roman culture prior to entering into military service under Septimius Severus.[63] After gaining equestrian status,[64] Maximinus held a series of increasingly prominent commands under various emperors (Hdn. 6.8.1). In 235, Maximinus was ordered to train troops ahead of Severus Alexander's proposed German campaign. However, following the murder of Severus Alexander by his troops, Maximinus was proclaimed emperor in his place. Although this decision was ratified by the Senate, our literary sources indicate that neither party was popular with the other (*Max*. 8.9-11; Hdn. 7.10.1) and Maximinus never visited the city during his reign. The Senate even took the extreme action of promoting a series of other candidates to power in an effort to overthrow Maximinus.[65] The emperors Gordian I, Gordian II, Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordian III were all recognised by the Senate as official alternatives to Maximinus in 238. Despite the defeat of the former two rivals, the deaths of Maximinus and his son that year at the hands of his own soldiers brought an end to his short reign.

This reign is generally presented in a thoroughly negative light not just in the *Historia Augusta* but also in the history of Herodian. Arguably, therefore, the criticism of Maximinus

[62] As mentioned above, Proculus is said to have a Frankish origin.
[63] As Moralee (2008, 62) notes, there is little distinction in the mind of the author between those living at the borders of the empire and those beyond. This idea, combined with the pre-existing literary depiction by Herodian, is what allows the author to present Maximinus to his audience as a barbarian with impunity.
[64] Syme, 1971a, 188.
[65] Syme, 1971a, 175, 190.

could stem from the author's use of this earlier source. Certainly, some details, such as the origin of the emperor (*Max.* 1.5-7; Hdn. 6.8.1), his physical depiction (*Max*. 2.2; Hdn. 6.8.1) and savagery (*Max*. 17.1; Hdn. 7.8.9) are consistent between the two authors suggesting that the author of the *Historia Augusta* is drawing upon the themes and opinions of Herodian as well as his narrative details. However, as Barnes, Rohrbacher and Moralee note,[66] the author is willing to supplement Herodian with his own invented details (as we have seen with the names of Maximinus' parents) and embellishments which are indicative of his own style and opinions. These inventions, most notably the interactions between the Senate and the emperor, contain some of the strongest criticisms of the barbarian and his unsuitable character. Thus, the antagonistic attitude towards Maximinus also stems from the author himself, rather than simply being a repetition of Herodian's views.[67]

This critical view is largely built upon the idea that Maximinus is an inappropriate character to hold imperial authority. He is depicted as a more extreme version of the other barbarians in the *Historia Augusta*; Maximinus' savagery, gluttony, ill-discipline and incompatibility with Roman society are on constant display throughout his reign and justify the author's negative view. The most visible and frequently described of these qualities is Maximinus' uncontrollable savagery and cruelty (*crudelitas*). This aspect of his character is so extreme that it leads to the author repeatedly comparing him to a wild beast (9.1, 10.1, 11.6, 17.1). As with Ammianus' animal metaphors, the author wants to dehumanise his subject and emphasise that barbaric qualities such as savagery indicate that Maximinus is incompatible with the civilised Romans he is ruling and therefore does not belong within the empire.[68] Furthermore, the longer his reign continues, the more this savagery increases (11.6) and once enraged, it is only through drinking to excess that Maximinus is able to regain some semblance of calm (17.4-5).[69] This idea of Maximinus' cruelty and anger only increasing over the course of his reign is a contrast to the idea of civilising barbarians that we have seen in the works examined earlier – the longer that Maximinus spends within Roman society, the less civilised he becomes. This is no surprise given his misunderstanding of the nature of imperial power. Maximinus 'was convinced that the throne could not be held except by cruelty' (*erat enim ei persuasum nisi crudelitate imperium non teneri*; 8.8) and

[66] Barnes, 1978, 60; Rohrbacher, 2013, 164; Moralee, 2008, 61.
[67] Speidel (2016, 346) recognises that the author of the *Historia Augusta* is drawing upon other sources for his information beyond Herodian but that these are still subordinate to his own imagination.
[68] Moralee, 2008, 62.
[69] The idea of gluttony, another barbarian stereotype indicative of a lack of control and discipline, is also ascribed to Maximinus alongside his tendency to overindulge on wine (4.1). This offers another example of Maximinus' barbarian character and incompatibility with Roman values.

pre-emptively punishes the Senate and people of Rome for the scorn he expects to be given to him due to his background. Rather than demonstrate respect for the Senate, as the author feels is the duty of an emperor, Maximinus' animosity and misinterpretation of the core concept of imperial authority highlights that he is not just an unsuitable emperor but that he also does not belong within the empire itself.[70]

Even prior to his proclamation as emperor, the author indicates that Maximinus retains his barbarian nature and has not successfully integrated into the empire despite living within the empire for his entire life. While the author's initial description celebrates the 'strikingly big body', 'courage' and often 'just' nature that indicates he could have served the empire with distinction, his 'fierce… manners, rough, haughty, and scornful' nature offer evidence of the issues which will later make Maximinus unsuitable as both an emperor and a Roman (*erat enim magnitudine corporis conspicuus, virtute inter omnes milites clarus, forma virili decorus, ferus moribus asper, superbus, contemptor, saepe tamen iustus*; 2.2). Likewise, prior to joining the army, Maximinus is described as 'rioting in his barbarian way among the crowd' leading to Septimius ordering a tribune to 'school him in Roman discipline' (3.1). The explicit contrast between 'barbarian' (*barbaricus*) rioting and 'Roman discipline' (*Romana disciplina*) indicates that the author considers the two incompatible and that Maximinus belongs solely to the former. Even after his service in the army, Maximinus does not entirely shed this barbarian disrespect for discipline and is implicated by the author in the killing of Severus Alexander (7.4). This offers the ultimate example of a disregard for Roman order and discipline; the murder of an emperor, the embodiment of the state, implies a complete rejection by Maximinus of his role as a Roman commander, placing him outside of Roman civilisation.[71]

Nowhere is this incompatibility made more obvious than through the repeated cultural missteps of the emperor. Not only does Maximinus misunderstand the nature of imperial power (8.9), but his apparent lack of language skills prevents him from recognising when an actor calls for the audience to overthrow him during a performance (9.3-5). Instead, 'being a Thracian and a barbarian', he can not understand the actor and has to rely on a vague

[70] This was also reflected in his failure to travel to the city of Rome itself during his reign. Despite the fact that an increasing number of emperors would not pay their respects to the Senate in person, Maximinus' failure to visit the city during his reign was unusual for the time. As Syme (1971a, 190) argues, this disrespect was a major factor in the resentment of the Senate and their resistance towards Maximinus' rule.

[71] In the *Historia Augusta*'s narrative, this is Maximinus' first act upon taking command of the army. Unlike Herodian, who states Maximinus had previously held positions of authority (6.8.1), the author immediately attributes this act of treachery to Maximinus in order to emphasise his barbaric disloyalty as soon as he is powerful enough to overthrow the established Roman order.

translation by his companions. Similarly, when sending a message to the Senate to inform them of his victory over the Germans, the letter within the narrative is stated to be genuine due to its simplicity, 'for what is there in it of which a barbarian soldier were not capable?' (12.8). As Baldwin recognises, nowhere is Maximinus said to be illiterate, and given his long service as an officer that would be highly improbable, but the repeated denigration of his linguistic ability is part of the author's intent to prove that Maximinus is an outsider.[72] In the mind of the author, the inability of Maximinus to speak or write fluent Greek or Latin further places him on the outside of the Roman society, a fact attributable in both situations to his supposedly barbaric origin and not improved over the course of his life.

By contrast, the author suggests that Maximinus is more closely associated with barbarian peoples than the society he resides within. Rather than serve Macrinus, Maximinus returns to Thrace and supposedly spends his time trading with the Goths and Alans (4.4-5). Their positive attitude towards him, in contrast to his later reception by the Senate, indicates that he is more suited to life on the extremities of the empire than at its heart. He is so well liked that the barbarians consider this Roman commander 'as if he were one of themselves' (*quasi eorum civis*) while the Alans, whose role in the defeat of the Romans at Adrianople and in the successive years of warfare would not have faded from the minds of contemporary readers, 'hailed him as friend' (*amicus*). Following his death it is not any Romans who mourn him but the barbarians (24.1).[73] The closeness of Maximinus to barbarians, the large cultural gap between the emperor and the Roman elite and his inhumanly cruel nature all suggest that the author of the *Historia Augusta* wants to persuade his readers that Maximinus does not fit within civilised Roman society and his rise to the position of emperor threatens the fabric of Roman society.

However, that does not mean that the author presents Maximinus in a solely negative light. Whilst generally very critical of the emperor, the author praises Maximinus for waging wars against the German tribes very valiantly (*fortissimo*; 10.3). During these campaigns, Maximinus fulfills his duties as emperor and actively defends the borders of the empire. Although this is the minimum the author expects of emperors, his approval of the emperor's campaigns does indicate that he does not consider all of Maximinus' actions to be detrimental to the empire. But it is as a soldier that Maximinus is portrayed most positively.

[72] Baldwin, 1989, 125.

[73] Herodian specifies that it is the soldiers of Pannonian origin who mourn the deceased emperor (8.6.1) but the *Historia Augusta* only refers to 'barbarians' mourning his passing. As well as implying that those foreign soldiers serving in the army are in no way Roman, this phrase also reinforces the idea that the emperor was closer to those outside the empire than his own subjects.

As we have seen, his initial description (2.2), while critical of his mannerisms, does praise his physical characteristics and his *virtus*. These qualities highlight the potential Maximinus had as a soldier within the Roman army, a potential realised throughout Maximinus' early career. His popularity amongst his fellow soldiers and officers (3.6, 7.1) and loyal service to the family of Septimius Severus (4.4) are presented positively by the author. These examples reinforce the idea that the author has no issue with barbarians serving within the army, provided that there are not too many of them serving in one area.

It is this loyalty to the Severans that prompts Maximinus to leave his barbarian friends and offer to return to military service under Elagabalus (4.6). However, upon meeting with the emperor and being subjected to an example of his depravity (4.8), Maximinus refuses to serve under such a man (4.9). In this situation, the author is comparing two contrasting figures: the barbarian soldier and the embodiment of the Roman state. Yet it is the former who demonstrates he is more civilised than the latter, despite their relative circumstances. Through his rejection of service to an immoral emperor, the positive aspects of Maximinus are magnified. The courageous Maximinus has become 'the bravest man of his time' (*vir temporis sui fortissimum*) and is comparable to Hercules, Ajax and Achilles.[74] When juxtaposed with the description of Elagabalus as a *homo impurissimus* (5.1), Maximinus is elevated to the level of these heroic figures.[75] Nor is this a unique depiction – whilst wrestling and training soldiers (6.9), the size and military skill of the soldier once again prompts the author to refer to Hercules as a point of comparison for both other soldiers and the reader.[76] Whilst these are generally positive figures to be compared to, emphasising the almost mythical strength and military skill of Maximinus, all of these figures (with the exception of Milo) have an air of the barbarian about them. All of them are unable to control their anger and the Greek heroes frequently demonstrate a lack of discipline during the Trojan War.[77] As

[74] While associations with Hercules are often positive in the Roman world (as in the case of Maximian's adoption of the title 'Herculius'), he can also be used as a critical comparison as in the cases of Caligula, Nero and Commodus; Stafford, 2012, 153. In the case of the last, the author of the *Historia Augusta* is highly critical of Commodus and his attempts to become the 'Roman Hercules' (*Comm*. 8.5) are presented as an example of his failing as an emperor. Given his use of Hercules to criticise one emperor, the author could be reintroducing the deity with Maximinus to imply that he will also fail in his duties as an emperor.

[75] Syme, 1968, 118.

[76] The author also compares Maximinus with Milo of Croton (a sixth-century B.C. wrestler) and Antaeus (a son of Poseidon and Gaia who appeared in the Gigantomachy and was invincible as long as he was in contact with the ground).

[77] Despite the fact that at first only Antaeus appears to be a troublesome point of comparison, all of these figures have a barbarian element about them. Antaeus' status as a giant and antagonist in the Gigantomachy places him in opposition to the traditional Olympian gods and the civilisation that they protected (he is often depicted as unkempt in contrast to Hercules in order to emphasise his

such, they provide the author with perfect subjects with which to compare Maximinus; just like the future emperor, these characters have praiseworthy elements to their character and at times perform civilised actions but retain barbaric elements.

As a soldier, the author of the *Historia Augusta* presents Maximinus in a relatively positive light. He is capable of performing admirably in the service of the emperors and is well respected by both his fellow soldiers and his superiors despite his barbarian origins and lack of culture. However, as he rises towards the top of society, Maximinus' inability to integrate into Roman society becomes more apparent. His betrayal of Severus Alexander, his inability to understand the foundation of imperial power and his disregard for the Senate are amongst the author's major criticisms of his reign. These, coupled with his excessive barbaric traits, make Maximinus a model example of why the author feels that barbarians should not be allowed into higher office. As such, he resembles Ammianus' depiction of Nevitta (Amm. Marc. 21.10.8). Just like Maximinus, Nevitta is criticised for rising too high above his birth and moving from military command into a position of political power. His birth and lack of culture are also considered to be amongst the reasons that he is unsuited for a role within Roman civilisation. Unlike Ammianus, however, the *Historia Augusta* provides no other major figures whose positive examples imply that barbarians can be reformed.[78]

3.5. Conclusion

The figure of Maximinus encapsulates the author's view of barbarians and their roles inside the empire. When properly supervised, under the control of a powerful and dutiful emperor such as Septimius Severus, he is capable of fighting in the army and strengthening the Roman Empire. While his barbarian traits, such as his gluttony, never dissipate, they are suppressed

barbaric nature; Stafford, 2012, 56). The anger of Achilles is well noted throughout the *Iliad* and Ajax's lack of self-control causes his downfall following his failure to win Achilles' armour, characteristics which can be considered barbarian. Similarly, Hercules often embodies slightly barbaric characteristics despite his largely positive role as the bringer of civilisation through his taming of wild beasts and monsters; Jameson, 2005, 15; Hekster, 2005, 212. His gluttony and savage rage are retold in numerous stories and both are qualities that Romans would expect to see in their enemies rather than embodied by their emperors; Stafford, 2012, 51-54.

[78] The character of Maximinus' son provides an interesting, if minor, counterpoint to the author's criticism of Maximinus' reign. Unlike his father, the younger Maximinus (actually called Maximus) displays no barbaric qualities during his brief reign. In fact, the author declares that his fate while 'worthy of the cruelty of the father, [is] unworthy [of] the goodness of the son' (24.1). Much like Ammianus' depiction of Serapio alongside Chnodomarius, this can be interpreted as an indication that the author is not entirely critical of barbarians. However, as Moralee (2008, 63) argues, by highlighting the son's inability to marry into Roman society, the author indicates that even relatively civilised barbarians do not belong amongst the Roman elite.

and he can serve competently under the emperor. As the author argues through the words of Probus, this is true of most barbarians and barbarian soldiers are useful so long as they are not concentrated in a large enough mass to cause problems. It is only once they begin to overreach their proper station or are not properly controlled by a competent emperor that the fabric of the empire and senatorial control is compromised. For those barbarians outside the empire, there is only one correct course of action. The subjugation of the empire's enemies, who embody traits that are incompatible with the author's version of the state, is the duty of every emperor whilst barbarians, as the lowest form of life, should be defeated at every opportunity. Even poor emperors and usurpers, such as Maximinus and Postumus, are expected to fulfil this role. For the author, therefore, conflicts with barbarians provide a rhetorical device through which emperors can be judged; the fulfilment of this duty and the treatment of the Senate and the barbarians in its aftermath are means to portray the author's view and to influence readers.

4. Eunapius

4.1. Introduction

Eunapius' *History* provides another early Theodosian source depicting the barbarians who are fighting against and living within the empire. As with Ammianus and the *Historia Augusta*, Eunapius manipulates the literary *topos* of the arrogant, savage, treacherous, lustful and greedy barbarian in order to present both those within and those outside of the empire in accordance with his own views. Unfortunately, much of Eunapius' *History* has been lost and it has only survived directly in fragments (or excerpts quoted by later sources) and indirectly through the early sixth-century historian Zosimus' *New History* which was largely copied from earlier works. According to Photius (*Bibliotheca cod*. 98 II), who had access to the whole of Eunapius' history, Zosimus' *New History* is largely an accurate summary of the content of Eunapius while removing the more metaphorical language.[1] As such, we can use Zosimus to fill in the narrative where we do not have extant fragments and as supplementary material where Eunapius' own writing has survived. Barring some minor variations,[2] Zosimus 1.47 – 5.25 reflects the opinions of Eunapius expressed in his work and those of Dexippus and Olympiodorus prior to and after this point respectively. The sudden shift from criticism to praise of Stilicho after 5.25 acts as an indication that Zosimus is concerned with neither putting forward his own view nor smoothing out the differences between his sources in order to improve his own narrative.[3] This thesis will, therefore, treat Zosimus' work as generally an accurate summation of Eunapius and use both sources as a means to explore the representation of barbarians (with a preference for fragments of Eunapius' history where possible).

Eunapius was born in Sardis in 347 and raised there as a pagan. As revealed in his *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* (500, 485), he studied in his hometown with the philosopher Chrysanthius before moving to Athens in 362 and studying under the Christian rhetorician Prohaeresius. Returning to Sardis after four years,[4] Eunapius was convinced by his pagan friends to write a history continuing that of Dexippus and emphasising the unmatched reign

[1] Paschoud, 1989, 212.
[2] As Norman (1957, 132) and Chalmers (1960, 152) argue, Zosimus does on rare occasions try to correct errors in Eunapius and, as we shall see later in the chapter, does vary the description of Eriulf's death slightly although this does not significantly alter Eunapius' message within the narrative.
[3] Treadgold, 2007, 110.
[4] Treadgold, 2007, 81.

of Julian, whom they feared was in danger of being overlooked (Eunap. fr. 1). These friends included Oribasius, Julian's physician, who supplied Eunapius with his own personal notes to work from (fr. 15). Having completed a first draft of his history during the reign of Theodosius, which begins in 270 as a continuation of Dexippus' *Chronicle* and most likely ended with the death of Valens,[5] Eunapius turned his attention to the aforementioned work, the *Lives*. It is in this work that Eunapius' idea of a true Roman becomes apparent – with the exception of Prohaeresius, all of the *Lives* focus on pagan sophists who embody παιδεία,[6] highlighting Eunapius' affinity with traditional Hellenic pagans while he vilifies Christianity (476).[7] Having finished his *Lives*, Eunapius wrote a second edition of his *History*, reining in the anti-Christian sentiments and expanding the history until 404.[8]

Despite this, Eunapius' distaste for Christianity is still evident through both his disdain for Christian emperors (as we shall see) and his criticism of those who follow the religion. As Cameron argues,[9] this is not just the expression of his pagan commitment but a deeper belief about the decline of the empire. Eunapius suggests that the abandonment of the traditional pagan religion not only loses the favour of the gods but also leads to emperors becoming 'corrupted in a variety of ways: and in turn [corrupting] the empire they ruled'.[10] This corruption manifests itself in a number of ways, Valens' arrogance and his

[5] There are two major theories regarding the dating of this first edition of the history. Barnes argues (1976, 266; 1978; 2004, 123) that the first edition of the history should be dated to the early 380s but this has been challenged by Paschoud, who argues that this history would have covered the events of Theodosius' reign and would therefore have been published in or after 395 (first in 1980 and most recently in Baldini and Paschoud, 2014, 32). The scholarly debate has centred on Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* and its references to the edition of the history published by 399. Paschoud has argued that the *Lives* state that the history has already covered the destruction of Serapeum at Alexandria (472) which occurred in 391 but the initial edition of the history must have finished prior to 395 as the *Lives* mention that Alaric's invasion of Greece in late 395 will be a topic covered at a later time (476). Paschoud therefore maintains that the death of Theodosius would have been a natural stopping point for Eunapius as it occurred prior to Alaric's invasion. However, Barnes disagrees and argues that the reference to the contents of the history when describing the destruction of the Serapeum is actually a general reference to atrocities committed by Christian monks rather than a specific mention of the Serapeum. This is supported by the fact that none of the other thirteen references to the first edition of Eunapius' history in the *Lives* relate to any events which occurred during the reign of Theodosius. For this reason, Barnes argues that the first edition of the history ended with Adrianople and death of Valens, a viewpoint which has been accepted by Baldini (Baldini and Paschoud, 2014, 44-46). Barnes' arguments have been accepted by both Breebart (1979, 362-363) and Cameron (2011, 672-673) who believe that the most likely situation was that the version published by the time of the *Lives* ended with the death of Valens, even if it was not one of the two editions later mentioned by Photius.

[6] Breebart, 1979, 369.

[7] Sacks, 1986, 55.

[8] Photius, *Bibliotheca cod*. 77 I. On the dating of this second edition, see Liebeschuetz, 1990, 119 n.50.

[9] Cameron, 2011, 655; see also Matthews, 1989, 445.

[10] Cameron, 2011, 655.

commanders' greed allowed the Goths to enter the empire in 376 (Eunap. fr. 42), while Theodosius' laziness, a heaven-sent affliction, prevents him from destroying the barbarians despite having the potential to do so with ease (fr. 55). In other fragments, these issues are linked more explicitly with Christianity. In Fragment 48,2, for example, barbarians disguise themselves as Christian monks in order to cross into the empire.[11] The author does not lay the blame entirely upon the barbarians here despite their deception. Instead, they receive a measure of praise from the author for their maintenance of their 'noble' (γεννικῶς), traditional beliefs. Rather, the author decries the emperor thinking that these Christian oaths would be binding. It is belief in Christianity, which allows the Gothic trickery to succeed, that ultimately weakens the empire and leads to its further decline.[12] In Fragment 68, Eunapius criticises the idea of Roman victories over barbarians being attributed to 'the hand of God' in a painting.[13] Eunapius describes the Christian artwork as laughable due to the fact it takes the traditional imagery of imperial power, i.e. 'the bravery of the emperor [and] the strength of the soldiers', and replaces them with Christian imagery, in turn making a mockery of the idea of imperial victory. The theme of Christianity undermining the empire is consistent across both of Eunapius' works. Alaric, who had been appointed *magister militum per Illyricum* by 399 when he attacked Greece,[14] is described in the *Lives* (476) as a barbarian invader who is let into Greece by Christian monks.[15] It is this combination of Christians and barbarians who are responsible for the pillaging of Greece, destruction that Athens is only spared due to the intervention of the pagan goddess Athena (Zos. 5.6.1-3).[16] This implies that, for Eunapius, paganism offers the only protection from the combined threat of Christianity and barbarian invasion. Thus, these examples reveal the depths of Eunapius' criticisms of Christianity – it is the root of the decline in the empire, imperial authority and the subsequent rise in the barbarian threat. Within his history,

[11] Mathisen argues (1997, 677) that these were in fact real Christians despite Eunapius' account, while Lenski suggests (1995, 71) that in any mass conversion there are likely to be some holdouts and these would also have moved into the empire with the Christian converts. Regardless, the idea that these were deceitful barbarians who crossed into the empire fits thematically into Eunapius' *History*.

[12] Heather, 1986, 309.

[13] Woods, 1999, 143; Sivan, 1991, 100.

[14] *PLRE 2*, 43-48; Zosimus 5.5-6.

[15] As Brown (2011, 92) notes, Alaric was potentially acting on the orders of Rufinus to go to Greece and loot pagan temples, explaining the support of the monks for his actions.

[16] The sparing of Athens by Alaric is equated by Zosimus to its previous protection from damage during an earthquake during the reign of Valens. Although not a major theme within his works, this equation of barbarian destruction with a natural disaster may be an allusion to similar themes which we have seen in sources throughout the fourth century.

therefore, this decline forms a central theme, alongside the idea that a person's nature is unchanging.

In the introduction to his work, Eunapius seems to question the value of history-writing which prioritises chronology, arguing that a person's nature is immutable and thus the precise dating of any event is irrelevant as history serves to exemplify the character of those involved. Fragment 1 begins by acknowledging the merits of his predecessor Dexippus and summarising the period that Dexippus had narrated, stating that 'the guiding principle of [Dexippus'] History is to avoid the earlier material' and to cover a new period. His recognition of Dexippus' work and statement that he would continue on from it acknowledges that there should be an overall chronological framework for his work but he refuses to do a 'yearly chronicle' as in his mind it is impossible to work out precise dates and they are largely irrelevant compared to the characteristics of the subjects. He cites 'the wisdom of Socrates [and] the acuity of Themistocles' as examples, questioning whether they were 'great men only during the summer' (fr. 1,1 [ll. 42-44]). As Breebaart and Paschoud have argued,[17] this approach to the work stems from Eunapius' background as a sophist and a desire to demonstrate the moral values of his subjects rather than an accurate account of events.[18] The next section of the passage goes on to develop this argument further, stating that not only are the characteristics of these men on display through their actions, but they are also consistent throughout their lives – 'Did one see them growing and shedding their virtues like leaves according to the time of the year? Rather, both alike exhibited and preserved their virtues and their skills repeatedly and continually' (fr. 1,1 [ll. 44-48]). According to Eunapius' preface, an individual's character does not grow throughout their life but instead remains constant.[19] The events of his

[17] Breebart, 1979, 364 and Paschoud, 1989, 204.

[18] This focus on character being deduced through actions is reminiscent of the approach of the biographer Plutarch. In his introduction to the *Life of Alexander* (1.2-3), Plutarch states that character can sometimes be seen most acutely in the minor actions of an individual much as a painter can capture the essence of a portrait through the depiction of the face and eyes. Eunapius alludes to this metaphor directly by stating that he can recreate the character of an emperor he never knew like a 'portrait painter' focussing on the 'minor characteristics' of a face (fr. 50). The idea of revealing to the reader an individual's personality through their appearance also refers to the popularity of physiognomics in antiquity including during the late fourth and early fifth century. Although it is not frequently deployed by Eunapius in either his *Lives* or his history, physiognomics is employed by other authors around this time such as Ammianus in his necrologies and parodied by the author of the *Historia Augusta* and would therefore be familiar to the audience; Evans, 1969, 74-83; Rohrbacher, 2010.

[19] The same theory holds true for peoples as well as individuals – Eunapius offers the example of the Greek victory at Salamis as further proof that strict chronology is unnecessary, implying that the battle could have occurred at any time of year and it would have resulted in the same outcome due to the nature of those involved.

history will, therefore, reveal the true nature of his subjects consistently throughout the narrative regardless of the exact order in which they happen.[20] However, within the surviving fragments of the history and Zosimus' work it does not appear that Eunapius always maintains this approach. As we shall see, the Egyptian soldiers being redeployed to Macedonia who act as ideal Roman soldiers at the beginning of Zosimus' description become lazy and negligent over the course of their service (Zos. 4.30-31) whilst barbarians and farmers trained by Valentinian are instilled with discipline to transform them into true Roman soldiers (4.12).

Sacks explains this discrepancy through the example of Theodorus,[21] a pagan administrator in Antioch whose promotion leads to the corruption of his many virtues (Eunap. fr. 39).[22] Despite his 'natural proclivity to every virtue', high birth and charm, Theodorus is described as being easily swayed by flatterers and convinced to plot against Valens. Although this appears to be an instance of an individual's character being transformed through the events of their life, contradicting the theory presented in Eunapius' introduction, it can be interpreted in a different manner. As Sacks argues, the corruption is inherent within Theodorus throughout his life; it is his promotion to a position of authority and the subsequent access to the wealth and power that this role brought with it that exposes these moral failings to the world.[23] Theodorus and others of high rank, including the majority of emperors whose reigns are covered by the author, all exemplify another central theme of Eunapius' history, that figures of authority are generally corrupt and this will be evident from their actions.[24] As we shall see, those few who meet the author's moral standards are praised but their efforts are undermined by the greed of those around them.

The author uses barbarians in a variety of roles to support this theme and demonstrate the qualities of those interacting with the non-Romans. As with the other texts that we have seen from this period, barbarian individuals and groups provide Eunapius with examples of the lowest moral standards. The barbaric qualities of excessive savagery, arrogance and

[20] The natural conclusion of this theory is apparent in the author's description of the emperor Gratian (fr. 50). Despite not having any insight into the personality of the emperor, Eunapius is able to use examples of Gratian's actions from reports and gossip to infer the character behind them.
[21] Sacks, 1986, 60-62.
[22] Theodorus' virtues and destruction at the hands of Valens are also dealt with in Ammianus' work (30.1.5-2.21). Unlike Eunapius, he does not suggest that Theodorus was an inherently flawed individual and suggests that the evidence of his treason may have been suspect. Eunapius' decision to portray Theodorus as corrupted by his position likely reflects his desire to demonstrate that power brings out the worst in those who attain it and few are good enough to wield power properly.
[23] Sacks, 1986, 63; Breebart, 1979, 374.
[24] Rohrbacher, 2002, 70.

greed are demonstrated consistently throughout the fragments and Zosimus' narrative, providing a point of contrast with the qualities Eunapius expects his Roman subjects to display. This is most apparent through the frequent conflict between the empire and its enemies, where those under the command of the emperor should demonstrate the superiority of the empire's values. Thus, barbarians can be used as a measure by which to judge the success or failure of the emperors with whom they come into contact. However, the representations of barbarians are not solely negative in Eunapius' work. There are a number of barbarians, both individuals and groups, who are depicted as serving the empire loyally and do not display the same moral failings as their kinsmen or the majority of Roman leaders, thus making them suited for life within the empire in the mind of the author. In these instances, the origin of these men and their natural position in the societal hierarchy are less important to the author than the moral characteristics they embody and the role they serve in Eunapius' narrative by demonstrating the corruption of those around them, both Roman and barbarian, the superior morals of the author and those of a select few individuals.[25]

4.2. Julian and the traditional barbarian

Eunapius' account of Julian's reign begins with a second preface (fr. 15), detailing that the author has come to his true subject and that the purpose of his history is to record the deeds of a man of 'universal high repute'. Despite a few minor criticisms of his rule,[26] Eunapius portrays Julian as a just and wise leader in matters of both war and philosophy, celebrating his divine spirit (fr. 28,6) and mourning the decline in virtues that follows his death. It is natural, therefore, that Eunapius contrasts this beacon of Roman virtue with barbarians who embody the opposite values. Julian's fair and honourable nature is juxtaposed with the arrogance of Vadomarius and the treachery of the barbarians he is negotiating with. Similarly, the magnitude of Julian's clemency is also emphasised by the effect it has upon the Chamavi and Salii. However, these are not the only uses of barbarians within Eunapius' description of Julian's reign. The agreement between Constantius and the Germans to undermine the Caesar reveals the depth of the emperor's corruption and the

[25] These individuals are usually, although not exclusively, pagans – a fact that reinforces the author's negative representation of Christians.

[26] As Sacks (1986, 56) notes, Eunapius is critical of Julian's favour for Libanius over his teacher Prohaeresius (fr. 26,2) and implies in the *Lives* (7,4,10) that his history's account of the Persian expedition considers the campaign to be a failure prior to the death of Julian.

barbarian Charietto is shown to be adept at fighting in the service of the empire and using inherent traits of Germanic barbarians as a means to defeat those Germans who fight against Julian.

These traits are consistent with those we have seen throughout the fourth and early fifth centuries. Savagery, arrogance and treachery play a prominent role whenever barbarians are described in Eunapius' history. Julian's negotiations with Vadomarius in 359, for example, are undermined due to the latter's excessive arrogance. Unlike in Ammianus,[27] Vadomarius is a minor figure in Eunapius' work, only being described in one surviving fragment (fr. 19) and in one chapter of Zosimus (3.4) that is a summation of the campaign. The details of his capture by Julian and later career within the empire were either considered to be unimportant by Zosimus or were omitted by Eunapius in his original history. In either case, the Vadomarius we are presented with is a largely superficial figure whose role is to provide a foil for Julian. He is introduced as 'outstanding amongst the Germans for strength and daring' (fr. 19), presenting him as Julian's counterpart in the eyes of the author. Both men are not just the leaders of their people but the embodiments of a virtue valued by the subjects of each ruler. However, the next sentence immediately establishes the difference between the two. While the strength of Julian is tempered by his just nature, Vadomarius' strength has warped into arrogance (μεγαλαυχία) and leads to him making demands of the Caesar. Having given up his own son as a hostage (ὅμηρον), as a guarantee to return 3,000 Roman captives, Vadomarius breaks his part of the deal and threatens Julian until he returns his son. Julian's subsequent acquiescence is portrayed not as a sign of weakness but of measured thinking – the hostage in question is not of equal value to 3,000 Romans and Vadomarius is reminded of what will happen if he continues to act 'unjustly' and does not return the captives. For Eunapius, this serves as an example of the rational Roman facing the irrational barbarian. Despite the latter's bluster derailing the negotiations, Julian is able eventually to secure the return of the captives by acting as a true Roman ought.

The arrogance of Vadomarius threatening the empire with war and his treachery in breaking an oath made to an emperor are typical examples of barbarians in Eunapius. Beyond the account of Julian's German campaigns there are multiple examples of Gothic arrogance in the face of Roman strength. Following Valens' victory over the Gothic soldiers

[27] This strenuous negotiation between Vadomarius and Julian does not appear in Ammianus' work at all during his account of Julian's campaign, arguably suggesting that either his sources do not consider the diplomatic failure of Julian to have impacted the campaign or that Ammianus does not want to include this potentially embarrassing story.

sent to reinforce Procopius, the barbarians show their 'arrogance' even in defeat by shaking their hair following the surrender of their weapons (fr. 37 [ll. 9-10]). Rather than recognise Roman superiority, the Goths choose to insult the emperor's authority. Similarly, when the Goths have been chased out of their homeland by the Huns and are appealing for sanctuary within the empire, 'the boldest and most daring' barbarians show disdain for Roman strength by attempting to force their way into the empire (fr. 42 [ll. 20-22]). In both cases, barbarians who are at their weakest fail to recognise and show proper respect for Roman strength. This disrespect for imperial authority, regardless of Eunapius' opinion of the emperor in question,[28] offers further evidence that barbarians are often used by the author as examples of people unsuited for life within the empire.

On the other hand, Eunapius also uses barbarians as a means to demonstrate the power of imperial authority in the hands of Julian. In another example of his negotiations with barbarians, Julian is able to overwhelm totally the Chamavi and break down their resistance to Roman authority (fr. 18,6). Having defeated the Chamavi through the raids of Charietto (discussed below) and seeking to secure his supply lines,[29] Julian requests the best men of the tribe to act as hostages, a request the unnamed leader is unable to comply with due to the death of his son. The revelation that Julian had saved the boy as a hostage and his subsequent clemency in demanding only one further hostage from the Chamavi is said to be enough to make the Germans fall to their knees in supplication before the emperor and consider 'him a god'. Julian's virtues, in this case clemency, bring about the complete subservience of his enemies and firmly establish Roman dominance over their former foes. Likewise, Julian's wisdom brings about the same effect in another tribe when they seek to deceive the Caesar (Zos. 3.4.4-7). Here, by ensuring that he is properly informed of precisely who has been captured by the Alamanni and comparing this to the hostages produced, Julian is able to overcome the German attempt at deception and astound the barbarians by naming some of the individuals who should be returned, leading to the Alamanni vowing to return all those they found. Rather than succumb to barbarian

[28] As with Ammianus, Eunapius does not demonstrate a high opinion of Valens and criticises his wider rule (Zos. 4.10.1) as well as his role in the crisis at Adrianople (4.24.1). His general opinion of Valens and entertainment of the ruler's arguments has led Blockley (1983, 138) to reinterpret Eunapius' description of these negotiations and the subsequent war and peace settlement as sarcastic praise for the emperor (Zos. 4.11.4; Eunap. fr. 37 [ll. 16-29]). On the other hand, Eunapius' earlier criticism of the actions of the barbarians while moving across the empire makes his support for a leader demanding their safe return unlikely regardless of his opinion on Valens.

[29] This likely occurs in Julian's campaign over the winter of 357/358 and corresponds to Amm. Marc. 17.8.5. It also correlates with Zosimus 3.7.7 which suggests that the Quadi in Zosimus' narrative are actually the Chamavi of Eunapius and Ammianus; Paschoud, 2003, 80.

deception, the wisdom of Julian and the good level of organisation he has instilled in his administration allow him to not only see through the trickery of the barbarians but also convince the Alamanni that he has access to divine (θέιος) knowledge. In both of these examples the emperor, through his superior Roman values, overwhelms his enemies and makes their initial military defeat into a complete surrender to the Romans.

Julian's clemency also plays a role in the integration of the Salii and their subsequent service to the empire. Rather than wiping out the Salii, who had been forced into Roman territory after an attack by the Quadi (Zos. 3.6.1),[30] Julian decides to allow the Salii to continue to live on the land they have claimed as long as it is recognised as Roman territory (Eunap. fr. 18,1). Due to the submission of the barbarians, he orders his troops to consider the territory that they are marching into as Roman territory and therefore to neither pillage the land nor harm the inhabitants. While for Julian's soldiers this is a lesson in virtue,[31] for Eunapius' audience this speech epitomises the rule of a good emperor. Through the mouthpiece of Julian he states that 'courage, strength and physical force' are tools to be used against the enemies of the state who will not recognise the superiority of the Romans. On the other hand, for those who submit to his will voluntarily, like the Salii, an emperor should demonstrate 'justice combined with authority' which will make 'even those far away manageable and obedient' thereby securing the empire. These barbarians, by willingly submitting to the authority of an emperor prior to any use of force, prove that they are not characterised by the arrogance that makes others unsuited for life within the empire.

The Salii's lack of barbaric traits allows the author to suggest, through the words of Julian, that they should be treated as Roman subjects and not be harmed by the Roman soldiers during their marching. Most barbarians, however, are too savage, greedy or arrogant to serve within the empire. The example of the barbarian Charietto and his raids on the Chamavi soldiers under the authority of the Caesar Julian prove that not only are the external barbarian threats to the empire incompatible with its values but that those who serve in its defence can still possess qualities that Eunapius feels are unsuitable for 'true' Romans like Julian and Sebastianus (Zos. 3.7). Despite living within the empire and even

[30] If, as Blockley (1983, 141 n.26) suggests, Eunap. fr. 18,1 and Zos. 3.6.3 correspond with Amm. Marc. 17.8.3-4 then this negotiation would also date to the winter of 357/358 and confirm that the Salii are treated kindly due to their earlier embassies to Julian. It would also further strengthen the idea that the Quadi are the Chamavi.

[31] Rohrbacher, 2002, 247.

submitting to Roman laws,[32] Charietto retains some of his barbarian nature. In accord with Eunapius' belief that an individual's character is unchanging, Charietto, 'accustomed to [winning] plunder' with his fellow barbarians does not lose this desire when he moves to Gaul (3.7.1). Neither is his 'fierce' (θηριώδης) temper or 'clever and cunning' (ἀγχίνοιαν τῶν συλληστευόντων) mind in any way curbed due to his new role (Eunap. fr. 18,3). Instead these characteristics serve to defend the empire rather than harm it with his fellow barbarians being his new target rather than the Romans. With regard to the Chamavi, their attacks are motivated purely by greed and envy for Roman wealth which leads them to pillage a number of cities on the Roman side of the Rhine (Zos. 3.7.2). This moral bankruptcy manifests itself in the drunkenness of the barbarians after their raids.

Just as Theodorus is corrupted by the power he obtains, so too the Chamavi are undone by the plunder they obtain. Unable to control their urges, the barbarians overindulge on alcohol and are unable to defend themselves from Charietto's attack. As we shall see, the drunken barbarian unable to defend himself is a literary device which Eunapius often utilises in order to demonstrate that negative characteristics will always resurface given any opportunity to the detriment of the subject or those around them. After initial success in crippling the Chamavi army and devastating their morale, Charietto's raids are officially authorised to continue by Julian who has recognised that a small band of brigands will have more success against the raiders than a larger military force (3.7.4-5). Charietto's force has until this point been made up of brigands, who according to Libanius (*Or*. 18.104) had been supporters of the usurper Magnentius, but it is worth noting that Julian orders the Salii to join the battle with the Chamavi. In the emperor's mind, those who have willingly submitted to the empire earlier in the campaign are already loyal and fit to serve the empire in some capacity.[33] Ultimately, Charietto's campaign against the Chamavi provides us with further reinforcement of a number of Eunapius' major themes: firstly, the Chamavi, who exemplify the worst of barbarians through their greed and arrogance, are undone by their own drunkenness. Secondly, the Salii, who have already proven their loyalty and

[32] Charietto seeks legal approval for his attacks on the Chamavi after his raids and is eventually employed by Julian formally to carry out the raids (3.7.2, 5) potentially indicating a desire to be fully integrated into Roman society or at least to obtain Julian's favour which he achieves as Julian entrusts him with a task during a later campaign (Amm. Marc. 17.10.5). This is the only mention of Charietto in Ammianus, who gives no notice to this guerrilla campaign; Blockley 1983, 131 n.28.

[33] This attitude is not shared by Zosimus, who suggests the Salii are added not due to their loyalty but due to their knowledge of brigandage. However, it is unclear if this attitude towards the Salii would have been present in Eunapius' history as Zosimus has omitted Eunapius' points on how clemency and wisdom can help secure the borders of the empire, which would be proven here if the Salii willingly serve Julian at the first opportunity.

ability to serve the empire through their willing submission to Julian, are able to play a role in the empire defeating its enemies. Thirdly, Charietto, an individual who demonstrates barbaric qualities, does not change his character during the narrative. Although he acts on behalf of the empire and seeks to defend towns rather than pillage them, his temper is never said to cool and he continues to kill his enemies ruthlessly (3.7.5). Finally, the wisdom, and by extension wider character, of Julian is validated as his use of Charietto and the Salii enables him to force the Chamavi to negotiate, which leads to the fragment examined earlier.[34]

By contrast, Constantius II's leadership is called into question by the author through his use of barbarians. According to Eunapius, Julian's mission to Gaul is not intended to stabilise the empire but is instead a trap laid by Constantius to destroy the Caesar (Eunap. fr. 14,1). The virtues of Julian, which are admired so highly by the author, are a source of envy for the Augustus and leads him to align himself with the empire's 'natural enemies' (φύσει πολέμιον) to bring down his rival. As Sacks states,[35] for Eunapius 'the true moral fibre will eventually become clear' and the weaknesses of Constantius' character, especially the jealousy and paranoia that Ammianus also recognises (15.2.1), are amplified by the power he wields and lead him to seek to protect his own interests over those of the state. Thus, Eunapius demonstrates that an unworthy emperor seeks to destroy a worthy Roman no matter the cost to himself or the empire which he is charged with protecting and that barbarians serve as a tool for him to do so. Their victories over Julian are to be seen as Constantius' victories and their defeats as his own. As with Constantius, these unnamed barbarians are acting against their natural state of being by allying themselves with a Roman but given the greed traditionally present within barbarians, their motivations can be explained. For Eunapius' audience, seeing the depravities which an emperor is willing to commit in order to remove a rival would be more distressing. Julian and Constantius II, therefore, provide contrasting images of imperial authority in the eyes of the author. The former provides an example of a near perfect emperor who balances his military skill with

[34] Julian is not the only emperor who attempts to demonstrate his wisdom in allowing suitable barbarians to be settled within the empire. Following their submission to him, the emperor Probus settles two groups of barbarians on Roman land (Zos. 1.71.1-2). The Bastarnae reveal that they always had the potential to be model citizens through their adoption of Roman laws and customs. The Franks, on the other hand, prove to be too barbaric for life within the empire. Having likewise submitted to the emperor and been given land, they choose not just to reject the traditions of the empire but also to revolt against the emperor who had allowed them to settle. While his efforts to settle the Bastarnae indicate that Probus is trying to do his duty as an emperor, his poor judgement over the Franks suggest that he does not equal Julian in that regard. For further evidence relating to Probus' settlements, see de Ste. Croix, 1981, 512.

[35] Sacks, 1986, 58.

clemency and wisdom in his internal and external policies. He consistently demonstrates his character through his interactions with barbarian rulers and raiders, even incorporating those who are proven to have worthy virtues into the empire. Constantius, on the other hand, is led by his own flaws to abuse his power to the detriment of the state and uses barbarians as tools to achieve his private goals.

4.3. Valens and the Goths

Eunapius' depiction of Romans and Goths in the lead up to Adrianople provides both internal and external examples of individuals and groups whose characteristics make them unsuitable for life within the empire. Most obviously, the Gothic invaders are depicted as traditionally barbaric – not only do they disobey the commands of the emperor upon whose lands they hope to settle but their greed and aggression once on Roman territory makes it apparent that they can never truly settle inside the empire; even those who have spent an extended period of time within the empire as hostages demonstrate too many negative qualities. However, Eunapius attributes blame for the crisis to more than just barbarians: weak leadership from the emperor, the corruption of the court and the moral failings of those responsible for organising the crossing all combine to allow the crisis to occur.

The initial cause of the crisis, as with Ammianus (31.3), is attributed to a war between the Huns and the Goths. The defeat and massacre of the Goths leads to the survivors arriving upon the banks of the Danube in 376 and appealing to the emperor for admission and settlement within the empire (Eunap. fr. 42). In part, the offer of the Goths to serve as auxiliaries is accepted by Valens for the same reason given in Ammianus (31.4.5). However, Eunapius also explicitly states that Valens acts out of jealousy of his younger colleagues in imperial authority who had not consulted him when dividing their father's land (Eunap. fr. 42 [ll. 12-19]). In the mind of the author, Valens' selfish desire to increase his personal manpower can be seen as one of the initial causes of the crisis that is to follow as, rather than make a decision that would benefit the empire, his imperfect character leads him to allow the Goths to enter the empire. Nor is Valens the only individual whose character leads to him putting his own interests above that of the state. Each of the unnamed men chosen to control the crossing of the barbarians is corrupt in some manner:

> 'One was smitten by a fair and pretty boy amongst those who had crossed, another was taken by the beautiful wife of one of the captives, another was captivated by some maiden, and they were all mesmerised by the valuable gifts given them… Overpowered by the Scythians in this disgraceful and criminal (παρανομωτάτην) manner they received them with their weapons as if they were some long-standing benefactors and saviours' (fr. 42 [ll. 31-40]).

The situation, created by the emperor's failings, is allowed to escalate due to the 'mad lust' and greed of those who are supposed to carry out their superior's commands. The emphatic wording of this passage makes clear who the author believes is to be blamed for the ensuing disasters – the Goths will always act like stereotypical barbarians, as Eunapius believes that their inherent nature can not be changed, but a stronger emperor or different officers might have prevented the crisis. Instead, barbarians who should have been destroyed are treated as allies, a situation made evident by the attempt of the courtiers to shame those soldiers who had earlier prevented an illegal crossing by force (fr. 42 [ll. 20-26]). As during the reign of Constantius II, the moral weakness of those at the top of society leads to the upset of the natural order and threatens the idea of Roman superiority over their enemies.

Naturally, the Goths who appeal to Valens break their promises almost immediately upon their admittance to Roman territory. Having promised to serve as 'faithful soldiers', (Zos. 4.20.5), the Goths take advantage of Roman negligence to pillage Thrace. This act 'revealed the degree of their barbarism' (Eunap. fr. 42 [l. 44]) as it indicates that not only are the barbarians willing to betray promises made to the Romans but also promises they made to their gods. This faithlessness is matched by the arrogance of the Goths who do not anticipate any resistance to their siege and thus provide an easy target for the Saracen cavalry sent ahead by Valens (fr. 42 [ll. 82-86]). These Gothic soldiers perform the role of the traditional barbaric raiders within the narrative of the failure of Valens and his soldiers. No names are given for the Gothic leaders,[36] instead they are presented as a faceless mass threat throughout the following years of the narrative, providing a backdrop to the politics surrounding the various emperors and their subordinates.

[36] Fritigern is not named in the surviving fragments of Eunapius and is only named in Zosimus ahead of Athanaric's entry into the empire and subsequent funeral (Zos. 4.34.2). This reflects a wider trend in Eunapius' work where, unlike Ammianus, he is rarely concerned with the names or personalities of those who fight the emperors and is more concerned with the virtues of those in service to the empire and how these are demonstrated in his narrative.

It is the Gothic hostages, however, who demonstrate the most barbaric nature of all according to Eunapius.[37] Supposedly taken in as hostages, the youths who are the first to cross the Danube grow to sudden maturity as their kinsmen enter into the empire and take the first available opportunity to display their 'fury' and plan to devastate Roman towns (Zos. 4.26).[38] Rather than temper their foreign instincts, their time in the empire brings them 'prematurely to [a] warlike age' and fills Thrace 'with anger and madness and killing' when there is no available force to suppress their revolt (Eunap. fr. 42 [ll. 45-77]). The ferocity with which these barbarian youths attack the Romans 'who had received them' indicates that their time within the empire has not in any way altered their nature or made them more suitable subjects, instead it has only served to increase their strength and give them easier access to the wealth of the empire. Rather than depict an accurate account of the participants and motivation for the revolt, Eunapius provides his readers with a cautionary tale. He demonstrates the ease with which barbarians can destroy the empire from within should those who are tasked with the defence of the empire fail to perform their duties. The rapid growth of the enemy within the empire reflects not just his fears over the increasing number of barbarians serving within the state but also the moral decline of those within the state, barbarian and Roman alike, from the highpoint of Julian's reign.[39]

According to Zosimus, the threat of this revolt is eventually ended in 379 through the manipulation of Gothic greed (Zos. 4.26.7-9).[40] A trap is set for the barbarians by the

[37] According to Ammianus (31.6.1-3), this group are not youths but adult Goths, most likely auxiliaries (see Den Boeft et al., 2018, 108 for the extensive literature on the nature of these individuals), under the leadership of two chiefs, Sueridas and Colias, who had entered the Roman empire some time prior to the crossing of the Thervingi and Greuthungi. They had been stationed in Adrianople through the winter but upon receipt of an order to move to the Hellespont with no notice or supplies and under threat from a mob led by the chief magistrate they revolted and joined forces with Fritigern.

[38] As Blockley (1983, 141 n.94) notes, Zosimus only deals with the revolt in the context of its defeat and makes little mention of the destruction it causes. However, it is worth pointing out that his narrative still retains the reference to the 'fury' of the hostages (4.26.8).

[39] Contrary to Rohrbacher's argument (2002, 233), Eunapius is not opposed to barbarians serving within the empire. We have seen the Salii and shall examine the cases of Fravitta, Arbogast and Bauto all of whom are non-Romans whom the author welcomes into the empire. Rather, Eunapius is critical of all those who demonstrate barbaric qualities regardless of their origin. Non-Romans are just more likely to embody these traits in the mind of the author.

[40] Ammianus dates this revolt to 378 (31.16.8) prior to the accession of Theodosius, an interpretation favoured by Den Boeft et al. (2018, 293-296), which means the *magister militum* acts at a time when there is no emperor in the east to report to. The placement of this event in the following year in Eunapius' and Zosimus' account may be a means of further criticising Theodosius by inviting comparison between Julius' strict actions towards the Goths and the more seemingly lenient attitude of the emperor later in his reign.

magister militum Julius under the authority of the Senate of Constantinople.[41] Upon hearing that the emperor intends to buy their loyalty with land and money, the youths set aside their anger and willingly attend local sites at which they are massacred by the troops stationed there. Zosimus' account of the end of this revolt demonstrates the values that Eunapius wants to see within citizens. Rather than the character flaws of a Roman leader leading to barbarian superiority, as had happened throughout Valens' final war with the Goths, it is a barbarian flaw that is being exploited to secure the empire. The Roman in charge of the operation also acts not out of self-interest but under the authority of an authorised body in a manner which will be most 'conducive to the public good'.

4.4. Sebastianus and Theodosius

Eunapius' criticism of the flawed emperor Valens is further emphasised through his praise for the *magister peditum* Sebastianus. Despite the latter's non-imperial status, he is presented to the reader as the true leader in the Gothic war, whose strategy is eventually undermined by the corrupt nature of the those in power rather than due to any military error. In Eunapius' history, Sebastianus proves to be the ideal Roman commander, standing in stark contrast to those unnamed Roman commanders who fail to control the entry of the Goths into the empire. Unlike Valens, who is unable to reassert Roman dominance over their enemies, Sebastianus' victories stem from his reinstatement of discipline amongst the lax soldiers who have failed to protect the empire. Nor is Valens the only emperor whose deficiencies are highlighted through Eunapius' praise for his ideal commander: Theodosius' subsequent attempts to lead the army also appear inadequate compared to his predecessor Sebastianus as the qualities of the soldiers noticeably deteriorate under his command. According to the author, the main difference between Sebastianus' troops and the barbarians he is facing is the discipline of the former in comparison to their enemy, who are ill-prepared and have a propensity for drinking heavily. This imagery is a recurring motif throughout Zosimus' history indicating that Eunapius wants his audience to understand the contrast between Roman order and barbaric chaos and the natural superiority of the former. However, when the security of the state has been jeopardised by

[41] According to Eunapius, the death of Valens leaves Julius unsure of whether or not to ask Theodosius' views on how to deal with the revolt as the new emperor has not ratified his appointment. The Senate provides an alternative authority to which Julius can turn.

those responsible for its care, Eunapius demonstrates this through a reversal of the same image – Roman ill-discipline is easily overcome by rampant barbarian aggression.

Sebastianus was an important figure in the second half of the fourth century, holding numerous positions in both the east and the west. Sebastianus was first seen as *dux Aegypti* during the reign of Constantius II, where he clashed with Athanasius and his followers,[42] before being appointed *comes rei militaris* by Julian during his ill-fated Persian campaign (Amm. Marc. 23.3.5).[43] Afterwards, he was maintained in his command and served in the west under Valentinian and his successors until he was re-assigned to the east in 378. Valens appointed Sebastianus *magister peditum* and gave him a command in the war against the Goths, a position he held until he was killed in the disastrous battle of Adrianople later that year. There are conflicting accounts over the reason for Sebastianus' move to the east in our extant sources. According to Eunapius (fr. 44,3), while admired by his peers for his 'lack of greed' (ἀφιλοχρήματον), Sebastianus is not viewed favourably by other members of the western court and his frugality makes him an easy target for removal by the eunuchs in the court,[44] who resent his 'uprightness' (ὀρθότητα). Ammianus, however, suggests that Sebastianus' transfer to the east is not due to the actions of the eunuchs in the western court but is instead caused by the uncertainty over the succession following the death of Valentinian in 375 (Amm. Marc. 30.10.3). As a result of Sebastianus' virtues and popularity with the troops, Merobaudes removes Sebastianus to a distant post in the west in order to prevent his Gallic soldiers acclaiming him emperor rather than Valentinian II.[45] Sebastianus' subsequent request to move east from Italy is likely to have stemmed from this side-lining under the new regime (31.11.1).[46] Sebastianus' abilities and

[42] Athanasius refers to Sebastianus as a Manichaean (*Hist. Ar.* 59), a claim repeated by later Christian authors (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* II.28; Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II.11), although Tardieu argues (1988, 496) that this label is merely introduced to reflect the cruelty of Sebastianus in the eyes of Athanasius and the other Christian sources and therefore cannot be taken at face value. However, if Sebastianus is not a Manichean and our other sources, such as Eunapius, Ammianus and Libanius, make no mention of the Roman commander being a pagan, the implication is that Sebastianus was in fact Christian. This would make Sebastianus a rare example of a good Christian in the eyes of Eunapius.

[43] *PLRE 1*, 812-813.

[44] The implication of Eunapius' words is that this admiration does not result in any political support in the court for Sebastianus while his morals and lack of wealth mean that he is also not able to bribe or buy favours from other members of the court in order to protect himself from the machinations of his enemies.

[45] Gratian had already been proclaimed Augustus in 367 but, as Ammianus (30.10.1) notes, his presence in Trier leaves a potential opening for someone other than Valentinian's children to be proclaimed emperor by the troops in Gaul.

[46] As Lee suggests (2015, 113), Ammianus' account of Sebastianus being a potential alternative to Valentinian II makes it more likely that he was manoeuvred into moving east by the western courtiers than that he was requested by Valens.

the loyalty he inspires are feared by both his fellow commanders and the eunuchs, and this coupled with Eunapius' view of Sebastianus as an 'exemplar of virtue' (ὑπόδειγμα… ἀρετῆς) many years after his death (fr. 44,3), suggests that there is some truth to the idea that he was considered a legitimate imperial candidate in the mid-370s and adds weight to his position in Eunapius' narrative as a point of comparison to the military incompetence against barbarians of both Valens and Theodosius.

Once given command in the east by Valens, Sebastianus begins the process of restoring discipline to the army (Eunap. fr. 44,4). As we have seen in Chapter Two, the discipline of soldiers can be seen as a reflection of their Roman nature. For Ammianus, well-drilled soldiers who properly maintain their equipment are true Romans and are naturally superior to their enemies. On the other hand, a lack of *disciplina* indicates that these soldiers are neglecting their duties and suggest a wider failing within the empire. This idea is also present within Eunapius whose writing indicates that the negative characteristics (greed, lust and jealousy) exemplified by Valens and his commanders which allowed the Goths to enter into the state in an uncontrolled manner had also contributed to the decline in the standards of the troops tasked with the defence of the empire. Sebastianus is faced with troops who embody 'dissoluteness' (ἀναγωγία) and are not suited to combatting the enemy. However, Sebastianus is able to rectify the situation and reinstate discipline which subsequently leads to victories over the Goths. Arguing that it is 'a hard task to recall a large number from bad habits' (Eunap. fr. 44,4), the commander selects 2,000 soldiers to form the basis of his army and passes over the other troops due to their ill-discipline (Zos. 4.23.2).[47] The example he sets for his soldiers, described in detail in the previous fragment of Eunapius,[48] and that set by this initial group of recruits, will enforce a level of discipline in all future recruits, slowly leading to the restoration of the army.[49] Sebastianus and his

[47] Spiedel suggests (1996, 435-437) that these soldiers are taken from Valens' horse guard and not the wider army. While the discipline of these troops is improved by Sebastianus, the ill-discipline of the soldiers who remain under the emperor's command may be linked to their rash attack at the beginning of the battle of Adrianople, eventually leading to the Roman defeat.

[48] Fr. 44,3 emphatically praises Sebastianus' qualities as a leader – his excellence (ἀρετῆς) stems from his careful nature, his frugality, his love of his men and his discipline. This results in a successful commander who maintains order strictly but secures material profit for his men.

[49] It is also worth noting that, according to Eunapius (fr. 44,4), Valens is grateful for Sebastianus' strategy to raise only 2,000 new recruits but needs the reasoning to be explained to him. This implies that the emperor does not appreciate Sebastianus' strategy for its ability to restore discipline to the army and security to the empire but instead his initial agreement to the general's plan stems from its cost-saving nature, further emphasising his failings in comparison to Sebastianus. This critical account of the emperor's priorities concurs with Ammianus' description of Valens' acceptance of the Goths into the empire (31.4.4). Not only is he unable to recognise the unsuitability of those barbarians he believes will serve in his army, he is also motivated by a desire to increase his

soldiers, therefore, provide a contrast to the subsequent example of Theodosius who oversees a deterioration in the standards of the imperial soldiers under his command after taking over the eastern empire and the war with the Goths the following year in 379. As we shall see, Theodosius' lax camp leads to model soldiers from the Egyptian provinces becoming lazy and ultimately allowing a barbarian invasion, whereas Sebastianus' emphasis upon discipline can restore a group of disorderly Romans into a competent fighting force that can successfully defend the empire. This feat can be seen in Zosimus' narrative of Sebastianus' victories. With the barbarians having become more arrogant due to their successes in battle, Sebastianus and his soldiers meet and defeat the Goths as they lie drunk or are weighed down with plunder (4.23.4). These situations exemplify the restoration of the traditional superiority of the Romans over barbarians in the mind of Eunapius; a figure, having restored discipline amongst his fellow Romans, defeats an enemy as they are attempting to sate their overwhelming greed, through seizing plunder, or as they demonstrate a lack of self-control, through becoming intoxicated.[50]

Sebastianus' actions demonstrate a fundamental truth in Eunapius' work – Roman values will always prove superior to those of other peoples. Thus, Sebastianus and the troops he has trained defeat their enemies as the latter display traditional barbaric traits. Within the narrative, Roman discipline is pitted against barbarian greed and the former is emphatically victorious. The importance of this theme within the text is made evident by its repeated occurrence.[51] We have already seen that Charietto's successes against the Chamavi are

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treasury. In both cases, Valens is characterised as unable to understand what makes a true Roman soldier and instead is more focussed on wealth than the security of the empire. This transforms a successful aspect of his reign, one that even Ammianus himself recognises (31.14.2; Lenski, 2002, 241), into a point of criticism in these instances.

[50] As Mattern (1999, 71-75) notes, barbarian drunkenness is a traditional motif within ancient literature (e.g. Polyb. 2.19.4 on the Gauls, Cass. Dio 51.24.2 on the Scythians and Tacitus *Germ*. 22-23 on the Germans). The imagery is still used by authors in the fourth century as an indication of barbarity – Ammianus' digression on the Gauls (15.12.4) emphasises that this is still a vice of the former barbarians despite their conquest occurring over 400 years prior and their successful integration into the empire; Woolf, 2011, 260. Excessive drunkenness is a useful image for authors as it implies an inherent incompatibility with the civilised world, transforming what the Romans regard as a symbol of their civilisation (wine and the vine) into a barbaric excess through a lack of self-control and contrasting with Roman discipline; Phang, 2008, 261-262.

[51] Zosimus' description of the reign of Gallus (251-253) also provides an example of Roman corruption allowing for barbarians to take advantage of the empire. The ineffective rule of Gallus encourages various foreign groups to enter and plunder the territory of the Romans (1.27.1). These barbarian victories and the ensuing wealth they have gathered in turn causes the defenders of the empire to sink further into despair, perpetuating the cycle (1.28.1). This process can only be broken by an appeal to the traditional 'renown of Roman courage' by a competent commander, enabling the Romans to reassert their superiority over barbarians through a surprise victory. This example does not come from Eunapius but rather from Dexippus' *Chronicle* suggesting that his histories may have contained similar themes about the corruption of Roman values as his successor. However,

depicted as a contrast between his caution and their drunkenness when they also overindulge after a victory (3.7.2). Similarly, Modares, having been praised for his loyalty to the Romans,[52] easily defeats a number of barbarians who are indulging in the spoils of their victories and have become intoxicated (4.25.2). The emperor Valentinian is able to secure peace with the barbarians beyond the Rhine without the need for a battle by transforming Germanic recruits and farmers into an effective fighting force through his focus upon discipline (4.12.1). In all of these examples, a Roman commander who exemplifies a traditional virtue is proven to be superior to barbarians and their inability to control their vices.[53] However, one of the most explicit examples of the superiority of Roman values and warnings over the dangers of ill-discipline is provided by a group of Egyptian soldiers under the command of Theodosius.

Zosimus (4.30-31) provides a detailed description of the fate of the soldiers from the Egyptian provinces (Αἰγύπτιοι) who are transferred from their homeland to Macedonia to replace newly recruited barbarians (βάρβαροι) who are to be stationed in Egypt.[54] While the narrative begins by exemplifying the differences between soldiers native to the empire and foreigners, it ends by emphasising that the deteriorating values of Roman leaders affects those serving under them. The Goths display a number of barbaric traits along their journey (Zos. 4.30.4). As well as displaying a level of avarice and a lack of obedience to both their commander and Roman laws,[55] one barbarian shows his true nature when he viciously attacks a shopkeeper and bystander after they ask him to pay for the goods he has taken. This unjustified savagery is directly contrasted with the behaviour of the Egyptian soldiers

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despite a number of new fragments of Dexippus' *Skythica* having been analysed recently by Jones (N.D.a, N.D.b), Martin and Grusková (2014) and Mallan and Davenport (2015), these new fragments do not explicitly demonstrate this theme although they do display barbarian arrogance, treachery and disorder.

[52] Modares' Gothic ancestry and short time within the empire are specifically mentioned by Zosimus ahead of his actions on behalf of the state. The author uses him as an example of a barbarian capable of being integrated successfully into the empire in direct contrast to those he is fighting.

[53] Even Valens' victory over Athanaric's Goths can be attributed to the superiority of Roman values. The attention he pays to the discipline of his army (Zos. 4.10.3) can be contrasted with the barbarians' cowardice (4.11.2).

[54] According to Zosimus these barbarians enter the empire intending to pillage the land when their numbers grow large enough (4.30.1), a fact not recognised by the emperor. However, his decision to move the new soldiers to Egypt as their large numbers make them unruly (4.30.2) indicates that he recognises their potential threat despite their willingness to serve. The subsequent conflict between the two groups of soldiers occurs at Philadelphia, approximately 50km from Sardis, in 379. For a discussion on the identity of the Egyptian unit involved, see Paschoud (2003, 397) who suggests the *V Macedonica* or the *XIII Gemina* amongst other potential candidates. The barbarian invasion Zosimus goes on to describe occurs in the spring of the following year.

[55] Zosimus states that (4.30.1) the barbarians only agree to serve in the Roman army as part of a plan to betray the Romans and overthrow the emperor when their numbers grow large enough.

who display 'great order', pay for their goods and listen to their commanders (4.30.3-5). Upon standing up for the citizens, and the law itself, the Egyptians defend themselves from the barbarians and easily defeat them, restoring proper order to the barbarian troops. This example not only reinforces a recurring theme within both Eunapius' and Zosimus' histories, that Roman discipline and values are superior to barbarian savagery and greed,[56] but also emphasises that these particular barbarians are unsuited for life within the empire despite having been brought into the empire under the orders of Theodosius.[57]

In the next chapter, however, the standards of these same ideal troops are shown to deteriorate due to poor discipline within the camp. The lax standards set by Theodosius and the intermingling of the Egyptian soldiers with their unsuitable colleagues makes the formerly model soldiers indistinguishable from the barbarians around them (4.31.1). As with Theodorus and in accordance with Eunapius' central theme, the inherent flaws in the characters of these soldiers are revealed through the failings of their commander – because of Theodosius' inability to maintain control of his soldiers they are unable to maintain the high standards demanded of true Romans.[58] Nor are these Egyptians solely interacting with others who are defending the empire. According to Eunapius and Zosimus, Theodosius' poor leadership leads to barbarians who are supposed to be serving in the army returning beyond the frontiers and sending others to take their place. This free movement of soldiers implies not just a lack of loyalty amongst those who are abandoning their posts but also that those who take their place had neither any loyalty to the empire

[56] Southern and Dixon, 1996, 174.

[57] Given that the author describes the soldiers as Egyptian, rather than more generally Roman in contrast with the barbarian soldiers, the reader might expect some reference to the traditional idea of eastern stereotypes with their introduction in this chapter, for example eastern effeminacy or Egyptian deviousness (see Isaac, 2004). However, their absence from this section of the work and their description as ideal soldiers serves the narrative as it not only emphasises the differences between Romans and barbarians but it also places the blame for the Egyptians' subsequent decline on their commander, Theodosius. Their later laziness, which according to Eunapius' statements on character in his introduction must be inherent within them, eventually manifests due to the emperor's failings as a leader.

[58] The revelation that the Egyptian soldiers are inherently lazy may be a reference to the traditional imagery of effeminate and lethargic soldiers from the eastern provinces amongst Roman sources. As Wheeler demonstrates (1996, 237-248) this *topos* has been used in Roman historiography since the works of Livy and his predecessors and would continue to be present into the fourth and fifth centuries. According to Wheeler, Eunapius' narrative of Sebastianus' restoration of discipline is only possible because he builds the foundation of his story on an acceptance of eastern soldiers being effeminate and lax. Given this, it makes sense that Zosimus' criticism of the Egyptian soldiers is merely a standard example of this literary tradition. However, the emphasis in this section is less focussed on criticising the people of Egypt and more on the deficiencies of the emperor in allowing this to occur, in contrast to Sebastianus. Thus, the Egyptians are allowed to reclaim their position as Romans in their final sacrifice, an act that could have been omitted had the author wanted to continue to emphasise their negative qualities and present them as stereotypically eastern soldiers.

nor any training in Roman discipline leading to an ever declining standard amongst those in the camp. For the authors, this is conclusive evidence of Theodosius' failure to instil Roman values in those under his command. The decline of the Egyptians under the emperor's direct authority is combined with the fact that the barbarians employed by him are indistinguishable from those outside the empire, a claim which suggests that those responsible for the security of the state are no more civilised than those attempting to invade it. This fact is proven by the collusion between the former barbarian soldiers and their countrymen which leads to a Gothic invasion when they recognise the negligence of the Romans (4.31.2-3). Not only do the Gothic soldiers abandon Theodosius but they also join their fellow Goths to try and pillage the state. The Egyptian soldiers are only redeemed in the eyes of the author when they courageously (ἀνδρεῖος) sacrifice themselves to help the emperor escape and kill many of the invaders (4.31.4).[59] As with Valens' reign, corruption and a failure to uphold traditional values on the part of Theodosius and his soldiers weakens the security of the empire and threatens the natural superiority of the Romans.[60]

For Eunapius, and Zosimus, Sebastianus represents an ideal leader: he does not act out of self-interest but in service to the state, he restores Roman values (in particular discipline) upon taking command in the east and finally he re-establishes Roman superiority through the exploitation of his enemies' barbaric traits leading in turn to a series of victories over the Goths. Eunapius even uses the same phrase of both Julian and Sebastianus, highlighting the esteem in which he holds the latter – both leaders are described as 'exceedingly fond of their men' (φιλοστρατιώτης… διαφερόντως) (fr. 28,1 and fr. 44,3). However, in the eyes of the author, Sebastianus' successes make him a target within the imperial court. In both the east and the west, courtiers conspire to condemn him and prevent his restoration of the army and the rooting out of corruption. In the west, his unbending virtue makes him a target for the manipulations of the court eunuchs which he is unable to resist due to his

[59] This final act once again reinforces the idea of Roman superiority – while acting in a selfless and brave manner, the 'small number' of Egyptians are able to kill a multitude of inferior barbarians and are only overcome by the sheer numbers of the enemy and the treachery of those who formerly served in the Roman army.

[60] This is not the only instance of Theodosius allowing standards to slip to the detriment of the empire. Efforts to destroy a group of barbarians in Macedonia are undermined by the unwillingness of Theodosius to suffer hardships to win glory (*Exc*. *de Sent*. 56). According to Eunapius, Theodosius had the opportunity to conquer the world but prefers a life of luxury, allowing these barbarians (and all others in the world) the opportunity to escape justice for their attacks on the empire.

disregard for personal profit (Eunap. fr. 44,3).[61] Similarly, before the battle of Adrianople, Sebastianus' wise counsel to avoid battle (Zos. 4.23.6) is rejected by Valens under the advice of the former's adversaries within the court (4.24.1).[62] Thus, Eunapius' model general is undermined by the corruption of the emperors whom he serves and the vices they inspire in those beneath them. Despite his restoration of Roman values and his exploitation of the weaknesses of those Goths he fights against, he is portrayed as a victim of the wider decline of the empire; the general who embodies ideal Roman values to destroy barbarians is brought down by those Romans who act like barbarians. Subsequently, in the absence of Sebastianus, the *disciplina* instilled by the general is eroded under the rule of the incompetent Theodosius to the point where Romans are indistinguishable from their enemies.

4.5. The characterisation of individuals of barbarian origin

Although Eunapius provides more detailed descriptions of individuals of barbarian origin than the anonymous author of the *Historia Augusta*, his depiction of barbarians rarely reaches the same level of detailed narrative as Ammianus. For example, neither Chnodomarius nor Fritigern, two major barbarian leaders who are used as points of comparison to emphasise the strengths and weaknesses of Roman emperors in Ammianus, are named by either Eunapius or Zosimus despite the opportunity they present to praise Julian and criticise Valens. Instead, barbarians are generally found in the form of a faceless mass of enemies who either exploit Roman weaknesses or are defeated by individuals who embody Roman virtues, such as Sebastianus. However, there are some exceptions to whom Eunapius devotes some space in his narrative. Some barbarian leaders are named while either fighting against the empire or entering into it, such as Vadomarius, Athanaric and Fravitta. Similarly, the non-Roman origin of certain individuals, for example Arbogast and Stilicho, is emphasised even whilst they are employed in the upper echelons of imperial society. Ultimately, these individuals largely reinforce Eunapius' wider themes within the

[61] As discussed in Chapter Two, eunuchs traditionally represent not just eastern effeminacy but also serve as symbols of corruption and deceit. Eunapius' reference to them is designed to explain his dismissal from Gratian's court.

[62] As Lenski (1997, 147) notes, Eunapius' efforts to portray Sebastianus as the perfect commander have led to his account contradicting that of Ammianus, who states that it is Sebastianus who counselled attacking and Victor who argues for a more cautious approach (31.12.6). While the truth is impossible to ascertain, Eunapius' narrative is certainly aided by Sebastianus' death being caused by the manipulation of an incompetent emperor and corrupt court.

narrative of the empire's decline due to imperial incompetence and the inability for an individual's nature to change.

This is apparent in the depiction of two barbarians whom we have also seen in Ammianus' history – Vadomarius and Athanaric. Both historians broadly cover the same events but Eunapius' argument that human nature does not change over time leads to a very different depiction of these enemies of the empire. Whereas Ammianus presents these figures as capable of change and integration despite their initial hostility towards the empire, Eunapius instead uses both figures as further proof that the majority of barbarians are inherently unsuitable for life within the empire. In the case of Vadomarius, this means limiting his involvement in the narrative. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Eunapius briefly summarises the nature of Julian's enemy and details the negotiations between the barbarian ruler and emperor (fr. 19). Vadomarius is described as being 'outstanding amongst the Germans for strength and daring. He burned with… arrogance' in contrast to Julian, who as we have seen is presented as an ideal emperor, and the former's refusal to honour his agreement with the Romans suggests that he does not possess a suitable temperament for life under Roman rule. This fragment is the only extant fragment mentioning Vadomarius and he does not appear in Zosimus' narrative beyond a brief description of his capture and transport to Constantius' court (Zos. 3.4). There is no mention of his subsequent commands under Valens (Amm. Marc. 26.8.2, 28.1.2) and he is never depicted as using his 'strength and daring' on behalf of the Romans. In Eunapius' work, Vadomarius is only presented as a barbaric individual who seeks to take advantage of the noble Julian.

Similarly, Eunapius does not show Athanaric transforming from a foreign threat to the empire into an individual worthy of acceptance into Roman society and manipulates the barbarian's appearance within the text to avoid contradicting the ideas set out in his introduction. However, Eunapius uses a slightly different technique to deal with Athanaric – he does not name the Goth in his initial appearance. Athanaric features at two different points in Eunapius' narrative. In Athanaric's first appearance in the narrative, he is not named but is simply referred to as the 'Scythian king' whose subjects were terrorising the Roman people and pillaging the landscape as he sought to bring aid to the already defeated Procopius (Eunap. fr. 37). In his second and final appearance, Zosimus names Athanaric when describing his surrender and the elaborate funeral of 381 (4.34.4-5). For a person with no external knowledge of Athanaric's history who is reading Eunapius' account, there is nothing that links the story of the anonymous arrogant 'Scythian king' who opposed the

Romans with the individual who is respectfully buried within the empire over a decade later. In effect, Eunapius treats the ruler who argued with a Roman emperor as a completely separate entity to the man who willingly submits himself to Roman authority prior to his death. The former can be treated as a stereotypical barbarian ruler and nothing more, while the latter is a worthy addition to the empire, thereby supporting Eunapius' theory of unchanging natures.

In Ammianus' account of Athanaric's interactions with Rome, the barbarian is presented fairly positively. He is not particularly arrogant in his dealings with the emperors and is portrayed as a competent military leader when attempting to stand against the oncoming Huns. Eunapius, on the other hand, portrays the ruler as two completely distinct characters. In 367, Athanaric is presented as being a foreign ruler who leads his people in direct opposition to the empire (Eunap. fr. 37). Just as with Vadomarius, an issue arises over the return of prisoners – for Athanaric these are the Gothic soldiers who have been captured by the emperor. Despite the damage his soldiers have caused to Roman lands through their 'arrogance… riotousness and ill-discipline' (ὕβρεως… ἀγέρωχον… θέρμον) and the insult caused by 'the shaking of their hair' after their surrender, Athanaric believes that his envoys are still entitled to immunity. According to Eunapius, the issue was difficult to settle justly as Athanaric argues that his support for the usurper Procopius had been in accordance with the treaty his people had previously made with Julian.[63] This leads to a section where the arguments of the Gothic leader are presented alongside those of the emperor. However, even though Athanaric is neither expressly criticised nor described as arrogant himself in this fragment, his close association with those who are presented as enemies of the state appears to have made him an unsuitable candidate for integration. Eunapius chooses to omit his name, despite expressly referring to his position on multiple occasions. This may be because while his arguments held merit, Athanaric was aligning himself with the usurper Procopius and savage barbarians, who had pillaged the empire and directly insulted Roman authority while acting as 'envoys'. By contrast, on the other side were a legitimate emperor (albeit one of whom the author was critical) and those Roman citizens who were owed recompense for damage to their property caused by the barbarian soldiers. Athanaric's identity as the unnamed ruler is thus not mentioned to the reader and so he is distanced from the barbaric actions of his subjects although he could still have been recognised by some readers either through their own knowledge or references in other works such as Ammianus' history (31.3.4) where the aid which

[63] Ammianus (27.5.2) by contrast dismissed these arguments outright.

Athanaric supplied to Procopius is mentioned as the cause of Valens' Gothic war of 367-369.[64]

By removing Athanaric's name from his first appearance in the narrative, Eunapius is able to present the Gothic ruler's eventual acceptance into the state in a much more positive fashion. A barbarian leader who defends those who ravaged imperial territory and whose refusal of Roman demands leads to war between his people and the empire is an unsuitable candidate for integration into the empire in the mind of an author who wants to argue that the inherent nature of an individual cannot be changed. However, a barbarian leader who has been betrayed and driven out by his countrymen and comes as a supplicant to the emperor can prove to be a perfect individual to be welcomed into the empire (Zos. 4.34.3-4). This later image of Athanaric, unsullied by his past interactions with Valens, is presented to readers as a barbarian who does not display any of the negative traits that would eventually manifest if given a chance. Instead he is an individual willing to submit to Roman authority and whose presence only benefits the empire. The respect paid by Theodosius to Athanaric, both in his initial welcoming of the ruler in January 381 and the state funeral afforded to him after his death a fortnight later, results in a series of benefits for the empire. According to Zosimus (4.34.5), Theodosius' wealth and display of munificence leads directly to a cessation of hostilities with the Goths who have been ravaging the empire for the past five years. Athanaric's own followers even settle along the borders of the empire in order to protect the land which has been so generous to their leader. While this passage on the benefits of Theodosius' decision to receive Athanaric definitely exaggerates its role in ending Theodosius' war with the Goths (as we have seen in Chapter One, even Themistius does not claim that Athanaric's funeral was the main reason for the war coming to a close), it does reveal that Eunapius wants to emphasise Athanaric's suitability as a candidate for integration just as the submission of the Salii leads to them immediately being treated by Julian as if they are his subjects. To this end he needs to

[64] Both Blockley (1983, 138) and Lenski (1995, 63) agree that the Gothic ruler is likely to be Athanaric. The former interprets Eunapius' narrative of the negotiation between the emperor and barbarian and the lead up to the subsequent war as being highly sarcastic. If this is the case, and Eunapius is using Athanaric here to make a joke out of Valens' incompetence, the author still had good reason to avoid using the barbarian's name in his narrative. Sarcastically exaggerating the scale of the war and portraying the emperor's linguistic skills as equal to a barbarian made Valens appear incompetent to the reader, especially as both points had been particularly celebrated by orators like Themistius in the past (as seen in Chapter One). However, just because Valens was lowered to the level of a barbarian, that does not mean Athanaric's character was instilled with Roman virtues. Instead, the author portrays him neutrally as he is arguing in defence of men who had acted as invaders rather than envoys during their time on Roman soil. Therefore, even when the final section of the fragment is read sarcastically, Eunapius would still have wanted to disassociate Athanaric from the entire affair ahead of his later integration, and thus avoids using his name.

remove any reference to Athanaric being unsuitable or to his past conflict with the empire.[65]

Athanaric is not, however, the only individual barbarian whom Eunapius deems worthy of being received into the empire – Fravitta, Arbogast and Bauto are all identified as being competent military commanders who serve the Romans loyally.[66] While the complex figure of Fravitta will be explored shortly, the latter two individuals are worth examining briefly. In their first appearance Zosimus notes (4.33.2) that both figures embody the qualities of good Romans. First and foremost, both are loyal to the state and their emperor Gratian, upon whose orders they have moved east to help Theodosius in 380. Nor does either commander demonstrate the greed or lust that had been present in other Roman commanders that Zosimus had described.[67] Finally, the author recognises the military qualities of these two figures as both are not only brave but sensible and resolute. Overall then, Zosimus, and presumably Eunapius, present the two figures as model soldiers despite their non-Roman origins, in complete contrast to the officers whose failings had led to the invasion of the Goths and the beginning of the war. The two figures even compare favourably to the emperor Theodosius later in the chapter – while their prudence and unbending will forces the Goths to retreat eastwards, Theodosius is apparently deceived by the same Gothic stratagem of giving hostages that had backfired upon Valens (4.33.3). This example not only highlights the gullibility of the emperor but it also emphasises the potential roles of non-Romans within the empire.[68] While these two figures are, therefore, presented in a very positive light,[69] they are not the ultimate example of integration presented by Eunapius.

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[65] This positive attitude towards Athanaric is even more unexpected due to Eunapius' criticism of Theodosius' lenient attitude towards barbarians elsewhere. That Theodosius is praised for his actions here reflects how keenly Eunapius wants Athanaric and his followers to appear as worthy of integration.

[66] Bauto was a Frank who was appointed *magister militum* of the west most likely in 380 by Gratian and consul in 385. He was succeeded by the Frank Arbogast after his death by 388 and the latter would hold this role under Valentinian II and Eugenius until his death in 394; *PLRE 1*, 159-160; 95-96.

[67] This image of Arbogast is repeated in Eunap. fr. 58,1.

[68] As Croke suggests (1976, 243), Eunapius' narrative could be a manipulation of the official account circulated by Theodosius at the time with the author transforming Theodosius into the bumbling villain of his story in order to support his wider theme of imperial decline. As such, Arbogast and Bauto become the heroes and are treated in a positive manner.

[69] Contrary to Chauvot's interpretation (2001, 93), the depictions of Arbogast's murder of Valentinian II in Eunapius (fr. 58,2) and death (fr. 60,1) appear to have been altered by later Christian sources to denigrate the barbarian. Although these fragments from John of Antioch's history may potentially be relying on other sources for their information, if they were adapted from Eunapius, as Blockley believes, then they depict a major change in the presentation of Arbogast. These fragments solely portray him in the manner of a typical barbarian, including attributing his suicide after his

The pagan Fravitta (whom we first met at the start of this thesis) is presented as an ideal Roman despite his non-Roman origin, and his career both as a barbarian leader and as a Roman commander is celebrated by the author.[70] His first appearance in the narrative is as the barbarian leading a pro-Roman faction of the Goths serving within the Roman army (Eunap. fr. 59).[71] Divisions over whether to honour their oaths to Theodosius or whether to attempt to destroy the empire lead to two factions of Goths developing in secret, with those loyal to the Romans being in the minority. At a feast hosted by Theodosius, who is unaware of the conflict amongst his barbarian soldiers, the argument comes to a head and Fravitta slays the leader of the rival faction, Eriulf. Following this, Fravitta is appointed *magister militum per Orientem* and successfully suppresses brigandage in the east before he is given a further command, this time of the war against Gainas in 400 (Zos. 5.20.1).[72] Success in this campaign results in the freedom to worship as a pagan and a consulship the following year although he is put to death by the provincial governor Hierax due to a political conflict with the financial official John,[73] who is reputed to be sowing dissent between Arcadius and Honorius (Eunap. fr. 69,4, 71,3).

Eunapius' presentation of Fravitta, however, is not like those of Vadomarius or Athanaric. Unlike those two figures, each of whom is presented relatively negatively at some point, Fravitta is consistently portrayed in a positive light. Instead, his appearance is far more similar to that of Sebastianus or even Julian, except that Fravitta is contrasted directly with named barbarians instead of emperors. In Fravitta's first appearance as a barbarian leader under Theodosius (fr. 59) he displays all of the qualities that make him truly Roman despite this happening prior to his being granted an official military post within the empire. At this point, the barbaric Eriulf and noble Fravitta are presented as complete opposites with the

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defeat to his 'native barbarian madness'. There is no mention of any positive qualities in John's fragments, whereas other sources derived from Eunapius highlight Arbogast's efforts to fight corruption and the loyalty this inspired, for example fr. 58,1 and Zosimus 4.53-54. Zosimus also does not portray Arbogast's suicide as a barbaric act; 4.58. If John was working from Eunapius, then it appears that he adapted the image of Arbogast to seem more barbaric while the original account continued to be largely positive towards Arbogast and depicted his ultimate defeat at the hands of Theodosius as due to the former allowing his soldiers to relax and the luck of the latter; Treadgold, 2007, 87.

[70] *PLRE 1*, 372-373.

[71] Blockley (1983, 144) dates Fravitta's entry into Roman territory to after 378 but the date of Theodosius' feast and the killing of Eriulf is unknown. Eunapius only refers to it as 'during the early years of the reign of the emperor Theodosius' (see Introduction n.1).

[72] Contrary to Thompson's argument (1963, 110) Fravitta plays a larger role within Roman society than merely 'to kill brigands and to kill Goths'. Although that makes up the majority of his military career, his appointment as consul and role within Eunapius' narrative suggest that his career is also important both culturally and politically.

[73] *PLRE 2*, 556; 593.

former embodying all barbarians who seek to destroy the empire. In the surviving fragment, Eunapius contrasts two types of barbarians – those capable of integration and those whose inherent characteristics make them incompatible with Roman civilisation. The majority of Goths belong to the latter group and reject Roman hospitality in favour of undermining the empire. Eunapius suggests that these barbarians have sworn an oath to destroy the Romans regardless of any clemency or accommodation shown towards them,[74] thereby rationalising their destruction and Fravitta's murder of these men at the banquet. The supposed oath demonstrates a multitude of the traditionally barbaric traits in the mind of the author manifesting in their ultimate forms – savagery, treachery, greed and impiety (ll. 8-10).

All of these traits are personified in the figure of Eriulf. Upon his initial introduction, he is described as a 'half-madman who raged more wildly than the rest' (ἀνήρ ἡμιμανής καί τῶν ἄλλων λυσσωδέστερος). His greed and impiety are demonstrated through his full support of the plan to overthrow the empire, while even in his final moments he dreams of completing his 'unjust plot' emphasising his treacherous nature. As with Ammianus' version of Chnodomarius, one barbarian individual is the figurehead for his peoples and the embodiment of their values in contrast to the Roman hero on the other side. Fravitta, and his loyal men, are introduced as virtuous and pious towards both the emperor and the state itself. As well as upholding their oaths to the Romans (which are more valid than the oaths made in their homelands to destroy the empire in the eyes of the author), Fravitta and his men seek to repay the emperor and remove any traces of barbarian excess. In an example followed by his companions, Fravitta asks the emperor for a Roman wife to avoid being tempted into violence to sate his desires. As the author presents it, the Goth willingly puts himself under the authority of the emperor in order to not only curb his instincts but also become a closer part of Roman society.[75] This marks the first steps of Fravitta's

[74] As Blockley (1983, 144) notes, the beginning of this fragment has likely been copied incorrectly and these Goths probably entered the empire around 378 after the battle of Adrianople. This would align this passage with Zosimus' account of the barbarians who are enlisted into Theodosius' army and subsequently relocated to Egypt (4.30.1). These barbarians have also sworn an oath to pillage the empire when their numbers grow large enough, likely referring to the same oath. By including this oath, the author heightens the barbaric threat of those both inside and outside the empire by suggesting that even those Goths serving within the empire are closely linked with their external brethren and are actively planning to undermine the empire. In Eunapius' mind, very few barbarians, such as Fravitta, are genuinely working on behalf of the Roman people. Most are instead merely using the empire to further their own ends; Rohrbacher, 2002, 233; Paschoud, 2003, 397.

[75] Chauvot, 2016b, 235. Thompson notes (1963, 108) that Fravitta adopted the name Flavius at this point (see also Mommsen, 1961, 526), which may denote an adoption of Roman citizenship. Demougeot (1981, 383; 1984b, 1637) and Garnsey (2004, 144) argue that Flavius was an honorific title given to barbarians which carried with it citizenship. However, Cameron (1988) argues that the

integration into the empire as he not only recognises and subjects himself to the primacy of the empire but he also creates bonds with his Roman family,[76] unlike those Goths who retain close links with their fellow barbarians outside of the empire.

Any links with those beyond the borders of the empire are severed by Fravitta through his killing of Eriulf at the end of the fragment. While Eriulf acts to destroy Roman civilisation, Fravitta strikes down his fellow Goth in order to uphold 'nobility and justice' (καλὸν καί δίκαιον) once the plot comes to light. Eunapius' favourite non-Roman eliminates those who symbolise the worst aspects of the barbarians in order to take his place in the Roman world. In Zosimus (4.56) the story plays out largely in the same way, although certain aspects of Fravitta's selfless act at the banquet are changed. While in both accounts, Theodosius is oblivious to the danger posed by Eriulf and his followers, further emphasising his incompetence, more emphasis is placed upon the length of time that the debate runs amongst the Goths. Fravitta is also in far less control of his barbaric nature in Zosimus' account as he not only is incapable of controlling himself when he reveals the argument amongst the Goths while overindulging in wine but also slaughters Eriulf out of anger rather than a noble sentiment.[77] In this account, Fravitta, while still representing the more loyal barbarians, retains some of his negative characteristics indicating that Zosimus does not completely mimic the extent of Eunapius' praise for the Goth. Due to this discrepancy it may be assumed that, in the places where we are forced to rely on Zosimus to follow the narrative of Fravitta's life within the empire, Eunapius may have been even more emphatic in his admiration for the pagan barbarian.

Following Fravitta's appointment as *magister militum per Orientem* he comes into conflict with another individual who represents the worst of the barbarians in the mind of Eunapius – Gainas. While in this instance both Fravitta and Gainas have previously served the empire

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name Flavius was merely a title that could be used by or apply to any officeholder within the empire regardless of their origin and therefore was not specifically associated with citizenship, an idea also refuted by Mathisen (2006, 1022).

[76] Eunapius also stresses that Fravitta's new father-in-law greatly approves of both the match and his new son-in-law. While this may be an exaggeration on the part of the author, it does indicate that Eunapius wants to emphasise the benefits of Fravitta's integration for both the barbarian himself and the people of the empire. On the other hand, Mathisen (2009, 142) argues that the father-in-law's delight indicates that there was no prohibition or social stigma over barbarians marrying into Roman society. Instead the emperor is involved due to Fravitta's pagan beliefs. While this may be the case, the emphasis placed on the comparison between Fravitta and Eriulf suggests that the submission of the former to imperial authority is included primarily to offer a point of contrast with Eriulf's attempts to overthrow the empire.

[77] In Eunapius' account, the two leaders still reveal the divisions amongst the Goths while drunk but the author ascribes this to Bacchus and the truth behind the proverb *in vino veritas* rather than openly imply that Fravitta still retains the barbaric inability to temper his desires.

faithfully, the latter succumbs to his inherent character flaws and ends up acting like a stereotypical barbarian despite his position within the empire. Having risen from the ranks as a common soldier, the Goth Gainas served in the empire as *comes rei militaris* from 395-399 and commanded the war against Tribigild.[78] After his appointment as *magister utriusque militiae* in 399, Gainas turned on the emperor Arcadius and unsuccessfully attempted to take control of Constantinople before being defeated by Fravitta the following year. Gainas was eventually killed in battle with the Huns in 400. Having used his newfound authority stemming from his appointment as sole commander of the war against Tribigild to remove the eunuch Eutropius, Eunapius displays the growing arrogance and greed of Gainas as he believes that he has already conquered the Romans (fr. 67.10). Nor are these the only barbaric traits the Goth will display. Following his defeat by Fravitta, Gainas massacres his Roman followers on the suspicion that they might betray him, emphasising his devious and savage nature (Zos. 5.21.6).[79]

Fravitta, on the other hand, is portrayed in a far more positive light. Continuing his narrative of the barbarian's great character, Eunapius (fr. 69,1,2) notes that Fravitta's strong spirit helps him to overcome his now sickly body in order to complete the 'glorious' (κάλῳ) duty of saving the empire. In contrast to the barbaric nature of Gainas, who had turned his back upon his obligations to the empire, Fravitta is depicted as sacrificing his health in order to serve the empire faithfully. This image of Fravitta as a true Roman continues throughout the description of his campaign in both Zosimus' and Eunapius' accounts. In the former (Zos. 5.20.1), Fravitta's command is given to him unanimously by both the Senate and the emperor in recognition of his character which Zosimus notes is Hellenic in all but birth.[80] Both accounts go on to acclaim his concern for maintaining proper discipline within his camp and ensuring that his soldiers are correctly drilled in order

[78] Although as Jones (*PLRE 1*, 379) notes, Gainas' loyalty in this period is called into question by Zosimus (5.13) and Sozomen (VIII 4.2) who both believe Gainas instigates Tribigild's rebellion with the latter even stating that Gainas and Tribigild are related. As Liebescheutz (1990, 111) and Cameron and Long (1993, 229-230) note, failure to stop this rebellion serves as the explanation for Eunapius' hostility towards Gainas. Eunapius was a witness in Sardis to the damage caused by the mutineers and rationalises the ease with which they pillage the countryside by arguing that Gainas and Tribigild are colluding and therefore the former refuses to attack the latter.

[79] It is worth noting that Zosimus did acknowledge that in Gainas' final battle he fights 'with great bravery' (5.22.2). He is not, therefore, presented in a solely negative light although given his warlike nature it could be expected that he would fight bravely.

[80] Zosimus calls Fravitta 'a Hellene, not just by habit (τρόπῳ), but also in his way of life (προαιρέσει) and religious observance (θρησκείᾳ)' (trans. Cameron and Long, 1993, 251) indicating that he has become fully civilised in all important aspects despite his external origins. For Chauvot (2001, 93), this willingness to embrace completely the Hellenic lifestyle is the reason why Eunapius portrays Fravitta in such a positive manner.

to be prepared to meet the enemy (Zos. 5.20.2-3; Eunap. fr. 69.3).[81] In these qualities, therefore, Fravitta is presented as the true successor to Sebastianus and Julian. Despite his physical infirmities and Gothic origin, Eunapius presents Fravitta as maintaining the true standards required for soldiers to serve in defence of the empire and as such he is referred to by both Eunapius and Zosimus as the 'Roman' (Ῥωμαίων) commander. Given this opinion, it is no surprise to discover that in Zosimus' account of the battle between the two barbarians, the rash arrogance of Gainas is overcome by the measured caution of a commander who values the lives of his soldiers and the empire (Zos. 5.21).

It is this prudence that draws the ire of many in the court of Arcadius, who mistake Fravitta's caution after the battle for sympathy with his fellow Goth (Eunap. fr. 69,4), suggesting that some still see him as predominantly barbarian regardless of his faithful service.[82] Despite the aspersions these individuals cast upon the general,[83] the emperor recognises his achievements and grants him not only his requested reward, which is the freedom to worship in the pagan style, but also the consulship for the following year. For the author, this represents the ultimate triumph of a pagan barbarian.[84] Fravitta serves loyally throughout his military career, restoring discipline to the soldiers and securing the empire from both internal and external threats. When asked to name his reward, he once again demonstrates his piety and lack of arrogance in requesting a right to private worship and this humility is further remunerated through the grant of the consulship and the prestige of that traditional office. However, as described earlier, this office would result in the death of Fravitta as he takes a stand against the corruption of John and is executed in 401. For Eunapius, this serves as a symbolic moment within his work. As with both Julian and Sebastianus, one of the few good Romans who has in some way restored true Roman values to the empire is killed before his time. Fravitta's final words in Eunapius' history are an attack on the scheming of John which threatens to undermine the prosperity of the empire and drive a wedge between the two sibling emperors who should be working

[81] Demougeot argues (1951, 260) that this army is made up of civilians and defectors from Gainas, thus an impromptu force requiring a large amount of training, while Cameron and Long refute this (1993, 224) due to Fravitta's subsequent successes in such a short amount of time and suggest that the core of the army had been with him when he was *magister militum per Orientem*. Woods, however, suggests (1998, 115) that they may have come from the *comes Isauriae*. In the case of the latter two arguments, there would have been far less training required to bring the soldiers up to Fravitta's standards and Eunapius' emphasis upon this point is purely to enhance his subject's reputation.

[82] Rousseau, 1992, 354.

[83] As Cameron and Long mention (1993, 237), any temptation to connect these accusations of treachery at the moment of Fravitta's victory with his eventual downfall has no support from the ancient sources despite opportunities for authors to link the two.

[84] Chauvot, 2001, 93.

together to protect the empire,[85] an effect made powerful by Eunapius' seemingly limited use of speeches in his work.[86] When Fravitta speaks out publicly against John, the listening audience are forced to decide which of the two to support:

> He directed his words towards John, saying, "It is you who are the cause of all these troubles, destroying the unity of the emperors, undermining with your schemes this most divine and wondrous arrangement, and laying it low in ruinous collapse. It is a remarkable thing, a most firm and unbroachable bulwark for us, that two separate emperors rule an united Empire". As this was being said those present nodded disagreement silently and in fear. For although they agreed wholeheartedly with these words, they were in fear of John and, eager for their own gain (for, as I have said, this period of dissension brought honours even to worthless men) and taking no account of the welfare of the state, they made John, the cunning patron of the hawk [Hierax], their leader and killed Fravitta. (fr. 71,3)

That Fravitta is acting like a true Roman here is apparent from the reluctance of the audience to disagree with him. Despite the fear and greed that ultimately persuades them to follow John, the Roman core of each individual in the audience agrees with Fravitta. As Blockley notes (1983, 148), the effect of this agreement is to isolate Fravitta from all the other people in this passage as while they all recognise what they should be doing, only he values the well-being of the state over his own self-interest and will act to protect it. The audience ultimately not only follows John but also is responsible for the death of the man who only wants to save the empire, leading to further corruption within the state. Thus, Eunapius uses this event as an opportunity to articulate for the reader his own criticisms of court culture and the wider decline of the empire that results from weak emperors and selfish courtiers. John seeks to undermine the empire solely for his own advancement and he is able to do so through the flaws of those around him. The fact that this criticism of the empire is put into the mouth of an integrated barbarian emphasises the role of Fravitta within the narrative. This non-Roman who has completely adopted the traditional Hellenic culture defends a state that is being destroyed by those who should be protecting it. As with his earlier appearances, in his final moments Fravitta is presented in opposition to

[85] As with the majority of speeches recorded in ancient histories, these are not necessarily the actual words of the subject but an approximation of their speech with a strong element of authorial invention. As such, speeches can sometimes contain messages from the author to his audience as well as performing their role within the narrative of the work. For full references to the debate on speeches, see Lendon, 2017, 146.

[86] Treadgold, 2007, 88.

those corrupt individuals who seek to destroy the empire but on this occasion he is unable to inspire the Romans to overcome their fear of John and their own desires.

For Eunapius, the death of Fravitta represents the wider decline of the empire. Throughout his career, Fravitta represents Roman values despite his Gothic origin and at each moment he is compared favourably to an antithesis of Roman values. Initially, when presented as an outsider, he displays the qualities of submission to Roman rule and willingness to integrate that contrast with Eriulf's excessive savagery and desire to destroy the empire. As a general, Fravitta instills Roman discipline in his soldiers and shows caution in contrast to the arrogant and treacherous Gainas. Finally, as consul Fravitta is willing to fight on behalf of the entire empire and both emperors; against the corruption of John despite a lack of support from those who witness his final speech. His death, as with the deaths of Sebastianus and Julian, are indicative of the demise of Roman values in the eyes of the author.

4.6. Conclusion

According to Rohrbacher, Eunapius can be charged with a 'general dislike of all barbarians, Romanized or otherwise'.[87] However, as we have seen, the reality of Eunapius' work is more nuanced than Rohrbacher allows. Instead Eunapius draws a distinction between those non-Romans with an inherently barbaric nature and those that are capable of loyal service. In accordance with his idea of a permanent nature that will always reveal itself, this means that the former will always prove to be incompatible with Roman life regardless of how long they serve and the latter can be safely integrated into society even if they have never been inside the empire. While the majority of the Goths and Germanic tribes prove to possess unsuitable characters, Julian is able to find and integrate certain peoples successfully according to Eunapius, proving that some barbarians are capable of loyal service in the eyes of the author – a fact also evidenced by the service of Fravitta, Arbogast and Bauto. Even the author's use of Athanaric supports this core theme as his name was omitted while he opposed the emperor, meaning that he had no apparent history of fighting against the Romans upon his later incorporation into civilisation through his submission and funeral.

[87] Rohrbacher, 2002, 232.

The majority of the time though, barbarians serve as a rhetorical device for Eunapius to explore the characters of Romans and in particular various emperors. Julian's interactions with the Germans reveal the depths of his clemency and his military skill when contrasted with barbaric treachery and arrogance. On the other hand, the flaws of both Valens and Theodosius are demonstrated through their abysmal attempts at leading armies against the Goths. The corruption at court and arrogance of the emperors lead to a decline in the standards of their soldiers and allow barbarians temporarily to assert their dominance, highlighting the diminution of the empire under weak imperial leadership. By contrast, barbarians are also used as a means to demonstrate the true Roman values of Sebastianus – his restoration of discipline to the army is portrayed as being superior to the excessive indulgence of his enemies. The portrayal of interactions with barbarians therefore allows Eunapius to compare Sebastianus to emperors who also fought the Goths in order to further emphasise the failings of the those at the head of the state.

Finally, however, Eunapius provides us with a unique figure in Fravitta who represents the ideal of a barbarian within the empire and ultimately, an ideal Roman. The author follows Fravitta's career from his first meetings with Theodosius, where he willingly begins his integration into the empire through his request for a Roman wife, until his death. In contrast with other barbarians such as Eriulf and Gainas, who are presented as enemies of the state, Fravitta never strays from his devotion to the empire and is eventually killed whilst attempting to stand against corrupt Romans. In his Hellenic lifestyle and his devotion to discipline, Fravitta is depicted as a true Roman to the same extent as both Sebastianus and Julian, which makes his position as a mouthpiece for the author to decry the decline of the empire even more emphatic. In the end it is an outsider who has chosen to become Roman that is given the role of protecting the state from those inside who are attempting to destroy it for their own gain.

Conclusion

The fourth century was a period of great upheaval for the Roman Empire. The most apparent causes of this turmoil were the continued financial, political and military threats to the stability of the empire caused by near incessant conflict along the borders of the empire and multiple usurpations. Alongside these factors, a number of societal shifts also occurred throughout the fourth century including Christianity having an increasing impact on public life and society and individuals of barbarian origin becoming influential at the imperial court. It even became possible for such individuals to hold the consulship at various points during the period. For those members of the elite who traditionally held this honour, the encroachment of these 'outsiders' on such privileges led to a decreased number of opportunities and a perception that their position, and by extension the values central to the prosperity of the empire, were under threat. For the authors and orators of this period creating works that would have been read or heard by those potentially losing positions to these individuals of barbarian origin, the threat to the status of the elite was an issue that could be addressed in their works. By developing their portrayals of northern barbarian peoples and their leaders beyond the pre-existing negative stereotypes, authors transformed a rhetorical device primarily used for the praising of individuals and Roman military might into a means by which writers could evaluate the qualities of those fighting against or entering into the empire and compare them with those Romans who were tasked with upholding traditional Roman values.

The majority of representations of barbarians in the fourth century drew upon earlier literary traditions of presenting non-Romans as stereotypically barbaric. This traditional rhetoric consistently placed an emphasis on the idea that groups from beyond the northern borders of the empire were barbarians typified by their *ignavia*, *ira*, *discordia*, *superbia* and *vanitas* in opposition to the civilised, disciplined, brave soldiers led by an emperor who embodied *virtus*, *disciplina*, *liberalitas* and *pietas*. By the fourth century, both readers and authors were accustomed to this sort of depiction of barbarians: for authors, the inclusion of conflict between Romans and inferior foreigners served as one means of demonstrating the author's literary knowledge through allusions to earlier works. Meanwhile, readers expected non-Romans to be portrayed in a negative manner as the idea of Roman pre-eminence had long been a traditional feature of the historical and biographical genres. However, while earlier images had largely been created at a time when Roman superiority over their neighbours was undeniable (in terms of both military strength and adherence to

Roman values), by the late fourth century Roman pre-eminence was no longer guaranteed and the traditional relationship between barbarians, the army and the emperor had become more complex. Therefore, although the sources examined in this thesis partly based their depictions of barbarians upon the pre-existing tropes, the growing questions over Roman dominance and the increased familiarity of authors with 'civilised' barbarians provided further opportunities to shape their representations of barbarians in order to comment upon both the emperor and empire itself in a style more reminiscent of the writings of Tacitus.

In contrast to the literary works produced by panegyrists and historical writers examined in this thesis, which featured rather complex portrayals of non-Romans, the material culture being produced by fourth-century artisans in accordance with audience expectations of the imperial ideal and in some instances under direction from either the Senate or imperial court provides a relatively straightforward view of barbarians. The examination of material culture in the Introduction explored the standard imagery of non-Romans which those living within the empire encountered and which authors sought to either build upon or adapt with their own works. Within the materials examined, barbarians are mainly used as indicators of an emperor's *virtus* – the emperor's skill and actions in battle and triumphant position over the bodies of defeated enemies are emphasised. Likewise, although less frequently, an emperor's *clementia* and *iustitia* are hinted at through his treatment of various barbarian suppliants or captives – dispensing mercy and justice for the benefit of the empire to the weak barbarians.

This material evidence, including coinage, public monuments and private objects, all emphasise the emperor's ability to overpower his enemies. Each type of source is designed to portray imperial power although the complexity of the message is intrinsically linked to the potential audience that could be reached: the imagery of barbarians on coins could not be very intricate due to both the size of the coins and the need for the symbolism to be understood by the widest possible audience across the empire. Thus the majority of coins depicting *virtus* focus on ideas of emperors in victory over defeated barbarians and the most complex numismatic imagery produced depicts barbarians being led from their huts rather than under the foot of the emperor (Figures 1, 4 and 6). Other material objects are able to present more detailed and varied interactions between the empire and non-Romans. The Column of Arcadius, for example, unites the emperors' roles as civil (east side) and military (west side) leaders on the south side of the base to demonstrate their complete victory over the Goths and the lack of threat posed by the now captive barbarians

to the empire as a whole. As with coinage, this monument, and others such as the Obelisk of Theodosius, would be seen by a wide variety of people and therefore would need to use a visual language that was comprehensible by both the educated and uneducated. The symbolism of the faces of the Column's base has to be clear and simple in order to be successful at projecting an image of the emperors' virtues. However, the scale of these monuments also means that each separate face on the base or scene on the column could contain more details than coinage while still being part of a larger piece, thus promoting a wide range of imperial virtues across the whole of the monument.

On the other hand, the material with the smallest audience could include the most detail in its imagery and display the most complexity because it was fine work produced in a limited number. The silver *largitio* of Theodosius I (Figures 11-12), for example, emphasises the emperor's power through its use of non-Roman soldiers. On the dish, the emperor and his sons are flanked by a series of uniformed barbarians, emphasising their authority through the complete control over the German bodyguard. While the number of the Germans and the weapons they hold ensure they retain some measure of their military threat, in contrast to the barbarians depicted on materials intended for a wider audience, this power is harnessed in service of the empire and specifically the lead emperor Theodosius. The fact that this image would only have been seen by an educated audience means that the increased complexity in the depiction of the relationship between an emperor and barbarians would not have risked confusing the viewer – they would be expected to understand that seeing armed barbarians standing alongside an emperor does not detract from the emperor's power but instead is a demonstration of the power and control he wields.

Each of these examples of imperially approved material evidence targets a different audience, from the population of the empire as a whole in the case of coinage to a small number of wealthy and well-educated individuals in the case of the *largitio* but the emphasis of all imagery featuring barbarians being disseminated by the court is on imperial authority and projecting a continuation of the idea of Roman superiority over their neighbours. Members of the Senate in Rome and Constantinople and other elite citizens would potentially be reminded of imperial protection from the barbaric threat constantly. It appears on the coins they used, the monuments they pass in their towns and cities, and the imperial gifts they receive and keep in their homes. It is with these 'official' representations that late fourth-century historians and panegyrists engage in their treatment of barbarians and their dealings with emperors. The elite of the empire are the

main audience for all the literary sources examined in this thesis: while Eunapius specifies (fr. 1) that he is writing his history for his aristocratic, pagan friends, Ammianus does not identify his audience in his extant work. However, Ammianus' pagan beliefs, focus on Julian, use of Latin and likely residence in Rome when writing his history imply that he is writing for a western senatorial audience which is still significantly pagan at the end of the fourth century. Likewise, the sympathy and respect shown towards the Senate by the author of the *Historia Augusta* suggest that he is either a member of or supporter of the traditional Roman elite and his work may be written for them. Finally, the panegyrics, while often read at court in front of an emperor, were often repeated in front of elite audiences in Rome, Constantinople or the hometown of the speaker before potentially being disseminated further afield to other influential members of local society. The elite formed an audience who were familiar with both the literary tradition and the appearance of barbarians on material evidence, allowing authors of all forms of literature to use barbarians and their interactions with emperors (both as enemies outside the empire and subjects within it) as a rhetorical strategy to assess the quality of those ruling the empire and the quality of those serving within the empire.

As we saw in Chapter One, the idea of using barbarians to reflect upon an emperor was vital for Themistius, Pacatus and other panegyrists in order to convince an audience that the honorand of a panegyric was truly praiseworthy. Barbarians are generally presented as a threatening mass, often comparable to a force of nature (*Pan*. *Lat*. IX(4) 18.3) or to wild animals (Them. *Or*. 15.199a), whom the emperor overcomes to protect the empire. This use of barbarians is presented in accordance with the work of Menander Rhetor (*Logos Basilikos,* 373.7-8) and his advice that military victories should be included as part of any praise of the emperor in order to demonstrate *virtus*. In these instances, barbarians are presented as the stereotypical enemies of Rome – arrogant, savage and treacherous, placing the emperor in contrast to these barbaric enemies. Themistius (*Or*. 15.199a) even makes a direct comparison between the virtues of Romans and the corresponding vices which are present within the northern barbarians, emphasising how villainous these non-Romans are and how incompatible they were with Roman society.

When the occasion demands it, however, other interactions with barbarians beyond warfare can also form the subject of a panegyric, such as the settlement of either individuals (*Or*. 15.190d) or groups of former enemies onto Roman soil (*Or.* 16). In these instances, it would be impossible for panegyrists to argue that a policy of integration would be beneficial to the empire if those being brought in are incompatible with Roman society.

Instead, panegyrists emphasise that those settled retain none of the barbaric characteristics that has made them the natural enemies of the state. Through reference to the near mythical powers of an emperor (*Or*. 16.209c-d) and examples of successful integrations in the past (*Or*. 16.211c-d), panegyrists attempt to convince their audiences that barbarians can play useful roles within the empire – as both soldiers and farmers. In some cases, these new Romans can even prove to be more Roman than those born within the empire: Pacatus' panegyric emphasises that while those fighting against Theodosius lose the right to be citizens (and have to be welcomed back in by the emperor) (*Pan*. *Lat*. II(12) 36.3), those non-Romans who fight on his side have become truly Roman despite their origins and initial 'dubious loyalty' (*Pan*. *Lat*. II(12) 32.3-4). Nixon regards this as 'paradoxical' as he thinks no panegyrist would criticise mutineers while praising barbarians for becoming Roman but he may not have sufficiently considered that Pacatus' integration of the Gothic soldiers into the army stresses the barbaric nature of those who are rejecting the emperor and by extension, Roman civilisation.[1]

The image of barbarians is not, therefore, consistent throughout the orations examined, or even within the corpus of a single author as the depictions of the Goths within Themistius' *Orations* proves: while the Goths are portrayed at various points as destructive (*Or*. 14.181b), deceitful (*Or*. 10.135d) and incapable of abandoning their barbaric lifestyle (*Or*. 10.135d) under both Athanaric (who is warmly received into the Roman world in *Oration* 15) and Fritigern, their ultimate incorporation into the empire in *Oration* 16 (without even being defeated in battle) shows that Themistius' portrayal of barbarians is not immutable. Instead, Themistius and other panegyrists writing in the traditional style, including the possibly Christian Pacatus, use barbarism as a rhetorical device to persuade the audience to support the honorand of the panegyric; the hyperbole inherent in the genre is deployed to make barbarians seem monstrous, harmless or useful depending on which situation suits the orator at the time – non-Romans are ultimately an adaptable literary tool within the genre that allows a level of flexibility for a panegyrist to demonstrate their oratorical skill within a traditional framework.

A more consistent image of barbarians might have been expected across the two histories – Ammianus' *Res Gestae* (Chapter Two) and Eunapius' *History* (Chapter Four) – and the biographical *Historia Augusta* (Chapter Three) due to all three works covering the reigns of multiple emperors and thus not sharing the same overt purpose of praising a single living

[1] Nixon and Rodgers, 1994, 503 n.128.

subject as is the case with panegyrics. However, even in these works the image of barbarians and the threat they pose the empire are not consistent and are used as a rhetorical device by authors (both positively and negatively) not just to praise or condemn individuals but also to denote the health of the empire itself. As explored in Chapter Two, Ammianus offers a varied depiction of non-Romans in his history and while some are consistent with the stereotypes of barbarians (both as enemies and in defeat) many individuals are depicted with more nuance. Those peoples who are beyond the borders of the empire are largely depicted in accordance with the traditional images of northern barbarians. As Wiedemann notes,[2] particular emphasis is placed on animal metaphors to underline the sub-human nature of those who seek to pillage Roman land or who can not restrain their impulses and this applies to those within the empire as well. However, Ammianus goes beyond merely dehumanising the enemy, barbarians are also depicted as easily frightened by the shining weapons of the Roman army as these serve as symbols of imperial discipline and power. Ammianus uses these two motifs to reinforce the image of the traditional superiority of the Romans over their barbaric counterparts. With this base comparison established, Ammianus is able to explore how far individual Romans and non-Romans live up to the standards expected of them, resulting in individual barbarians with distinct characters. While the people they lead might be a nameless mass of barbarians (who are presented in accordance with their stereotypical barbaric traits) every character in the history has the potential to be independently portrayed positively or negatively in accordance with the author's views.

Interestingly, the depiction of each individual is not necessarily determined by whether they have been integrated into the empire. Ammianus presents some instances of noble barbarian leaders and barbarians who are presented as more competent than their Roman counterparts as well as negative examples of non-Romans who have been allowed to serve the empire, but do not live up to the standards expected of them. As with imperial sources, conflicts between barbarian leaders and emperors provide an opportunity for the two figures to be compared, although Ammianus does not always portray the emperors as inherently superior to those they fought. While Chnodomarius, presented as a stereotypical barbarian (16.12), is used by Ammianus to emphasise Julian's position as the ideal Roman emperor, Fritigern's military skill and cunning outmanoeuvres Valens at Adrianople (31.12-13), making the emperor seem weak and foolish. Ammianus takes the opportunity to draw a comparison between the emperor and his enemies, one that had been established by the

[2] Wiedemann, 1986.

imperially-authorised sources, but uses it in order to critically assess those in command of the empire. In the case of Valens, the failings highlighted by his comparison to Fritigern attempt to persuade the reader that the emperor is unsuitable to lead the empire as he does not uphold the values he is supposed to be embodying. However, Ammianus' depiction of individuals of barbarian origin who are serving within the empire also allows him to pass judgement on the trend of an increasing number of non-Romans living within and serving the state. While some of these figures are presented in a solely negative light, such as Agilo (26.7.7), a number of figures, for examples Silvanus (15.5) and Frigeridus (31.7, 31.9), are presented more sympathetically and the author approves of their service. The most contradictory image is that of Nevitta, whom Ammianus praises in connection to his military career (17.6.3) but declares unworthy of the position of consul that he is given by Julian (21.10.8). This example ultimately demonstrates Ammianus' view of barbarians within the empire – while he understands and appreciates the role that they play in defending the empire, he does not indicate that they can ever truly become Roman citizens worthy of taking on the mainly honorific yet prestigious role of consul or embodying the virtues required of a life amongst the elite of a civilised society. For Ammianus, while any Roman (and many Christian emperors) can sink to the level of the near animals who live beyond the borders of the empire and non-Romans can fight on behalf of the state, no barbarian can ever become a complete Roman citizen, capable of engaging fully in Roman society.

The author of the *Historia Augusta* generally uses the rhetoric of barbarism in a relatively simplistic manner in accordance with the stereotypical literary tradition. He avoids naming barbarian leaders or giving them individual characters. In this way, he presents barbarians as a uniform mass that emphasises their traditional traits despite the fact that this provides the opportunity to accentuate his representation of various emperors, as Ammianus does with his individuals. The implication of this uniform barbaric presentation is that all barbarians are largely the same. Those non-Romans allowed to live within the empire and serving within the army have the potential to descend into savagery at any moment and can therefore only be controlled by a strong emperor. The example of Maximinus provides a cautionary tale of what can happen when a stereotypical barbarian is given any opportunity by a weak emperor.[3] Having performed his duties admirably under a competent emperor (namely Septimius Severus), Maximinus' barbaric nature is allowed free rein under the weak emperor Severus Alexander. The usurpation of Maximinus and his

[3] Moralee, 2008, 58-62.

subsequent inability to control his savage and animalistic temperament (e.g. *Max*. 11.6) serves as a warning within the work against barbarians being given any freedom within the state. For barbarians outside the empire, the author echoes the rhetoric depicting non-Romans in the literary tradition and imperial imagery – that it is the duty of the emperor to secure the empire through the defeat of those external enemies that represent values incompatible with Roman life. This is the primary role of an emperor according to the *Historia Augusta* and even those who are criticised for usurpation or characterized as unworthy of their position (e.g. *Gal*. 4.6) are still expected to demonstrate Roman superiority over the barbaric enemy which would then allow barbarians to be brought into the empire safely as soldiers (*Prob*. 14.7). Ultimately the *Historia Augusta* is consistent with Ammianus regarding the basic idea that barbarians can serve the empire as soldiers despite the biographer's belief that those beyond the borders should be destroyed given the opportunity. Unlike the *Res Gestae*, however, the *Historia Augusta* rejects any nuance amongst individual barbarians. Instead, it suggests that there are no inherently loyal barbarians. Every barbarian retains a core of savagery, ill-discipline and greed – traits which can only be suppressed and never removed – resulting in a more simplistic representation of non-Romans in contrast to the other written sources.

Eunapius also seeks to demonstrate to his readers the superiority of Roman virtues over their barbaric counterparts through his depictions of imperial victories over barbarians. The majority of his representations of barbarians prove to be arrogant, for example in their resistance of Julian (fr. 19), and deceptive, in their manipulation of Valens (fr. 42). These images culminate in the Goths led by Eriulf who have sworn an oath to destroy the Roman Empire whenever the opportunity presents itself (fr. 59), leading Rohrbacher to suggest that Eunapius dislikes all barbarians.[4] It is, according to the author, the duty of the true Roman, such as Julian and Sebastianus, to fight against these enemies rather than try to settle them within the empire and to do so requires the re-establishment of Roman superiority (fr. 44,4; Zos. 4.23). Under these leaders, who restore Roman values such as discipline to their soldiers, those non-Romans who demonstrate traditionally barbaric flaws such as drunkenness and arrogance can be defeated. In these instances, the traditional rhetoric of barbarism is used to emphasise the brilliance of certain figures who embody Roman values and criticise those emperors who fail to lead their soldiers to victory. However, as with Ammianus, the author can also offer a more nuanced view on top of the stereotypical representation of non-Romans, implying that Rohrbacher's statement is only

[4] Rohrbacher, 2002, 232.

partially correct. Due to his central argument that a person's nature is unchanging, Eunapius presents those barbarians who have successfully been integrated as never possessing the qualities that are traditionally to be found within non-Romans. Fravitta provides the ultimate example of this, a non-Roman who willingly submits himself in service to the emperor and the state to the point of his own destruction (fr. 71,3). In contrast to both other barbarian leaders and even other Roman officials, Fravitta is presented as always acting as a true Roman despite his origins. This suggests that, as Sacks argues with regard to Theodorus,[5] character is ultimately what makes an individual Roman in Eunapius' eyes rather than birth as it appears that barbarians like Fravitta can prove to be as worthy as Eunapius' model Romans, Sebastianus and Julian.

The sources examined in this thesis suggest that the concept of 'barbarian' in opposition to Roman was a fluid rhetorical tool used by authors of the late fourth century to evaluate emperors and present the author's view on either the health of the empire or its decline. The material emanating from the imperial courts use the representation of barbarians as a means by which to legitimate an emperor, an image built upon earlier presentations and literary ideas from a period of irrefutable Roman dominance. Through the defeat of foreign barbarians, or their careful integration under a watchful emperor, imperial virtues can be demonstrated. However, by using their interactions with barbarians as a means to demonstrate imperial virtues and the security of their reigns, emperors strengthened a link by which authors throughout the empire can compare and contrast those at the head of the empire with their enemies. The authors examined in this thesis all agree that the defeat of barbarians is a key imperial duty and regard the success or failure of an emperor to complete this as a measure of their quality. For panegyrists, who seek to reinforce the image of imperial victory, barbarians fall into two categories. The majority are a wild mob, comparable to a natural force, which can only be defeated by the subject of their panegyrics. However, on occasion, authors needed to explain the settlement of barbarian tribes within the empire, either following a Roman victory or a peace negotiation. On these occasions, the non-Romans are transformed and are depicted as fully participating in Roman society, either as farmers or soldiers, supporting the empire. For those primarily concerned with praising their subjects, barbarians are a natural source of impressive actions. Literary references and historic examples are used to reinforce the decisions of emperors in either defeating or welcoming those outside the empire and the presentation of the latter varies according to what is needed at the time.

[5] Sacks, 1986, 60-62.

Ammianus and Eunapius develop the rhetoric of barbarism beyond that presented by the panegyrists or the author of the *Historia Augusta*. As well as portraying groups of barbarians in either a positive or negative fashion, they evaluate individuals of barbarian origin who serve within the empire and conclude that some can play a key role in service to the state even when leading armies independently from the presence of a strong emperor. However, only Eunapius suggests that a complete integration may be possible for a barbarian, with Fravitta proving that character, rather than birth, determines what makes a true Roman. For the other authors, all barbarians, while they can potentially be useful in military service, can not be trusted in honorific positions such as the consulship as their barbaric qualities will ultimately come to the fore, bringing disrepute to positions which are still symbolically important to the elite in both the east and west due to the their traditional status.

The examination of the depictions of barbarians in these literary sources thus allows for a deeper understanding of how members of the Roman elite viewed non-Romans at a time when they were not just present in the army but were also gaining power and influence in both the court and even traditionally 'Roman' civil positions including the consulship. The works of authors such as Ammianus, Themistius, Eunapius and the anonymous author of the *Historia Augusta* provide a deeper understanding of how Romans sought to use the rhetoric of barbarism to rationalise not only the decline of their military superiority but also the increasing number of barbarians being integrated into the Roman world, both on the wider level with *foederati* being settled on Roman territory and on an individual level with a growing number of influential barbarians within the court.

This thesis has explored a defined group of fourth-century authors – presenting pagan views which generally reject the projection of imperial virtues emphasised by the material evidence created by the almost uniformly Christian emperors of the period. While these sources were selected due to their central importance amongst our sources from the fourth century, they were also chosen in order to explore the representation of barbarians from a relatively consistent viewpoint – these authors largely share not only their religious background (as pagans in an increasingly Christian world) but they were also writing primarily for wealthy, pagan audiences whether in the east or the west. Having established that the concept of 'barbarian' and the threat they posed to the Roman Empire in the fourth century was relatively fluid amongst pagan authors and served primarily as a rhetorical device, future research on the role of barbarians in the literary tradition could expand to cover the multitude of Christian sources produced in the fourth century in order

to give a more rounded view on those being integrated into the empire. Exploration of the following period at the beginning of the fifth century might also be productive in order to examine how the elite of the empire perceived barbarians whilst the empire became ever more reliant on independent barbarian leaders like Alaric and *foederati* for their armies. This, coupled with the prominence of non-Roman individuals within the court, such as Stilicho, and the decreasing prominence of emperors, would have lent extra complexity to the presentation of barbarians in sources produced at this time. However, the largely fragmentary nature of the historical sources throughout the fifth century, such as Olympiodorus and Priscus, may prove to be a hinderance to any investigation. Finally, work exploring the presentation of non-Romans both inside and outside the traditional borders of the western empire would be particularly interesting in the late fifth and early sixth centuries following the rise of the Gothic kingdoms. Further research into a later period would present an interesting counterpoint to this thesis due to the continuing shifts in the status of barbarians in the Roman world.

Appendix – Images

Figure 1. AE of Constantius II with crouched captive barbarian.

AE of Constantius II. Obverse – D N CONSTANTIVS PF AVG. Constantius with a pearl diadem and cuirass looking right. Reverse – VIRTVS AVG. Constantius standing in military dress holding a spear and Victory on a globe, a captive is seated at his feet. Struck 354-361 at Rome. *RIC VIII* 446.

Photo reproduced with permission of wildwinds.com, ex UBS Numismatics.

Figure 2. AV of Julian dragging a barbarian captive.

AV of Julian. Obverse – FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG. Julian with a pearl diadem and cuirass looking right. Reverse – VIRTVS EXERCITVS ROMANORVM, ANTI. Julian standing in military dress carrying trophies and dragging a captive by the hair. Struck 360-363 at Antioch. *RIC VIII* 201.

Photo reproduced with permission of wildwinds.com, ex CNG auction 67 (2004)

Figure 3. AE of Constantius II spearing two barbarians.

AE of Constantius II. Obverse – DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG. Constantius with a pearl diadem and cuirass looking left. Reverse – FEL TEMP REPARATIO. The emperor in military dress on horseback riding right, spearing two barbarians on their knees wearing Phrygian helmets. Struck 348-350 at Rome. *RIC VIII* 153 T.

Photo reproduced with permission of wildwinds.com, ex Helios Numismatik.

Figure 4. AE of Constantius II with two captive barbarians.

AE of Constantius II. Obverse – DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG. Constantius with a pearl diadem, cuirass and globe looking left. Reverse – FEL TEMP REPARATIO. The emperor in military dress holding a labarum looking left, two captive barbarians kneel to his left and a shield is to his right. Struck 348-350 at Antioch. *RIC VIII* 125 B.

Photo reproduced with permission of wildwinds.com, ex CNG 1999.

Figure 5. AE of Constantius II with a soldier spearing a Germanic horseman.

AE of Constantius II. Obverse – DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG. Constantius with a pearl diadem and cuirass looking right. Reverse – FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier looking left spearing a fallen horseman wearing a Germanic helmet looking right. Struck 348-350 at Arles. *RIC VIII* 215.

Photo reproduced with permission of wildwinds.com, ex George Clegg ebay sale.

Figure 6. AE of Constantius II with a soldier leading a barbarian from a hut.

AE of Constantius II. Obverse – DN CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Constantius with a peal diadem and a globe looking right. Reverse – FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier walking right, holding a spear, looking left and leading a captive from his hut, a tree grows over the hut. Struck 348-350 at Alexandria. *RIC VIII* 58.

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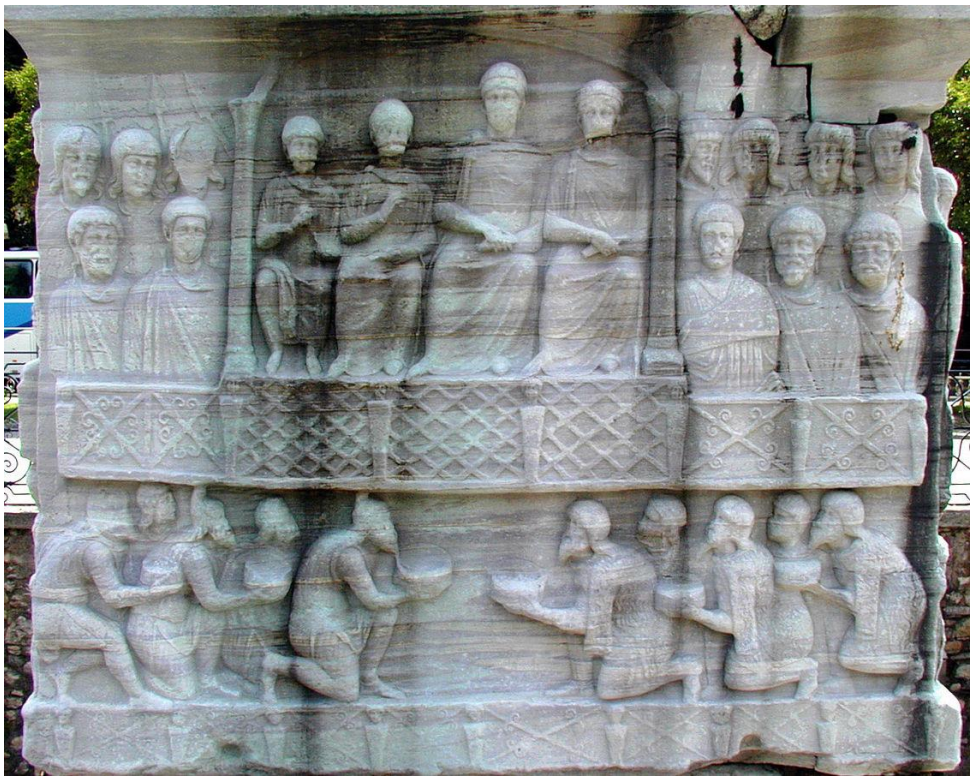
Figure 7. AV of Valens with the two barbarian captives beneath the emperors.

AV of Valens. Obverse – DN VALENS P F AVG. Valens with a pearl diadem and cuirass looking left. Reverse – VOTA PVBLICA. Valens and Valentinian seated facing forwards, holding mappa and short sceptres, beneath their feet are two bound captives kneeling facing each other. Struck 368 at Nicomedia. *RIC IX* 16b.

Photo reproduced with permission of wildwinds.com, ex Triton XXII auction, (Jan. 2019).

Figure 8. North-western side of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius I.



The north-western side of the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius I, Istanbul 390. Four emperors are seated in the centre with imperial guards and magistrates flanking the emperor's box. Below, German and Persian suppliants offer tribute to the emperor.

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Figure 9. Cameo of the triumph of Licinius.

Sardonyx cameo depicting the triumph of Licinius. The emperor riding a four horsed chariot, flanked by two winged Victories carrying a trophy and the Roman standards respectively. Behind the emperor, Sol and Luna raise globes parallel to the emperor while beneath the feet of his horses lie the bodies of defeated barbarians.

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Figure 10. Belgrade Cameo of a Constantinian emperor on horseback.

The Belgrade Cameo depicts an emperor riding on horseback carrying a spear and riding over the bodies of two Germanic enemies. Behind him, a Roman soldier captures a kneeling barbarian. The shape of the cameo's border implies that it originally formed part of a larger cameo.

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Figure 11. *Largitio* of Theodosius I.

A replica of the silver *largitio* of Theodosius I found in Merida, Spain. The *missorium* was produced to celebrate Theodosius' decennalia in 388. The emperor is seated in the centre of the dish and attended by an official beneath an arched peristyle, with the emperors Arcadius and Valentinian II to either side of him. On the outer edges of the scene, to the side of the emperors, stand two pairs of Germanic guards. Beneath the emperors, Tellus reclines with three winged children. The inscription reads: D N THEODOSIVS PERPET AVG OB DIEM FELICISSIMVM X. The dish had been folded in half prior to its burial causing damage diagonally across the face of scene.

Photo taken by R. Stone, Merida.

Figure 12. Closeup of the Germanic guards on the *Largitio* of Theodosius I.

Closer view of the non-Roman guards on the left side of replica of the silver *largitio* of Theodosius I found in Merida, Spain. The guards Germanic guards carry spears and decorated oval shields and are wearing torques around their necks. They are mirrored by the guards on the right of the dish.

Photo taken by R. Stone, Merida.

Figure 13. *Largitio* of Valentinian I or II.

Silver *Largitio* of Valentinian I or II discovered near Geneva. The emperor stands in the centre of the scene in military dress holding a globe topped with a winged Victory offering him a wreath. In his other hand he holds a set of Roman standards and beneath his feet are the spoils of his enemies. Flanking Valentinian are three soldiers on either side, carrying spears and oval shields with patterns that mirror the decoration of the soldier on the opposite side.

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