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**THREE PERSPECTIVES OF THE  
'OTHER': THE BARBARIAN IN  
EUTROPIUS, OROSIUS AND HYDATIUS**

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## RESUMO

A identidade, individual e coletiva, é um conceito que tem ganho o interesse de diversos campos das ciências humanísticas desde o último quartel do século XX. Diversos problemas sociais presentes na atualidade, como a discriminação de minorias étnico-culturais, remontam a um passado histórico que pode ser traçado desde a Antiguidade. Como tal, a investigação histórica de âmbito etnográfico no mundo greco-romano é essencial para se perceber como se desenvolveu o pensamento ocidental em relação ao “Outro”, não só porque o império romano foi o principal modelo civilizacional dos europeus, mas também pela existência do conceito latino de *bárbaro*. Este complexo vocábulo agrupava e representava, de forma generalizada, aqueles que não eram romanos e, por consequência, os não civilizados. Contudo, durante o período conhecido por Antiguidade Tardia, surgiram novas concepções que alteraram o núcleo tradicional da identidade romana e a maneira como estes viam e representavam o “Outro”.

Nesta dissertação procuro analisar a figura do bárbaro e compreender como este era interpretado por aqueles que se identificavam como “verdadeiros romanos” através de três textos dos séculos IV e V d.C.: o *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita* de Eutrópio, as *Historiae aduersus paganos* de Orósio e as *Chronica* de Hidácio de Chaves. Esta transição de século é caracterizada por um período de turbulência coincidente com uma série de mudanças conceituais que se deveram, entre outras coisas, à introdução do Cristianismo como religião do Estado romano e ao estabelecimento de populações citas e germânicas dentro da fronteira imperial. Uma época em que as concepções “étnicas” se encontravam num fluxo constante à medida que a religiosidade se introduzia como um dos principais fatores indicadores de identidade. No entanto, o meu foco não é redescobrir a imagem do bárbaro ou redefini-lo como conceito geral, mas sim compreendê-lo nesses três autores específicos e perceber como era interpretado e quais as suas marcas definidoras. Isto porque, apesar do aumento dos estudos nesta área nos últimos anos, existem ainda lacunas sobre o que (ou quem) era, de forma precisa, o bárbaro nesse período. Esta dissertação, apesar de ser uma tese introdutória ao tema do bárbaro, ajuda a clarificar a sua imagem na Antiguidade Tardia e Alta Idade Média, além de servir de alicerce para um estudo mais abrangente no futuro.

Com esse objetivo, além de *barbarus*, alarguei o estudo a outras palavras que achei interessante correlacionar e que não deixavam de estar associadas à representação do “Outro”. Primeiramente selecionei designações geográficas (*germani* e *scythae*) que se associam às regiões de onde as tribos bárbaras eram oriundas; depois priorizei designações étnico-culturais para afunilar o estudo e comparar a evolução do uso dos etnónimos com a palavra genérica ‘bárbaro’ e ver quais eram as tribos que mais influenciaram a imagem do Bárbaro e porquê (optei pelas tribos dos Alanos, dos Francos, dos Hunos, dos Godos, dos Suevos e dos Vândalos por serem das maiores e mais reconhecidas populações bárbaras); e por fim decidi escolher designações do âmbito religioso como *haereticus* e *paganus*.

Com esses requisitos em mente, agrupei todas as descrições do “Outro” presentes nos textos escolhidos, tanto na sua forma coletiva como individual, e dissequei-as caso a caso de modo a construir uma base de dados significativa sobre os bárbaros e as suas características ao nível semântico, cultural e literário, e desdobrei esses dados de modo a verificar qual é o *topos* literário que se encontra nesses autores e como é que esse evoluiu ao longo dos textos. Contudo, a exposição da tese não segue um percurso necessariamente linear, apesar da objetividade das minhas ideias. Ainda assim, adotei uma estrutura orgânica e intuitiva que abraça o próprio desenvolvimento dos vários pontos do estudo e que facilita a sua abordagem e compreensão. Assim sendo, dividi a dissertação em quatro capítulos principais, tendo em conta as múltiplas facetas do Bárbaro e dos bárbaros nas obras de Eutrópio, Orósio e Hidácio de Chaves.

O primeiro capítulo de desenvolvimento da dissertação, dedicado à identificação textual do Bárbaro, é principalmente uma análise estatística. Neste capítulo concentrei-me em escrutinar um conjunto particular de palavras que achei relevantes de maneira a conseguir uma demonstração dos povos explicitamente categorizados como bárbaros pelos autores e a perceber se existia algum tipo de evolução interna ou intertextual no uso da palavra *barbarus* ou dos etnónimos. Com essa análise inicial, montei uma base de dados central que explicita os resultados obtidos de forma precisa, mas que também é fulcral para suportar e compreender o contexto dos capítulos seguintes. Devido a esta metodologia, é um capítulo com pouca interpretação, apesar de ser complementado com pormenores sobre as possíveis formas de subdivisão do “Outro” (geograficamente, religiosamente ou etnicamente através de etnónimos).

O segundo capítulo, dedicado à caracterização do Bárbaro, é o primeiro da parte interpretativa da dissertação. Todavia, para este capítulo, achei pertinente expandir o método do capítulo anterior a personagens individuais e outros elementos associados ao “Outro”



(incluindo cada um dos etnónimos) porque também constituem matéria de caracterização direta do Bárbaro e são dados que ajudam a compreender como é que os historiadores tardios definiam os bárbaros e a desenvolver uma melhor avaliação do quadro geral que esses povos tinham nesse mesmo período. Devido a isso, ainda há uma presença substancial de análise estatística no segundo capítulo. Como as descrições diretas dos bárbaros nos textos escolhidos são escassas ou pouco reveladoras, recorri à semântica para reconstruir a ideia que os autores tinham desses homens. Foquei-me principalmente em verbos e adjetivos utilizados em associação com o Bárbaro, pois são classes de palavras expressivamente pesadas e que são utilizadas para expressar opiniões ou transmitir uma determinada imagem sobre alguém ou algo.

Todas as personagens históricas de origem bárbara que são mencionadas ao longo das obras em estudo encontram-se listadas neste capítulos. Além disso, ainda demonstro então quais são as personagens individuais de origem bárbara mais recorrentes nos textos e como é que estas se encaixavam como bárbaros, tendo em conta o seu papel no plano do próprio autor. Isto permitiu identificar diversas personalidades e identificá-las como sendo representantes do Bárbaro ou uma exceção ao estereótipo. O mesmo tipo de análise foi aplicado a cada um dos etnónimos para ganhar uma noção mais perceptível de quais são, em Eutrópio, Orósio e Hidácio, as características típicas de cada tribo bárbara, se havia exclusividade ou se era uma descrição generalizada.

No terceiro capítulo pretendi dar um último olhar à imagem do Bárbaro através das diferenças e semelhanças entre os autores: estilos de escrita, as fontes utilizadas e as suas histórias privadas. Esta comparação permitiu perceber se as experiências pessoais dos autores com os bárbaros teve influência quando escreveram sobre essas populações estrangeiras e as descreveram ou se se limitaram a obedecer aos tópicos literários tradicionais, tendo sempre em conta como é que cada autor utilizou o Bárbaro para expressar as suas ideias sobre o futuro do seu Mundo. Os últimos dois pontos deste capítulo servem de conclusão. Nesses pontos eu reuni todo o conhecimento previamente recolhido e dissertei sobre as perceções de cada autor sobre o Bárbaro e os bárbaros e se estas derivaram de experiências pessoais ou de tradição (fosse ela cultural, literária ou ideológica), concluindo com uma exposição sobre as características mais prevalentes entre as tribos bárbaras e o papel de cada tribo na evolução da definição do Bárbaro. Finalmente, uma discussão sobre a existência de um *topos* bárbaro e como é que este é utilizado e quais são as suas características.

No último capítulo desta dissertação comentei sobre o papel do Cristianismo na transformação do conceito “tradicional” do Bárbaro e como é que as definições de pagão e herege serviram para manter esse conceito na mentalidade das populações germânicas durante o definhamento do Império Romano. Termina a dissertação com um brevíário sobre como é que essas definições de âmbito religioso foram utilizadas como um dos elementos unitários da filosofia ocidental que marcaria o início dos reinos europeus e da Idade Média.

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the representation of the barbarians in late antique (primarily Christian) environments throughout three texts from the fourth and fifth centuries CE: the *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita* of Eutropius, the *Historiae aduersus paganos* of Orosius, and the *Chronica* of Hydatius of Chaves. The objective is to understand the Barbarian in these three authors and develop a clearer idea of this general concept in Late Antiquity, how it was perceived and its defining characteristics. A central issue around this topic is that, despite the increase in studies on the subject in recent years, there is still a lack of a precise understanding of the Barbarian in this period. That is because, in Late Antiquity, ethnographic and religious conceptions were in constant flux. To help solve this problem, all descriptions of the ‘Other’ — as a group and as individuals — present in the chosen texts were adequately dissected. This breakdown allowed to collect a critical amount of data on the barbarians and other words that also expressed the ‘otherness’ of people in relation to Roman identity. This, in turn, permitted an evaluation of how the Barbarian was characterised at a semantic, cultural and literary levels. This methodology is helpful because it clarifies the parameters that constitute barbarism for these peoples while also giving an insight into the evolution of this classical literary *topos*.



## **PALAVRAS-CHAVE**

Eutrópio, Orósio, Hidácio de Chaves, Bárbaro, Outro

## **KEYWORDS**

Eutropius, Orosius, Hydatius of Chaves, Barbarian, Other



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ad Nat.</i>	<i>Ad Nationes</i> (to the Nations)
Aug.	Augustine of Hippo
<i>BG.</i>	<i>de Bellum Gallicum</i> (on the Gallic War)
Caes.	Julius Caesar
Epist.	<i>Epistulae</i> (Letters)
Eutr.	Eutropius
Gal.	Book of Galatians ( <i>New Testament</i> )
<i>Ger.</i>	<i>Germania</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae aduersus paganos</i> (Histories against the Pagans)
Hyd.	Hydatius of Chaves
<i>Il.</i>	Iliad
Judg.	Book of Judges ( <i>Old Testament</i> )
Macc.	Books of the Maccabees ( <i>Old Testament</i> )
Oros.	Orosius
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire ( <i>vol.1, ed. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris; vol. 2, ed. J. R. Martindale</i> )
<i>prol.</i>	prologue
Rufin.	Rufinus of Aquileia
Sam.	Books of Samuel ( <i>Old Testament</i> )
Sid. Apoll.	Sidonius Apollinaris
Tac.	Cornelius Tacitus



# INTRODUCTION

## WHO WAS THE BARBARIAN FOR THE LATE LATIN CHRISTIANS?

The idea of ‘Other’ has been present, in one way or another, in all human cultures since the beginning of civilisation. This necessity for ‘Us’ to be distinguished from ‘Them’ seems to have been often present in everyday life — at least since we have written records — camouflaged in-between the most superficial layers of society, like being a fan of a particular sports club and accepting another team as a ‘rival’ for whichever reasons. This type of interaction generates strong feelings directly linked to each individual’s self-identity, heavily influencing how people interact within a given community. Affiliation with a specific group of people integrates the singular individual into a plural system where common ideas and history are available, helping a person define their own identity by sharing these concepts with the other members of that specific group. Human self-identity is a combination of diverse micro-identities such as family, sexual orientation, profession, ethnicity, nationality or faith.

It is well known that these patterns of collective identity are not unique to modern societies; in fact, many of today’s social problems can be traced back to Antiquity. Therefore, studying the interaction between different groups can greatly assist in understanding the roots of social exclusion. For example, in Greek and Roman cultures, which were socially and economically centralised,<sup>1</sup> these affiliations were as vital as they are today, and much of what was part of a person’s identity was based on their connection to specific groups (Filonik and Kucharski 2021, 1–5). Eventually, in ancient Greek culture, these ideas led to the consolidation of the ‘Other’ as a concept in their language, which later developed into the notion of barbarism.

The word ‘barbarian’, originally used to represent the strange and incomprehensible, served as a unitary factor of culture, marking the border between all Greeks and non-Greeks. This idea was assimilated into the Latin language and mentality, contributing to new connotations which would eventually turn the term into one of the top ways of differentiating between the civilised world (Graeco-Latin) and the uncivilised. Despite being a complex and flexible concept, there is no doubt that the Celts — especially the Gauls — occupied a decisive place in popularising the Barbarian image, to be later gradually replaced by the German as the archetype of lack of

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<sup>1</sup> Both were collectivist communities — Greek culture was centred around the *polis* and Latin culture around the capital city of Rome.

civilisation and order — two essential elements in the Roman perception of the world (Méry 2016).

The Christians of the first centuries CE also saw themselves as some kind of ‘barbarian’ (*peregrini*, or foreigners), as a separate people distinct from the Hellenic (Romans) and the Jews by both rites and customs; thus, they self-identified as a ‘third race’ (Gruen 2017, 241–2). However, throughout the fourth and fifth centuries, many of them would have already abandoned these self-identification values as the terms began to convey pejorative feelings, harmful to the construction of Christian identity. This circumstantial change in Christian ethnic views — previously non-existent — happened during the Christianization of the Empire in the fourth century CE, when the Romans started to perceive themselves as Christian (Stroumsa 1996, 347).

When this new religious factor was accepted into the moral, cultural and ethnic awareness as part of the conventional Roman identity, the new Romano-Christians consequently started to perceive themselves as the true Romans.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the ‘pagans’ — and heretics — were considered uncivilised and effectively alien to the Empire (Kahlos 2011b, 259–70). These transformations, combined with the threat in the face of the foreign peoples at the time, led Christians to abandon their ‘barbarian’ origins and embrace the traditional Roman picture of the Barbarian (Stroumsa 1996, 347).

Around the same time, the ‘real’ non-Romans, or simply barbarians as they are still widely known, pressured the Roman borders and threatened the territorial and political integrity of the Western and Eastern Empire. The fourth and fifth centuries CE represented the peak of the *Völkerwanderung*<sup>3</sup>, during which many northern Germanic and Scythian peoples started to settle within the borders of the Roman Empire. These ‘barbarians’ gained a characteristic reputation of uncivilised warriors who were exceedingly violent, cruel and savage — traits that are still familiar to the present-day concept of the ‘Barbarian’ and its semantics.

In this recognisable picture, disseminated today by historical-based series and movies, fantasy genre books, tabletop RPGs and video games, the Barbarian is painted as a violent and fierce warrior, stereotypically clad in furs, who acts by instinct rather than reason.

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<sup>2</sup> Of course, those who still worshipped the traditional Roman pantheon, labelled ‘Pagans’ by the Christians, also thought of themselves as the true Romans.

<sup>3</sup> German word that means ‘migration of nations’; it is explicitly used as a historical term to refer to the period between the second and sixth centuries CE, a span also known as ‘the great migration’.

This derogatory image must have had other reasons to be preserved in such an unaffected way.<sup>4</sup> Taking into consideration what happened to the Jews in the twentieth century or to the Middle-eastern refugees that have fled to Europe in recent conflicts, it is evident that the strange and the foreign were continuously discredited and stereotyped figures for having different habits, languages or religions. On the contrary, those who are perceived as sharing the same habits, history, or religion are much more ‘welcome’ (see, for instance, the Ukrainians in general and specifically in countries like Poland today). The Romans would be no exception to this tendency. This is particularly true due to the fact that many of the peoples north of the Rhine and Danube — whose only descriptions have reached us from the Roman and Christian points of view — were illiterate throughout the Antiquity.

However, why did the concept of ‘the Barbarian’ not change when the so-called barbarians became the dominant powers and formed their nations in post-Roman empire territories? The answer probably lies in Christianity, one of the most significant common points between the post-Roman barbarian nations and the Roman empire. Therefore, asking the Christian authors about the concept of the Barbarian, their thoughts and definitions of it might be the solution to fully understanding this concept.

This dissertation aims to contribute to answering the question of just who was the Barbarian to late Latin Christians. It also strives to understand how this barbarian ‘Other’ was described throughout these intricately complex times by those who lived and saw the world through the eyes of what would become the primary ideological basis of medieval Europe. Therefore, this thesis intends to be an initial investigation of this question in a chronology that spans about a century, throughout three Latin authors: Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius. In fact, this will be a preliminary approach, although still indicative, of what should become, in the future, a more exhaustive inquiry on this topic. For now, I intend to grasp who was identified as a Barbarian by these three authors and how they were described, while also evaluating how the so-called ‘barbarians’ were characterised at a semantic, cultural and literary level. Additionally, I will interpret the parameters that constitute barbarism and define if they are organic and original to each author, or if they obey some literary *topos* conditioned by literary or religious tradition.

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<sup>4</sup> European historians, especially those of the eighteen and nineteen centuries, contributed significantly to the current image of the Barbarian through their interpretations of classical and Renaissance sources.

## METHODOLOGY

Studies related to ‘Identity’ have been increasing in the social sciences since the third quarter of the twentieth century. Identifying precise patterns in ancient cultures, whether linguistic or cultural, has become essential for understanding the perceptions of archaic societies on ethnic and self-identity. Likewise, the concept of ‘the Barbarian’ has been gaining importance. It is widely studied in fields like literature, history and ethnology as it opens many doors to topics of general interest to modern society, many of which are linked to severe problems like discrimination and xenophobia. However, right from the beginning of its use, there already existed several problems with the definition of Barbarian. In Late Antiquity, this concept gained an even more fluid definition due to the reconfiguration of several identities, such as being a Christian, a pagan, a heretic, or even a Roman in the new political, social and cultural contexts of the fourth century CE.

A mere study of the sources and monographs could have been enough to reach some valid conclusions and get to the root of the central discussion of this dissertation. However, this methodology did not seem adequate for the rigorous research that the Master’s degree entails.

There was a preference for working directly with the sources to carry out a worthy investigation and present precise results in a way that was directly linked to the objectives of the thesis. Therefore, my initial focus was the choice of sources, considering that the selected texts needed to concentrate on specific characteristics for this dissertation to be a complete and solid body of work, even if introductory. With this in mind, I concluded that all texts should be in Latin (preferably by Christian authorship), and they must be framed within a certain period — Late Antiquity — while also containing sufficient material about the Barbarian and its representatives, actual or literary.

The objectives of this thesis are rather specific in content. Therefore, the most crucial question about reaching its goals is mainly related to the choice of the textual corpus and the period covered by it. One of the possible approaches was confining the content to ecclesiastical history or strictly theological works to define the Barbarian. However, that would originate a less elucidative work, as the main focus of Christianity was not ethnicity (*Gal. 3:28*) but spirit; Christianity was meant to be shared equally by everyone regardless of their origins (Stroumsa 1996).

Covering a more extended chronological period could also have worked. For that, it would have been necessary to choose more sources to analyse or select authors with farther time

intervals between publications. Alternatively, I could have chosen another century to study instead of the transition period from the fourth to the fifth century CE. However, this was not in line with the objective of this dissertation, given the significant changes at the geographic, political, religious and cultural levels during these two centuries (Rohrbacher 2002). The transition from the fourth to the fifth century thus seemed suitable for studying terms like ‘Barbarian’ and ‘Pagan’, which constantly changed and depended on their context to be understood.

Lastly, there was a need to agree on a fixed number of ethnonyms to investigate and choose which of the barbarian ethnic groups would become the study subjects. Six peoples seemed convenient since they could be separated into two groups of three, allowing a comparison between the two sets. The Goths were the immediate choice of the ethnonyms to be researched; it would be unthinkable to dissect the Barbarian of the fourth and fifth centuries without referring to the largest and most influential barbarian group in the Empire.<sup>5</sup> The Huns were, in turn, selected because they are one of the most recognisable barbarian groups in present-day popular culture, together with their infamous leader Atilla. The Franks were also chosen because they were among the most influential groups forming early European culture. Finally, the Suebi, the Alans and the Vandals were selected as a consequence for picking Orosius and Hydatius as sources. Since both were Spaniards, it seemed appropriate to investigate the peoples that invaded the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, three Scythian tribes (Alans, Goths<sup>6</sup> and Huns) and three German tribes (Franks, Suebi and Vandals) were chosen — the perfect composition to reach the average idea of what these authors thought about the barbarians.

On the other hand, an exciting alternative would have been to choose some pagan authors, such as Ammianus Marcellinus or Eunapius, to contrast with the image transmitted by Christian authors. However, although engaging, this would end up fragmenting this study too much since the number of sources analysed would always be narrow and, in the end, would not be sufficiently representative to conclude what were the differences between the Barbarian of the pagan authors and the Christian ones.

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<sup>5</sup> The greatest barbarian (foreign) power in the East was, without doubt, the Persians, but the Eastern territories were also some of the most affected by the Gothic invasions (Mitchell 2015, 96–8). Nevertheless, the Persians are not usually identified as typical ‘barbarians’ (Inglebert 2012, 11).

<sup>6</sup> For the reason of grouping the Goths with the Scythian peoples even though they were, in fact, German, see pp. 47–9.

Although there are other possible pathways to reach this thesis' goal, the methodology is the same as any historiographical work. Still, the theme leans into a literary study of cultural and ethnological bases, heavily relying on several statistical elements. Heuristics and hermeneutics are also essential for this work. Without them, studying the period of Late Antiquity, the concept of Barbarian, and the role of the ethnonyms in Christian historiography would have been impractical. Statistics proved a valuable tool that helped organise data and facilitated the quick observation of certain factors used to define the Barbarian and the barbarians — mainly, the semantics. This set of theoretical tools seemed to be the most straightforward and intuitive of all the methodological solutions to answer the initial question, in addition to the problem of choosing the textual corpus itself. Nevertheless, as this project primarily focuses on three specific works, I will strive to avoid over-generalisation. I am well aware that if the corpus were expanded, there would be the possibility of reaching different conclusions, even using the same methodological approach.

This dissertation follows an order that, albeit not necessarily linear, is hopefully organic and intuitive both for approaching the topic and understanding it. As such, this thesis is divided into four main chapters, taking into account the many facets of the Barbarian and the barbarians in Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius' works. Outside these four chapters, there is still considerable and essential information, namely on the textual corpus and state of the art, which have sections in this '*Introduction*'. These subdivisions aim to acquaint the reader with the sources and the concept of Barbarian — detailing the reasons for the selection and explaining the studies on the chosen texts and concepts.

After establishing a ground-level knowledge about the authors, their productions and the evolution of the concept of 'Barbarian', the dissertation proceeds with the identification of the main subject in the first chapter of the thesis development. Chapter I, '*Identifying the Barbarian*', is mainly a statistical analysis. It has little interpretation, focusing instead on scrutinising a particular set of relevant words that demonstrate which peoples are explicitly called barbarians by the chosen authors and whether there is an evolution in the use of '*barbarus*' or the ethnonyms, intra and intertextually. This chapter is complemented with details about other possible ways to subdivide the 'Other' (geographic, ethnic, religious) while giving an introductory explanation about each of the categories.

The second and third chapters constitute the interpretative part of the thesis. Chapter II, '*Characterisation of the Barbarian*', is a cross-section in which some statistical analysis is



extended to examine individual characters and characterisation elements associated with the Barbarian and each ethnonym. The gathered data shall then be used to better assess the general picture of these peoples in Late Antiquity and their characterisation by contemporary historians. Semantics is one of the main elements used in analysing the Barbarian description because verbs and adjectives clearly express how they were portrayed. Additionally, by examining several individual characters — like Alaric or Stilicho — it was possible to identify whether these personalities mirrored the Barbarian or if they were intended to show an exception to the typical barbaric behaviour and why. Lastly, there is a list of all the historical barbarians mentioned throughout the works under study.

Chapter III, '*Understanding the writers*', is solely interpretative and is intended to give one last glimpse into the Barbarian image through the authors' similarities and differences in their texts, styles, sources and personal life. In this chapter, each author is compared by their experiences with barbarians, in order to understand their influences when they wrote about and described these foreign peoples, or if they obeyed any literary *topos*. There is also an insight into how they used the barbarians to express their ideas about the world and its future. In conclusion, all of the previously gathered knowledge is used to form an outcome on the role of the sources used by these historians and an understanding on whether their perceptions derived from personal experiences or tradition (or both), be it cultural, literary or ideological.

Chapter IV, '*Final Considerations*', is the last chapter of this dissertation. It is a commentary on how the Barbarian picture prevailed in the barbarian mindset, motivated by Christianity and the established definition of the Pagan and Heretic. Moreover, it also elaborates on how these definitions were used as one of the unitary elements in the religious philosophy that would mark the beginning of the European kingdoms and the Middle Ages.

## **THE TEXTUAL CORPUS**

Choosing an excellent textual corpus is one of the most challenging and essential tasks in the planning phases of any dissertation, as there is a need for sources with the necessary content to answer (or not) the initial questions while also enabling a structure of an accurate and reliable study. This thesis aims to understand who and what the Barbarian was for the late antique Romano-Christians and how it was characterised. With this in mind, Eutropius' *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita, liber VII* of Orosius' *Historiae aduersus paganos* and Hydatius' *Chronica* were found suitable for those purposes.

In this subchapter, the arguments why these specific texts were chosen instead of other equally qualified ones are justified. Additionally, there is a small introduction to the works themselves, their historical context, their literary or ideological programs, and who would be their target audience. However, there will not be any extended exploration these problems yet, as some will be discussed later in chapter III (pp. 94–106).

## **MOTIVES OF SELECTION**

The question of Barbarian imagery is quite complex, and several late antique authors could have been chosen for this study. However, why choose only three authors, and why would they be Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius specifically? The fourth and fifth centuries are rich in historiographical resources from contemporary or almost contemporary authors, to the events and people necessary for this dissertation. Other authors like Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius, Sozomen, Zosimus, or even Jordanes (sixth century CE), seem to be equally valid authors for evaluating the topic of the Barbarian. In fact, they were taken into account during the initial phase of the thesis, but they were not selected for the project's final form, at least not directly.

Since there is a focus on the Christian perception of the Barbarian, it is evident that Christian authors were needed. This need came to be not only because of the possible older biblical literary *topoi* about the barbarians, but also because it is their conception of the world. That conception would later spread through medieval Europe, setting down some major foundations for the modern Western world.

As my level of Latin is higher than that of Greek, there was a preference for Latin authors. The objective of this study was to use the texts in the original language whenever possible and to reduce resorting to translations, used mainly as an aid in more obscure cases.

Orosius and Hydatius not only meet these requirements, they even surpass them. They are not merely Christians, but actual members of the Church. Moreover, they come from the West; in particular, from one of the regions most affected by the establishment of barbarian populations at the beginning of the fifth century — the Iberian Peninsula. Additionally, they trace their origins to the province of Gallaecia, more specifically to the area that corresponds to the northernmost parts of modern-day Portugal and its border with Galicia in Spain, one of the most isolated regions of the Empire. This fact gives an interesting point of view of the Roman Empire and the identity of its provincial Christian citizens.

Eutropius, although he deviates from the criteria mentioned earlier, is not a less critical author for this dissertation. Furthermore, the fact that Eutropius wrote in the East is a way of understanding the perspective, albeit a Latin one, of someone writing in the ‘New Rome’. This, in turn, contrasts with the idea that the West and East were two different ‘empires’ during the fourth century. Moreover, his work — written an entire century before Hydatius’ *Chronica* — establishes a comparative groundwork between the old and new vision of the Barbarian from its various perspectives. Therefore, the historiographical works of these three authors would complement themselves in chronology and ideology, making them appropriate to approach the problems initially proposed and eventually discover the answers.

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Eutropius is the oldest of the addressed authors. So his work, the *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita*,<sup>7</sup> is essential for understanding the initial position of the fourth-century Romans on the Barbarian, in a time when the Roman world, although facing difficulties, maintained a proud mentality about its dominance.

Eutropius was born in the first half of the fourth century CE, shortly after Constantine united the Empire and delegated his controversial policies to favour Christianity. The author then grew up in a period of relative stability. However, this time was still marked by the constant military insecurity against barbarian advancements, as well as the political and religious turmoil that affected the general population and the imperial household after the death of Constantine. Not much is known about the life of Eutropius aside from the speculations from external sources, like letters and official papers that mention people with the same name. According to the *Suda*,

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<sup>7</sup> Also referred to as *Breuiarium Historiae Romanae*.

Eutropius had an Italic origin (despite his Greek name and most of his career in the East), and Bird (2011, viii) mentions that he likely came from a middle-class family.

Rohrbacher (2002) and Bird (2011) reconstruct Eutropius as a very influential character in his time. He held several official posts in the Empire's administration throughout the years and was close to the higher circles of both the Western and Eastern parts of the Empire. However, as Den Boer (1972) alerts, there is no absolute certainty on who he was, other than that he was a *magister memoriae* in Constantinople and participated in Julian's campaigns against the Persians in 363 CE — information that the author himself gives.

Eutropius wrote his breviary at the request of emperor Valens, perhaps as part of his duties as an imperial secretary, in 369–370 CE. Around this time, the Eastern empire was threatened by the Persians and the Goths, and emperor Valens led a military campaign on the Lower Danube against the latter. Bird (2011) believes that Eutropius was part of that campaign and that he wrote his work amidst the military operations, compiling it following his patron's success.

The *Breuiarium*, as can be guessed from its name, follows the Latin concept of *breuitas* (brevity), which was quite prominent in late antique literature due to its ease of consumption compared to the volumes written in earlier centuries. However, even though this work was supposed to be a short, digest-sized history compendium, it is rather unidimensional with little to no context on economic, cultural or institutional facts. Instead, it is more of a generalised gathering of military feats (Rohrbacher 2002, 55), divided in ten books representing the different phases of Roman history. There is also a lack of religious commentaries, which is curious given the controversies that arose during that time. The reasons might have been an absence of earnest perceptions of the author regarding that field or, most likely, a desire to safeguard his official position. It is obvious that Eutropius valued loyalty and that maintaining the status quo was key to maintaining his position. It is therefore doubtful that he would make any comments that could bring his Arian emperor, or his faith, under scrutiny. This behaviour earned him continuous career promotions throughout the sovereignty of several emperors with different political and religious beliefs (Bird 2011, xvii–xviii).<sup>8</sup>

The *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita* is written with a traditional mindset, based solely on Roman-centred ideas and events. As stated before, Eutropius was a proud and honourable

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<sup>8</sup> Eutropius' career spans roughly from 360 to 390 CE, spanning the ruling of emperor Constantius II to Theodosius I.

Roman, so the Empire's enemies held a minor interest in the grand scale of things. Thus, there is a tendency to value and exalt generals and their military feats while emphasising the Senate's importance and role in transforming Rome into a global power. Eutropius' beliefs cemented such a mentality on Rome's right to dominate (Den Boer 1972, 141–7).

Eutropius is also objective and explicit in his writing style, limiting himself to using only a handful rhetorical features and expressions. His objective was to decrease the length and ambiguity of the text through techniques that agreed with the core concept of *brevitas*, similar to the typical writing style associated with works of bureaucratic nature with which Eutropius was familiar (Rohrbacher 2002). This prose form also supports the argument that Eutropius purposely avoided the traditional rhetoric's vagueness because of his less-cultured audience (Bird 2011).

Eutropius, being a senator, held a strong bias towards the Senate and often appealed to the institution's importance throughout his work. This focus could have meant that he did it to please people of a particular social class, probably senators or pro-senatorial families belonging to the aristocratic elite of the Empire, during a time in which the Senate was greatly impoverished of power (Den Boer 1972, 147; Rohrbacher 2002, 188). However, Bird (2011) has a slightly different take on this approach. He says that Eutropius wrote the breviary for an uncultivated audience, like military officers or the new eastern nobility, instead of the educated senatorial elite. The latter statement is more credible, as Valens — and Valentinian — were both provincials from Pannonia, risen from the military with presumably little knowledge about the history of Rome. Moreover, since the breviary originates at the emperor's request, it would make sense that its audience would be men within the same background parameters as the emperor's. This would justify the pro-conquest ideas that the author widely spreads along with the simplicity of his writing.

Regardless of who the intended audience was — the elite or the less-educated — it is clear that Eutropius wrote for a mixed audience composed of Christians and pagans. Nevertheless, his work became accessible to the general reading public. It was prevalent among other late antique historians like Ammianus Marcellinus, Jerome, Augustine, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Isidore, Bede and Paul the Deacon, later to be a popular textbook throughout the Middle Ages, both in the West and the East (Bird 2011).

The importance of the *Breviarium* is then evident, but for this dissertation, its value lies mainly in the fact that it is one of the known sources of Orosius. This fact turns Eutropius into

a significant reference, not only in comparing and understanding the general evolution of the late antique ideology regarding the Barbarian, but also in seeing how Christian authors adapted specific themes.

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The *Historiae aduersus paganos* places itself right at the centre of this thesis in more ways than one. The seventh book<sup>9</sup> of Orosius' most remarkable work is chronologically between Eutropius' and Hydatius', functioning as a bridge between the historical records and writing styles of both authors. Despite that, even if it is only the last book of the seven that compose the *Historiae*, its volume is comparable in size to the entirety of the other works. This gives us much material to dissect, since Orosius tends to be biased towards Christianity. Moreover, his rhetorical prose is filled with barbarians and their deeds.

Orosius<sup>10</sup> was a Roman priest and historian that lived during the transition of the fourth to the fifth century CE, the period of instability that would precede the fragmentation of the Western Empire through various internal and external factors. Based on approximations grounded on his works and external information, it is believed that Orosius lived roughly between 375/85 and 420 CE, and it is primarily believed — even though there are some disputes —<sup>11</sup> that Orosius was native to the Iberian Peninsula. More specifically, to the Gallaecian cities of *Bracara Augusta*<sup>12</sup> or *Corunna*<sup>13</sup>. Living through the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century means that Orosius was a contemporary of the great Christian philosophers like Augustine and Jerome, whom he eventually met. Nonetheless, he also lived in a time when Roman consciousness about the Barbarian and its concept was in change, spurred by the battle of Adrianople and the settlement of barbarians in Roman territory.

It is known that the author of the *Historiae* had to flee to Africa, probably due to the barbarian populations that invaded the Hispanic provinces in 409 CE (Rohrbacher 2002, 135–6).<sup>14</sup> However, it can be assumed that the priest always had a hectic life. Orosius was an 'ecclesiastical polemicist' — as Fear calls him — a fervent Christian who consistently

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<sup>9</sup> This, for the most part in this dissertation, is referenced by the Latin designation '*liber VII*'.

<sup>10</sup> Also known as Paulus Orosius. However, there is no certainty about his actual first name. The name 'Paulus' was attributed in the sixth century CE because the author was previously mentioned as Orosius P. However, in this case, the 'P' could have meant presbyter, as he was a clergyman (Rohrbacher 2002, 135).

<sup>11</sup> For another perspective on Orosius' origins, see Corráin 2017.

<sup>12</sup> Present-day Braga, Portugal.

<sup>13</sup> Present-day A Coruña, Galicia, Spain.

<sup>14</sup> However, his escape must have occurred only around 411 CE, when the city of *Bracara* was occupied by the Suebi (Fear 2010, 3–4).

demonstrated his tendencies to defend the Nicæan Creed against its supposed enemies. This attitude led him to be involved in controversies against Priscillianism<sup>15</sup> in the Iberian Peninsula and Pelagianism during his stay in Jerusalem (Fear 2010, 4–5).

The *Historiae aduersus paganos* is the priest's most noteworthy project. Despite aiming to cover the entire history of the world and its peoples, the author focuses mainly on the history of Rome. The period after the birth of Christ — which coincides with Caesar Augustus and the Principate's beginning — is narrated in its seventh book and occupies more than two-thirds of his work. He wrote other studies but is primarily recognised for this one in particular, a universal (apologetic) history of the world written from a Christian perspective.

Orosius' work started, perhaps initially, at the request of Augustine, to whom he dedicated his volumes.<sup>16</sup> It originated from a need to defend his beliefs against the Pagans who, due to the abandonment of the traditional Roman pantheon and sacrifices, accused the Christians of being the cause of Rome's decadence that culminated in the sack of Alaric in 410 CE. However, rather than solely fighting against pagan accusations, Orosius tried to justify Christianity as the true religion of Rome, and did so by recounting the entire history of humanity and presenting it as the direct result of divine will.

In the *Historiae*, Orosius argues that just as God rules in Heaven, Rome, as a divine instrument, must rule over the material world. Therefore men must submit to its power for peace to be possible (Oros. *Hist.* 6.17.9.). This may have been somewhat similar to the typical (aristocratic) Roman mentality exhibited in Eutropius, which promotes the idea that Rome has the right to dominate other peoples — however, it has an entirely different origin. At its core, that idea results from the early Christian tendency to deem ethnicity irrelevant because Christianity was a religion to unite all races and peoples. For Orosius — who saw himself as a Christian and a Roman (Oros. *Hist.* 5.2.6.) — the means to arrive at this result was naturally through imperial rule. In his eyes, to be under the influence of Rome was to be under the Church of God, existing a direct and natural correlation between the *Pax Romana* and the *Pax Diuina* (Fear 2010, 21).

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<sup>15</sup> The Priscillianian heresy had a powerful presence in the Iberian Peninsula, particularly in Gallaecia, during the late fourth and fifth centuries CE. See Escribano 2005.

<sup>16</sup> The dedication of Orosius to the Bishop of Hippo (Oros. 1. *prol.* 3–8) is a rhetorical tradition typical of the literature of the time, where he shows modesty while dedicating his work to a prestigious figure (*captatio beneuolentiae*). It might be true that, initially, Augustine may have asked Orosius for a brief list of events that could be used to help him write his *Ciuitate Dei*. However, the *Historiae* appear as something voluminous and independent from the City of God, with ideological principles opposed to Augustine's philosophy. Therefore, the influences between one author and the other are few and weak (Alberto and Furtado 2000, 26–42).

Orosius writes in a style typical of late Latin authors (Rohrbacher 2002, 138), but in a new category of apologetic history aiming to prove established theological points through carefully reading past events. This notion of divine intervention and Providence as an agent of historical events was not exactly new in the Christian literary world (Fear 2010, 11). However, this vision alone would not have made Orosius a notable author, despite being an ambitious project. His work was fascinating because of his rhetoric and use of classical sources to justify his pro-Christian arguments (see pp. 94–106). This use of the sources allowed him to fight against the pagans on an equal footing. In principle, they could not grade his work as ‘minor’ for being poorly written or for not using the sources that, since the beginning, served the veracity and legitimacy of the Graeco-Roman tradition. With more or less subtlety, Orosius used biblical sources and gospels, but his knowledge and use of traditional Roman works to support his ideological agenda remain his primary weapons against the pagans.

The author uses various weapons in his *Historiae* to justify his point of view. For example, Orosius compares the past to show that disasters were much worse before the birth of Christ; he affirms that ancient historians were fallible and wrong in their interpretation of reality. He also edits classic quotations and omits specific facts that did not suit his points and theories, and criticises pagan authors, diminishing their credibility and convincing his (actual) audience that Christian historical sources were the only reliable authorities (Fear 2010, 14–6; Rohrbacher 2002, 8, 157). However, it is clear that Orosius also tried his best to convey his feelings and perspectives to his audience, which contributed to the creation of a very eloquent and lengthy historiographical project compared to later authors.

Nonetheless, the entire theme and composition of Orosius’ work were indeed aimed at the pagans, the elite Roman intellectuals who argued against Christianity and its precipitation of imperial disgrace and degradation (Fear 2010, 11). However, that was not the public that ended up captivated.<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding his dedication to winning the support of the unbelievers, his audience turned out to be mainly Christian (Rohrbacher 2002, 152). It is interesting how, despite the author’s origins, Orosius’ work does not seem to have been circulating widely in the Iberian Peninsula in the years after its publication (Muhlberger 1990, 206). This lack of circulation was perhaps a consequence of the state of that region, as it was overwhelmed by barbarians.

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<sup>17</sup> Rohrbacher (2002) questions Orosius’ target audience, as he says that despite being ‘against the pagans’, there is no severe criticism against pagan practices in the *Historiae*.



Ultimately, Orosius' theological and historiographical attitude made him one of the most-read sources on Antiquity during the Middle Ages, turning his work into an essential reference for this thesis.

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The most recent of the three authors under study is Hydatius. His work, the *Chronica*, set the final point in understanding the principles and ideologies of the Romans of the second half of the fifth century in the West and how the Barbarian *topos* evolved from fourth-century literature to Christian historiography in what was already a conflictual and fragmentary Empire.

As with other remote historians, little is known about Hydatius' personal life. Apart from what he tells about his personal experiences, the rest are general calculations based on letters and the chronology of his work. He must have been born around 390 or 400 CE in the little town of *Lemica Ciuitas*<sup>18</sup>. He lived a long life, dying around 470 CE. This chronology places Hydatius not only in one of the most isolated regions of the Empire, but also during a time when barbarian forces most ravaged it. These forces comprised Alans, Suebi, Vandals and — later in his life — Goths. This vision is clear for Hydatius, who still remembered his youth rich in opportunities and free of the constant threat before 411 CE, when the Hispano-Roman communities saw a need to protect themselves from the barbarian hosts that had arrived in the province of Gallaecia (Burgess 1993, 4).

Hydatius must have been a relatively influential member of his community. This allowed him to achieve the rank of Bishop<sup>19</sup> at a very young age and justified his participation in higher tasks, such as asking the famous magister militum Aetius for help against the Suebi and assisting the bishop of *Asturica*<sup>20</sup> in the 'hunt' against Priscillianism. Moreover, because of his position as bishop and personal circumstances, Hydatius might have seen himself as a defender of the Roman cause, as he spent part of his life opposing the barbarians and the propagation of the heresy (Arianism) they brought (Muhlberger 1990, 194).

The *Chronica*, his major work, was written to complete the job left by the admired Jerome, his model and inspiration. With that in mind, Hydatius introduced his work as the last section

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<sup>18</sup> In the vicinity of the present-day Nocelo da Pena, Galicia, Spain.

<sup>19</sup> Hydatius was the bishop of *Aquae Flaviae* — present-day Chaves, Portugal — hence his name. Interestingly, there are no references to the existence of an episcopal seat in *Aquae Flaviae*. However, the map of the dioceses in fifth-century Spain is primarily unknown, and the seat might have been dissolved after the reforms of the Suebi in the sixth century CE (Muhlberger 1990, 199; Thompson 1982, 140).

<sup>20</sup> Present-day Astorga, Spain.

of a series supposed to be considered ‘monolithic’. That series included Eusebius’ and Jerome’s chronicles, which, together with the *Chronica*, tell the history of humanity from its Abrahamic origins to the beginning of the reign of Euric, king of the Visigoths (420–484 CE).

Despite some recent theses trying to distinguish two phases of composition for the *Chronica*, it is estimated that Hydatius began writing soon after the Gothic invasions of Gallaecia and Lusitania in 456–457 CE. This means that the bishop wrote his accounts over ten years in a place of chaos, disorder and instability, not only from the Iberian Peninsula, but from the Empire as a whole (Wieser 2019, 14–7).<sup>21</sup>

Eusebius’ *Chronici Canones* strongly inspired Hydatius’ work through Jerome’s Latin translations. However, the fifth-century chronicler does not follow the examples of *breuitas* typically present in these authors and generally associated with the chronicle genre. Burgess (1993) describes him as thorough, far more so than other late antique chroniclers — a characteristic that almost doomed him to obscurity, despite the early circulation of his work. This view is shared by Muhlberger (1990), who claims that attention to detail is one of Hydatius’ unique characteristics. Such thoroughness and attention to detail — especially when describing something related to his contemporary environment — together with an attempt to combine the traditional historiographical writing with the structural model of the chronicle, resulted in a work that was too long and had excessively complicated Latin when compared with other chroniclers of his time and after (Burgess 1993, 9).

Nonetheless, the *Chronica* is relatively straightforward. Hydatius’ eschatological ideas, which defended divine will as the main factor in the disasters and successes of the Empire, are the recurring theme throughout the text (Muhlberger 1990, 214). This apocalyptic vision differs from Orosius’ but still shares some common similarities, which are assumed to be typical of Christian works after Eusebius and Jerome. The purpose of his *Chronica* was to leave a legacy. Hydatius designates himself as a witness, not only of the divine work — as his predecessors did — but mainly of the last years of Gallaecia and the Roman Empire since it is believed that the old bishop considered that the world would end before the turning of the century (Burgess 1993, 9–10).

Hydatius wished to pass on his testimony on the end of (his) world through the record of the imperial state in the Iberian Peninsula. Hence, he did not resort to primary historiographical

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<sup>21</sup> This apocalyptic image is fuelled by the descriptions of Hydatius himself, one of the few sources for fifth-century Spain.

sources and confined himself mainly to oral testimonies, letters and, to a large extent, his personal experiences. This is reinforced by the fact that Hydatius is a character in his own *Chronica*, which justifies his focus on Gallaecia — his home region — and his comprehensive descriptions of certain events during his lifetime, especially in the latest years covered.

Despite placing himself on the same level as other universal chroniclers, Hydatius focuses mainly on the Iberian Peninsula. This attention did not hold much general interest for the communities outside Iberia and largely confined his audience to his Hispanic compatriots. However, considering his situation, it does not seem that the search for Hispano-Roman (mostly Gallaecian) or Christian-only audience was his sole motivation. On the contrary, Thompson (1982, 141–50) states that is an excellent effort by Hydatius to try and make his work as ‘universal’ as any other. Otherwise, he would not seek as much information about the world outside the Iberian Peninsula whenever he could, through letters, informants and diplomats.

Unfortunately, it does not seem that Orosius was a source for Hydatius. If that were the case, it would have been possible to see a direct evolution of the terminology and ideas related to the concept of the Barbarian in a continuous line since Eutropius. Nevertheless, the *Chronica* is still a fascinating source. It can be used to understand many things about those obscure times and relatively remote territory of provincial Rome. Moreover, it also assumes a pivotal role in this dissertation as the final vision into understanding who was ‘the Barbarian’ in late Romano-Christian works.

## THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES: THE ENVIRONMENT OF PRODUCTION

The fourth and fifth centuries CE were a period of fast transitions, be it in politics, cultures or concepts. The second half of the fourth century was marked by general uncertainty and political anxiety. Nevertheless, despite the civil wars, imperial intrigues, religious tensions and the ever-increasing foreign pressure on the Roman borders, it can be said that this period was relatively stable for the Empire until 378 CE and even up to the death of Theodosius I (395 CE).

During the last part of the reign of Constantius II (337–361 CE), when Eutropius began his political career, these instabilities and insecurities were noticeable but not pre-eminent. Particularly after his defeat of the Alamanni in 357 CE, the military successes of Julian — who was Caesar of the West at the time — contrasted with the political results of Constantius II. This victory by Julian was vital for reinforcing the Roman presence on the Rhine and especially for morale, as it helped maintain the idea that Rome remained a power that any barbarian could not challenge. When Julian became emperor in 361 CE, he became a symbol of aspiration for Roman re-emergence due to his military successes and expansionist spirit (Mitchell 2015, 74–84). These commendable virtues won him the approval of late fourth-century pagan historians such as Eutropius and Ammianus Marcellinus, who also served him in official positions and during military campaigns.

Julian apostatised in favour of Paganism and tried to revert the Christian Empire to its former traditional religion. Rufinus of Aquileia, a contemporary of Julian, describes him as cunning, fierce, cruel and with a craze for idolatry. The italic monk also details a period of great hardship for Christian citizens, who lost many civil and official rights during the pagan emperor's reign, from being banned from accessing ancient pagan sources to being unable to hold official administrative positions (Rufin. 10.33–7). Even supporters of Julian like Ammianus Marcellinus and Eutropius condemned the excessive prejudice of the emperor towards the Christians (Mitchel 2015, 289–90). Although it is likely that Eutropius only mentioned this to please his Arian patron, since he makes no further remarks of religious character throughout his *Breuiarium*.

Regardless of Julian's religious ambitions, he is represented by his contemporaries as a 'proper' Roman emperor. However, when he was finally defeated during his offensive against the Sassanid Persians in 363 CE, his successor, Jovian (363–364 CE), was ultimately blamed for the Roman defeat. This is because instead of continuing his predecessor's fight, he

surrendered to the enemy, staining Roman pride and ceding important provinces and cities (Eutr. 10.17.).

Jovian's reign was brief, given his untimely death less than a year after Julian's, and it was not until the end of Valentinian I (264–375 CE) and Valens' (364–378 CE) rule that the Roman conceptual understanding of the world began to change. This change was due to several factors, starting with the administrative division of the Empire between the two brothers. Valentinian I preferred a diplomatic approach over open warfare with the barbarians on the Rhine and the upper Danube in the West.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, his Eastern counterpart soon launched a punitive expedition against the Goths of the lower Danube for supporting the usurper Procopius (Mitchell 2015, 84–7). This was the imperial scenario when Eutropius, in the service of Valens, wrote his *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita*. There is even the possibility that the author was involved in this same campaign against the barbarians (Bird 2010, xiii).

The Eastern emperor had shown grand military ambitions, and some even question if Valens issued the *Breuiarium* of Eutropius as a means to convince the military to support his desire for another campaign against the Persians (Bird 2010, xx). However, he did not live to see his alleged wishes fulfilled, as he died prematurely in the Battle of Adrianople (378 CE) against a horde of Goths.

Towards the end of Valens' reign, the Empire entered a period of instability from which it would never recover. The transformations it underwent changed the Roman perception and marked the downfall of the Roman superiority status.

The Romans believed they were destined to rule the world. This can be seen through the various artistic traditions that have circulated since the Republican period and that prove their effort to spreading their imperialist ideology. This idealism incited the Romans to expand their territories and wage violent campaigns, often against groups that posed no immediate threat to Rome's power, such as Valens' operation against the Goths on the lower Danube. These same ideals are still present in the historiographical work of Eutropius, whose patriotic pride — assisted by the expansionist tendencies of spotted characters like Julian or Valens — assured him of the legitimacy of Rome, its dominance, and its capacity for eventual success. Nevertheless, after the publication of the *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita*, the Romans had their reality (and mentality) challenged by the growing strength of the barbarians. This manifested

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<sup>22</sup> Even though Valentinian I's campaigns on the Rhine are well-known, as described by Ammianus Marcellinus.

through the implementation of Gothic settlements within the borders and the Roman inability to react against the Persians or reconquer the provinces lost to them only a few decades earlier.

There is no way of knowing what Eutropius thought of these changes. However, it is undeniable that in the years following the publication of his work, the non-Romans grew stronger, putting themselves on a par with the Roman Empire in a way never seen before (Rohrbacher 2002, 230). This disparity was evident in the case of the Goths, whom emperor Valens allowed to settle in the Roman territory in 376 CE.

During the period of Valentinian I and Valens, laws were enacted directly against *barbari*, both outside and within the Empire, such as embargoes imposed on barbarian-controlled territories and bans on marriages with barbarians. However, these codes were heavily edited in later years, and there is no clear legal context on the practical application of these laws.<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, although this may confirm an increase in the discrimination against the Barbarian by the Romans, it is only a political way to prevent the growth of a potential threat. Despite this, we know that the relations between Romans and Barbarians continued, including cases of coexistence, such as in Germania's border regions.

The Goths maintained a dynamic relationship with both Rome and Constantinople, and neither the edicts against the barbarians nor the familiarity between Romans and Goths prevented them from becoming a growing autonomous force within the Empire. Thanks to Roman assistance, they were already the most significant power in the barbarian Danube region. Still, they benefited from Roman favour for thirty years after the pact with Constantine in 332 CE. After 378 CE, the rule and feats of emperor Theodosius I (379–395 CE) restrained Gothic strength. When the Roman-Gothic relationship returned to one being one of hostility, they were formally integrated into the Roman ranks, seemingly as *foederati*, turning their leaders into Roman generals without necessarily abandoning their status as tribal leaders. Due to these special conditions on their position as *foederati*, the Goths developed a fluid self-identity that prevented them from maturing into the third political power in the Empire.<sup>24</sup>

The religious policies of Theodosius I were also pivotal in establishing the Nicæan creed as the orthodox faith of Christianity, even if his commitment to Christian doctrine was not exceptionally fervent compared to his predecessors (Errington 2006, 215–9). However, these

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<sup>23</sup> See Mathisen (2009) for a better understanding of the context of these edicts and how they might have been misinterpreted by scholars as a way to worsen Roman–Barbarian relations; cf. Liebeschuetz (2015, 151).

<sup>24</sup> On Gothic ethnogenesis see Kulikowski 2006, 43–70.

policies did not ease the religious tensions that had been simmering since Constantine's reforms and which were one of the leading causes of the internal conflicts of the Empire. Nonetheless, the military successes and capacity to reunite both halves of the Empire turned Theodosius I into the Christian equivalent of what Julian had been almost twenty years earlier.

Many Christian authors interpreted Theodosius' military actions as a campaign against the Pagans and Heretics and his successes as a sign of the triumph of the Nicaean creed. Nevertheless, they disregarded that he was only attempting to consolidate his power and control over the territories contested by the barbarians and the usurpers (Mitchell 2015, 90–1, 267–70, 310–2).

The battle of river Frigidus, in 394 CE, is the most remarkable example of this tendency, seeing that it became a fundamental mark for Christian propaganda. The apologetic Christian literature used the victorious outcome of Theodosius as clear evidence of the triumph of Christianity over the pagans and the old Roman traditions represented by Arbogastes and Eugenius (Mitchell 2015, 270). Although this religious perception was not shared by all Christian sources of the time, it was undoubtedly the most popular (Cameron 2011, 93–131).

Rufinus adheres to this religious reading of the event, and his portrayal of Theodosius as a champion of Christianity was very influential for his Christian contemporaries such as Augustine, and young Orosius in particular.

On Theodosius' death in 395 CE, the imperial court was divided among his sons: the eldest son Arcadius became emperor in the East. At the same time, the ten-year-old Honorius ruled the West. The reign of Honorius (393–423 CE) was precarious, full of intrigues and weak in the face of constant state of alert against revolts, usurpers and barbarians.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, it was during the thirty years of his rule that Rome saw the exponential decline of its military prowess, which was fundamental to the development of the late antique concept of the Barbarian and its relation to Roman self-identity.

The increasing presence of different *nationes* in the Empire contributed to more significant tensions between Romans and barbarians, especially after the death of Stilicho in 408 CE, an

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<sup>25</sup> There was Gildo's revolt in Africa (397–398 CE), the Goth invasions led by Alaric (401–410 CE) and Radagaisus (405–406 CE), the crossing of several barbarian tribes on the Rhine (406 CE), the revolts of Marcus (406 CE), Gratianus (406–407 CE) and Constantine 'III' (407–411 CE) in Britain, the assassination of Stilicho (408 CE), the sieges of Rome by Alaric (408–409 CE), the rule of Priscus Attalus in Rome (409 CE), the settlement of the Alans, Suebi and Vandals in the Iberian Peninsula (409 CE), the Sack of Rome (410 CE) and the overall isolation of provinces like Britain, Spain and Gaul.

outcome that not only caused a rift in the imperial army but also encouraged the barbarian auxiliaries to join the ranks of Alaric (Mitchell 2015, 98–100). This strengthened the troops of the Goths that would later sack Rome in 410 CE. This event directly or indirectly reinforced the general idea of the Barbarian as the ‘enemy’ and ended up accentuating the polarisation that existed in the Roman populace of the early fifth century.

After the Gothic armies’ sieges of the Eternal City, the West saw a significant shift in its political powers and administration. This change is symbolically marked by the marriage of Athaulf and the daughter of the emperor Theodosius — Galla Placidia. The union defined a vital alliance for Rome and its future. It recognised that the Goths were one of the most substantial forces in Europe and that the Empire needed their assistance to control its provinces, particularly Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>26</sup>

The situation in the Iberian Peninsula became problematic after the arrival of the Alans, Suebi and Vandals in 409 CE. Orosius, a young adult at the time, witnessed Theodosius’ glorious reign only to see his homeland occupied by barbarians years after his death. On the other hand, Hydatius grew up during the troubled times of the barbarian establishment on the Peninsula during the reign of Honorius. These two historians from Gallaecia shared an age difference of only fifteen or twenty-five years; however, their works are separated by forty years, showing considerably different historical contexts. Moreover, the Bishop of Aquae Flaviae still remembered his life before the invasion of the Peninsula. This is why he used those memories to accentuate the idea of the chaos that ensued with the Germanic peoples’ arrival.

The *Historiae aduersus paganos* was written less than a decade after the Sack of Rome while Orosius was in exile in Africa. However, the Iberian priest would still hold some Roman pride and mentality seen in Eutropius. By the fifth century CE, Rome was no longer the sole dominant political power in the Mediterranean since its cohesive territory, and enviable armies were losing force to other growing authorities. However, the Empire still held a strong position of power at a spiritual level, maintained by the new Christian Orthodoxy and the renewed perception of Roman identity. It is clear that all these concepts were in flux and, by the time of Orosius, believing in the Nicæan Creed was an essential factor to be considered ‘Roman’ while

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<sup>26</sup> Athaulf recognised the strength of his people and was aware of his role in the imperial political scheme. However, as can be perceived by Orosius’ anecdote, it was easier for him to control an already established Empire than to destroy it and form a new one.



the ‘Other’ — the Barbarian — were those who posed a threat to the (Christian) Empire: the pagans and the heretics (Stroumsa 1996, 339–68).

Paganism had always been the primary opponent of Christianity. However, with the decline of the traditional Roman cult and the reinforcement of the Nicæan creed as the ‘true’ form of Roman Christianity, the Arian heresy became the central adversary of Romano-Christians.<sup>27</sup> This happened because Arianism was the religion of most barbarians who lived within the Roman border, making it not only the most widespread heresy in the Empire but also underpinning its importance concerning any other religious faction, curiously, not due to matters of faith, but of identity.

After the First Council of Nicæa in 325 CE and the Council of Constantinople in 381 CE, the Arian-Barbarian and the Orthodox-Roman differences became clear and well-defined. The barbarians had converted *en masse* to Arianism before entering the Empire during the reign of Valens — who was himself an Arian.<sup>28</sup> The fact that this religious aspect was widespread in these populations (growing into a mark of their own identity) stimulated the Roman desire to maintain their differences from these peoples (Mitchell 2015, 311–2), despite their physical and cultural distinctions that were already clear (Liebeschütz 2015, 151–66).

The dynamic between the Orthodox Christian and the Arian was directly associated with the long-existing polarity between the Roman and the Barbarian, leading to these concepts becoming relatively interchangeable: to be Orthodox was to be Roman, while to be Arian was to be ‘barbarian’. This shows how religion became one of the leading identity factors during the fifth century, which Stroumsa calls the *religious revolution of Late Antiquity*.

The Goths’ position as allies of Rome after Athaulf’s marriage (414 CE) and Wallia’s pact with Honorius/Constantius [III] (417 CE) helped to deflect some criticism towards other barbarian groups, especially regarding their accession to Arianism.

By the middle of the fifth century CE, the Western Empire was a scaled-down version of what it had been three generations earlier. With the campaigns of Constantius [III] during Honorius’ rule and Aetius during the reign of Valentinian III (425–455 CE), despite the territorial losses of provinces such as Britain and Carthage, the Romans managed to regain

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<sup>27</sup> There were other influential heresies in the Empire. Some gained a great regional relevance, such as Priscillianism, which was quite popular in the Iberian provinces during the fourth and fifth centuries (Escribano 2005, 121–49).

<sup>28</sup> Arianism was — at the time of Valens — the religion of the Roman State and so it was considered the “orthodox” Christianity, while the Nicæan Creed was considered an heresy.

some of their pre-eminence after suppressing various revolts and resisting the Frankish, the Hunnic and the Vandal advancements. They also defended Italy and regained control over some parts of Gaul and Spain, recovering partly from the situation in those provinces (Halsall 2007, 222–53). Nonetheless, the territory was still vastly reduced by the settlement of Alans, Burgundians, Franks, Goths, Suebi and Vandals all over the West. This general loss of territory, especially Carthage in 439 CE, and the increased autonomy and isolation of certain imperial regions caused Roman populations to be overwhelmed with economic hardships, making it extremely difficult to support the Empire (Mitchell 2015, 118–21).

By the time of emperor Procopius Anthemius (467–472 CE) — around the time Hydatius completed his *Chronica* — the Roman Empire was involved in a back-and-forth of military expeditions to defend, control or reoccupy the former imperial territories against the barbarians. Similar to the time when emperor Avitus (455–456 CE) sent the Gothic armies to fight against the Suebi in the Iberian Peninsula.

These were the centuries and events that shaped the ideologies of the authors discussed in this dissertation. Although it can be considered a relatively short time, the differences between the Empire at the time of Eutropius and Hydatius are considerable. Still, for these people, the events they lived through were not a series of apparent sequential accidents that would inevitably result in the so-called ‘Fall of the Roman Empire’; this is a modern conception that derives from future knowledge of what happened. For Eutropius and Orosius, despite their consciousness of the imperial downturn, their positivity of Rome’s perseverance is understandably valid. That is why recognising the evolution of specific ideas and the historical framework of each author is essential to understanding the writers themselves and their opinions about the Barbarian.

## ***STATUS QUAESTIONIS***

In this subchapter, my objective is to briefly explain the evolution of the ‘Barbarian’ as an idea and concept, from its beginning in the fifth century BCE until the fifth century CE. For that, it is organised into three sections to establish how the idea of ‘Other’ was conveyed and how the word ‘barbarian’ was interpreted, taking into account the different meanings that the word could have had in those specific periods. I will use mainly secondary bibliography, considering the most recent research on the subject. In the end, I look into what the word ‘barbarian’ could have meant for the authors under analysis, finishing the subchapter with an opening question about the low development that exists in the area of early Christian ethnographic studies concerning the concept of ‘barbarian’, its representation and its importance.

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One of the best ways to understand our identity is to relate to and compare ourselves with others. Nonetheless, applying this to ourselves as a culture or civilisation develops the idea of ‘Other’ and the concept of ‘barbarian’. Nowadays, this term, both in its adjective and noun form, evokes the idea of someone rude, immoral, violent and ill-mannered — terms used to describe someone uncivilised by modern western standards.

In fact, the word ‘barbarian’ is a polymorphous term that comprises specific characteristics, which could always be applied to various situations and subjects. In addition, this concept did not have an exact definition and understanding over the centuries. What started as ‘barbaric’ for the ancient Greeks distanced itself from the original notion into an entirely different concept in just a couple of centuries. This Graeco-Roman term continued to develop until Late Antiquity, when the Barbarian idea began to branch into various other words and concepts. Today’s definition is an almost unaltered inheritance from one of those branches used in late Roman culture.

There are many studies regarding the barbarians since it plays a core part in comprehending what is called ‘Late Antiquity’. Nevertheless, to understand the subject of this thesis, it is essential to define what the Barbarian was, what it represented and how it came to be. Without this definition, we could be wrong in analysing a term whose meaning may not agree with our current general concepts.

## THE BARBARIAN IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

One of the basic principles of ancient Greek mentality is duality: the idea that the universe can be divided into opposite pairs in various categories — men against women, mortal against the divine, freedom against slavery, and Greek against Barbarian (Gillet 2009, 399). Mistrusting what is different has been present throughout history, and so it was also in the ancient world, where hostility against the ‘Other’<sup>29</sup> was common. For example, Herodotus said that ‘the Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarian’ (2.158.), and he believes that each culture has its own Barbarian, as in their version of the ‘Other’. This is a universal truth since it is pretty much known that every culture distinguishes itself from others. However, corresponding the Egyptian term with the Greek word *βάρβαρος* might not have been the right approach because no other ancient civilisation came up with a term that entirely and exclusively defined those who do not belong to the ‘Us’ as the word *βάρβαρος* does (Hall 1989, 4; Gillet 2009, 397; Dauge 1981, 10). The closest examples would be the Chinese, that would already have a well-established character and cultural unity and distinguished themselves as more civilised than the peoples who inhabited the periphery of their empire (Hall 1989, 60–1) and the Hebrews, who had a term that defined all of the outsiders that were non-Israelite. Although, in the Hebrew case, the basis of their concept relied on religion and not ethnicity (Geyser-Fouche and Fourie 2017).

Therefore, the polarised mindset of the ancient Greeks permitted them to define the whole of humanity simply by opposing the Hellenes, all of those who spoke Greek, to the Barbarians, those who did not speak Greek. However, this view did not imply prejudice against foreigners preceding the Persian Wars. On the contrary, it was only a natural division of humankind based on language and the mental patterns of the Greek world (Baldry 2009, 21–7).

‘They’ cannot be defined without first establishing who ‘We’ are. That kind of self-definition entails the identification of common characteristics which are perceived as relevant and self-distinguishable. In the case of the Greeks, these characteristics were mythology (common ancestry, pantheon, and heroes), their *nomoi* (shared customs, laws, mentality, and values) and language (Ferreira 1992, 108–14); and they only became aware of their own Greekness at least at the beginning of the seventh century BCE (Hall 1989, 6–8; Baldry 2009, 4–5) although their strong identity sense, focused on the antagonism against the

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<sup>29</sup> I will use the term ‘Other’ in the same way as Benjamin Isaac (2006). Thus, the concept is aimed at foreigners, strangers and immigrant minorities and does not include other groups that were also marginalised, such as women, slaves, disabled people, and children.

Barbarian, just took shape in the classical Athens of the fifth century, long after the term ‘barbarian’ set on stage (Lerouge-Cohen 2016, 5–7).

As a matter of fact, the word *βάρβαρος* is absent in Homer. The only occurrence of that term is in the *Iliad* in a compound word (*βαρβαρόφωνοι*) that addresses the Carians and their unintelligible way of speaking (*Il.* 2.867). The Carians spoke an Anatolian language and were indeed incomprehensible to the Achaeans. However, it is possible that even in Homer, the word already carried an unavoidable implication of antipathy because if they were mere outsiders, they would probably be defined as *ἀλλόθροος*, a common word for foreigners in the epics (Baldry 2009, 9). Even so, the adjective ‘barbarophonic’, or simply ‘barbarian’, was still primarily restricted to the linguistic field, and its general meaning was that someone’s speech was incomprehensible.

Being unintelligible is not confined to strange languages. It is also applied when referring to Greek-speaking people or unpronounceable sounds (Ferreira 1992, 193–4). Such can be seen in Plato’s *Protagoras* (341c) when the word *βαρβάρω* is used to mention the incomprehensible Lesbian accent (Hall 1989, 179), or in Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes* (463) when the word *βάρβαρον* indicates the snorting of the horses. However, this term became a common way for Athenians to refer to foreigners only in the fifth century BCE (Gillet 2009, 397) and just in the second half of the century did the word gather around ideas of ethnic and cultural superiority concerning other non-Greek peoples (Ferreira 1992, 193–5; Isaac 2006, 283). In fact, before the second half of the fifth century BCE, it cannot be said that its nominal mode was used in its plural form to allude to the non-Greek peoples as a whole (Hall 1981, 9).

The rise of the Persian Empire was crucial to developing a more complex concept of Barbarian. The way of precepting the ‘Other’ changed as the Hellenic self-consciousness was heightened by the need for unity and cooperation during the Persian Wars. For the first time, there was a clear image of an external, foreign enemy threatening to change the Greek world, and the distinction between Greeks and the Barbarian was never more apparent. The Persians were the *βάρβαροι*, and so were all of their subjects and allies, especially those with whom the Greeks had contact like the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Phrygians or Thracians (Hall 1989, 2–10). Because of that, the adjective expanded in notion and subject. It was no longer literary or linguistic but also political, cultural and ethnic (Isaac 2006, 2). With time and the continuously growing consciousness of the Hellenic culture, the Greek world recognised the non-Greeks, the foreigners, as the ‘Other’, cementing all those ideas and prejudices into a single noun.

The Barbarian originated in this historical context, and as such, it carried a particular set of characteristics that were interchangeable between concept and subject. Being a volatile idea, it absorbed the characteristics of those called barbarians and, at the same time, established a general prejudice over the 'Other'. Because of that, specific ways of life or standards were considered wrong, not because they were necessarily bad, but because they were already associated with barbarism. Authors like Isaac claim that 'the Persians are inferior because of the way they are ruled and because of their social relationships' (Isaac 2006, 287). However, that is already a consequence of Persian pressure over the Hellenic culture and the evolving concept of Barbarian.

Certain stereotypes then began to form according to the interactions and external threats that the Greeks had: Asians, influenced mainly by the image of the Persians, were effeminate, servile and luxurious; and Europeans, influenced by the Celts and Thracians, were uncontrollable free-spirited and had muscular builds. However, both were cruel, immoral and, more importantly, lacked *λόγος* (Baldry 2009, 22). The Greeks compiled good traits from both sides as they stood in a perfect middle-ground between Europe and Asia. They saw themselves as courageous and independent, like the European tribes, but also intelligent and rational like the Persians (Isaac 2006, 302). Even so, the barbarians were perceived as everything that the Greeks were not.

After Alexander's campaigns and his intercultural policies, the cultural scenery of mainland Greece and the Near East changed. Being Greek was no longer something that depended on kinship or language alone. Instead, it represented a particular type of education and mindset that different non-ethnically-Greek people could share. The cultural gap between Greeks and the outsiders living in the periphery became much thinner, especially with the Macedonians. Nevertheless, even when foreign peoples began to speak Greek and receive an education in Greek fashion (Hellenism), the difference continued to be marked by opposing standards and traditions (Baldry 2009, 130–2) while the same prejudices and stereotypes continued to be used in the literary horizon. The image of the Barbarian is one of collective inferiority compared with the Hellenic culture (Dauge 1981, 12).

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It is also helpful to think about the emergence of the barbarian concept in a Latin context and what it meant. It is known that the Romans appropriated the term from the Greek language. However, the introduction of such a term is done with a gigantic historical and conceptual

baggage, for which there was no equivalent in the Latin vocabulary (Dauge 1981, 57; Gillet 2009, 397). After confronting the Hellenic philosophy with their own Italic experiences (Dauge 1981, 70–1), the Latin *barbarus* comprised a gradient of smaller concepts ranging from ethnographic terms like ‘foreigner’ to more ideological ones like ‘uncivilised’. In any case, this new concept became common in Latin literature and the political propaganda of the Republic, becoming the core of what will be later defined as one of the ideologies associated with Roman imperialism: alienation of others for personal elevation and identity self-awareness (Gillet 2009, 397–402). This new concept became commonplace during the second to third centuries BCE (Dauge 1981, 62–3), and by the first century, the word *barbarus* had developed into something different from the Greek equivalent. By that time, the Romans had converted the Hellenic narrative into something more favourable to them: a notion of a Graeco-Roman culture — instead of just Greek — in which they cannot be included as one of the *βάρβαροι*. Besides that change in narrative, there was also a change in the conceptual perspective. The term *barbarus* slowly drifted away from the original *βάρβαρος* and turned into something more universal, not so cultural or linguistic, but mainly political (Lerouge-Cohen 2016, 20). The Roman notion of superiority was based on tradition (*mores*) and wit (*ingenium*); thus, the mantle of barbarism was far more flexible than the Greek version. This means that ‘being barbarian’ could be a temporary state. All foreigners neighbouring Rome were potential citizens, and the imperialist idea of the Romans took this into account; one could abandon their primitive, wild, barbaric state if it began to follow Roman values and lifestyle (Méry 2016, 22–5). However, something natural and intrinsic could never be changed in someone born in a barbarian or Romanised western province, like Gaul (Isaac 2006, 421).

The Romans had more general knowledge about barbarian peoples than the Greeks since their experience dealing with them was more profound, and they were constantly aware of the threat that those peoples posed to their own (Dauge 1981, 18). However, Roman-Barbarian relations were not all of hostility and war, which led to the concept of *barbarus*, including negative and positive characteristics<sup>30</sup> (Dauge 1981, 71–82) that solidified the identity sense of the Roman world. The Graeco-Roman culture does not neglect the barbarian. For them, it represented the other half of their World and was something important to the universal order; it was a constant obstacle that stimulated progress and civilisation (Dauge 1981, 20). Even so,

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<sup>30</sup> The Hellenic concept of Barbarian was also composed of positive and negative ideas, but it had a different mindset and purpose than the Latin one. See Gruen 2011, 9–111.

notwithstanding the philosophical mindset changes, the barbarians' portrayal had not changed from its original Greek counterpart.

The import of the Hellenic idea to the Latium in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE came with the same prejudices and stereotypes developed earlier by the Greeks. The Romans simply reused those same patterns and applied them to their reality: the savage, wild barbarian (previously attributed to the Celts) became associated with the Gauls and Samnites, and the image of the barbarian corrupted by the excesses of civilisation (attributed to the Persians) was, in the Latin case, handed over to the Etruscans and Greeks (Méry 2016, 25–6).

Of all the barbarian groups that Rome faced during the first centuries of its history, the Gauls left the more prominent social, ideological and cultural imprint, especially regarding how barbarians were depicted in Roman literature and art. Rome's meeting with the Gallic warriors was a violent and terrifying event. After the Sack of Rome in 390 BCE, they were seen as the ultimate enemy. This force threatened the survival of civilisation (Dauge 1981, 61), becoming Rome's default image of the Barbarian. The northern populations were generically described as tall, strong, ferocious, unruly, unpredictable, unreliable, drunk and greedy, but also courageous (Gruen 2011, 141; Woolf 2011, 22–3). Although this was an already old stereotypical depiction of the northern barbarian, after the impact of the Gauls, it quickly turned into a generalised representation of the Barbarian itself (Isaac 2006, 412). This picture served many artistic, but mainly political, purposes and was turned into a central symbolic figure that asserted everything that opposed what the Romans believed to be themselves; it was a physical and mental representation of an anti-Roman people (Woolf 2011, 23).

Just as the Gauls left a mark on the general concept of the Barbarian, the Carthaginians, although not as influential to the concept's core, also played a role in the idea's development. They did not influence as much as the northerners because, although they did not speak Latin (or Greek), they were considered civilised, and the Romans recognised their importance. Otherwise, they would not try to negotiate with them or hold diplomatic agreements.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the Romans held some regard for the level of knowledge of their Punic enemies, or else they would not have had in their libraries translated Carthaginian works.<sup>32</sup> Not to mention that few previous records assail the Carthaginians, perhaps because they were related

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<sup>31</sup> Rome had agreements with Carthage dating as early as the sixth century BCE, where Carthage conceded some trade rights in Libya to the early-republican Romans. After that, two other treaties were signed between the two powers. See Hoyos 2010, 21, 44–7.

<sup>32</sup> A treaty on agriculture written by a Carthaginian author named Mago was translated into Latin in the second-century BCE. See Gruen 2011, 129–30; cf. Woolf 2011, 4.



to the Phoenicians who, strangely enough, had a generally positive reputation among the Greeks (Gruen 2011, 115–30). During the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE), Hannibal's Carthage terrified the Romans and showed them, for the first time, the threat that the armies from the eastern world could pose to their existence.

Nevertheless, Polybius, a contemporary of this major conflict, characterised Hannibal and the Carthaginians as deceitful and cruel. However, he also expressed many of their virtues in a sympathetic light (Adler 2011, 63–81). The picture of the deceitful and cruel Barbarian was only settled as a stereotype after Rome's victory over the Punics, as a way to demonise the enemy and glorify the Roman achievements. This way, the Carthaginians became the first enemy cementing a barbarian pole opposite to the Gauls in the North, symbolising the corruption, depravity and cruelty associated typically with the Persians (Dauge 1981, 65). Nevertheless, despite this, when defining the standard Barbarian — the one that endured in western mentality until our times — the image created by Asians and Africans has never been as influential as that of the Northern Barbarian.<sup>33</sup>

After the Gallic campaigns of Julius Caesar and the Romanisation of Gaul, the inhabitants of that province could no longer be the standard of the Barbarian, as they were potential Roman citizens; therefore, the model had to be changed, even though the overall conception of the idea remained the same. For the first time in almost five centuries, the typical barbarian was no longer the Gaul but the German – an idea that has endured in our collective memory, through language, until today. This happened for various reasons, and the main one was that Gaul became part of the Republic and its people were susceptible to the flexibility of the Barbarian concept. They 'converted' into the Latin culture, and Rome showcased its political supremacy; in their place, the German proved to be inaccessible to Romanisation and took the place of the actual (European) barbarian (Méry 2016, 27). Once again, the concept's evolution did not happen in a cultural void; this reflects the Romans' experiences at that time. As had happened with the Gauls and the Sack of Rome in the fourth century BCE, the Roman defeat at Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE also caused a great shock among the Roman population. The German took the place of the ferocious, cruel and untrustworthy barbarian was a natural reaction to those events (Isaac 2006, 430).

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<sup>33</sup> This does not mean that African or Asiatic tropes were inexistent. For example, the Jews and Blacks were some of the most ostracised peoples, and there is much material on how the Romans saw and treated them. However, despite that, they were not relevant to the overall image of the Barbarian as the 'Other'. For more on Jews and Blacks, see Gruen 2011, 179–220; and Isaac 2006, 440–515..

The entire period of expansion that followed the defeat of Carthage in the Second Punic War was one of conflict and new contacts for the Roman Empire. From Iberia in Western Europe to Syria in the Near East, the Romans were under pressure from several hostile peoples of whom they knew little. All of these interactions contributed to the increase of Rome's cultural knowledge of the barbarians. By leaning on some Greek concepts, the Romans defined two distinct types of barbarians, just like the Greeks: a northern/western and an Asian/eastern.<sup>34</sup> Both have preestablished stereotypical physical and mental characteristics. The western barbarian, composed of the Gauls, Bretons, Iberians and German, was generally defined as being tall and robust, having blonde or red hair with blue eyes, and for their savagery (*feritas*), violence (*ferocia*) and ferociousness (*saevitia*) (Isaac 2006, 432; Méry 2016, 33). Therefore, the eastern barbarian opposes its western counterpart in almost every aspect, as, on the contrary, it is most usually defined by their effeminacy and softness (*mollitia*) and having a futile pride (*vanitas*) (Dauge 1981, 87–91, 98–9; Isaac 2006, 308; Méry 2016, 33–4). However, despite differences in categorisation, both types represented the Barbarian as a whole, which means they shared specific conceptual parameters that permitted the Romans to classify them.

As already noted, the Latin Barbarian had a more political nature. Despite both types of *barbari* being depicted in a certain way, it were not these characteristics that made them barbarian *per se*. The appearance of these *topoi* is only a literary and political consequence of the Roman necessity to identify and group the peoples outside their boundaries. The sphere of tradition (which includes religion and social organisation) is the most relevant when determining what a *barbarus* is — an uncivilised individual.<sup>35</sup> This classification depended on a panoply of standards like hygiene, adornment, clothing, education, gender roles and any government. Essentially, everything that was not correspondent with the Roman way of life (Méry 2016, 34–7) since Rome was the centre of the world and the level of barbarity of the people was proportional to their distance from the Eternal City (Kominko 2016, 374; Woolf 2011, 54).

The 'Other' greatly impacted the Graeco-Roman perception of their self-identity. The Barbarian is often used as an example of what a Roman citizen should not be. However, during

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<sup>34</sup> One can comment on the existence of a third barbarian type with its unique traits and tropes: the African. However, they were often included in Western or Eastern modules, depending on the author and the topic of discussion. In this case, I included the African barbarian in the Asiatic group.

<sup>35</sup> The duality of the Graeco-Roman world opposes civilised (Roman) vs uncivilised (Barbarian). As such, an excess of civilisation is also classified as being ultimately uncivilised. Méry (2016) identifies this phenomenon and calls it 'hypercivilisation' and applies this term to the Greek-influenced East.

the Late Republic and Principate, the simplicity of the northern barbarian was also used as an example. Their rusticity made the Romans understand their ancient and lost values, and emphasised the corruption of Rome by the vices of urbanism and civilisation (Méry 2016, 37–9) through their unintegrated eastern subjects (Isaac 2006, 310–5). The largest and most important example of this understanding can be found in Tacitus’ *Germania* when he contrasts Roman lifestyle and vice with barbarian hospitality<sup>36</sup> (21.2.), the modesty of their habits (23.1.) and women (19.1.), and how monogamous (18.1.) and non-adulterous (19.1.) they were. However, this new picture of the Barbarian becomes blurred and proves the existence of a middle ground between savage and civilised. First and foremost, it proves the existence of ‘good barbarians’ who were recognised for their qualities similar to those of the Romans.

On the other hand, there also existed ‘barbaric Romans’ — a group which consisted of certain citizens with psychological or political characteristics of the Gauls or German (Méry 2016, 39–40). This does not mean that the Barbarian was more respected because of it; his role did not change, and he remains the enemy of Rome and everything it stands for (Isaac 2006, 414). If it were not the case, to call someone ‘barbarian’ or to be described as such would not be a grave and efficient insult, which it was. This figure of speech is frequent in Roman authors, either to vilify an opponent or to condemn a fellow citizen (Méry 2016, 41).

## **THE BARBARIAN IN THE BIBLE**

The idea of the ‘Other’ gets manifested in every culture. However, as far as I know, few were the ones that developed, outside the Graeco-Roman world, a concept similar to the Barbarian. Nevertheless, there is one example outside the traditional ‘classical’ universe whose subsequent analysis could be fruitful for this dissertation — the biblical world.

The writing of the Bible is more or less contemporaneous with the development of what we usually call the Classical world. The first historical books of the Bible were written during the fifth century BCE (Alves and Augusto Ramos 2015, 705), while the most recent are productions of the early centuries of the Current Era, in plain Hellenic times in the Roman Empire. The Old Testament has an extensive chronological reach, with the last historical books being contemporary with the Hellenization of the Near East in the second century BCE (Harris 2011, 271). Such a range can cover many ideas, and concepts can change considerably

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<sup>36</sup> Caesar also mentioned this trait in *Caes. BG* 6.22.

between books. Nevertheless, the interest in looking at the Barbarian in the Bible is being able to search the Old Testament for a potential origin of the literary *topos* that arose in late antique Christian authors.

Although there is no concept strictly equivalent to the Graeco-Roman Barbarian in Hebraic culture<sup>37</sup>, the portrait of the ‘Other’ in the Bible has similarities with the Roman concept of *barbarus*, for it is possible for someone to go from being a barbarian to being considered a Hebrew, and vice versa (Geyser-Fouche and Fourie 2017, 4). Despite the concept’s mutability, which is abstract, the presence of foreigners and strangers, such as pagans, is constant, and it is through these references that one can analyse the different images of the ‘barbarian’ and how they are usually portrayed in the Bible.

Some cases of pagan foreigners are portrayed as ‘good’, but episodes of inclusiveness are rare. The stories of Rahab and Ruth serve as a literary example to explain the complex heterogeneous identity of the Hebrews. However, the praise for the foreigner applies only to certain characters and does not serve to reflect the general opinion of Israel about all of its neighbouring peoples. In the Bible, being Israelite is believing in God, and every non-believer is labelled a pagan, a non-Hebrew.

In general, it is possible to analyse the various negative characteristics of the mentality of foreign peoples in the Bible, from neighbours to conquerors of Israel. The Gibeonites are vengeful (2 Sam. 21:1–14), the Philistines are disunited and turn their swords against one another (1 Sam. 14:20), the Assyrians are intimidating, corrupt, bribers, and troublemakers (Ezra 4:4–5), the Persians are abominably impious and impure (Ezra 9:11–4), the Ammonites are hateful (2 Sam. 10:6), the Egyptians, Amorites, Amalekites, Sidonians, and Midianites are oppressors (Judg. 10:12), and the Greeks are wicked occupiers, destroyers of culture, and converts (1 Macc. 1:34–7; 1:54–64; 3:6). All these characteristics are found in the late antique concept of Barbarian (see pp. 26–39) or in any apologetic work whose intention was to defend a culture or identity of groups considered outsiders. These vindictive, untrustworthy, corrupt, wicked and profane destroyers of culture, as they were called, were all nations that brought change to Jewish customs or who seduced people into idolatry and new deities. Those facts

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<sup>37</sup> The word ‘barbarian’ appears only once in the Old Testament (2 Mac 2,21); the expression τὰ βάρβαρα πλήθη (barbarian hordes) is used to characterise the non-Jews in the same way the word is used in Graeco-Roman culture. This could have happened because of a translation error since the First Book of the Maccabees probably had an original Hebraic text later translated to Greek. On the original language of the I Maccabees, see Darshan 2019.

turned them into enemies of Israel, and this manifestation of the idea of 'Enemy' was the essence of the Barbarian concept.

Hellenism was the most significant representative of this cultural enemy, a role first played by the Egyptians and then by the Persians. Finally, it was attributed to the Greeks in the most recent books of the Old Testament, where they were characterised as worse than their predecessors.

The Books of the Maccabees<sup>38</sup> are the best example of Hellenophobia. Due to Hellenism and its regional political and cultural dominance, several attacks on the Hellenes are found in the Maccabees. The Greeks are labelled as false, deceivers, arrogant, and greedy; they are traitors and conspirators and are generally perceived as inadequate, perverse people and a threat to the survival of Israel. It can be assumed that, when it comes to the portrait of the foreigner as an identifying element of the 'Other', the Greeks play the leading role, ending up being the model of the 'bad foreigner', the default Barbarian.

However, the conception of Barbarian is much broader. The Greeks might have been the body that symbolised the enemy threatening Jewish culture, like the Persians were to the Greeks or the Gauls to the Romans. However, the fundamental concept which determined the 'Otherness' was that of Pagan, a word that comprised the notion of the whole group of peoples that were external to Israel. Being a pagan was much more than being a foreigner or an evil foreigner. Although, the fact that most foreigners were pagans contributed to the Barbarian's prejudice and completed the Pagan (and Heretic) model that would influence early Christian culture. For Latin authors such as Orosius and Hydatius, these topics associated with the 'Other' were also applicable to the German and Scythian groups because even though these peoples were not present in the *Septuaginta*, the characteristics of the biblical barbarians were related to their Romano-Christian reality.

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<sup>38</sup> When talking about the *Books of the Maccabees* I am only referring to I and II Maccabees, the canonical Roman catholic books.

## THE BARBARIAN IN LATE ANTIQUITY

During Late Antiquity, the reality of the Roman Empire and its relationship with the foreigner substantially differed from earlier times. The Romans had to live with slaves and those they called barbarians, and their perception of them as simply raiders or farmers no longer served as a single model (Ziche 2011, 216). Furthermore, the Barbarian ceased to define only non-Romans, and began to be used by civilians to refer to the soldiers — mostly of foreign origin — as a way of criticising the military aristocracy that had been growing since the second century CE (Liebeschuetz 2015, 159–60).<sup>39</sup> So it is to be expected that the cultural and ethnic diversity of the Empire during Late Antiquity diversified the concept and shaped it into different notions dependent on the context. Three significant factors directly or indirectly contributed to these conceptual changes: the *Völkerwanderung*, the Edict of Caracalla, and Christianity.

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Many changes in the relationship between Rome and the barbarian peoples occurred due to the imperial situation during the second and third centuries CE (Burns 2003, 249–50). During this period, the Roman army began to depend on barbarian mercenaries (mainly German) to defeat their enemies, inside and outside the Empire's borders. This integration of the German warriors into the Roman army was ideal for establishing these foreign groups in the imperial territory. After that, throughout the third and fourth centuries, there was an influx of Germanic populations into the Empire through numerous migratory waves, coinciding with constant pressure on the imperial borders (Dumezil 2016, 44–5). However, many of the barbarians who settled in the imperial territory were integrated by the Roman communities, mainly in the rural economic environment, since the lack of 'barbarian objects' presupposes rapid assimilation of these peoples in terms of material culture and language (Ziche 2011, 203).

The German mercenaries, primarily through the army, also began to mix and were assimilated by Roman society. It was during this time that alien groups came to be defined by generic names that made them easier to be identified by the Romans, like *Gothi* or *Alamanni*. This resulted (or was a result of) an increase in Latin awareness of the different peoples. Indeed, the populations that were established within the Empire during the third and fourth centuries did not share the same status as the conquered Romanised barbarians, as had happened with the Gauls; these peoples were foreign immigrants who mostly wanted to be recognised as

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<sup>39</sup> The adjective '*barbarus*' was also used to insult and denigrate people during the Republican period.

Romans, especially after 212 CE (Burns 2003, 257). Some barbarians even obtained Roman citizenship<sup>40</sup>, and many citizens with barbarian origins or ancestry adopted the luxurious life and classical culture typical of the senatorial classes, some even marrying within this class and reaching the imperial family (Inglebert 2012, 14). However, this does not mean that everyone accepted them and that a person's origins were not subject to prejudice. On the contrary, this acceptance of the barbarian as a citizen aroused a xenophobic wave against people with foreign origins, especially in the upper social classes, which continued to have an 'anti-barbarian' thinking (Dumezil 2016, 54).

With the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, in 212 CE, all free men living within the imperial border became citizens of Rome. Those who were once called barbarians — even though they had been living under Roman rule and by Roman standards for centuries — finally acquired the status of a full citizen, being *religio* the most significant unitary factor of Roman identity (Kahlos 2011b, 260–1). Herewith, the differences between the Roman and the Barbarian became thinner from the political point of view, which does not mean that the idea that previously existed was abandoned since there were still barbarians within the imperial borders: the immigrants and *peregrini*, who were still identified as slaves or barbarians (Mathisen 2012, 749–50).<sup>41</sup> Plus, the cultural construction of the Barbarian was already well-rooted in the Romans of the third century CE. So it did not need to be defined or explained since the cultural generalisations of previous eras were sufficient for them to be recognised as such (Ziche 2011, 199).

Despite their coexistence, the fact that there were 'barbarians' in cities, magistrates and the army increased the tensions between Romans and barbarians. However, some late Romans might have developed an awareness that stereotypes about the barbarians did not always correspond to reality and ended up accepting the members of these peoples like any other citizen (Ziche 2011, 199–219).

During the fourth century CE, the opinions about identity in Rome (or, at least, of the imperial philosophers) began to alter. However, even at a time when more comprehensive or even inclusive ideas partly abandon conventional notions, Christians continued to be a group not to be tolerated (Digeser 2011, 121). This is because, in the Roman mentality, being a good

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<sup>40</sup> Some barbarians had seasonal residences, living 'part-time' in the Roman empire and at their ancestral home. These barbarians had dual citizenship since they also wanted to be recognised as Romans, but they maintained a closer relationship with their peoples (Mathisen 2012, 753).

<sup>41</sup> About the *peregrini* and their role in Roman society, administration and citizenship, see Mathisen 2012.

citizen meant obeying the law and worshipping the divine through appropriate rituals. The Romans who followed these excellent practices would ensure the Empire's success by pleasing the Gods. Conversely, those who did not follow this model would be conspiring against the emperor and were justifiably neglected by the community (Kahlos 2011b, 259–60).

Given the Roman mentality, Christianity — being a new cult and given that its followers did not prescribe the traditional Roman rituals — was primarily seen as an affront to Graeco-Roman culture. Often its followers were used as scapegoats, with the excuse that they offended the Gods (Humphries 2018, 67–9). In this context, the group was labelled as a third race (*tertium genus*), a term that appeared in a hostile environment and carried a pejorative approach of inferiority (Gruen 2017, 246–7). However, as we can see from Tertullian's attacks on his *Ad Nationes*, the Romans coined this term to blacken Christians. However, it is unknown who the other two *genera* were or whether they had an ethnic-racial or religious character.

Nonetheless, Tertullian admits that they should be called a third race (*genus*) because of their religious ways (*superstitio*)<sup>42</sup> and not because of their ethnicity (*natio*) (*Ad Nat.* 1.8.11.), meaning that it was technically possible to be both Christian and Roman.<sup>43</sup> This idea of humanity's tripartition through belief was the one that became widespread among Christians. As a result, the expression *tertium genus* gained an identifying value of interpretation without negative connotations (García 2001, 217) that expressed the position of Christians about the other two major religious groups in the Empire: the Romans (Hellenics) and the Jews (Gruen 2017, 248). When Christianity became one of the main symbols of Roman identity with the Christian emperors, all the rhetoric that had previously been used against Christians was turned against the other 'two races', mainly the traditional Roman worship (Humphries 2018, 74).

With religion becoming one of the leading identity factors in the Roman Empire, sacred books played a critical role as conservers of that identity (Stroumsa 2018, 553). Of all of them, the Bible played a fundamental role. It became an influential book early in the second and third centuries CE (Wilken 2008, 4–8) due to the need of Christians to defend their beliefs against the traditional Roman followers (Reed 2008, 485). However, it was essential during the fourth

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<sup>42</sup> *Superstitio* is (typically) a derogatory term denoting the religious practices that deviated from the *religio* — the traditional religion of the Roman state associated with the public display of rituals. In this case, Tertullian opposes his beliefs with the classic cult of Graeco-Roman idols.

<sup>43</sup> Although the idea of the *tertium genus* might have confronted the Roman with the Christian, apologetic authors of the second and third centuries (including Tertullian himself) never questioned or opposed the authority of the Roman Empire. They believed Christians were exemplary Roman citizens (Kahlos 2011b, 261–3).



century when, in addition to the need to defend their beliefs, the Romano-Christians deliberated questions about the divine and how a biblical canon could be interpreted concerning the already existing Christian pictures (Balla 2002). With this, Christianity became the basic model for a ‘new Roman identity’, and the ideas brought by the Bible and Old Testament, based on faith and not ethnicity, drew two new categories of the ‘Other’ — heretics and pagans. Thus, the old dichotomies based on cultural (ethnic) differences were gradually substituted by others of spiritual character who opposed Good and Evil ideas.

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As Gillet (2009, 408) said, a study ‘*of the classical ethnographic tradition in general, has yet to be undertaken. Our understanding now of the concept of the barbarian then is yet to be enriched by an appreciation of the force of the classical ethnographic tradition in Late Antiquity.*’ This also applies to Christian ethnography and even more to the mixed ideas from the various concepts that appear in late antique Christian authors. In the end, little is known about the barbarians’ critical picture and what it meant to Christians, taking into account all the History and concepts that surround the word and the new notions brought by the Bible. Like, what was a pagan, a heretic, a barbarian or a foreigner; how were they depicted, and what was their importance to the Christian historians of the fourth and fifth centuries?

This area is still under development despite the immense studies that have been done on these subjects in recent years. Nonetheless, I do not intend to define what the Barbarian was in Late Antiquity. Instead, I aim to verify and deepen these topics related to the ‘Other’ as well as their representations and definitions through the specific point of view of Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius to grasp what the Barbarian was for these authors, how they saw and represented it, and how does this relate to what we already know about the concept and what was the role of Christianity in their perception and conceptualisation.

# CHAPTER I

## IDENTIFYING THE BARBARIAN

This chapter presents a series of data that will be the basis for analysing the internal and temporal evolution of the word *barbarus* in late antique Latin authors. For this, I will showcase how often the term is used, where and when its appearance is typical, what groups or people are usually associated with, and how this word defines them.

Due to the extension of peoples that can be considered ‘barbarians’, I will restrict myself to identifying the six distinct groups previously mentioned — the Alans, the Franks, the Goths, the Huns, the Suebi and the Vandals. Besides, I will be attentive to words related to these peoples, such as *Germani* or *Scythae*, or to terms of an ethnic-religious character that may be a distinguishing factor, such as *pagani* or *gentiles*.

### USE OF *BARBARUS* IN LATE ANTIQUITY

For late antique authors, the exact definition of the barbarian was not necessary and describing it had, in most cases, a narrative purpose.

The *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita* of Eutropius, dated from the second half of the fourth century CE, is the oldest work between Orosius’ *Historiae aduersus paganos* and Hydatius’ *Chronica*. In the ten *libri* that make up the breviary, the word *barbarus* appears only eleven times. The majority of those — about 64% — are concentrated between books IX and X. Of the eleven times in which the word ‘barbarian’ is mentioned, only once (Eutr. 10.7.) is in its adjective form and is presented in the expression ‘*barbaras gentes*’ which has a substantive function. This expression, also used by Orosius, can be translated as ‘barbarian tribes’, but, in reality, it is just a way of replacing the use of *Barbari* while referring, generally, to the peoples coming from German *Barbaricum*<sup>44</sup> or Scythia.

The first occurrence of the word in Eutropius occurs at the end of *liber VI*, which is relatively late chronologically, since this passage (Eutr. 6.21.) documents the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE. Furthermore, this first appearance marks a use closer to the classic concept of *barbarus*, as it appears here with the simple weight of a generic foreigner or non-Roman.

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<sup>44</sup> The *Barbaricum*, which means ‘land of barbarians’, refers technically to all of the territories outside the Roman border (Burns 2003, 35). However, it is often explicitly directed to the areas beyond the Rhine and Danube — the *Magna Germania* region — roughly equivalent to the present-day Netherlands, Germany, Denmark and Poland.

*Libri IX and X*, where most of the uses of the word *barbarus* are found, describe the last century of history for Eutropius — who wrote during Valens' reign — opening in the third century and closing by the end of the first half of the fourth century. As the chronological span is too dispersed, it can almost be said that there is no actual concentration of the term *barbarus* in Eutropius. However, for statistical and comparison reasons, the data will be assumed.

Additionally, although the word *barbarus* only appears eleven times in the text, variants or derivations of it also appear and whose analysis may prove interesting.<sup>45</sup> One of these instances — and that is the first appearance of the word *barbarus* in Eutropius — is the use of the noun *semibarbari* in Eutr. 1.3. This term, which appears only once in all of the works covered by this study, is composed of the prefix *semi-* (which designates half, something incomplete) and the plural *barbari*, and appears to characterise the primordial Romans led by Romulus until the reign of Numa Pompilius. The other two derivations are *Barbaricum* — in Eutr. 7.9. and 7.4. — and *barbaria* (Eutr. 8.13.). The latter occurs in the expression '*omnes barbaria*', which has a meaning and purpose similar to the expression '*barbaras gentes*' mentioned above, which refers to the communities that live beyond the Rhine and Danube. Therefore, considering these variations, the word *barbarus* appears fifteen times in Eutropius' *Breuiarium*.

In *liber VII* of Orosius' *Historiae*, the word *barbarus* appears an astonishing number of thirty-nine times, excluding significant variations. The highest concentration of the word — about 51% — occurs between chapters 39 and 42. Although chapter 37 also constitutes a pole of accumulation with about 13% of the total uses. Seven of all thirty-nine occurrences appear in an adjectival form, meaning that in 82% of cases, the word *barbarus* is used as a noun. Of the seven times it appears as an adjective, four are in the expression '*barbaras gentes*' or equivalent. The three remaining forms of the adjective are presented in the expressions '*barbaris comitibus*', referring to the characters of Germanic origin who served Rome, '*uir barbarus*' used to identify Arbogastes and '*pagano et barbaro duci*' used to identify Saul, a military commander of Alan origins.

The first entry of the word *barbarus* in the *Historiae aduersus paganos* occurs in chapter 15 of the text. It appears as part of the expression '*gentes barbarae*', which, as in Eutropius, is one of the ways of referring to the whole of barbarians, although commonly German or Scythian in origin. The second entry appears in the next section, in Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.9., but this time in

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<sup>45</sup> By variant or derivation, I mean changing a specific root word to a new one that shares the same radical (derivational morphology or conversion). For example, *Germania* and *Germanicus* share the same radical of *Germanus*; therefore, for this thesis, they classify as derivations of that same root word.

nominal form. In these two occurrences that span the Marcomannic War during the second century CE, Orosius establishes a direct relationship between *barbari*, Rome's enemies and Christianity's enemies. After this passage, the word begins to appear sparsely, once or twice per chapter, with a total absence of the term between chapters 25 to 31, which correspond chronologically to the beginning of Diocletian's reign, in 284 CE, until the end of Jovian's, in 364 CE. These chapters of Orosius where *barbarus* is missing correspond, *grosso modo*, with *libri IX* and *X* of Eutropius, which are the major clusters of the word *barbarus* in his work. However, chapters 39 to 42 constitute the main focus of use in Orosius and correspond to the period between the Sacking of Rome by Alaric in 410 CE and the usurpers of Honorius in 412 CE. Chapter 37, which chronicles events from the fifth century's early years, also features many barbarian references. Adding this cluster to the set of chapters mentioned above, we obtain a total of twenty-seven occurrences of the word *barbarus*, which compose about 69% of the total uses of the word, which estimates four uses of *barbarus* for each year narrated during these chapters.

Variations of the word *barbarus* are not common in Orosius. In *liber VII*, only two such words appear — *barbaries* (an alternative form to the *barbaria*, also found in Eutropius), at Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.6., and *Barbaricum*, at Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.6. Both of these terms are used in association with the Goths, making it evident that Orosius relates the *Barbaricum* not only with the areas of *Magna Germania* but also with Scythia, extending the border of the 'land of the barbarians' until Sarmatia.

Hydatius, writing in the second half of the fifth century CE, is the latest historian among the three authors and is the one with the least number of uses of *barbarus*. In his work, the word is mentioned only six times, and there is no reference to variations of it, unlike previous authors. Almost all occurrences of *barbarus* — four out of six totals, about 67% — are found in the *Chronica* for the years 409 to 411 CE in Hyd. 38, 40, 41 (ed. Burgess), the period correspondent with the settlement of barbarian ethnic groups in the Iberian Peninsula. The remaining two appear in Hyd. 55 and 154. Hydatius also never uses *barbarus* as an adjective.

Putting together all the occurrences of the term by the different authors, we obtain fifty-six cases. The word always appears in plural both in Eutropius and Hydatius, but in Orosius, are six occasions when *barbarus* is used in its singular form (Oros. *Hist.* 4.35.11., 7.37.2., 3.39.4. and 7.39.6.). The fact that it shows up in the plural form about 89% of the time is not surprising since the word appeared precisely to identify a group collectively representing the stranger and,

by later standards, the uncivilised foreigner. However, rare uses of its singular form may occur, as in Orosius' case. Excluding the expressions '*uir barbarus*' and '*pagano et barbaro duci*' associated with a specific character, the term always appears to highlight a generic individual among a larger group, namely the Goths, as is the case.

Author	Total Uses	Concentration	Conc. Uses	Timeline (CE)
<b>Eutropius</b>	11	Eutr. 9–10.	7	235–364
<b>Orosius</b>	39	Oros. 7.37.	5	394–406
		Oros. 7.39–42.	20	410–412
<b>Hydatius</b>	6	Hyd. 38–41.	4	409–411

*Table 1: total uses and concentration poles of the word barbarus and its chronological equivalence.*

Looking at the table, it is clear that it is in Orosius that the word *barbarus* is most recurrent. It has also been confirmed that this author is the one that uses it in a more diversified way, with abundant examples of adjectives and variants (absent in Hydatius), including the use of its singular form, which is unique to him among all the works covered by this study. Despite everything, it is important to denote that *liber VII* of the *Historiae aduersus paganos* stands as a bridgework between the *Breuiarium* and the *Chronica*; instead, the works of Eutropius and Hydatius do not even intersect chronologically. In any case, it is interesting to note two additional aspects: the greatest concentration of the word is associated with the period of 409–411 CE, covered by both Orosius and Hydatius, and the largest cluster of the word in Eutropius corresponds to a period of total absence in Orosius, even though he is using the former as a source for that time.

However, the word *barbari* is not the only way to refer to those known and identified as barbarians. There are also three other categories of direct classification and identification of the 'Other': one is similar to *barbari*, generic, but restricted to a specific geographical area, the other has a more precise ethnic-cultural quality, and the last one is similar to the latter but has a more religious character. For the case of this study, the example words from the first case are *Germani* and *Scythae*; those in the second are the ethnonyms of the groups chosen for analysis, that is, *Alani*, *Franci*, *Huni*, *Gothi*, *Suebi* and *Vandali*,<sup>46</sup> and those of the third are *pagani*, *gentiles* and *haereticus*.

<sup>46</sup> The way the ethnonyms are written may differ depending on the Latin transcription (*Vni*, *Hunni*, *Sueui*, *Wandali*). However, this thesis will always use the abovementioned ones and not the variations unless there is a direct transcription citation.

## WHO WERE THE BARBARIANS?

### GEOGRAPHIC GROUPING

The German warrior started to become the typical model of the barbarian at the beginning of the Principate, replacing the Gallic warrior as the main enemy of civilisation. Firstly, the word *Germanus* appears to distinguish between the two types of (northern) barbarians, but then it established itself as a close synonym for *barbarus*. This notion is reinforced by the idea that the *Barbaricum* is traditionally equivalent to *Germania*: the homeland of the German is the land of the barbarians. Thus, it is not surprising that the term *Germani* sometimes appeared as a substitute for *Barbari* in late antique authors, such as Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus.

Despite this, Eutropius prefers the word *barbari* instead of *Germani* since he only uses the term eight times throughout his *Breuiarium*. Moreover, he does so in a relatively sparse way since there are only two *libri* where the word appears more than once: twice in *liber VII* and thrice in *liber IX*. These two books present a percentage of about 63% in relation to the total occurrences.

Even so, the term appears twice before the first use of the word *barbarus*. The first is at the beginning of *liber V* — at Eutr. 5.1. — which is a book earlier than the first appearance of the word *barbarus* in *liber VI*, and the second is in Eutr. 6.17., just a few lines before the earliest appearance of *barbarus*. These are used for earlier periods like the Cimbrian War in the second century BCE and the conquest of Gaul by Caesar in the first century BCE. *Libri VII* and *IX* make up the most remarkable focus of the word in the *Breuiarium*. In *liber VII*, the term appears in the context of the government of Augustus (Eutr. 7.9.) and the reign of Caligula (Eutr. 7.12.) — whereas, in the first, there may be a connection between *Germani* and *Barbaricum*. *Liber IX* mentions the events of the third century CE, intersecting the concentration areas of *Germanus* and *barbarus*. What also establishes the link between the two concepts is the use in Eutr. 10.14., where the author tries to avoid the repetition of the word *barbarus* by using *germani* as a synonym instead.

Although two different words sharing the same radical of *Germanus* appear — *Germania* and *Germaniciani* — only the latter is relevant to this study. *Germaniciani* is used as an adjective, appearing twice — at Eutr. 7.17. and 10.15. — always in correlation with the word *exercitus* to identify Roman auxiliary troops whose origin was Germanic.

In Orosius' *Historiae*, the term *Germanus* appears only seven times throughout *liber VII*. The first entry is at Oros. *Hist.* 7.10.3. when he refers to a campaign issued by Domitian in

83 CE, which is about five chapters earlier than the first use of the word *barbarus*; although the occurrences of this term are few, brief and scattered all over the book, in Oros. *Hist.* 7.22.7. the term is used twice, which — even though not a conclusive sample — represents about 29% of the total uses and constitutes the only concentration pole of the word.

There are two other variations of *Germanus* in Orosius — *Germania* and *Germanicus*.<sup>47</sup> As in Eutropius, we can ignore most of the occurrences of the first term as they are typically isolated geographic references, without direct correlation to its inhabitants, except for one reference. In Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8. there is a direct connection between *Germania* and ‘*gentes barbarae*’. Orosius uses the expression ‘*omnis paene Germania*’ as an alternative form of ‘*et cetera*’ when he means to allude to the many other barbarian populations.<sup>48</sup> As for the word *Germanicus*, it also only appears once, in Oros. *Hist.* 7.8.6., in correlation with the word *legiones* in a manner equivalent to Eutropius’ ‘*germaniciani exercitus*’. In fact, this would be the first use of the word *Germanus* in Orosius.

In the *Chronica*, the word *Germanus* does not appear while referring to the population groups that lived in northern Europe. The same happens with other variations of the word, including the most common *Germania*, which are absent from Hydatius’ work. This absence leaves us with a total of fifteen occurrences of the term in all three works in the study, all appearing in plural form.

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Although *Germania* is the most common location when it comes to thinking about Roman-Barbarian relations, there is actually another region closely linked to the barbarians of the Völkerwanderung: Scythia. Late antique Romans connected this place with peoples like the Huns, the Alans and the Goths, although the latter were, by current academic knowledge, of Germanic origin and not Scythian (Halsall 2014, 519–21).

However, this word appears only a few times. It is absent in Hydatius and appears only once in Eutropius (Eutr. 7.10.), used generically together with the ‘Indians’ (*Scythae et Indi*), referring to the overall far-Eastern populations. Orosius is the one who uses the term the most

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<sup>47</sup> *Germanicus* as an alternative form of an adjective, not to be confused with the proper name Germanicus, which was reasonably ordinary. Although both share a similar meaning, knowing how often Germanicus (person) is mentioned is irrelevant to this thesis.

<sup>48</sup> ‘*Nam cum insurrexissent gentes inmanitate barbarae, multitudine innumerabiles, hoc est Marcomanni Quadi Vandali Sarmatae Suebi atque omnis paene Germania, et in Quadorum usque fines progressos exercitus circumuentusque ab hostibus propter aquarum penuriam*’ (Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8.).

among all of the authors, and even he only uses it three times. In the first occurrence, at Oros. *Hist.* 7.34.5. the word is used to identify the Alans, the Huns and the Goths. However, the remaining two — 7.37.5. and 7.37.9. — are associated with Radagaisus and the Gothic peoples that followed him, describing them and their acts of cruelty and violence as typical of a true Scythian.

<b>Author \ Uses</b>	<b>Germani</b>	<b>Scythae</b>	<b>Barbari</b>
<b>Eutropius</b>	8	1	11
<b>Orosius</b>	7	3	39
<b>Hydatius</b>	0	0	6
<b>Totals</b>	15	4	56

*Table 2: number of appearances of each term and number of uses by author.*

Looking at the seventy-five references made by the various authors concerning the identification of the uncivilised foreigner, it can be observed that an absolute preference (75%) for the most comprehensive degree of identification (*barbari*) instead of the ones who lean on a geographical grouping-type of identification (like *Germani* or *Scythae*).

## **ETHNIC GROUPING**

The two previous aspects are just general forms of identification. It is still necessary to assess a more precise degree of classification based on ethnic and cultural characteristics, which can be done through ethnonyms. For example, the Alans, the Franks, the Goths, the Huns, the Suebi and the Vandals were among the largest groups of barbarians who settled within the Empire's borders. Consequently, they were easily identifiable by the Romans.

Following previous studies, it is known that the ideological strength of calling a group by a specific name is much weaker than calling them *barbari* (Gillet 2009, 398). However, even though the weight of calling someone a *barbarus* or *Gothus* is different, both are ways of saying 'barbarian', and both invoked, in Roman mentality, similar pictures.

The Alans were a people belonging to the barbarian group of the Scythians. They are absent from the work of Eutropius, making Orosius the first user of this ethnonym among the three authors under study. In the *Historiae*, this ethnonym appears for the first time in Oros. *Hist.* 7.34.5., referring to the peoples Theodosius defeated in 379 CE, a period not covered in the *Breuiarium*, excusing its absence from Eutropius. Orosius starts using it only in



the last chapters of *liber VII* (Oros. *Hist.* 7.34.5., 37.3., 38.3., 40.3. and 43.14.), never doing it more than once per chapter, thus totalling five uses covering the dates of 379, 402, 408 and 417–418 CE. Additionally, in these five occurrences, the Alans consistently appear in association with other barbarian peoples and never as an isolated unit.

In Hydatius, the ethnonym appears only four times — in Hyd. 34, 41, 52 and 60. — which references the years 409, 411, 416 and 418 CE. In his chronicles, Hydatius focuses more on the activities of this group in the Iberian Peninsula, and nothing is said about the Alans prior to their arrival in the Hispanic provinces. However, although they maintain a more independent identity than in Orosius, they are usually mentioned alongside the Vandals.

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The Franks, included in the Germanic family, are casually mentioned by Eutropius only on two occasions (Eutr. 9.21. and 10.3.), both in a generalised format that serves only to specify the groups defeated by Carausius and Constantine, respectively, around 286 and 310 CE.

Orosius reported the same events described in Eutropius about Carausius (Oros. 7.25.3.) but did not use the ethnonym when speaking about the victories of Constantine. However, he used the ethnonym on three other occasions throughout his seventh book, in Oros. *Hist.* 7.32.10, 35.12., and 40.3. In the first of these references, Orosius uses the name of the Franks only to characterise the region of northern Gaul where Valentinian defeated the Saxons in 370 CE. The other two remaining entries are mentioned as part of the defeated peoples in 394 and 406–408 CE.

Hydatius only uses the term once — in Hyd. 88. — to reference Aetius' victories over this group in 432 CE.

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The identity of the Goths has always been complex compared to other barbarian communities, and their contemporaries were also disparate as to which group this people belonged to. These confusions originated due to the geographical distribution of these peoples who, since their recognition in the second century CE, inhabited spotted territories from the Danube to the Black Sea (Fulk 2018, 21–2). Due to this wide distribution, they were considered German by some authors, or Scythians by others, such as Orosius, that grouped them with the Alans and Huns (Oros. *Hist.* 7.34.5.). Currently, it is considered that the Goths were a people of Germanic

origin<sup>49</sup> who later spread out to the northern region of the Black Sea, separating into several different groups of Goths, which later reorganised during the fifth century into two different confederations — the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths (Heather 2018, 673). However, these names are never mentioned by any of the authors approached in this thesis.

The Goths appear in Eutropius on four occasions, with a significant concentration of the ethnonym during the ninth book (Eutr. 9.8; 9.11; and 9.13.), where the Goths are reported as a large group of ravaging barbarians. This concentration covers the period of Gallienus, Claudius ‘Gothicus’ and Aurelian, a span of about twenty years (ca. 250–270 CE), demonstrating the extraordinary activity and influence of this people during that time. The last entry for the Goths in the *Breuiarium* takes place in Eutr. 10.7. just to mention Constantine’s victories against this group during his reign from 324 CE onwards.

However, in Orosius, the references to the Goths rival the number of references to the word *barbarus*. In *liber VII* of the *Historiae*, the *Gothi* are mentioned thirty-six times. If we exclude the occasions in which the word is associated with the title *rex Gothorum* (Oros. *Hist.* 7.32.9., 7.34.6., 7.43.9., 7.43.15.), we can still count thirty-two references.

Orosius’ first allusion to this people happens quite early — in Oros. *Hist.* 7.2.7. — when the author established them right away as ‘the’ enemy, making a connection between the Medes that destroyed Babylon and the Goths that devastated the Roman Empire. The Goths are only mentioned again twenty entries later — in Oros. *Hist.* 7.22.7 — when Orosius talks about the barbarian invasions during the period of Gallienus (circumstances also described by Eutropius).

From chapter 22 onwards, this ethnonym appears at least once, in eleven chapters, a number that represents about 28% of the total length of the *Historiae*. Plus, there are three poles where accumulations of the term can be found: these are chapters 33 and 34, chapter 37 and chapter 43, corresponding, respectively, to about 25%, 17% and 31% of the total uses of the word. These periods of concentration are equivalent to the years 377–381, 401–406 and 414–418 CE.

Curiously, for 410 CE, the ethnonym surfaces only once — in Oros. *Hist.* 7.39.3. — while detailing an anecdote about a Christian Goth during the Sack of Rome, the preferred word during that chapter is always *barbarus*.

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<sup>49</sup> For statistical purposes and convenience of data, the Goths will be considered a Scythian people, as it is the group with which Orosius associated them and is the only clear origin among the authors..

In Hydatius, the ethnonym *Gothi* far exceeds the number of occurrences of the word *barbarus*, and he is the first to use the adjective *Gothicus*. In his *Chronica*, Hydatius makes forty-one references to the Goths, totalling thirty-three uses of the term, excluding the occurrences associated with the title of *rex Gothorum*. However, the adjective *Gothicus* appears only three times (Hyd. 108, Hyd. 185 and Hyd. 196). The first of these references is used to name the war against the Goths that the Romans were fighting at the time, and the two remaining ones show up in association with the word *exercitus* to design the Gothic army.

By the number of total appearances, we can already predict that this ethnonym is a constant presence throughout Hydatius' *Chronica*, occurring for the first time in Hyd. 3, right after the introduction on the work's earliest dating reference (379 CE), and appearing for the last time in Hyd. 244, a few lines before the end, covering the year 468 CE. However, there are only two poles of concentration of the term in Hyd. 165–179 and Hyd. 234–244, with seven instances each for 456–457 and 466–468 CE, each corresponding to 17% of the total occurrences.

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The Huns were another people belonging to the Scythian group, and, like the Alans, they are absent from the *Breuiarium* and possibly for the same reason. Orosius is then the first to use the ethnonym. He does so with the expression '*gens Hunorum*' (Oros. *Hist.* 7.33.10.) when he explains that the emergence of these people from the East in the year 377 CE was a punishment against Valens. This is also a period not covered by Eutropius, justifying the absence of the ethnonym from this authors' work. Otherwise, this ethnonym's usage by Orosius is very similar to that of the Alans, appearing in chapters 33, 34, 37, and 41 of *liber VII* of the *Historiae* a total of five times — two of them in chapter 37 —, covering the years 377, 379–80, and 405 CE.<sup>50</sup>

Hydatius only uses this ethnonym four times in his work, primarily in Hyd. 108. while noting the origin of the mercenaries who accompanied the Roman troops against the Goths in 439 CE and later concentrated at Hyd. 142, 145 and 146, in which he describes the years 451 to 453 CE and Attila's incursions.

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The Suebi are also problematic when it comes to their textual identification due to the context of the ethnonym's usage before their crossing of the Rhine in the early fifth century CE. The

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<sup>50</sup> The reference in Oros. *Hist.* 7.41.8. is an isolated comment and does not describe any event related to a specific year.

word *Sueui* was first used to denote the largest group of all Germanic ethnic groups, which included the Hermunduri, Marcomanni, Quadi, and Semnones, among others (Drinkwater 2012, 1408; Ferreiro 2018, 1424), but in later authors, the term suggested an independent group, different from other ‘Suebi’ tribes.

Sometimes the *Quadi* and the *Sueui* are interpreted as indistinguishable from the fifth century onwards, but this opinion is feeble, and the argument is dubious (Thompson 1982, 152–3). In this thesis, I will not interpret the references to the Quadi as statements about the Suebi. Mainly because both Eutropius and Orosius pointedly distinguished the Quadi, Marcomanni and Suebi as three distinct tribes (Eutr. 8.13., 9.8.; Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8.) — otherwise, they would not appear in the same listings.<sup>51</sup>

In Eutropius, the first reference to the Suebi comes in the form of a geographical classification: ‘*Sueuiam*’<sup>52</sup>, the land of the Suebi, which would lie somewhere beyond the Rhine in the region of Germania (Eutr. 7.12.). Aside from this occurrence, the term appears only once more — in Eutr. 8.13. — when the Suebi are listed as one of the barbarian tribes participating in the Second Marcomannic War (177–180 CE).

In the *Historiae aduersus paganos* the Suebi only appear generically as part of lists of tribes, for a total of five times. The first use of the ethnonym by Orosius takes place relatively early — in Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8. — and reports the same events described in Eutropius on the Second Marcomannic War. The other four instances occur at the end of the book — in chapters 38, 40, 41 and 43, in a period that covers the years 408 and 417–418 CE.

Hydatius’ accounts do not align in numbers when compared with the previous authors. This is because he saw the occupation of his homeland by these barbarians, who settled in the Peninsula — more specifically in Gallaecia — and became one of the most prominent ethnic groups in the region. Probably, that is why there are sixty-one references to these people — fifty-two, excluding occurrences of the title ‘*rex Sueuorum*’. This amount of data is one of the reasons that make Hydatius one of the most excellent sources on Suebi history, as his work details this period of the fifth-century Iberian Peninsula — an important piece of work to describe this people.

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<sup>51</sup> However, it is interesting that the name *Quadi* is only used three times in Orosius and is later dropped from chapter 22 onwards. Meanwhile, the Suebi are still present on the lists of barbarians throughout his work.

<sup>52</sup> The word is in the accusative case as it was directly transposed from the source.

However, despite having more references than the Goths and their presence being constant throughout the *Chronica*, the Suebi are only mentioned for the first time in Hyd. 34, when the author reports the passing of barbarian peoples into the Iberian Peninsula in 409 CE; and for the last time in Hyd. 245 concerning the last date described by this author (468 CE). Therefore, a quarter of the *Chronica* has the presence of the Suebi. Nevertheless, despite the ethnonym having a relatively cohesive existence throughout the text, two poles of accumulation of the ethnonym can still be delimited: in Hyd. 179–200 and Hyd. 219–240. These poles correspond chronologically to the periods 457–460 and 464–467 CE and constitute 21% and 18% of the total occurrences of the term with, respectively, thirteen and eleven mentions of the Suebi.

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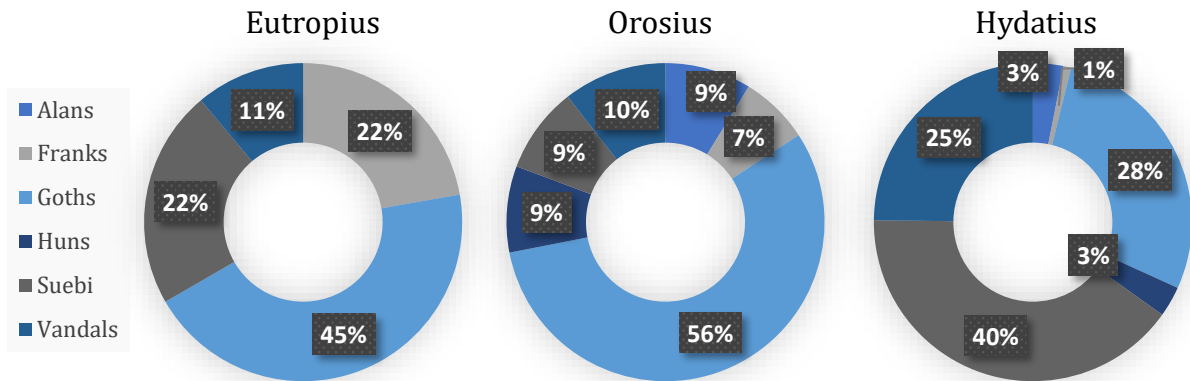
The last people under consideration are the ethnic group of the Vandals. This Germanic group appears only once in Eutropius (Eutr. 8.13.), listed as one of the barbarian tribes that revolted against Rome, begetting the Second Marcomannic War (177–180 CE). The presence of the ethnonym is also not significant in Orosius, who uses the term only six times throughout *liber VII* and, similar to other populations, he does it in a generic way grouping them with other barbarian tribes.

The first occurrence is a repetition of the listing of Eutropius — in Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8. — leaving the other five mentions for the last chapters of his work (Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.1, 38.3., 40.3., 41.8. and 43.14.). However, Orosius states his personal opinion through a commentary strictly dedicated to the group of the Vandals when he makes the association between the *comes* Stilicho and his barbarian origins, in Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.1.

Hydatius, in turn, makes twenty-eight uses of the ethnonym in his chronicles (twenty-six, excluding the title of ‘*rex Vandalorum*’), even using it to distinguish between different Vandal subgroups, such as the Siling Vandals. Despite showing up less often than the Suebi or the Goths, this Germanic people is punctually distributed from the beginning of the *Chronica* (Hyd. 34) until its end (Hyd. 241). Because it is so evenly distributed, the term’s only significant concentration point is at Hyd. 59–70, where the word *Vandali* can be read seven times — 25% of all occurrences — in a chronological period ranging from 418 to 422 CE.

Author	Alans	Franks	Goths	Huns	Suebi	Vandals	Total
<b>Eutropius</b>	-	2	4	-	2	1	9
<b>Orosius</b>	5	4	32 (36)	5	5	6	57 (61)
<b>Hydatius</b>	4	1	36 (41)	4	52 (61)	26 (28)	123 (139)
<b>Totals</b>	9	7	72 (81)	9	59 (68)	33 (35)	-

*Table 3: number of appearances of each ethnonym and number of uses with the total appearances of each people by author.<sup>53</sup>*



*Infographic 1: percentage of use of each ethnonym by author*

From the data collected, a gradual increase can be observed in the use of ethnonyms as time advances into the period that is called Late Antiquity. However, references to the different barbarian peoples are not homogeneous, meaning that certain ethnic groups influenced more than others, namely the Goths, notably on authors who lived in the fifth century CE.

### RELIGIOUS EXCLUSIVITY

As Christianity grew, other terms became important in characterising the ‘Other’. During the fourth century, the need for survival overrode the rules of Christ. Barbarians came to be considered unfavourable by God so that the shedding of their blood would not cause holy wrath (Dumezil 2016, 61–2). It is also another factor that made Christianity a viable religion, compatible with Roman identity and services. Consequently, this measure was also attached to heretics and pagans — and demons — when Christianity was well established as the Empire’s religion.

<sup>53</sup> The values in parentheses are the actual number of uses, including the titles of *rex*.

This establishment meant that the ‘barbarian’ could be identified through other denominations in the religious sphere since the Church began to be one of the driving forces for literature at the time. Moreover, as implied by Ambrose of Milan, all non-Christians were portrayed as barbarians themselves because since the Empire embraced Christianity as its identity model, Rome lost the only factor of similarity it had with the barbarians: idolatry (as cited in Kahlos 2011b, 267).

Orosius and Hydatius were both Christians and ecclesiastics — Orosius was a priest, and Hydatius was a bishop. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to pay attention to other terms that may be useful in this study and that may also help to identify and interpret the image of the ‘Other’ for the late Christian Romans. It is not surprising that none of the words in question are found in Eutropius, and the study is therefore limited to *liber VII* of Orosius’ *Historiae* and Hydatius’ *Chronica*.

The first of these words is the noun *gentilis* — still used in many European languages in its evolved form — presently still designates the same meaning when used by a Christian: someone who does not follow the Judeo-Christian religion. This word is used by Orosius five times, the first appearing very early in *Oros. Hist. 7.5.7.*, to characterise Caligula’s desecration of the Jewish holy places after the pagan sacrifices that were made there in 38 CE. The remaining occurrences of this word are all very close, between chapters 27 and 36, and are always used to group non-Christians and address them with comments and biblical parallels. However, the word in Orosius seems to be simply a replacement for *paganus*, as it does in the single use of the word in Hydatius (*Hyd. 129*) to declare that Rechila, king of the Suebi, died a pagan.

The word *haereticus*, as with *gentilis*, is still used today and has the same meaning: a heretic, someone who has chosen another religion or belief alternative to Nicæan (Catholic) Christianity. Orosius uses the word only once to unite the Jews and Heretics in those who may suffer at the hands of the Gentiles (*Oros. Hist. 7.33.18.*). Hydatius also uses the term dispersedly, appearing only four times throughout his work, always associated with some character disowned by the Church, except in *Hyd. 51*, where the word is used in its plural form to refer to the followers of Pelagianism and other heresies against whom Jerome wrote. By parallelism, due to Jerome’s influence on Hydatius, it is implied that the *Chronica* is also a weapon against heresy — in its case, Arianism.

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The concept of paganism is the idea that best generalises all who are not Christians, and this term is also used and recognised today and has the same meaning.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, surprisingly, it is not found in Hydatius and only in Orosius.

In the *Historiae*, the word *paganus* is found sixteen times. Even in Orosius, the use of this term is relatively broad. He uses it while referring to pagans in general as an undifferentiated group (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.10; 37.11.; 41.9.), to those who worship the Graeco-Roman pantheon (Oros. *Hist.* 7.27.14.; 28.28.; 28.3.; 33.17.; 35.21.; 37.2.; 37.6.; 38.6.; 39.10.) or to barbarians who follow the Germanic cults (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.5.; 37.9.; 37.10.; 37.11.). Nevertheless, the concept generally applied to those who worshipped the ancestral religion of the Romans. Additionally, there is a somewhat excessive use of the word in chapter 37, where the term appears eight times, that is, 50% of the total occurrences of the word in the work.

<b>Author \ Uses</b>	<b>Gentiles</b>	<b>Haeretici</b>	<b>Pagani</b>	<b>Barbari</b>
<b>Orosius</b>	7	1	16	39
<b>Hydatius</b>	1	4	0	6
<b>Totals</b>	8	5	16	56

*Table 4: comparison of occurrences of barbarus with the number of appearances of each religious term by author and the total number of uses in all authors.*

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<sup>54</sup> Nowadays, the word is mainly used to describe the practitioners of Graeco-Roman polytheism and the worshipers of the Norse-Germanic gods.



## CONCLUSIONS

After evaluating all the statistical data on the use of specific keywords — essential to the interpretation and deconstruction of the image of the barbarian in late Latin texts — it is necessary to remember certain aspects of the works under study that may have a distorting effect on the data and further analysis. First, these works are not, are not at all determinants of a definite idea of what the Barbarian was. Only a more complete analysis, including the works of Augustine, Jerome and Zosimus, for example, could give a more approximate notion of what was in reality the Barbarian for these people.

Another point to consider is the size of each work and its chronology. For example, Eutropius and Hydatius do not even have a coinciding timeline; therefore, it is impossible to directly compare these authors as they do not report the same events.

According to the results, it is safe to assume that the question of geographic grouping was not very relevant to the late Romans, as there is no extensive use or concern in the texts to identify foreigners by their general area of origin — that is, *Germani* or *Scythae*. Besides, for someone familiar with the geography, the ethnonyms themselves would be enough to identify where they came from, as in Eutr. 7.12. with the use of the word ‘*Sueuia*’, the land from which the Suebi would originate; or as in Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8. with ‘*Quadorum fines*’, the frontier of the lands of the Quadi. In this case, the area is identified by the literal name of the group that controls the region.

There is also a clear preference for the broader term ‘barbarian’ or, the more precise and circumscribed term (ethnonym); hence no mixed term is needed. Furthermore, there does not seem to be a significant distinction between the German and Scythian barbarians regarding their reception in texts. In general, the Scythians seem less relevant, despite their recognised brutality and typical violence (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.9).<sup>55</sup> The German, who were more numerous within the borders of the Empire, achieved a more substantial influence and protagonism.

Poles of concentration for the word *barbarus*, as well as for some ethnonyms, are also perceived. These accumulations correspond with a temporal window most of the time. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in Orosius and Hydatius, the chronological period of concentration of the term *barbarus* is similar (409–411 CE) and coincides with the advances of the Goths into Italy and of the Alans, Suebi and Vandals into the Iberian Peninsula. However,

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<sup>55</sup> Orosius describes Radagaisus as a ‘*Scytha uere*’, a true Scythian.

it is an interval that does not correspond with any of the concentrations of ethnonyms in the texts. In fact, there is even a gap left in the case of Orosius, who concentrates on using the term *Gothi* for 401–406 CE and then again for 414–418 CE, leaving an apparent absence of the ethnonym for 409–411 CE.

One of the hypotheses for this to happen is a greater need for generalisation, taking into account the different events that involved different peoples during that time and avoiding repetition. However, given that these events are roughly the Sack of Rome by Alaric (Oros. *Hist.* 7.39.) and the invasion of the Gallic and Hispanic provinces (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40–41.), it is also valid that Orosius — having lived through these events (Oros. *Hist.* 7.41.1.) — was influenced by both his political agenda and personal feelings. I believe the truth must lie somewhere in-between. For an event like the Sack of Rome, using *barbarus* instead of the ethnonym is more practical according to Orosius' agenda. In the case of the invasions, the author also has a clear feeling towards those who led to the destruction of his homeland. It is also worth noting that there are several usurpations of power and an extensive religious reflection during this chunk of the text. This also contributed to a greater frequency of *barbarus* and an absence of ethnonyms.

Eutropius practically does not use ethnonyms, and in Orosius, one can only discuss points of accumulation for the case of Goths, as other ethnonyms do not seem to be as relevant, always appearing scattered in the text. Hydatius is the only author with references sufficiently numerous and relatively close to form poles for most barbarian peoples.

His work shows a textual accumulation for the Goths corresponding to 456–457 and 466–468 CE; 451–452 CE for the Huns;<sup>56</sup> 457–460 and 464–467 CE for the Suebi people; and 418–422 CE for the Vandals.<sup>57</sup> None of these periods corresponds with the ones found in Orosius — and much less of Eutropius — as they cover a time after the publication of both these older authors' works. However, we can observe that there is an approximation between the Goths (456–457 and 466–468 CE) and the Suebi (457–460 and 464–467 CE), which would make the fifties and sixties of the fifth century CE the largest general concentration of ethnonyms in the text.

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<sup>56</sup> The pillaging and plundering of Gaul and Italy.

<sup>57</sup> The extermination of the Siling Vandals and the Alan kingdom resulted in their union with the Hasdingi Vandals under king Gunderic..

Additionally, although there are more references to the Suebi than the Goths, their concentration periods are similar. These were periods of great activity in the Iberian Peninsula, especially among the Goths and the Suebi. During this time, several treaties and emissaries were sent between the king of the Goths, Theoderic II, and the king of the Suebi, Rechiarius. These are recurring characters in this part of Hydatius' text. It is also a span marked by the fall of the Suebi kingdom, and the whole series of kings that followed it also contributed to this significant accumulation.<sup>58</sup>

It is also interesting to note that both authors present their highest concentrations of ethnonyms towards the end of their respective works. This development occurs because the authors speak according to their knowledge and life experiences since they mention events very close to their publications' time. Hence, it is customary to be more detailed in describing specific episodes and some partiality. This phenomenon is most evident in Hydatius, not only because of its sheer number of occurrences but also because the author lived within the same geographical circle as the events he related to and was directly affected by them (Hyd. 86, 88, 122, 196, 204).

The increasing use of ethnonyms as the authors' transition from the fourth to the fifth century is also explicit. This can be explained by the lack of necessity for the Romans to call them *barbari* since the ethnonyms already implied that they had all come from the *Barbaricum*.

In Eutropius, the names of the barbarian peoples and the word *barbarus* are relatively commensurate, with an ethnonym's appearance ratio of 0.82 for each use of the word barbarian. In *liber VII* of the *Historiae* — a much more extensive work — the ratio is 1.46, which means that there is a majority of the use of ethnonyms, despite some equivalence between the two terms. In Hydatius, however, the ratio is 20.5, describing that twenty ethnonyms appear in the *Chronica* for each time the term *barbarus* is used.

This increase in the ethnonym's usage happens because Hydatius is the author who makes the most use of those and uses the word barbarian less often. Could this be a result of the problems mentioned earlier due to the very nature of the texts? Perhaps the *Chronica* — in comparison with the historiographical works developed by Eutropius and Orosius — needed a greater ethnic rigour and accuracy when describing past events, which the word *barbarus* could

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<sup>58</sup> After the fall of the kingdom of the Suebi (Hyd. 168.) Hydatius name seven other Suebi leaders: Aioulfus, Framtane, Frumarius, Maldras, Massilia, Rechimund and Remismund; while for the Goths is only Theoderic II and Euric, his successor.

not convey, as it was too vague for a time when ‘barbarian’ kingdoms were already being formed throughout the Empire.

On the barbarians themselves, there is a dominance of the Goths over the other foreign peoples. Although the Suebi prevail in Hydatius, the Goths are referenced more often, considering the three authors. This reflects their relevance to the population and politics of the time and helps to consolidate the influence of their reputation, laying the foundations for the image of the typical ‘Germanic’ barbarian that we have today. They were a numerous group, with relevant personalities such as Radagaisus and Alaric. Moreover, their participation as the Empire’s enemies in several significant events — such as the Battle of Adrianople in 378 CE or the Sack of Rome in 410 CE — also contributed to their distinction.

Excluding the Goths (and the Suebi, in the case of Hydatius), other peoples, such as the Franks or the Alans, do not seem relevant to late Roman historians. Even so, the importance of these is relative since most references to barbarian peoples occur in lists or brief mentions, and comments or observations about the peoples themselves are rarely made. Besides, the importance of the various groups can only be discussed through the descriptions made of the characters who can represent these peoples, namely their leaders, like Alaric, or Roman citizens with barbarian origins, like Stilicho.

Meanwhile, the terms of religious character seem to maintain an agreement and parallelism with the use of the word *barbarus*. Eutropius, a pagan author, does not make a single use of terms related to religious exclusivity. However, these terms are present in both Orosius and Hydatius. In *liber VII* of the *Historiae*, there is a 0.62 ratio between the appearance of a term related to religious identity and the word ‘barbarian’. In the *Chronica*, the ratio is 0.83, meaning that, although the word *barbarus* is most common, it is not much more used than any other religious term when defining the ‘Other’.

## CHAPTER II

### CHARACTERISATION OF THE BARBARIAN

In this chapter, I seek to organise the information obtained so far to help me understand how barbarians were characterised by the late Latin authors and to learn if there is any pattern that would define a barbarian '*topos*'. For this, all of the descriptive occurrences of the Barbarian and the barbarian peoples were identified, and the various characterisation elements used to define them (psychological, religious or physical) were compiled to analyse their actions, the way they were portrayed and what vocabulary is used in association with them. After that, there is an isolation of singular characters that may or may not represent the Barbarian to see if they belong to the concept's generalisation or exception.

#### CHARACTERISTIC ELEMENTS OF THE BARBARIAN

The previous chapter explored which of the peoples were identified as barbarians by Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius, and how many times they appear in their corresponding works. However, it was not yet discussed how the Barbarian could be identified and the elements that characterise it.

A more extensive study of the entries in which these peoples appear is necessary to solve this problem and verify if there is even an answer. Therefore, there was a search for possible identifying elements, comments about barbarian actions and everyday life, and terminology associated with the word *barbarus*, the ethnonyms and all the characters that represent them, schematising all of the data yielded and comparing the results of this semantic dissection.

#### THE SEMANTICS OF *BARBARUS*

The concept of the Barbarian constitutes this thesis's leading subject as the basis used to define all of the elements under evaluation, being ethnonyms or particular individuals. That is why it is crucial, before examining other ideas, to learn how the *barbari* is delineated and identified, even if it is not a dominant word in most sources.

The role of the Barbarian in Eutropius is very secondary, sometimes only appearing to enhance certain Roman personalities. In any case, even if practical, the barbarians are identified by their behaviour as people who instigate war (Eutr. 8.13.), attack suddenly (Eutr. 9.23.) and are violent in their warfare, causing destruction everywhere (Eutr. 10.14.).

Orosius provides much more information about the Barbarian. In the *Historiae*, as can be understood from the description of some of their leaders, the barbarians do not constitute a homogenous bunch; on the contrary, descriptions are sometimes contradictory. These men are psychologically described as jokers, people who do not respect the authority and seriousness of established agreements (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.4.) or as simply dishonourable (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.4.). But despite being greedy criminals and traitors, they are also capable of regret, especially of their devious past behaviour (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.9–10.)<sup>59</sup>. The Barbarian are also fierce and irate, but they are so together with the Romans, with no differences between them in that matter (Oros. *Hist.* 7.22.9.). Overall, Orosius creates a low level of empathy towards the barbarians, betting on a more humanising characterisation instead of an idea of something simply negative or evil.

About their way of life, Orosius shows a duality of their behaviour. The barbarians —the pagan Scythians in particular — are represented as idolaters who honour their gods with blood sacrifices (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.5.). However, they are also said to be excellent and reliable mercenaries who, despite having the opportunity to kill and rob anyone who bought their services, choose to remain loyal to those who wanted their protection and helped to defend them instead. It is even said that these same barbarians put down their swords to dedicate themselves to the fields in the Iberian Peninsula in cooperation with some Romans (Oros. *Hist.* 7.41.4–7.). However, Hydatius opposes this reality, as he declares that rather than joining the barbarians, the Roman that survived the destruction of their lands were subjugated to slavery by the attackers (Hyd. 41).<sup>60</sup>

Nonetheless, in fields of action, they always appear associated with pejorative elements. Barbarians are dishonourable: they fight amongst themselves (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.3., 43.15.), they invade, destroy, plunder, and slaughter (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.8–10), and they also flee from the battlefield (Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.9–10, 36.10.), especially in the presence of demonstrations of divine power — which is proof of their wickedness. These characteristics are also consolidated in Hydatius' work, where the word *barbarus* is associated with groups that plunder and destroy. These groups are even compared to the plague in terms of how devastating they were (Hyd. 38–9).

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<sup>59</sup> Orosius refers to the *Honoriaci*, a military group under the service of Constans that, according to the author, was composed of barbarians. These eventually merged with the groups that settled in the Iberian Peninsula.

<sup>60</sup> This allegation could be only literary and not literal. Also, the picture of Romans and barbarians cooperating after the invasion of Iberia did not coincide with Hydatius' idea, who wanted to deliver the idea of chaos.

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Vocabulary <sup>61</sup>	Eutropius	Orosius	Hydatius	Total
<i>bacchor</i>	-	-	1	1
<i>caedo</i>	-	1	1	2
<i>commoueo</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>cruentus</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>depraedor</i>	-	-	1	1
<i>dilaceratio</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>discurro</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>expugno</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>hostis</i>	-	2	1	3
<i>illudo</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>immanis</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>ingredior</i>	-	1	1	2
<i>ingruo</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>inrumpo</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>insurgo</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>interficio</i>	1	2	-	3
<i>obsideo</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>occido</i>	-	-	1	1
<i>occupo</i>	1	1	-	2
<i>praedor</i>	-	2	-	2
<i>prodo</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>saeuus</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>scelus</i>	-	2	-	2
<i>strages</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>uasto</i>	1	2	-	3

*Table 5: vocabulary associated with barbarus and number of uses, by author.*

Analysing the type of speech of the authors is essential. Words are linked to concepts, and they carry feelings and ideas, especially in verbs and adjectives, as they convey the actions and qualities of others. With that in mind, it is interesting to see that there is not a single word in common between all three authors. Did the image of the Barbarian change in the century between Eutropius and Hydatius? That seems rather unlikely to be factual, at least distinctly, because the Barbarian is depicted similarly among the three authors. It seems the only thing that saw minor changes was the language itself, how people spoke and wrote, changing slightly the vocabulary associated with the *Barbari* and justifying the existence of very few repetitions.

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<sup>61</sup> Variations of some words or radicals, mainly adjectives or verbs in the participle, were reverted to their base word to simplify these listings. Additionally, some vocabulary correlated or corresponding with more than one term of identification or group is matched with the various names, counting as one appearance for each of them, explaining why some words appear in a number that surpasses its usage count.

Nevertheless, the fact that each author has a specific writing style, rhetoric and agenda also compromises the vocabulary they use to describe the Barbarian.

### **INTO THE BARBARIANS: THE SEMANTICS OF *GERMANI* AND THE *SCYTHAE***

Previously the authors' preference for the word *barbarus* instead of direct association by geographical grouping was acknowledged. However, the Barbarian is still recognised through this identification type since they are directly linked — the barbarians are those from outside the Empire's borders.

The late antique authors usually divided the barbarians into two major geographic groups: the *Germani* and the *Scythae*. Because these formed a much smaller sample than other types of classification, it is easier to establish their common traits with the *Barbari* and better understand how Eutropius and Orosius saw and described the 'Other'.

The *Germani* are generically characterised as numerous (Eutr. 7.9., Oros. *Hist.* 7.29.15.) and violent (Eutr. 6.17.). Moreover, they are associated with different types of physical violence, specifically slaughter (Eutr. 5.1.) and looting (Eutr. 9.8., Oros. *Hist.* 7.22.7.). Psychologically, they are described as savage, inhuman and irate (Oros. *Hist.* 7.35.4., 41.2.). Hence their rebellious (Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8.), dishonourable and cowardly nature, seen through the use of ambushes (Eutr. 6.17.) and the fact they flee from their enemies (Oros. *Hist.* 7.29.15.).

<b>Vocabulary</b>	<b>Eutropius</b>	<b>Orosius</b>	<b>Hydatius</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>abrado</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>caedo</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>copia</i>	1	1	-	2
<i>euerto</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>expugno</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>hostis</i>	1	1	-	2
<i>immanis</i>	1	2	-	3
<i>insidiae</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>insurgo</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>internecio</i>	1	-	-	1
<i>penetro</i>	1	1	-	2
<i>potior</i>	-	1	-	1

*Table 6: vocabulary associated with Germani and number of uses by author.*



The Scythians, however, are described only twice, both times in the *Historiae*. Firstly, when Orosius calls them ‘*formidatas gentes*’ (Oros. *Hist.* 7.34.5.) and secondly through the character of Radagaisus, which the author labels as a true Scythian, establishing a direct connection between the ethno-geographic term and the other adjectives that are used to describe him. Consequently, they are seen as heretic idolaters that practice human sacrifices, dedicating the blood of their enemies to their pagan Gods (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.5.).

<b>Vocabulary</b>	<b>Eutropius</b>	<b>Orosius</b>	<b>Hydatius</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>barbarus</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>formido</i>	-	1	-	1
<i>paganus</i>	-	2	-	2

*Table 7: vocabulary associated with Scythae and number of uses, by author.*

Tables 6 and 7 show that no vocabulary is repeated among the German and Scythians, which was expected, considering the low number of occurrences in which these groups are mentioned. However, it is still possible to comment on the lexicon shared by the Barbarian and these peoples.

*Hostis* and *immanis* are associated with both barbarians and Germans. The only author using these words to characterise both is Orosius, also establishing a parallel between the four concepts in Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8. (*‘nam cum insurrexissent gentes inmanitate barbarae, multitudine innumerabiles, hoc est Marcomanni Quadi Vandali Sarmatae Suebi atque omnis paene Germania, et in Quadorum usque fines progressus exercitus circumuentusque ab hostibus propter aquarum penuriam praesentius sitis quam hostis periculum sustineret’*). In the same manner, we can see that the verb *insurgo* is also used to characterise all German barbarians.

Continuing with verb association, Eutropius is the only one to use *expugno* to characterise both the Barbarian and the German, and he does so in two different instances at Eutr. 10.14. and 9.8., respectively. He also correlates *caedo* to the *Germani*, a widespread verb appearing in the *Historiae* and *Chronica* related to the *Barbari*.

Differently to what happened with the *Germani*, which often appear in direct correlation with the Barbarian, the *Scythae* were overtly declared *barbari* and *pagani*, in their adjectival forms, as a result of the before-mentioned description of Radagaisus (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.5., 9.),

the barbarian that represents the standard Scythian. Aside from this portrayal, the Scythians have no more common expressions with either *Germani* or *Barbari*.

In conclusion, although there are relatively few words in common between these terms and *Barbari*, they all contribute to expanding the lexical diversity associated with Barbarian, consequently contributing to understanding the concept.

## **INTO THE MULTIPLICITY OF BARBARIAN PEOPLES: THE SEMANTICS OF THE ETHNONYMS**

After analysing the different semantic fields associated with the word *barbarus* and the terms *germanus* and *scytha*, referring to geographical sub-groups, it is still vital to narrow down the perspective and examine each of the main ethnonyms to identify the two common characteristics and singularities among them. This analysis allows a better understanding of the semantic identity between all these designations and their internal diversity.

Firstly, the various peoples were grouped by their geographical category. Then, alphabetically in order to understand the relationship between each ethnonym. Finally, after analysing each person individually, their characteristics and semantic fields were compared with the other forms of identification. Therefore, the Scythian tribes (Alans, Goths and Huns) will be analysed first, and then the Germanic ones (Franks, Suebi and Vandali).

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The first of the Scythian *gentes* are the Alans. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this ethnonym rarely appears as an isolated unit. After the Alans' conjugation with the Vandals under king Gunderic in 418 CE (Hyd. 60), their presence in Iberia effectively ended as they are no longer referred to — which might be a case of *argumentum e silentio*.

Still, they are described by Orosius as a vast and stout tribe (Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.3., 40.3.) that overcame the power of the Franks in Gaul (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.3.).<sup>62</sup> Hydatius reinforces this idea by saying that they were powerful enough to dominate the Suebi and Vandals (Hyd. 60) — the other two peoples that entered the Iberian Peninsula in 409 CE (Hyd. 34) — making the Alans

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<sup>62</sup> Although they were also part of the ethnic groups that entered the Hispanic provinces (as Hydatius acknowledges and Orosius suggests), the author never strictly mentions the name of the Alans when he speaks about the invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.

the strongest of the three groups, allegedly. Furthermore, this barbarian group is included in the group of tribes that tear each other apart (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.3.).

Orosius also evidences that they are capable of peace, following the example of Wallia (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43. 13–4.), who defeated them in battle and influenced their peace-seeking behaviour. However, this is not an innate or an honest trait, as it is a description that purports to show the Gothic king as a peacemaker and demeans the Alans by saying they can be beaten into submission.

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The Goths were the most common and widespread of all the peoples chosen for this study, making them one of the main points of reference for the picture of the Barbarian in late antique Latin sources, as there are several elements of characterisation and opinion about them.

This ‘Scythian’ group is also described as strong and numerous (Oros. *Hist.* 7.28.29, 43.3., 6.), even more so than the Alans, as shown by Hydatius’ description of Wallia’s campaign in 418 CE (Hyd. 59–60), where the strength of the Goths leads to the extinction of the Siling Vandals and the overpowering of the Alans themselves.

For Orosius, the Goths were a simple and plain people who naturally wanted the true faith but were villainously deceived with Arianism instead (Oros. *Hist.* 7.33.19.). This association between Arianism and the Goths carried on a particular influence throughout the century: for instance, when Hydatius talks about the apostate Ajax, he claims that the heresy is a poison that has its origins in the land of the Goths (Hyd. 228).

This polarity in regards to the Goths is somewhat frequent in Orosius. The author of the *Historiae aduersus paganos* — even without taking into account some specific characters — recognises that they can perceive greatness and courage (Oros. *Hist.* 7.34.7.). They are also described as organised, well-prepared people (Oros. *Hist.* 7.33.13–14), capable of protecting men and the symbols of Christianity (Oros. *Hist.* 7.39.7–10.). At the same time, he notes that they are violent and martial (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.10–12), calling them barbarians (Oros. *Hist.* 7.33.10.) whose lives were expendable — even of those who allied themselves with Rome and perished in combat defending it (Oros. *Hist.* 7.35.19.; 37.16.). This duality does not occur in Hydatius, who, speaking of the people in general, characterises them as violent and with a great tendency to betray peace treaties or pacts (Hyd. 7).

They are described psychologically as inhumane enemies (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.14., Hyd. 179), owners of violent anger (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.8., Hyd. 244) and a rampant barbarism (*'effrenata barbaria'*). These characteristics render them incapable of obeying any rules and laws (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.6.). In the *Chronica*, the Goths are mainly characterised by their dishonesty and treacherous nature (Hyd. 7, 52, 69, 87, 176, 179, 212).

All of these characteristics are reinforced by the acts documented in the sources. For example, Hydatius calls them plunderers (*praedones*) after the sack of Asturica and Palentia<sup>63</sup>, where they slaughtered, kidnapped and arrested part of the population after forcing their way into the city through guile destroying churches and burning houses in the process (Hyd. 179). This entry gives the most detailed description of a Gothic attack out of all of the texts under study, but there are several other entries where the Goths show themselves as conquerors who ravage the regions they pass through, like in Eutr. 9.8., 11, and Oros. *Hist.* 7.22.7, 23.1.<sup>64</sup> Their presence in the Empire is even compared to the Medes and their role in the fall and destruction of Babylon (Oros. *Hist.* 7.2.7.). Similar to the other Scythians, they fight amongst themselves (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.3.) and are delineated as invaders (Oros. *Hist.* 7.2.7., Hyd. 224), plunderers (Hyd. 126, 196, 240, 244), slaughterers (Oros. *Hist.* 7.33.14, Hyd. 60, 108, 166, 179) and kidnappers (Hyd. 36, 179) that pursue their enemies to the end until they extinguish them (Oros. *Hist.* 7.33.13–14., Hyd. 239).

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The last people to be examined in the Scythian sub-group are the Huns. Unfortunately, they are not cited often or with great relevance by any author, and little information can be obtained from the few entries where they are mentioned. These are, like all of the Scythians above, barbarians who fight among themselves (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.3.). They are also provocative and angry (Oros. *Hist.* 7.33.10.) dishonourable people that advance through the provinces pillaging and plundering cities without regard for the established agreements of peace (Hyd. 142, 146). For Hydatius, these populations suffered both divine and human punishment for their actions, which was what led them to return home (Hyd. 146).

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<sup>63</sup> Present-day Palencia, Spain.

<sup>64</sup> Orosius mentions the same events as Eutropius. In Oros. *Hist.* 7.23.1. he even uses the exact wording as his source.

To conclude the analysis of these peoples, the Scythians and each ethnic group mentioned above were arranged in a way that allows a more direct, more straightforward comparison of the semantics between them. Note that, as the ‘*Barbarians*’ and ‘*Scythians*’ columns are just for reference, their numbers do not count towards the total number of uses of a particular word.

<b>Vocabulary</b>	<b>Barbarians</b>	<b>Scythians</b>	<b>Alans</b>	<b>Goths</b>	<b>Huns</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>abduco</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>bacchor</i>	1	-	-	1	-	1
<i>barbarus</i>	-	1	-	2	-	2
<i>caedo</i>	2	-	1	5	-	6
<i>capio</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>capto</i>	-	-	-	3	-	3
<i>copia</i>	-	-	1	1	-	2
<i>decipio</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>deleo</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>demolior</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>depraedor</i>	1	-	-	3	2	5
<i>diripio</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>dolus</i>	-	-	-	3	-	3
<i>effringo</i>	-	-	-	1	2	3
<i>exardesco</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>exitium</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>fortis</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>fraus</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>fugio</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>hostis</i>	3	-	-	3	-	3
<i>immanis</i>	1	-	-	1	-	1
<i>incendo</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>infidus</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>ingredior</i>	2	-	1	2	-	3
<i>inrumpo</i>	1	-	-	1	1	2
<i>insequor</i>	-	-	-	2	-	2
<i>inuado</i>	-	-	1	1	-	2
<i>inundo</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>iugulo</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>mentior</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>obsideo</i>	1	-	-	1	-	1
<i>occido</i>	1	-	-	1	-	1
<i>percio</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>perfidia</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>perir</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>periurus</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>populor</i>	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>potens</i> <sup>65</sup>	-	-	1	-	-	1

<sup>65</sup> *Potens* is the only participle I did not revert to its basic verbal form due to the changes in its meaning.

<i>praedor</i>	2	-	-	1	-	1
<i>protero</i>	-	-	1	-	-	1
<i>rabies</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>saeuus</i>	1	-	-	1	-	1
<i>supplico</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>uasto</i>	3	-	-	4	-	4
<i>uis</i>	-	-	1	2	-	3

*Table 8: vocabulary associated with the Scythian tribes, barbarus and scythae in comparison.*

Orosius enumerated the Scythian tribes in Oros. *Hist.* 7.34.5. They share few semantic elements, probably due to the fewer references to the Alans and Huns than the Goths. However, these are not without aspects of similarity among themselves and the Barbarian.

When Orosius describes the barbarian infighting, he refers to the Alan, Gothic, and Hunnic groups, mentioning none of the other Germanic peoples (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.3.). In addition, while not using the same vocabulary, all of these peoples resemble each other. They are described as enraged and strong, displaying the characteristics of a destructive invader with a heart for killing and plunder. Such is reflected by the use of *caedo* and *depraedor* (two of the most frequent words used to describe this set of peoples, both of them also appearing associated with *barbarus*), but also by the usage of other words within the same semantic field.

It is also interesting to observe that the words most commonly associated with *barbarus* (*depraedor*, *hostis* and *uasto*) are also correspondently common with the Goths, appearing at least three times relating to this group but never in association with any of the other Scythian peoples. *Vasto* is particularly curious because it appears in the *Breuiarium*, the *Historiae aduersus paganos*, and the *Chronica* making it the first word used by all the authors to describe the same single group (the Goths).

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The Franks are the first *gens* of the Germanic sub-group to be analysed, and, of all the ethnonyms under study, they are the ones cited less often. Additionally, they rarely appear as a sole unit; when they do, it is only for a brief reference. Hence, there are no extensive descriptions or insinuations about this group, as they do not seem to have, for these authors, a great relevance either military, like the Suebi, or culturally, like the Goths. However, this does not mean they do not undertake some exciting and relevant points.

Eutropius asserts that the Franks infested the Roman provinces (Eutr. 9.21.). Orosius adds that these enemies were left unchallenged on purpose to make incursions further into the

imperial territory (Oros. *Hist.* 7.25.3).<sup>66</sup> The latter author also describes them as strong and idolatrous heathens by association with Arbogastes, who had his origins among the Franks (Oros. *Hist.* 7.35.12.). Additionally, Orosius hints that the Franks are a dangerous people because the expedition prepared against them is also labelled as such (Oros. *Hist.* 7.32.10).<sup>67</sup>

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The Suebi are the most present Germanic ethnic group in the chosen texts. Although they always appear attached to other barbarian groups in both Eutropius and Orosius, the same cannot be said for Hydatius, where, in several occurrences, this *gens* has a central role. This further proves the fact that this group was not very relevant to the former authors until their establishment in Iberia. However, for Hydatius, who had been an immediate victim of their conflicts, they were a pivotal part of his world. Moreover, in the *Chronica*, in contrast with other peoples, it is often complicated to separate the actions of the Suebi from the figures that represent them, as they are mostly symbiotically intertwined.

At first, the Suebi seem to be just like the other groups that have entered the Iberian Peninsula: vast, strong, rebellious invaders of a warlike nature (Eutr. 8.13., Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8, 38.3., 40.3., 43.14–5., Hyd. 34); they are grouped as barbarians (Eutr. 8.13., Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8., Hyd. 153) via its nominal form and never through the adjective *barbarus*.

However, their personality becomes more transparent and distinct in Hydatius' work, where they are also described and characterised as traitors and plunderers that bring destruction wherever they go. This picture remains constant throughout the *Chronica* (Hyd. 81, 86, 126, 161, 181, 183, 188, 215, 236, 243) and is often reinforced by expressions that emphasise the idea of continuity and repetition of their actions, such as '*solitus*' and '*rursum*'.

They are also depicted as disloyal and treacherous. People who do not respect the accords they agreed to, being those of truce (Hyd. 81, 86, 215) or of ceding (Hyd. 161). This picture is so present that when the Suebi finally accepted a ceasefire with the Gallaeci, Hydatius pronounces it merely as a shadow ('*umbra*') of peace (Hyd. 199). Similarly to the Goths, they used guile and feigned friendship to approach and pillage towns and cities, and seem to have

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<sup>66</sup> About the Franks being an infestation, Orosius once more relies on Eutropius as his source and uses the exact words to describe the events.

<sup>67</sup> Since it is only a subjective hint, I will not add the word *periculosus* to the vocabulary list because only the expedition is characterised that way and could be dangerous for many other reasons..

done so more than once (Hyd. 181, 196, 225). Finally, they are unscrupulous, even attacking their own cities, if necessary, without respect for religious festivities (Hyd. 194).<sup>68</sup>

As what happens with the other barbarians, they are invaders (Hyd. 163, 196, 240, 243) who take out their anger on other people (Hyd. 229), killing them without remorse (Hyd. 181, 191, 194). Some of these treacherous actions even call for the assistance of the other barbarian groups, like the Goths, whom themselves tried to intervene in the conflicts (in favour of Rome), but to no avail, as even they could not control the unpredictability of the Suebi (Hyd. 163).

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The Vandals are not highly noticeable in Eutropius, Orosius or even in Hydatius, despite the number of occurrences of this ethnonym in the latter author. The *Chronica* mentions the Vandals many times, primarily because of several clashes with the Romans during the fifth century. However, Hydatius does not develop the events in a matter relevant to this study, as the ethnonym rarely is the main element of the sentence.

For the earlier authors, the Vandals were not an especially relevant group. Instead, they tended to be conjugated with the Suebi and Alans as one unique unit representing the invaders of the Hispanic provinces. So they display a typical portrait shared with the peoples mentioned above — they are insurgent (Eutr. 8.13., Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8.), strong and numerous (Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8., 38.3., 40.3., Hyd. 169, 170). Furthermore, they used their force to invade and occupy Roman land, starting in Gaul, then the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.3., Hyd. 34, 41, 77).

Despite the current concept of the word vandalism,<sup>69</sup> there are no descriptions of them being murderers or taking pleasure in killing like what happened with other ethnic groups. Also, few are occasions when they are described as pillaging or destroying, the exceptions being at Hyd. 77, 123 and 195, where they are accounted as the looters of the Balearic Islands, Carthago

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<sup>68</sup> There is a resemblance to Saul, the general (possibly an Alan) who also disrespected Easter by attacking and killing people (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.2.).

<sup>69</sup> Vandalism is a modern concept that originated in eighteenth-century France, used to describe the destruction of artistic property during the French Revolution. Today, this word refers to the wilful or ignorant destruction of property of any kind (structural, movable, artistic, and literary). *Dictionary.com*, s.v. 'Vandalism,' accessed January 28, 2022, <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/vandalism>; *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. 'Vandalism,' accessed January 28, 2022, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/vandalism>.



Spartaria<sup>70</sup> and Hispalis<sup>71</sup>, and as the captors of families in Turonium<sup>72</sup> and of the Roman army ships, although the latter being a military deed and not an act of particular violence.<sup>73</sup>

The most personal description that exists of this ethnic group takes place at Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.1. when Orosius describes the Vandals in order to criticise Stilicho, saying they are dishonest, traitorous and greedy.

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Concluding the analysis of this subgroup, as what happened with the Scythian peoples, the following table arranges a list of the vocabulary associated with *Barbari*, *Germani* and each of the Germanic ethnonyms. Note that, as the ‘*Barbarians*’ and ‘*Germans*’ columns are just for reference, their numbers do not count towards the total number of uses of a particular word.

Vocabulary	Barbarians	Germans	Franks	Suebi	Vandals	Total
<i>abduco</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>abripio</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>auarus</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>caedo</i>	2	1	-	1	-	1
<i>capio</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>capto</i>	-	-	-	2	-	2
<i>commoueo</i>	1	-	-	1	1	2
<i>conturbo</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>copia</i>	-	2	-	1	1	2
<i>depraedor</i>	1	-	-	9	2	11
<i>dolus</i>	-	-	-	1	1	2
<i>euerro</i>	-	-	-	-	1	1
<i>euerto</i>	-	1	-	1	-	1
<i>excidium</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>fallax</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>hostis</i>	3	2	1	1	1	3
<i>immanis</i>	1	3	-	1	1	2
<i>incurro</i>	-	-	1	1	-	2
<i>infesto</i>	-	-	2	-	-	2
<i>ingredior</i>	2	-	-	1	1	2
<i>insurgo</i>	1	1	-	1	-	1
<i>interficio</i>	3	-	-	1	-	1
<i>intro</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>inuado</i>	-	-	-	3	2	5
<i>occido</i>	1	-	-	1	-	1

<sup>70</sup> Present-day Cartagena, Spain.

<sup>71</sup> Present-day Seville, Spain.

<sup>72</sup> A region in southern Galicia, probably part of present-day Vigo, Spain.

<sup>73</sup> These characteristics, as with all the previous cases, only consider using the ethnonym, ignoring any relation with the figures which may represent them. That explains why the sacking of Rome by the Vandals in 455 CE is absent from that list.

<i>occupo</i>	2	-	-	1	1	2
<i>perfidia</i>	-	-	-	4	1	5
<i>praedor</i>	2	-	-	3	-	3
<i>protero</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>saeuus</i>	1	-	-	1	-	1
<i>subuerto</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>uiolo</i>	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>uis</i>	-	-	1	1	1	3

*Table 9: vocabulary associated with the Germanic tribes, with barbarus and Germani in comparison.*

The Germanic peoples share much of their associated vocabulary, mainly the Suebi and the Vandals, which is natural given that they often appear as part of the same aggregate, particularly in both Eutropius and Orosius. However, there is a consensus about all these ethnic groups having courage (*'uis'*) and being categorised as the enemy (*'hostis'*). This last one is one of the most common words related to the Barbarian and the *Germani*.

Similar to previous examples, there is consistency in depicting the Barbarian as a destroyer and invader who kills and plunders. However, while the Scythians — mainly the Goths — are essentially described as looters and slaughterers, the German are more characterised by the psychological trait of being treacherous. Such is reflected by words like *perfidia*, *inuado* and *depraedor*, the latter being used an astonishing number of times, most of them relating to the Suebi. Despite this, there is still a significant focus on their plundering nature.

## **REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BARBARIAN**

Barbarians are often mentioned only by their ethnonyms, when they appear on lists or when there are comments about a particular group or tribe. However, there are certain characters who, due to their origin or acts, may embody in themselves a prejudice that comes from a generalisation of a particular people or social identification.<sup>74</sup>

There are several references to foreign characters in the three works chosen for this study. However, for this chapter, there is a significant focus on the works of Orosius and Hydatius, as they are the only ones that account figures belonging to the previously said relevant barbarian groups. It is essential to remember that some of these names would be known to the general public and would not even need their origin to be explicit, such as Alaric, whom Romans should recognise as the leader of the Goths that attacked Rome in 410 CE. There are also other historical characters, perhaps less known or relevant. However, the referred historians of the fourth and fifth centuries decided to mention these men in their works, associating them or not with their cultural or ethnic ancestry.

I will try to list and group all these names, identifying the group they belonged to and their general characteristics across the two authors. However, for efficiency and focus, some names may be ignored if they are of no particular interest to this thesis.

## **WHO WERE THE LEADING BARBARIAN PERSONALITIES OF LATE ANTIQUITY?**

Although the three works evaluated in this thesis have different historiographic styles and purposes, they all adhere to the fundamental concept among late antique historical authors: the idea of *brevitas* (Banchich 2007, 305–6). This concept encompasses being succinct and making brief syntheses of a particular period in History, often by simply summarising other essential works. Because of that conciseness, authors choose events and characters that they think are important to present a reliable but compact and consumable historical source. Due to this, the names are expected to carry a specific relevance to the author and his audience. This principle should be valid for any entity, whether Roman or Barbarian.

However, there is a total absence of proper names associated with Scythian and Germanic peoples in Eutropius, whether leaders or other characters, since he only uses ethnonyms or

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<sup>74</sup> I have chosen the term ‘social identification’ to be more rigorous and avoid the terminology ‘social class’ to define all non-Romans, both inside or outside the imperial border.

sometimes the tribal subgroup when he needs to be more accurate. There is no clear cause for that; however, there is a hypothesis that leans on two pillar factors. The first is that there does not seem to exist within the chosen *gentes* — for the period that Eutropius narrates — many leading Barbarian characters, which might be very likely related to the Roman indifference or ignorance of these peoples.<sup>75</sup> The second is that Eutropius was trying to be terse in his presentation. Because of that, he likely chose to ignore specific lesser names, especially barbarian ones, due to their unimportance to the continuity of Rome's history.

Despite that, Orosius — which uses Eutropius as one of his primary sources — has a very different approach to the barbarian ethnic groups and people, sometimes even describing certain groups by the characteristics of their leaders. This distinction happens because most of these personalities only lived or became prominent in the Roman world in a timeframe outside the work of Eutropius. Nevertheless, Orosius also had an obvious agenda and used all of his 'characters' in a specific way to convey his feelings and disseminate his desired image — to reveal God as the prime agent of historical change and elucidate the underlying messages that He left throughout history. This ideological narrative leads to the interpretation of events (and characters) as the result of divine intervention, which punishes sin and heresy and rewards the faithful, all while justifying Christianity as the true religion of the civilised — Roman — world.

Hydatius writes in a different, more objective and pragmatic style, limiting himself to pointing out the relevant events more or less impartially, without that many omissions and with few personal comments.<sup>76</sup> Due to this distinctive style, Hydatius' work has a lot of proper names – although many of these do not contain enough content to form a clear insight into what the chronicler thought of these people.

With all the referred factors in play, who were the leading barbarian personalities for these authors? I took into account characters that are recurrent in both texts, the *Chronica* and *Historiae aduersus paganos*, or whose names appeared more than five times in either of these

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<sup>75</sup> Most of these Scythian and German peoples were already familiar to the Romans of the fourth century, and some personalities were known or famous to some extent, like Arminius, the German Cherusci that defeated Varus' legions; or Athanaric, the Gothic leader that negotiated peace with emperor Valens. Although, in truth, the absence of leaders that posed a united, solid and severe threat to the Empire may have turned the related barbarian characters into figures of lesser or unknown importance.

<sup>76</sup> Of course, there are still omissions in Hydatius. However, due to the nature of his work and writing, I believe that they were not intended in a way to forcibly influence any political, religious or cultural point of view. Nonetheless, he does it by resorting to the exaggeration of reality.

works and, within these parameters, eleven characters stood out: Alaric, Arbogastes, Athanaric, Athaulf, Gaiseric, Maldras, Radagaisus, Rechiarius, Stilicho, Theodoric II and Wallia.<sup>77</sup>

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Alaric is the first of these critical barbarian characters as he appears in both authors thirteen times, with most prevalence in Orosius (reckoning eleven mentions out of the total thirteen). He was the leader of the Goths (*rex Gothorum*) that sacked Rome in 410 CE and was a contemporary character of both Orosius and Hydatius, although the latter was still a young child by the time the Gothic king died. Alaric was also an Arian Christian, which turned out to be an essential factor for him to become one of Orosius' central barbarian figures, embodying the role of the 'good' Barbarian, whose savage nature was mitigated by being a Christian, even if a heretic one. For that reason, Orosius often uses Alaric as a point of contrast in examples between the picture of the typical Barbarian (the person he is usually criticising) and the more civilised, Christianized one.

In the *Historiae*, Alaric also serves as a manifestation of God's justice and mercy. He is allowed to attack Rome because he was a Christian enemy (*'hostis sed Christiani'*), which was the best solution to punish the city for the sins of its inhabitants without obliterating it or the holy places within. From the ideological perspective of Orosius, this would not be the case if it were a pagan Barbarian (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.17.) because they would have taken the opportunity to destroy Rome.

Hydatius, much less interpretive, also registers the event, and, despite not making extensive comments about Alaric himself, and does not fail to mention the respect the leader of the Goths showed to those who sought refuge in the holy places (Hyd. 35.).

Overall, Alaric is described as a Roman-like Christian (*'Christianus propiorque Romano'*), a less savage barbarian (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.8–9.) who proves himself to be tolerant and pious (Oros. *Hist.* 7.39.1.,6.) and, in a way, humble and bloodless (Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.2, 39.1.). However, it is essential to remember that Orosius used Alaric to contrast against other

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<sup>77</sup> Although Remismund and Theodoric I fulfil these requirements, appearing a total of six and eight times respectively, Hydatius merely lists them without relevant insights helpful for this study. Therefore, I left them out of the 'main barbarian personalities'. On the contrary, Radagaisus and Stilicho technically do not meet the criteria. However, even though their names only appear four times each in Orosius, there are plenty of relevant comments about them.

characters that he considered evil and barbarous, primarily Radagaisus and Stilicho, and his Arian origins are often omitted to serve the author's interests and arguments.

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Arbogastes is another character mentioned by both authors, this one a total of eight times and, like Alaric, is most frequently alluded to in Orosius — with six mentions of his name. He was a *comes* and *magister militum* with Frankish origins, even though his ancestry is not directly indicated in the texts. He was also an idolatrous heathen (Oros. *Hist.* 7.35.12.) that instigated the pagan reaction during Eugenius' civil war (which took place during Orosius' youth).

The prime depiction of Arbogastes is that of a murderer. He appears for the first time in the *Historiae aduersus paganos* as the one who strangled Valentinian II (Oros. *Hist.* 7.35.10.). In the *Chronica* (Hyd. 17 and 20), he is only mentioned as the killer of Victor, son of Maximus, and of Valentinian II, respectively.

Orosius calls Arbogastes '*uir barbarus*' and reinforces the idea by saying he is kindred to the barbarian auxiliaries ('*auxilii barbarorum cognatione*') — which were composed mainly of Gauls and Franks (Oros. *Hist.* 7.35.11–2). He is also prone to treason (*dolus*) and dangerous behaviour, not only because of his excessive audacity and power ('*audacia potentiaque nimius*'), but also due to his cunning personality (Oros. *Hist.* 7.35.10, 13). Even the pragmatic Hydatius reports his acts as out of crime and villainy (*scelus*).

This barbarian general also played a pivotal role in justifying the Christian-centred narrative of Orosius because he — being a fervent pagan — enjoyed success while serving the Christian emperor Theodosius. However, after joining the pagan Eugenius, he failed and died.

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Athanaric is mentioned only once in Hydatius and three times in Orosius for a total of four references. This leader of the Goths ('*rex Gothorum*') was not contemporary to any of the authors and is not widely distinguished from other characters in their works. However, in Oros. *Hist.* 7.32.9., the author of the *Historiae* describes the persecution of Christians among the Goths and says that Athanaric did so in a cruel way (*crudelissimus*) and that this led other Goths — *barbarians*, in Orosius' words — to take refuge among the Romans, not as enemies, but as brothers.

The relationship between Athanaric's Goths and the Romans would not end with welcoming the Christian (Arian) refugees. Emperor Theodosius, a couple of years after the disaster at Adrianople,<sup>78</sup> received Athanaric in Constantinople and struck a deal (*foedus*) with him — likely a permit to settle in the imperial territory — but Athanaric died soon after the deed. Even so, Orosius states that the Goths were charmed by the Christian emperor's greatness and decided to surrender themselves to Rome after their king's death.

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Athaulf was the leader of the Goths (*'rex Gothorum'*) after Alaric and was an influential personality connected to the Roman royal family through his marriage to Galla Placidia, daughter of emperor Theodosius I and sister of Honorius. A contemporary of both authors, he appears three times in Hydatius and four in Orosius, receiving a total of seven direct mentions.

Although he is called a 'barbarian' in the *Historiae*, Orosius still recognised him as a powerful king (*'potentissimi barbari regis'*). He also admits that the union with Placidia was comfortable for the Republic (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.2.). Hydatius even asserts that their marriage fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel, in which the daughter of the Southern king was to be united with the Northern king (Hyd. 49.).

Orosius argues that Athaulf wanted to turn Rome into a *Gothia* and become for the Gothic Empire, the equivalent of what Caesar Augustus had been for Rome (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.5.). However, he ended up renouncing that idea due to the rampant barbarism (*'effrenatam barbariem'*) of his people, realising that he would instead claim the glory of restoring and expanding Rome, and be recognised for it (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.6.).

Athaulf is described as a protector and a defender of peace (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.3, 6–8.) and as someone especially concerned about abstaining from war<sup>79</sup> — also influenced by his wife Placidia, a known intelligent and religious Christian woman (*'feminae sane ingenio acerrimae et religione satis probae'*). In addition, Athaulf is also distinguished by his excessive confidence, strength and intellect (*'cum esset animo uiribus ingenioque nimius'*).<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> The battle of Adrianople (378 CE) was fought between the Romans and the Goths of Fritigern, an enemy of Athanaric. It was a disastrous defeat for the Romans, resulting in the death of emperor Valens.

<sup>79</sup> The adverb '*studiose*' appears two times, correlating Athaulf and his desire for peace: one at Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.2. and the second time, in the superlative, at Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.8.

<sup>80</sup> Fear (2010, 412) comments that this could be a euphemism for being a drunkard.

Gaiseric, a contemporary of Hydatius, appears solely in the *Chronica* a total of twelve times. He is mentioned for the first time when he succeeded his brother, Gunderic, as king of the Vandals and Alans (*rex Vandalorum*)<sup>81</sup> and is readily presented as an apostate that renounced the Nicaean Christian faith in favour of Arianism (Hyd. 79.) proceeding to persecute the Christians (Hyd. 112).

The Gallaecian bishop describes Gaiseric as a greatly impious (*elatus impie*) man who tried to expel the clergy and convert the Nicaean Christian churches to Arianism (Hyd. 110.), being this the only instance where Hydatius seems to convey any sort of feeling towards Gaiseric. The other references to the king of the Vandals are merely pragmatic and objective listings of Gaiseric's incursions and operations without any personal comments: his invasion of Africa (Hyd. 107.), the pillage of Sicily (Hyd. 112.), the breaching of Rome, where he took hostages (Hyd. 160.), and the instruction to kill Sebastian after he sought refuge in his court (Hyd. 136.).

However, Hydatius subtly approves of Gaiseric for his curse of Heremigarius after the injury done to Saint Eulalia (Hyd. 80), almost justifying the massacre (*caesus*) of the Suebi that perished in that fight. Nevertheless, being an event of a relative importance, the *Chronica* author still softens the heretic's image by saying he protected the Catholic Basilica of *Emerita*<sup>82</sup>.

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Maldras, a contemporary of Hydatius, appears seven times in his *Chronica*. This king of the Suebi (*rex Sueuorum*) is said to be an enemy (*hostis*) versed in treachery and dishonesty (*perfidia*), and it is clear that Hydatius harbours an apparent dislike for this character.

He is described as a dangerous raider, responsible for the plunder of Gallaecia (Hyd. 183.), Lusitania (Hyd. 181, 186.), Olisipo<sup>83</sup> (Hyd. 181.) and Portocale<sup>84</sup> (Hyd. 190.), and the unnecessary killing of Romans (Hyd. 181.). Furthermore, even though it is not uncommon in Hydatius' work, he is also accused of committing fratricide by killing (*interficio*) his brother (Hyd. 190.).

One of the sole examples of Hydatius breaking his pragmatism and being entirely personal about someone is when he describes the death of this Suebi king at Hyd. 193, when the author

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<sup>81</sup> He was a Vandal, but both groups were united under a singular ruler at this time.

<sup>82</sup> Present-day Mérida, Spain.

<sup>83</sup> Present-day Lisbon, Portugal.

<sup>84</sup> Present-day Oporto, Portugal.



says that having his throat slit was the death that Maldras deserved (*'iugulatus merito perit interito'*).

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Radagaisus is the second of the two influential leaders of the Goths (*'rex Gothorum'*) reported by Orosius. He was a contemporary of both Orosius and Hydatius, but the latter was only an infant at the time of the barbarian leader's death. This figure is absent from the chronicle of Hydatius, but he has a critical role in Orosius, who mentioned him by name four times throughout his work.

This Gothic chieftain was an ardent pagan who sacrificed people to the gods. His personality is almost entirely opposed to that of Alaric, or at least, that is what Orosius makes us believe, as he uses Radagaisus to consolidate his agenda of Christianity, consistently placing him in comparison with the other Gothic king. Radagaisus, the pagan, was as cruel and savage as a person can be, embodying the typical Barbarian and contrasting with Alaric, a Christian Barbarian. Moreover, in the *Historiae aduersus paganos*, they both take on vital symbolic roles — Alaric represents the Christian faith and piety while Radagaisus is the champion of the pagans (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.10–1.). So, it is essential to acknowledge how the former succeeds at the impossible while the latter is defeated, captured and killed.

Orosius paints Radagaisus as the most inhuman (*immanissimus*) of all enemies of Rome, past and future (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.4.): a heathen barbarian (*'paganus barbarus'*), an idolater (*idolatra*) and a true Scythian (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.5, 9–10.) who offers the blood of Romans to the gods (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.5.), following the customs of his barbaric people (*'ut mos est barbaris huiusmodi gentibus'*). He is also described as possessing insatiable cruelty and bloodlust, as someone who enjoys killing as much as he loves glory or booty (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.9.).

He was such an opponent that other enemies of Rome, like other Goths and the Huns, allied with the Empire to stop him (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.12.). In the end, the mighty king and feared warrior secretly deserted his army (*'suos deseruit'*), failing to sneak past the Roman garrison and getting captured and killed.

Radagaisus ends up the perfect Barbarian example to take part in Orosius' narrative, a true Barbarian: Scythian – that is, a Goth – but also a pagan who is wild and honourless; someone who is feared by all but ends up defeated in a reasonably easy and shameful way.

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Rechiarus is mentioned a total of seven times by his contemporary Hydatius. He was Rechila's successor as king of the Suebi ('*rex Sueuorum*'), and he is said to have been a Catholic ('*catholicus*'), which did not stop him from pillaging the Gallaecian provinces right after rising in power (Hyd. 129).

Hydatius displays Rechiarus' character as a plunderer and invader (Hyd. 129, 132, 134, and 165). Like other Suebi, he uses deceit and treachery to capture cities and invade provinces, where he takes many prisoners, displaying the typical behaviour of his people (which Hydatius particularly dislikes). Interestingly, being a Catholic Christian did not stop the bishop from characterising him as much of a Barbarian as the other heretical ones, even if it might be responsible for the meagre descriptions of some events.

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Stilicho was a contemporary of both Orosius and infant Hydatius, but, like Radagaisus, his name only appears in the former author's work a total of four times. This character stands with Radagaisus, in the *Historiae aduersus paganos*, as the personification of the evil Barbarian.

He was *magister militum* in the West and was also married to the niece of Theodosius I, both tremendous and influential honours in the Empire. However, he was half-Vandal and, for Orosius, also a pagan.<sup>85</sup>

Orosius criticises Stilicho, and the Roman Rufinus, for letting the barbarians into the Empire and essentially blames the former for the consequences that later resulted from the presence of these populations (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.1., 40.3.). In truth, Orosius even accuses Stilicho of inciting the Alans, Suebi and Vandals to invade the Empire (Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.3–4.).

Stilicho is further demoted for being a descendant of the Vandal people. Accordingly, he had specific justifiable characteristics typical of his ancestry — greediness (*auaritia*), treachery (*dolus*) and dishonesty (*perfidia*) — being also called a barbarian, implied by a further comment at Oros. *Hist.* 7.42.2.<sup>86</sup> He is also described as power-hungry and cunning, one who

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<sup>85</sup> He is not directly called a pagan. Orosius only implies the paganism of Stilicho. About this subject, Augustine hinted at the Christianity of the general (Aug. *Epist.* 97.), and, as Burns (1994, 220–1) notes, Stilicho being a pagan (or heretic) makes little sense, given Theodosius' ideologies and politics, and considering that he was allowed to marry Serena, turning him a member of the imperial family.

<sup>86</sup> Although the name of Stilicho is not mentioned, it is heavily implied that Orosius is referring to the general when he says '*barbaris comitibus*'.

plans in secret with Rome's enemies to serve his own interests, benefitting himself and his son, Eucherius (Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.2–5).

In the *Historiae*, he is directly opposed to Alaric, who is depicted as modest and innocent despite his collaboration with Stilicho (Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.2.) and Radagaisus. In fact, there is a parallelism between the half-Vandal general and the pagan Goth, as both figures are described as willing to offer the blood of the Romans for their ambitions (Oros. *Hist.* 7.38.5). Orosius even claimed that Radagaisus (and other barbarian leaders) would have thrived as a result of Stilicho's decisions.

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Theodoric II, king of the Goths (*'rex Gothorum'*) in the time of Hydatius, is the most alluded to person in the works under study, with a total of twenty-five uses of his name. However, despite the many remarks, Hydatius does not make extensive comments about this Gothic king, limiting himself to mainly listing his deeds and participation in events.

Although there is no clear information about it, Theodoric II must have been a Christian, as is implied by Hydatius (Hyd. 175.) and by the fact that the majority of the Germanic peoples, especially the Goths, had already converted to Christianity by the fifth century CE.<sup>87</sup>

Nevertheless, Theodoric II was loyal and cooperative with the Empire (Hyd. 163, 166), and his actions in Iberia (including the offensives on Gallaecia) were under the imperial wishes, as emperor Avitus dispatched him to operate in the region (Hyd. 166). The fact that he was directly connected to the emperor must have contributed to Hydatius maintaining his moderation about Theodoric II because, amidst all of the instability with the barbarian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula, he represented a real connection to the Roman Empire that the chronicler did not want to lose. This induced Hydatius to mitigate some of the acts committed in his homeland, namely the sack of Bracara (Hyd. 167) and Asturica (Hyd. 179).

In both situations, Hydatius listed all the atrocities that took place during the sack of the cities, but he added small details, such as mention that there was no bloodshed (*'etsi incruenta'*) or that despite having kidnapped virgins of God, he preserved their integrity (*'uirgines dei exim*

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<sup>87</sup> Theodoric II was probably an Arian Christian. In Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* I, 2 *'Agricolae'*, the Christian bishop refers that Theodoric is accompanied by his priests during his morning routine (*'antelucanos sacerdotum suorum coetus minimo comitatu expetit, grandi sedulitate ueneratur'*). This might mean that Theodoric had his retinue of priests that he trusted, but it could also mean that those priests shared Theodoric's faith, opposing Sidonius Apollinaris' own Christianity.

*quidem abductae, sed integritate seruata*'), or else declaring that they were not under the king's orders, but their own generals (*ducibus*), almost as if excusing Theodoric of blame. Nonetheless, they are still tragic and regrettable attacks, and Hydatius does not fail to specify that reality. In the end, Theodoric II is still painted as another fratricide who conspired against his brother to rise to power (Hyd. 148.) and Hydatius comments that he died by the same crime ('*scelus*') he himself had committed (Hyd. 234.). Theodoric II died in 466 CE — shortly before the end of the *Chronica* — and his death broke the connection of Gallaecia with the imperial power.

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The last person on this list is the Gothic king ('*rex Gothorum*') Wallia, who is mentioned four times by Hydatius and twice by Orosius, for a total of six times. This Goth was a contemporary of both authors, and although his name appears only twice in Orosius, he comments heavily in his favour.

There are no references to Wallia's religiosity, but he is presented in the *Historiae aduersus paganos* and *Chronica* as a loyal and cooperative man that seeks peace with the Empire. Hydatius does so indirectly and without comments, the Goth's traits known only by interpreting the listed events in which he participated. However, Orosius speaks openly about how, guided by God ('*ordinatus a Deo*'), Wallia reinforced peace with Rome.

He is described as sharp, wise, intelligent and fearful of God's ultimate justice, capable of recognising his people's past errors. Because of this, it is implied that he, too, like Orosius, knew how to interpret divine intervention in history.

Orosius says that he sacrificed much of his life for the benefit of Rome (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.10–3.) and, equivalently to Alaric, he used Wallia as a term of comparison with other barbarian peoples — namely the Alans, Suebi and Vandals — stating that the Goth only urged on making peace in Hispania. In contrast, the others insisted on fighting amongst themselves (Oros. *Hist.* 7.43.15.).

Unlike the events described in the *Historiae*, Wallia does not take a peaceful role in Hydatius. In the *Chronica*, he is recognised for attacking the Vandals and Alans as soon as the peace with Rome was proclaimed (Hyd. 52), slaughtering large numbers of barbarians (Hyd. 55) and exterminating the Siling Vandals (Hyd. 59).

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According to the previously established criteria, these eleven men were the leading Barbarian personalities in Hydatius and Orosius' works. There is a variety of descriptions, different for each one of them, but they also share some common points, which will be discussed further in the chapter. However, these are not the only mentions of people associated with the barbarians, and something can still be gleaned from a closer look at some minor characters.

### **LIST OF HISTORICAL BARBARIANS**

With this in mind, I put together a list of all the 'barbarian' characters mentioned in the chosen works, making brief annotations when necessary.<sup>88</sup> The list is intended to be a concise catalogue of these people and to simplify navigation while searching for specific figures. It is organised in alphabetical order and comprises the ethnic group to which each person belonged, their religion (if possible), and how often they are mentioned in the texts. Additionally, there are references to their entries in the volumes of the *PLRE* (volume and page) to ease the necessity of further research, since the Prosographies are still major reference books.

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The religious map of the fifth-century Iberian Peninsula is quite exciting yet complex. It is extremely important to bear in mind that the religion of some of these characters is still debatable, and others, although unknown, are relatively easy to assume. It could be naturally considered that the Goths were Arians by default, as they had been long before the time of Hydatius, but there would also be Nicaean Christians among them, such as the case of Frederic. He was one of the sons of Theoderic I, brother to the kings Thorismodus, Theoderic II and Euric. Among these, it is only known for a fact that Euric was Arian, so there is no consistent path to estimate the religiosity of the others, aside from all of them being Christian. The same is true among the Suebi. Rechila was a pagan, but Rechiarius, his son, was a Nicaean Christian. So, to avoid errors or inaccuracies, a blank space was left in these more ambiguous or unconfirmed cases.

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<sup>88</sup> To simplify the counting process, 'mentioned' is strictly the number of times the name of a particular person appears in the texts; however, other types of mentions or references were not neglected, such as comments or indirect references.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Orosius</b>	<b>Hydatius</b>	<b>Gens</b>	<b>Religion</b>	<b>PLRE</b>
<b>Addax</b>	-	1	Alans	-	‘Addac’ II, 8
<b>Agiulfus</b> <sup>89</sup>	-	1	Suebi	-	‘Agiulfus’ II, 34
<b>Aioulfus</b>	-	2	Suebi	-	‘Aioulfus’ II, 39
<b>Alaric</b>	11	2	Goths	Christian, Arian	‘Alaric’ II, 43
<b>Anaulfus</b>	-	1	Goths	-	‘Anaolsus’ II, 76
<b>Andevotus</b>	-	1	Vandals	-	‘Andevotus’ II, 86
<b>Arbogastes</b>	6	2	Franks	Pagan	‘Arbogastes’ I, 95
<b>Arborius</b>	-	2	- <sup>90</sup>	-	‘Arborius 1’ II, 129
<b>Aspar</b>	-	1	Alans/Goths <sup>91</sup>	Christian, Arian	‘Ardabur Aspar’ II, 164
<b>Athanic</b>	3	1	Goths	Pagan	‘Athanicus’ I, 120
<b>Athaulf</b>	4	3	Goths	-	‘Athaulfus’ II, 176
<b>Attila</b>	-	2	Huns	-	‘Attila’ II, 182
<b>Eucherius</b>	-	2	Vandals <sup>92</sup>	Pagan <sup>93</sup>	‘Eucherius 1’ II, 404
<b>Euric</b>	-	2	Goths	Christian, Arian	‘Euricus’ II, 427
<b>Firmus</b>	2	-	Berbers	-	‘Firmus 3’ I, 340
<b>Framtane</b>	-	2	Suebi	-	‘Framtane’ II, 483
<b>Frederic</b>	-	3	Goths	Christian, Nicaean	‘Fredericus 1’ II, 484
<b>Frumarius</b>	-	3	Suebi	-	‘Frumarius’ II, 486
<b>Gaiseric</b>	-	12	Vandals	Christian, Arian	‘Geisericus’ II, 496
<b>Gento</b>	-	1	Vandals	-	‘Genton 1’ II, 502
<b>Gildo</b>	4	-	Berbers	Christian, Donatist	‘Gildo’ I, 395
<b>Gunderic</b>	-	3	Vandals	-	‘Gundericus’ II, 522
<b>Heremigarius</b>	-	1	Suebi	-	‘Hermenegarius’ II, 546
<b>Hermeric</b>	-	5	Suebi	-	‘Hermericus’ II, 546
<b>Maldras</b>	-	7	Suebi	-	‘Maldras’ II, 704
<b>Mascezel</b>	5	-	Berbers	Christian, Nicaean	‘Mascezel’ I, 566
<b>Massilia</b>	-	1	Suebi	-	‘Massilia’ II, 734
<b>Radagaisus</b>	4	-	Goths	Pagan	‘Radagaisus’ II, 934
<b>Rechiarius</b>	-	7	Suebi	Christian, Nicaean	‘Rechiarius’ II, 935
<b>Rechila</b>	-	5	Suebi	Pagan	‘Rechila’ II, 935

<sup>89</sup> He is often interpreted as the same person as Aioulfus, but they were probably two different people with the same (or similar) name. See Claude 1978, 654 (nos. 1–2).

<sup>90</sup> There are no references to the identity of Arborius, only that he was *comes* under Theoderic II. However, I put it on the list because it is not a Latin name, and the other known Arborius served under Odoacer — another barbarian king — which makes me believe that he was a Roman of Gothic ancestry.

<sup>91</sup> Mitchell (2015, 122) states that the military commander was Alan in origin.

<sup>92</sup> The son of Stilicho, a quarter-Vandal, barely barbarian.

<sup>93</sup> Orosius depicts him as a pagan, although it is plausible that he was, in fact, Christian.

<b>Rechimund</b> <sup>94</sup>	-	2	Suebi	-	‘Rechimundus’ II, 936
<b>Remismund</b> <sup>95</sup>	-	6	Suebi	Christian, Arian	‘Remismundus’ II, 938
<b>Ricimer</b>	-	3	Suebi/Goths	Christian, Arian	‘Ricimer 2’ II, 942
<b>Sarus</b>	1	-	Goths	-	‘Sarus’ II, 978
<b>Saul</b>	1	-	Alans	Pagan	‘Saul’ I, 809
<b>Segeric</b>	1	-	Goths	-	‘Segericus’ II, 987
<b>Stilicho</b>	4	-	Vandals <sup>96</sup>	Pagan <sup>97</sup>	‘Flavius Stilicho’ I, 853
<b>Suniericus</b>	-	5	Goths	-	‘Suniericus’ II, 1040
<b>Theodoric I</b>	-	8	Goths	-	‘Theodericus 2’ II, 1070
<b>Theodoric II</b>	-	25	Goths	-	‘Theodericus 3’ II, 1071
<b>Thorismodus</b>	-	2	Goths	-	‘Thorismodus’ II, 1115
<b>Uldin</b>	1	-	Huns	-	‘Vldin’ II, 1180
<b>Vetto</b>	-	1	Goths <sup>98</sup>	-	-
<b>Wallia</b>	2	4	Goths	-	‘Vallia’ II, 1147

**Table 10:** list of all 'barbarian' characters that appear in *Orosius'* and *Hydatius'* works, along with the number of times they appear.

This list of barbarian characters is handy to quickly compare the number of occurrences of each name by author and reinforce knowledge about the most influential *gentes* through the number of times they are mentioned. Additionally, to better understand how the Barbarian was characterised, I thought it would be beneficial for this study to mention other individuals. Despite not being barbarians by default and not appearing in the previous table, they are men of interest whose analysis could complete my thesis about the image of the Barbarian. Investigating how these people were also described contributes to more data and a more accurate conclusion.

<sup>94</sup> In some of the manuscripts, Rechimund is transcribed as Remismund. See note 94.

<sup>95</sup> This name appears associated with two different situations: first as an envoy, then as the ruler of the Suebi. Some consider it to be the same person. However, I followed the hypothesis that they were two different people with the same name. Also, some manuscripts transcribe the name to Rechimund instead of Remismund, which does not make the matter more accessible. Therefore, Remismund, ‘the envoy’, appears twice and is described in this table as ‘Rechimund’.

<sup>96</sup> He was a half-Vandal.

<sup>97</sup> Orosius depicted him as a pagan, although in reality, it is plausible that he was Christian.

<sup>98</sup> In Hyd. 87. it is said that Vetto came from the Goths, but neither the text nor bibliography confirms it since the name is absent from the other authors and the *PLRE*.

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Ajax, the Gallo-Roman<sup>99</sup> missionary who converted the Suebi to Arianism, is the first of these honourable mentions. Unfortunately, he is only mentioned once in Hyd. 228., but his brief entry clearly defines what Hydatius' opinion of Arianism and its followers might have been.

Ajax was an apostate called an enemy of the Catholic faith (*'hostis catholicae fidei'*) and simply *'inimicus'*. Perhaps there is a correlation with the king of the Suebi, Remismund, as Hydatius says he helped the missionary in his task. Furthermore, he even says that Arianism is a noxious poison (*'pestifer uirus'*) brought from Gaul, home of the Goths (*'Gallicana Gothorum habitatione'*).<sup>100</sup>

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Ascanius, Dictynius and Spinio are also important since they were three, hypothetically,<sup>101</sup> Romans from Gallaecia that helped the army of Frumarius and his Suebi (Hyd. 196.). There is also the case of Basilius,<sup>102</sup> a Bagaudae leader that was allied with the Suebi king Rechiarius. These accounts show Roman traitors that turned on their fellow citizens in favour of the barbarians and who are curiously described as having the same characteristics as their barbarian allies (the Suebi, in both cases).

Hydatius reveals the first three as the informants (*delactores*) who spread terror in the region and incited the pillaging of Aquae Flaviae, the seat of the Bishopric that Hydatius held. The Suebi troops captured the author of the *Chronica* during the pillage, and Hydatius blames the three informants for his captivity, saying they wanted him out of their way.<sup>103</sup> However, their names are mentioned only once, and Hydatius describes them as poisonous traitors (*'uenena perfidiae'*).

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<sup>99</sup> There are several interpretations about the origins of this Ajax, although it is accepted that he was a Gaul, either western or eastern. See Mathisen 1997, 683-4 and Thompson 1982, 215.

<sup>100</sup> This idea of heresy as a toxic and polluting element derives from an earlier rhetorical technique that places barbarians — or paganism and heresy — as something that spreads and contaminates the community (Kahlos 2011a, 180–1), which reinforces the idea of chaos and destruction caused by the arrival of the barbarians that Hydatius want to broadcast.

<sup>101</sup> Ascanius and Spinio do not appear in any other Hispanic sources, and their ancestry is unknown (*PLRE II* 'Ascanius', 158). Dictynius is absent from the *PLRE*, but since he always comes up together with the previous two, it is reasonable that he shared their origin.

<sup>102</sup> He was leading *Bagaudae*, and considering his name — which was familiar within Graeco-Roman culture — makes me believe that he would be a Hispano-Roman.

<sup>103</sup> It is not stated what the plans of these informers or why they wanted the bishop in captivity, the only information that exists is Hydatius' report of their wishes in Hyd. 202.



Basilus is listed three times in Hydatius when the author records the killing of *foederati* at the church of Tyriasso<sup>104</sup> (Hyd. 133.). However, the only comment of interest about this character happens when the author criticises him (and Rechiarius) for how they conquered Ilerda and plundered Caesaraugusta<sup>105</sup> (Hyd. 134.).

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The last character worth mentioning is the anonymous Goth, who appears as the main character in Orosius' anecdote during Alaric's sack of Rome, located in chapter 39 of *liber VII* of the *Historiae aduersus paganos*. This unnamed character, simply called Barbarian (*barbarus*) or 'a Goth' ('*unus Gothorum*'), is an exciting element that, despite being unknown, assumes both a singular and collective role, for it is a separate and unique individual. However, it serves to paint a whole group of people and to demonstrate the nature of a specific type of person, in this case, precisely one that existed among the people of Alaric: the Christian barbarians — the good Barbarian.

Orosius mentions him directly four times and describes him as powerful and Christian ('*potens et Christianus*'). Despite being a barbarian, he is not savage since he asks politely for gold and silver ('*aurum argentumque honeste exposceret*') instead of using violence. However, Orosius still calls him ignorant ('*ignota etiam uasorum qualitate intellegeret*'): not out of a strong sense of racism or xenophobia *per se*, but of prejudice similar to that which exists towards a rural simpleton. There is even a slight opposition between this character and the dramatic scene around him, when Orosius states that this episode occurred while the Goths rampaged through the city ('*descurrentibus per urbem barbaris*'), denoting that not every Goth would be like this anonymous. He was the exceptional Goth.

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<sup>104</sup> Present-day Tarazona, Spain.

<sup>105</sup> Present-day Zaragoza, Spain.

## GENERALISATION OR EXCEPTION?

After characterising all the chosen peoples and their prominent leaders, one question remains: are the characters representing the Barbarian a generalised picture of their people or are they an exception? The answer differs depending on each work's purpose, each author's convictions and the role of each said character. Again, it is impossible to introduce Eutropius in this discussion since, as stated at the beginning of the chapter, he does not mention any relevant characters associated with the groups in question.

In the *Historiae aduersus paganos*, and especially in the *Chronica*, several names are associated with barbarian characters. However, the focus will mostly remain on those 'main' figures: Alaric, Arbogastes, Athanaric, Athaulf, Gaiseric, Maldras, Radagaisus, Rechiarius, Stilicho, Theodoric II and Wallia unless there are specific relevant notes about other people.

All of these men share traits with their respective peoples or with the generalised image of the Barbarian, with four of these: Arbogastes, Athaulf, Radagaisus and Stilicho, even being identified as *barbari* by Orosius.

However, some of these figures are presented less radically and more Romanised or with a tendency towards peace. Such is Alaric's case, Athaulf's (despite being called a barbarian), Mascezel's<sup>106</sup> and the anonymous Goth's — which, like Athaulf, is identified as a barbarian. Most of the other characters seem to reflect their peoples' image — as with Arbogastes, Radagaisus and Stilicho in Orosius — which all represent the 'true' Barbarian in contrast with the unusual barbarians, like Alaric or Athaulf. The same happens in Hydatius, where the sovereigns' actions are difficult to detach from the behaviour and desires of the peoples themselves, as with Gaiseric and Maldras.

Alaric and Athaulf (and the anonymous Goth) are the only characters that seem to represent an exception to their ethnicity and culture. Despite being barbarians (Oros. *Hist.* 7.40.2.), these are portrayed as resembling the Romans (Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.17), more so than specific figures already incorporated into the Roman world and culture, such as Arbogastes or Stilicho. This bias in characterisation is probably due to both Alaric and Athaulf being Christians (although Arians), and that, for these authors — but especially for Orosius — made them closer to true Romans than the pagans like Arbogastes or Stilicho, for they shared an important identity

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<sup>106</sup> Mascezel was a Nicaean Christian, and he is represented by Orosius as a good barbarian, truly an exception. He contrasts with his brother, Gildo, which was a heathen barbarian (Oros. *Hist.* 7.36.). They form a pairing similar to what happens between Alaric and Radagaisus.

factor.<sup>107</sup> This phenomenon confirms that, at least for Orosius, Christianity was one of the decisive factors for civilisation and ‘Roman-ness’.

In Hydatius, there is not much discrepancy in characterisation based on the characters’ religion. Athaulf is the only one that might seem ‘different’ from the rest of his people, an exception, but the rest of the representatives are relatively similar to each other and their ethnic groups.

However, there are two characters who exist between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ Barbarian. First, it is Theodoric II, with his bipolar characterisation in the *Chronica*: cruel and brutal, he is still excused for his actions, in a kind of demonstration of mixed feelings on the part of Hydatius. Secondly, Wallia, who in Orosius is shown as having pacifist ideals, while Hydatius portrays him as aggressive and bellicose.

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<sup>107</sup> Athaulf was a philo-Roman, and his wife, Placidia, was a devout Christian. These traits were bonuses to fall into the grace of Orosius; on the other hand, Stilicho could have been a Christian, but Orosius disliked the character and declared that he was a pagan.

## COMMON AND EXCLUSIVE TRAITS FROM DIFFERENT PEOPLES

It is then concluded that the leaders of the Barbarians were mainly stereotyped, in a generalised way, as they echoed the characteristics of their peoples. The exceptions, however, were those described in a way so as to show their roman-like qualities — as if they served as an example for others — or to give meaning to specific ideological arguments, for the most part, religious. Cases such as these are much more evident in Orosius than in Hydatius, since the latter keeps a relatively sober way of chronicling his timeline.

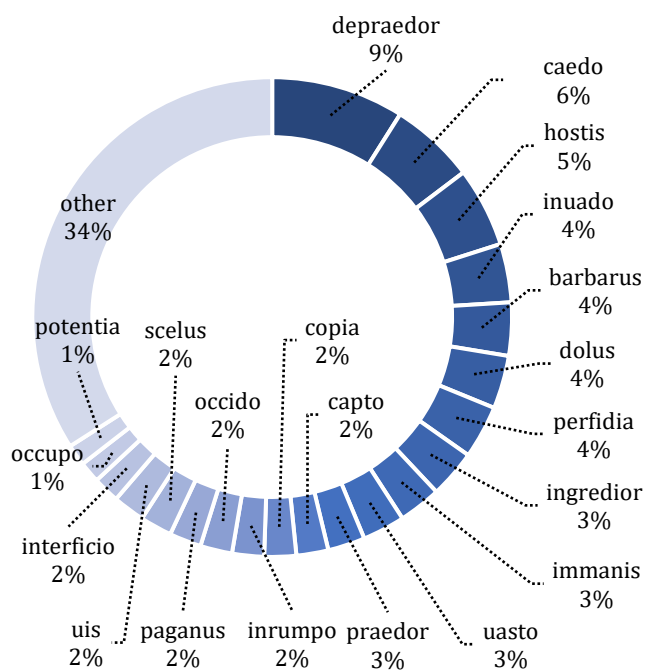
Nevertheless, suppose we add to the already highlighted vocabulary the words and descriptions of each Barbarian member that appears in the texts. In that case, more data can give a broader view of how these peoples were seen and how they were distinguished among themselves and the Barbarian.

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An investigation comprising all the semantics related to the Barbarian would be fascinating but too great of a toll to include in this study. This led me to restrict the number of subjects by the sum of appearances each word had, leaving many words behind in this subchapter. This choice, however, does not mean that they were not engaging. On the contrary, examples of provocative words, like *impie*, appear only once in all three works associated with Gaiseric. Again, however, simplifying data was necessary and summarising the most recurrent words seemed the most appropriate approach.

The infographic below shows the twenty-one most common words used to describe all ethnonyms and their representatives. Beware that this data only represents the vocabulary associated with the Barbarian, but that does not mean that it is exclusive to them. Many of these adjectives and verbs are also used while describing other peoples' actions, whether Roman, Barbarian, Pagan or Christian, like *caedo*, *ingredior* or *interficio*, which are common words of the Latin language overall.

According to this decision, the seven most used words — the ones presented at least ten times throughout the three authors — will be evaluated. Furthermore, it will be verified which are the most prominent peoples associated with each of them. It is an attempt to discern exclusive traits for each ethnicity, whilst considering all of the characteristics of the figures that represented them.



**Infographic 2:** list of the twenty-one most common words related to the Barbarian and respective percentage of use

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The word *perfidia*, treachery or dishonesty, appears as the seventh most common word with exactly ten uses. It is mainly associated with the Suebi (60%), while the rest is related to the Vandals (20%), Goths (10%), as well as the Roman traitors who helped the Suebi — Dictynius, Ascanius and Spinio (10%).

Following with the same percentage comes *dolus*, deceit or malice, with the Goths taking the highest proportion (30%), succeeded by the Vandals and Suebi, both with 20%, and then the Franks, Berbers and Basilius, all of them with 10%.

After it, again with ten uses, comes *barbarus*. This adjective is primarily affiliated with individual figures, but focusing on the peoples they represent, a concentration of the term can be seen, relating 40–50%<sup>108</sup> of the uses to the Goths. Then, 20% for the Franks and Vandals each, and the remaining 10% for the Berbers.

Also with 4% — but with eleven references instead of ten — it is *inuado*, meaning entering or invading. Finally, 55% of all mentions are connected to the Suebi, while 27% relate to the Vandals, and the rest is distributed evenly between the Alans and the Goths, both with 9%.

<sup>108</sup> Added the 10% associated with Scythian, correlated with Radagaisus.

The third most common word is *hostis* meaning hostile, but many times simply translated to ‘enemy’. It is a considerably familiar term and not a surprise to be seen as one of the most associated with the Barbarian. As discussed earlier, the Barbarian symbolises the enemy of civilisation and the literal enemies that the Romans have fought since the beginning of their history, particularly those during the third to fifth centuries CE.

About a third (33%) of references to the enemy relate to the Goths — the fiercest Roman opponents and the most familiar ones. The generic *Barbari* occupy 20% and the *Germani* and *Suebi* with about 13% each. Finally, there are still references to the Franks, Vandals and the apostate Ajax<sup>109</sup>; they all carry a small percentage of 6%.

The second place is held by one of the most common words in the Latin lexicon: *caedo* and its derivations, which denote cutting, striking, killing or defeating decisively. Despite the varied possible interpretations, they all revolve around the same categoric violence.

This word is mainly attributed to the Goths (50%), while the generic Barbarian and the *Suebi* retain 13% each. The *Germani*, Alans, Berbers and Vandals are also associated with it, representing 6% of the total allusions each.

Finally, the most prevalent word related to the barbarian peoples is *depraedor*, plunder and pillage. However, this result is wildly inflated by the occurrences in Hydatius’ *Chronica*, which illustrates the effects of the various barbarian groups’ actions on the Iberian Peninsula during the fifth century.

The *Suebi* dominate the pillaging scene, with 60% of the references related to them. The Goths and Vandals assume 12% of this term’s usage each, followed by the Huns (8%), the *Barbari* (4%) and the Roman Basilus (4%).

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After this brief analysis, it does not appear that any characteristic traits are unique to specific barbarian ethnic groups. In fact, there seems to be a remarkable generalisation of vocabulary, as well as the way ethnonyms are described and presented — something that can be observed by categorising smaller groups labelled with the same lexicon as more prominent and relevant peoples. However, while there are not necessarily unique qualities, there seems to be a bias towards the image of certain peoples, most notably the Goths and *Suebi*.

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<sup>109</sup> The Arian proselytiser is called an enemy of the Catholic faith.

The Goth is often depicted as the typical Barbarian, even though they were customarily Christian (although Heretics) and had a particular affinity towards the Roman Empire. Their barbarism is reinforced by the semantics related to them, as they take the most significant slice over the terms *barbarus* and *hostis*. In addition, these authors display the stereotypical Goth as a cruel slaughterer — perfectly reflected by Radagaisus — which can be verified by the alluding vocabulary in both the *Historiae* and *Chronica*.

The stereotypical Suebi, although also violent, is more of an exemplary raider focused on invading and plundering and not so much on killing people. This picture is assisted by the idea of their treacherous nature — that they also share with the Goths — mainly used to get booty. Since they are almost non-existent in Eutropius or Orosius, these conclusions are almost exclusively taken from Hydatius' descriptions throughout the *Chronica*.

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It is then possible to associate these characteristics with the reputation that these populations had during the fourth and fifth centuries CE, which confirms that the picture of the Barbarian was still an element of terror in a period of constant anxiety. For Latin Christians, the arrival of these peoples — either heretics or pagans — symbolised several things, depending on each author's interpretation. In Orosius, they represented an opportunity for the expansion of Christianity, while in Hydatius, they marked the end of the world.

## CHAPTER III

### UNDERSTANDING THE WRITERS

Understanding the writers is essential to unfold what they thought about these ‘foreign’ peoples, considering the historical interval in which they wrote and their geographical environment. It has already been seen that the situation was different for each source, and the motives that led Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius to mention the barbarians were also distinct. This chapter contains personal context of each author regarding the barbarians and how their personal experiences may have changed their discourse. Hence it is divided into two parts to distinguish the author’s personal opinion and what was a stereotypical description, cultural or literary.

#### **ECHOES OF THE BARBARIAN: FAMILIARITY AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES**

Interaction with the barbarians was commonplace in the Roman Empire, not solely during the late antique period but throughout its history. Commerce and warfare were the primary activities for such interactions. However, others like immigration, expansion and assimilation also greatly influenced Roman identity, especially surrounding the legal status of the citizen. In the fourth century CE, Roman ancestry would have been composed of a variety of native populations that spanned from the Iberian Peninsula to the Middle East, in addition to the various *peregrini* and *barbari* that had joined the imperial legions or immigrated in hopes of a better life.

Nonetheless, the Romans developed a particular interest in the barbarians, expanding beyond a simple curiosity. This led renowned people like Caesar and Tacitus to write about these peoples and to describe them in varying degrees of detail, independently of the purposes of each of their works. Tacitus is fascinating because, despite being a Roman, he idealised the Germanic populations. His major work, *Germania*, is entirely dedicated to these peoples and their origins. More than that, he placed the Barbarian at a different angle from the traditional one, classifying their lack of civilisation as ‘innocence’ and using this argument to criticise the excesses of the Romans and the virtues they had lost with their expansions (Tac. *Ger.* 18–23).

Through Tacitus it is therefore known that there was some Roman knowledge about the populations of the German *Barbaricum* since at least the first and second centuries CE. If that was the case, Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius had some background knowledge by default, incorporated into their cultural influences. However, having experienced different



circumstances and positions might have mitigated or accentuated their opinions about the Barbarian and how they wrote about it.

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There is not much to comment on Eutropius' depiction of the Barbarian because, as said before, there is a certain indifference towards it. This is a nuclear difference compared to Orosius and Hydatius' works, in which the Barbarian has a prominent and pivotal role. However, such apathy does not necessarily mean disinterest or inattention; it may indicate the bureaucratic nature of the author, his focus on *breuitas*, and his objective to appeal to the audience left little space for the Barbarian.

Eutropius took part in Julian's campaigns against the Persians (Eutr. 10.16.), and it is possible that he was also campaigning in the Lower Danube under Valens by the time of his writing (Bird 2011, xiii). Even if this were not the case, he still shows a great acquaintance with the region since he was very knowledgeable about the area and the different subtribes that lived there during his time (Eutr. 8.2.). This could also mean that Eutropius was not only familiar with the military environment — which was barbarian-heavy in itself —, but also with their native territories. Although the possibility of him having some textbook with precise information about the region or that his office granted him access to that type of intelligence cannot be discarded.

Nevertheless, despite having taken part in campaigns against the barbarians of the East and North, the activities he describes when speaking of the *barbari* are usually associated with the Franks, Saxons and Alamanni. All these were peoples with whom he would never have had previous direct contact, at least known.

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Orosius stands in a mixed position amongst the other authors' circumstances. He was not part of any military campaign like Eutropius, nor did he live in an area of heavy barbarian activity like Hydatius. However, the barbarians directly affected his life, and he reported some of these events in his *Historiae aduersus paganos*. Orosius had to flee to Africa because of the increasing aggressions after 409 CE when the Alans, Suebi and Vandals appeared in the Iberian Peninsula. In Oros. *Hist.* 3.20.5–7, he mentions that he escaped the hostility of the barbarians from unknown lands (‘*ut ignotos primum barbaros uiderim, ut infestos declinauerim*’), listing the troubles that he went through before he arrived in Africa, which might have included a

sea-raiding capture that took him to the British Isles (cf. Corráin 2017, 113–134). After this autobiographical note, there is no direct information about Orosius having any contact with barbarians after he departed from *Gallaecia*, his homeland.

Orosius left for Hippo after the Suebi occupation of *Bracara* in 411 CE (Fear 2010, 3–4). However, although this people was one of the most aggressive in *Gallaecia* and presumably the instigators of Orosius' exile, due to the sacking of his hometown, the author pays no particular attention to this *gens*.

On the other hand, the Goths take a central piece of Orosius' narrative and his theological argument and dominate the barbarian presence in his *liber VII*. There is no confirmed information that there was ever contact between Orosius and the Goths, and it seems that the author mainly uses the classical literary resources associated with the Barbarian when describing them, even if he only ever does so within specific contexts. This stereotypical view of the Goths (and the Barbarian overall) served two purposes simultaneously — to demonise the Pagan and to humanise the Christian barbarians, playing both parts on the axis of Good and Evil.

Orosius, being a Spaniard, has the same relationship with the Vandals that he has with the Suebi, as they were both peoples who invaded his native province and forced him to flee to Africa.<sup>110</sup> However, contrary to the Suebi, there is a particular episode in which Orosius shows his animosity towards this *gens* — the criticism applied to Stilicho.

The lack of sympathy for the *comes* is apparent. In addition, even if the root causes of this disdain are unclear, it can be said through the analysis of Orosius' work that the author's opinion is mainly affected by two factors: Stilicho's supposed paganism and his Vandal lineage.<sup>111</sup> Orosius characterises the Vandals in a partial and personal way, which implies that he would be somewhat familiar with the people or that he used Stilicho's personality and traits to define all members of that ethnic group.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> The Vandals were the first of the barbarian peoples to occupy the region of *Gallaecia*, and as such, they could have been Orosius' first contact with the barbarians.

<sup>111</sup> Orosius criticises the *comes* for his ambitions and losing control of the rampaging Goths during Alaric's invasion of Italy. However, it can be argued that such a weak personality and self-centred actions derived from his Vandal ancestry.

<sup>112</sup> This is one of the most personal passages in the seventh book of the *Historiae*. 'Interea comes Stilico, Vandalorum inbellis auararum perfidarum et dolosarum gentis genere editus, parvi pendens quod sub imperatore imperabat, Eucherium filium suum, sicut a plerisque traditur, iam inde Christianorum persecutionem a puero priuatoque meditantem, in imperium quoquo modo substituere nitebatur.' Oros. *Hist.* 7.15.8.

Outside of the specific observation of Stilicho's ancestry, Orosius makes no further significant remarks about the Vandals or any other peoples that invaded his country.

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Hydatius was the most acquainted with the Barbarian out of the three chosen authors. He was born right before the barbarians settled on the peninsula and had to deal with the circumstances of living with the Vandal and Suebi's presence from an early age. Additionally, the province of *Gallaecia* was one of the farthest from Rome and one of the most isolated areas of the Empire. These conditions gave the bishop of *Aquae Flaviae* several opportunities for interaction with these peoples, making the barbarians an indispensable part of his reality. Furthermore, his bishophood allowed him to belong to and contact the various envoys who passed through *Gallaecia*, even the barbarian ones. Most of the time, such envoys established communications between the factions of the Suebi, Goths and Romans.

These treaties and embassies are very prominent in Hydatius' work as they were one of his primary sources of outside knowledge, especially for events after 427 CE (Muhlberger 1990, 209–11; Thompson 1982, 140). In addition, Hydatius does not fail to mention his personal experiences with the barbarians, as he himself is one of the characters in his *Chronica*. These references are sometimes direct — as when he describes his confinement of three months under the Suebi (Hyd. 202–3.) — or indirect, through situations of potential inevitable contacts with the barbarians — such as when he mentions that he went to Gaul in an embassy to request the *comes* Aetius' assistance, who was fighting the Goths (Hyd. 86, 88.).

It has already been concluded that the bishop had a clear bias and resentment against the Suebi, which may stem from the sacking of the church of *Aquae Flaviae* in 460 CE and the imprisonment of Hydatius himself. However, he did not blame the German people for his fate, but the Roman informers Dictynius, Spinio and Ascanius who urged the barbarians to attack.

As might be expected from a Latin author with such a Roman-centric outlook — since being Roman meant to be a Nicene Christian — there is great hostility towards those deemed responsible for Rome's decline in presence and authority in *Gallaecia*. Hydatius also meant the end of the Empire and, consequently, of the World.

The Arian Goths were also crucial for the eschatological vision of Hydatius', as they were the heretics that came into the Peninsula to wreak havoc all over the land. The intervention of this powerful Germanic group in Lusitania inspired Hydatius to write his work. As such, the

Goths are also of great significance for the *Chronica*, being the target of tangible aggression on the author's part.

The Suebi and the Goths end up, once again, sharing many of their characteristics, but Hydatius' hostility against these peoples is not, however, reduced to religious intolerance. The author of the *Chronica* shows the same kind of hostility in descriptions of non-heretic Christians, such as Rechiarius, king of the Suebi. The latter is characterised in a similitude tone to his heathen peers. Notwithstanding the evident antipathy towards the Suebi and the Goths (although the latter were, at one point, the only objective evidence of imperial intervention in the Iberian Peninsula), they were not precisely the main antagonists of the World. It was the Barbarian itself.<sup>113</sup>

Hydatius condemned, just like Eutropius in that matter, disorder and dishonesty, which were the significant causes of instability, and that instability meant the coming of the anti-Christ. Suppose the barbarians (heretics or not) were, in the eyes of Hydatius, the root of most problems and the biggest causes of instability. In that case, it is logical that they were perceived as agents of Evil sent to destroy the World (Muhlberger 1990, 228–9). For Hydatius, all barbarians take on the role of enemies of the Catholic faith and the Roman Empire.

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<sup>113</sup> Of course, as the Suebi and the Goths were the largest, strongest and most active groups on the Peninsula, they ended up as the main models for the typical Barbarian image.

## INNOVATION OR TRADITION: THE ROLE OF THE BARBARIAN

In the Latin world of the fourth and fifth centuries CE, the term ‘barbarian’ primarily consisted in simply opposing the civilised Empire with the rustic and uncivilised world. This follows an old Roman tendency to classify more tribal civilisations as unadvanced and savage, a tradition that began early on with the descriptions of Celtic populations. Eutropius, Orosius and Hydatius were undoubtedly familiar with the History of Rome, with its traditional concepts and the classical prejudices of the Barbarian, as they were Roman citizens from middle-class families of some possessions, perhaps even *curiales*. These conditions provided them with diverse educational opportunities and experiences, such as training in classical rhetoric, trips to distant places and access to important official positions within their communities.<sup>114</sup> The authors’ education and occupations, together with the environment in which they lived and wrote, conditioned their influences and defined their views on the barbarians. These, of course, were diverse and unique to each author, especially for Hydatius, who lived in relative isolation from the imperial network.

In this context, it is essential to note that in the *Breuiarium ab Urbe Condita* the word *barbari*, despite being used to reference all the non-Romans in boarder terms, is mainly applied to the northern peoples in specific and never to the Persian, the Arab or the Berber. This point proves that it was clear that Eutropius and his audience knew whom the barbarians were, confining the term to these populations with a different level of social, technological or cultural development, which Romans considered to be inferior to their own. This can also be recognised in the *Historiae aduersus paganos* and the *Chronica*.

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Rohrbacher (2002) affirms that the primary sources of Eutropius were Livy and an epitome of Livy (for the republican and classical periods), Den Boer (1972) also lists the first-century CE epitomiser Florus, although admitting that many of the sources for the *Breuiarium* are unknown. Bird (2011), however, dismisses Livy and Florus as sources for his breviary. He states that Eutropius would not have had the time to dig through the lengthy Livian volumes and therefore must have used only his Epitome. He also affirms that the similarities between Florus and Eutropius likely stem from their use of different versions of Livy as a source. Additionally, he

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<sup>114</sup> There is no certainty that Hydatius received any traditional classical education. However, Orosius most certainly had (Fear 2010; Rohrbacher 2002), although both had been given theological training as they were also members of the Church. Also, both travelled to Jerusalem at some point in their lives — Orosius during his stay in Africa after 411 CE, and Hydatius when he was only a child, before 409 CE.

lists Fabius Pictor as a possible source. However, he believes that he is only cited indirectly, and, at last, there is the problem of the *Kaisergeschichte*, which he believes was the primary source for the imperial period.

Orosius would end up using some of the same sources as Eutropius — his own source — like Livy (through epitomes), Florus and the *Kaisergeschichte* (Fear 2010; Rohrbacher 2002), but he mainly relies on Christian sources like Jerome, Rufinus of Aquileia and some Scriptures, like the Gospels of Mathew and Luke, as well as the books of Genesis and Exodus (Arnaud-Lindet 1991). However, Orosius still uses many non-Christian authors who were also part of his primary sources, such as Caesar, Herodotus, Suetonius, Pompeius Trogus (through the epitomes of Justin) and Tacitus. It is also evident that the author, by vocation, also knew the Bible and the Acts of the Apostles, and by direct access or his education, the works of Augustine, Cicero, Flavius Josephus, Galba, Homer, Lucan, Paul, Plato, Polybius, Sallust, and Virgil, among others (Arnaud-Lindet 1991). He used these ecclesiastical sources to complement his work through references or citations without implying that he had complete knowledge of the works.

Most of these names were part of the traditional Graeco-Latin classical historiography. The author's choice is not only related to Orosius' logistical need to have sources for his work but also to his ideological agenda. He could use the recognised historiographical norms of the pagans to counter their arguments by showing where and how the authors of the past missed, misinterpreted or failed to understand the true meaning of Providence.

The presence of summaries — such as Eutropius, Florus and the epitomes of Livy — in Orosius' list of sources is not surprising. This type of literary work was quite attractive during Late Antiquity as it allowed the author of the *Historiae* to cover the entirety of History and of its peoples in the short period during which he composed his volumes.

Orosius mentioned that he did not want to be dependent on the Scriptures to make his points and arguments (Oros. *Hist.* 1.1.8.). The absence of biblical quotations and commentaries in *liber VII* of the *Historiae* shows the author's desire to maximise the impact of his work on his pagan audience — who would have no interest in the Bible regardless. Had Orosius used ecclesiastical material, this would have been used against his narrative. Instead, as his interest was to defeat the pagan elite, the author confined himself to facts gleaned from traditional sources. Also, to gain legitimacy against his opponents, he altered historical details to his advantage so they could be interpreted as divine Providence and not mere coincidences.

Hydatius presented a very different situation from his predecessors regarding his sources, as his access was limited to the archives in *Gallaecia*, which, being an isolated and conflicted region, should not have had many classic volumes available.<sup>115</sup> As a result, there are very few known sources of the *Chronica*. Jerome and the Bible were remarkably inspiring works for Hydatius, but they were not used as sound sources for his work as they were more of a model or inspiration.<sup>116</sup> Hydatius himself attests, in his preface, that the chronicles were based on his own experiences and on the accounts of others that he met personally.

Nevertheless, he must have used the *Consularia Constantinopolitana* as the primary source for political events until 389 CE, as he would have had in his possession a copy of the annals of Constantinople. Other significant sources were the various letters and dossiers exchanged between Church members that were available through the ecclesiastical administration of dioceses, to which Hydatius, as a bishop, had extraordinary admission (Muhlberger 1990, 207).

The significant difference in nature between Eutropius' and Orosius' sources and those used by Hydatius also contributed to the Barbarian image in their works. Hydatius was also less ornate and imposing than the previous authors. His conceptions would have been generated mainly by Christian readings and Latin popular culture instead of a literary and erudite practice of how the traditional standards represented the Barbarian.<sup>117</sup>

Hydatius was also heavily influenced by the ideas propagated by the Christian concept of the 'Last Judgment'. Eventually, he developed an eschatological view of the world where he interpreted the coming of the barbarians and their actions in *Gallaecia*, *Baetica* and *Lusitania* — which mirror, for the author, the entirety of the Roman Empire and the world — as a sign of the end of times. This mindset contrasts immensely with the ideas found in Orosius and Eutropius, who believe that Rome and its Empire would be eternal.<sup>118</sup> In fact, one of the *Chronica*'s main goals was to prove that the end was near and that the barbarians bore the main responsibility for that. Furthermore, it is easy to draw parallels with certain biblical commonplaces, such as the association of the barbarians with the four plagues of the

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<sup>115</sup> There is also the issue of disinterest, communal or personal. Hydatius might have had access to some traditional Roman works, but they could have been discredited as a Pagan History. Such thinking was instilled by earlier authors such as Orosius.

<sup>116</sup> Hydatius incorporates biblical narratives into his own, intertwining messianic messages with his historiographical work and interpreting events as the concretisation of biblical prophecy. See Wieser 2019, 17–21.

<sup>117</sup> Of all three, Orosius is the most rhetorical author. Eutropius and Hydatius focused on presenting historical facts without much argumentation, but between these two, the former still presented his project following some classical standards (Rohrbacher 2002, 11–3).

<sup>118</sup> Although for Orosius the eternity of Rome was on a spiritually level — through Christianity.

apocalypse (Hyd. 49) and to certain revelations such as Daniel's prophecy of the union of the Northern and Southern kingdoms (Hyd. 49).

In Orosius, this kind of direct comparison is not easy to find, the closest case being the possible association of the Philistines and the Scythians. This is because they are both represented as two groups fighting each other. There was, however, an internalisation of some biblical points in the Christian mentality that are also manifested in the *Historiae*. For example, the annihilation of a nation being justified by their status of the enemy of God (1 Sam. 15:18; 1 Macc 2:40–1; Oros. *Hist.* 7.37.16.) or the belief that non-believer foreigners spread Evil across the lands (1 Macc. 1:9) — an idea also evidenced in Hydatius.

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With the wavering of Roman dominance after the third century CE, the growing pressure from the *Barbaricum* was a cause for concern, even for Eutropius.<sup>119</sup> There is a clear progression of its threat level between the *Breuiarium* and *Chronica*, changing these authors' perception of the Barbarian role throughout history. It has already been concluded that the barbarians were of no great importance to Eutropius and that in Hydatius, they took the place of agents of the end of the world. However, the Barbarian's role in Orosius was more complex regarding its relation with the sources.

As Orosius intended to defend the Church and the glory of Christianity, he moved away from the traditional Roman-Barbarian dichotomy. Instead, he describes the barbarians as misguided humans, which satisfies the Christian mentality that all peoples must be accepted in the kingdom of God regardless of their origins.

They are indeed characterised as violent, brutish, uncivilised and wretched men that cause terror in the provinces. However, Orosius does not differentiate them from the Romans, whose conquests also brought misfortune to other lands and peoples (Oros. *Hist.* 5.1.6., 7.41.2.). This does not mean that Orosius excuses the acts of the barbarians against Rome or the Church, which is inaccurate.<sup>120</sup> It simply means that, despite the Barbarian assuming an image recognisable by the traditional classical standards, its depiction was associated with the

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<sup>119</sup> Although the Barbarian was not very influential in Eutropius' work, one can still observe some concern about the danger they may present in the future. To reassure his audience and by following the idea that the gravity of a threat was proportional to its distance from Rome, the author details how far from Rome were the previous enemies of the Empire when they were defeated. This is a way to remind his audience that Rome was threatened many times by past enemies that came very close to the centre of the Empire (Den Boer 1972, 120–4).

<sup>120</sup> Orosius often displays his apparent dislike for barbarians and heathens, which is correlated with their relationship to Rome, Christianity or himself.



religious ignorance of those peoples and the fact that they had not yet submitted to the Nicaean faith.

Orosius focuses on characterising the Barbarian as a concrete character to create some level of empathy and not on something more abstract, diffuse, distant or hostile. He redefines the Barbarian under his own belief and experience. Innovating from the typical Barbarian that appears in Eutropius' and Hydatius' works, but in a way that an inattentive reader might not understand, since the author of the *Historiae* saw in the Barbarian the future of Christianity (and Rome). This view distinguishes itself from classical or ecclesiastical literary traditions.

## **A BARBARIAN *TOPOS*?**

During the fourth and fifth centuries, there was an evident loss of the conceptual weight of the word *barbarus*. During the Republic and the Principate, smaller groups or clans of foreign peoples were generally grouped by words like *Galli* or *barbari*. However, looking at how these authors refer to foreign peoples, it can be attested that there is a clear preference for more precise definitions and ethnonyms, especially in Hydatius. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there is not a Barbarian *topos*, which would be incorrect. However, as previously stated, the ethnonyms evoke that same general idea of the Barbarian. The picture of the Barbarian itself remained a matter of concern since late antique authors and elites' propaganda continued to use the same topics and models that originated in Roman culture to define the 'Other' and belittle it.

After all of these analyses, it can be solved that the Barbarian generally assumes a very similar image regardless of the group to which he belongs. The variation in the lexicon does not always mean a change in how the Barbarian is portrayed. It is, in fact, an example of the contrary: the authors tend to change the vocabulary to avoid repeating the exact words, just as the rules of eloquence and speech still dictate today. For example, *dolus*, *perfidia*, *scelus*, *infidus*, *decipio*, *mentior* or *fallax* are all very similar words. Although it could be argued that they belong to the same lexical field, there is no discussion that they can be grouped in the semantic field of 'deceit' and transmit the same conceptual values. Likewise, the words *caedo*, *deleo*, *occido*, *interficio*, or *iugulo*, for instance, are also closely related to *praedo*, *uasto*, *inuado* or *populor*, all of them related to clear violent actions like murder, destruction or invasion.

So, in conclusion, the Barbarian is represented as a violent and murderous enemy. A foreigner that seeks and brings misfortune to the civilised world, usually through invasion or destruction. This is how the historiographers of those times visualized and described the Barbarian. Therefore, it can be considered its literary *topos* in Late Antiquity which followed the same general picture of earlier centuries. However, this image of the Barbarian is only the literary (and cultural) legacy left by the late antique Christian authors — which closely coincides with our modern concept of the Barbarian. It does not explain who the Barbarian was for these people.

It is already known that not every barbarian was described as such, although most were still identified as barbarians – foreigners. Sometimes, these exceptions arose from an ideological

agenda, as with Alaric in Orosius, because it was convenient for the author to omit certain realities from his arguments to not be invalidated.<sup>121</sup> However, that was not always the case.

What did these other exceptions (mainly Athaulf, Mascezel, Theodoric II and Wallia) have in common? Most of them were Goths, it is true — although Mascezel was Berber — but that is not why they were singularly characterised. They would probably all be Christians, but heretics, like others who had also converted to Christianity — such as the Alans or the Suebi — and it did not grant them exceptionality.

So, how did these authors define the Barbarian? We already know that the ‘otherness’ of a particular individual is more intense if there is some disconnection with the Roman or Christian standards. Such is confirmed by the previous analyses, in which we see that the barbarians’ — and Romans’ — pejorative connotations seem directly related to their relationship with the Empire, more so than their ethnicity. Above everything else, what mattered was whether the barbarians behaved like Romans or not. This behaviour is fascinating because it gives us a new perspective on how to read the barbarians in Late Antiquity.

All of the above are examples of barbarians that have shown some similarities to the Romans, or at least some degree of proximity with the Roman values and standards — civic or religious. Additionally, most were good Roman allies, obediently serving the Roman state and its interests in one way or another, while contributing to a cooperative world under the Roman ideals.<sup>122</sup>

If being close to the Empire diminishes the ‘otherness’ of the Barbarian, the contrary is also valid. Those who did not share the Roman (or Christian) values were represented as vile and non-civilised, especially if they had an aggravating quality such as being a non-Christian or a barbarian. Arbogastes and Stilicho, for example, were both ‘Romans’ with barbarian ancestry, and they were both described as villainous after they became (at least according to these authors) enemies of Rome. Additionally — in Orosius’ eyes and given his agenda — they must have been vile pagans. They were undoubtedly uncivilised because of their acts against Rome, meaning that they were, by default, barbarians (non-Romans) and pagans (non-Christian). In

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<sup>121</sup> Orosius condones the Arianism heresy and its followers, but he omits that Alaric is an Arian, so it does not compromise his arguments.

<sup>122</sup> Alaric’s case is more complicated because it focuses mainly on the fact that he is essential to Orosius’ argument. Apart from that, it cannot be said that he was a character who defended the interests of Rome.

turn, there there is no assurance of such a fact when it comes to Stilicho. This confirms the complex reality about the Barbarian as the ‘Other’ in Late Antiquity.

The authors, from Eutropius to Hydatius, saw themselves as unquestionably Romans, and their Roman — and Christian — pride prompted them to defend those who were similar to them and shared their interests or values, overruling the fact of them being heretical or barbarian. Therefore, in conclusion, it is evident that there is a stereotype of the Barbarian in late antique literature and that it is often used unconsciously due to a long cultural and literary tradition. The stereotype of the Barbarian as a brute, violent and intellectually lacking is often found in the texts. Furthermore, it confirms what was already known about the representation of the Barbarian in classical culture. However, the situation of its representation is more complex and dependent on several factors related to Roman self-identity and not so much to the identity of each barbarian people.

The uniqueness of this complexity appears when the barbarians show themselves as similar to “Us”. Therefore, “They” are represented and understood differently — there is a humanising tendency, and the barbarism of these people is attenuated by the civilisational factor, which is especially evident in the Christian authors through whether or not a person adheres to Christianity. On the contrary, whoever showed themselves as a threat to Rome and, consequently, to God’s empire and the Church, notwithstanding their ethnicity or ancestry, was represented as vile, ignorant, and incapable of perceiving the truth about the world — a blind and uncivilised person —, in other words, a Barbarian.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

### HOW CHRISTIANITY CONVERTED THE CLASSICAL BARBARIAN

As was stated before, early Christians perceived themselves as different from the regular Romans, as some kind of ‘barbarian’ (Stroumsa 1996, 339–68). This induced them to borrow from Jewish semantics ways of referring to those outside of their religious sphere. In the Greek East, where Christianity sprouted, the early Christians started to use the words *Ἕλληνας*, *ἔθνη* and *ἔθνικοί* to identify the followers of other religious traditions. In the Latin West, these were translated to words also found in association with the Barbarian, like *gentiles*, *gentes* and *nationes* (Kahlos 2020, 92–3). This choice of vocabulary was directly related to the foreigner, the strange and the unsophisticated, and it shows how Latin Christians defined their ‘Other’ — they might have seen themselves as *peregrini* for being different. However, the non-Christians were spiritually simple and barbaric.

The term *paganus*, a synonym of non-Christian, is a phenomenon of the fourth and fifth centuries. In Latin sources, the term appeared during the first half of the fourth century CE, when the group to which it refers was already an increasingly rarefied minority within the Empire (Stenger 2018, 391). However, it may have been a popular term that circulated orally since earlier times (Kahlos 2007, 24). Besides, the word *paganus* enters the vocabulary for the practical purpose of identifying the ‘Other’ in a generalised way since other terms were still in circulation that defined the followers of the deities of ancient pantheons. This Latin word was usually associated with rustic countryside people — equivalent to nowadays ‘bumpkin’ — and is proof of how Christianity became the major religion in urban centres in opposition to the remote populations that lived in rural districts or isolated territories (Kahlos 2020, 93). The rise of the new Christian aristocracy and the linguistic shift from *gentiles* to *pagani* are manifestations of the mixture of Roman self-identification with Christianity. Additionally, it serves as proof that there was a desire to maintain individuality, social and semantic, separate from the Barbarian.

The pagans were, by definition, the population of the countryside, which would have included the various barbarian communities that lived together amongst Romans (Ziche 2011, 199–219). In the frontier, the contrast between Romans and barbarians was not as distinguishable as in the big cities, where there was still an elitist view of citizenship that emphasised the differences between elites and peasants, Romans and Barbarians, Christians

and Pagans (Dmitriev 2020, 598–603); the ever-present Roman duality of sophistication against crudeness.

These *pagani* were often described using the same labels and vocabulary found in Orosius and Hydatius to describe the barbarians: *impii*, *iniusti*, *nefandi*, *perfidii*, *profani*, and *blasphemi*. All were portrayed as stupid, crude and unsophisticated (Kahlos 2020, 96–7). Orosius, who wrote against the pagans (*‘aduersus paganos’*), made great use of the term throughout his work. He even opened his first book with a description of his supposed audience, saying that they were arrogant and wicked people, aliens to the city of God for being non-Christians and strangers to the civilised world. He even defines that the term *‘pagani’* is applied to them because they are ignorant — of the faith — like the population that lived in the *‘pagi’*, the countryside villages.<sup>123</sup>

The Heretics were effectively somewhere between the pagans and the Christians. Nevertheless, the existence of various ‘Christianities’ was a reality. After establishing the Nicæan Creed as the true faith, the same exclusion system began to apply to other manifestations of Christianity. Names like Donatist, Arian, Manichæan, or Pelagian were a product of the manifestation of the Orthodox self-identity, and, despite all being Christian, they were branded by the Nicæan Christians as heretics and often considered pagan (Kahlos 2007, 15–28).<sup>124</sup>

As Orthodoxy and Heresy (Arianism) were shaping the new dichotomy of Roman–Barbarian during the fifth century, definitions like Pagan or Heretic served not only theological but also legal, political, social and ethnic purposes. This was an effective way of labelling a particular group of people to outcast them or diminish their influence within a community (Kahlos 2011a, 165–95). Moreover, this method permitted the ‘Roman’ ruling class, political or ecclesiastical, to retain their superiority — rather than distinction — over the followers of the old traditions and the barbarians.

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<sup>123</sup> *‘Praeceptoras mihi, uti aduersus uaniloquam prauitatem eorum, qui alieni a ciuitate Dei ex locorum agrestium conpitis et pagis pagani uocantur siue gentiles quia terrena sapiunt, qui cum futura non quaerant, praeterita autem aut obliuiscantur aut nesciant, praesentia tamen tempora ueluti malis extra solitum infestatissima ob hoc solum quod creditur Christus et colitur Deus, idola autem minus coluntur, infamant’*. Oros. *Hist.*1 prol. 9.

<sup>124</sup> For some, like Athanasius of Alexandria (298–373 CE), they were worse than pagans and equivalent to animals (Athan. *Hist. Arian* 64.), an image very similar to the primordial archetype of the Barbarian.

For Hydatius, the Arians were as destructive as barbarians, proved by his account of the sack of Sicily by Gaiseric, when he states that the Vandal king was incited by Maximinus, a local leader of the Arian heresy, to persecute the Nicæan Christians (Hyd. 112).

Interestingly, both Pagan and Heretic are ideas related to the general concept of Christian identity as they are not linked to a single creed or faith within Christianity. This means that the Arian barbarians (Alans, Burgundians, Goths, Suebi, Vandals) would be familiar with these terms since they were also part of their religious culture. Furthermore, they could have applied them according to their own belief, despite being concepts (and depictions) created by the artistic traditions of the Romans. In their eyes, the followers of the polytheistic cults would still be considered pagans, but the heretics would be the Nicæan Christians and not the former.

It is unknown whether the Heretic image of the barbarians was equivalent to that of the Roman Christians. However, it does not seem unreasonable to think they shared the same characteristics. Such can be seen through the term ‘heathen’ — a word of Germanic origin used today as a close synonym for pagan or heretic — which denotes any non-Christian. Despite not being a Latin word and not appearing in any of the texts, it is an essential piece for understanding the ‘barbarian’ point of view on the heretics and the subsequent image of the Barbarian in the Middle Ages. There are several hypotheses about the origin of this word and its evolution. However, regardless of whether it is a Gothic concept created purposely for the new Christian ideas — from the word ‘*haiþno*’ used in the Gothic Bible — or a term adapted from native Germanic languages,<sup>125</sup> it certainly shows that the Germanic peoples followed the Christian models and traditions and that they integrated the concept of ‘pagan’ into their language and perception.

Ultimately, the Roman reality of what is considered civilised had changed, replacing the criteria of political origin with something more based on religion. These Christian criteria justified the conversion of all peoples (Inglebert 2012, 23) and helped to create the idea of a society where being barbarian was virtually impossible. Consequently, these two new definitions — heretic and pagan — became the main enemy of the civilised, and the Barbarian image depended on whether or not they were Christians (Maas 2012, 67–8). This fact resulted in a new composite image of the Barbarian that joined the old Graeco-Roman concept and the new ideas brought by the Bible (Gillet 2009, 403; Kominko 2016, 373–5).

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<sup>125</sup> *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. ‘Heathen,’ accessed May 9, 2022, <https://www.etymonline.com/word/heathen>.

Moreover, there was also a tremendous imperial investment in the production of chronicles and historical works, considering the Church's authority and the motifs of Christianity. Many of these works normalised the positions of their Christian authors, and they became essential resources for establishing a Christian narrative — a history rewritten from the point of view of Christianity (Casiday 2018, 283). There was an apparent attempt to justify God as the highest authority responsible for the entire course of history. Naturally, the notions were distorted to correspond with Christian norms while preserving the Old Testament's biblical formulas and Jewish tradition (Reed 2008, 480). However, late antique authors still had difficulties determining which ethnic or religious traits were relevant and whether these were even true (Dúmezil 2016, 56). The conversion of the so-called 'barbaric peoples' to Christianity brought on their own translations of the Bible (Stroumsa 2018, 559–60). Following this, the doubts about the Barbarian became more complex, and many Christian authors kept using the same examples of the listed stereotypes and prejudices that previous authors used (Gillet 2009, 405).

This complexity further blurred the line separating Roman and Barbarian. In addition to religiosity, the great fraternisation between the Romans and these once-strange peoples caused the 'barbarians' to adopt and absorb much of what constituted the foundations of Roman identity, even in the fourth and fifth centuries CE, such as the Latin language, Roman law, or imperial administration. In the sixth century, after the collapse of the Western Roman political system and the growth of new autonomous nations, the Germanic ethnicities had already blended with the Roman. In that time, the 'Barbarian' ceased to exist as it had been known until then, both ethnically and spiritually, for not only were the 'barbarians' the new ruling power in Western Europe, but they had also converted to Nicene Christianity.

However, these terms and concepts did not lose importance with the establishment of Catholic Europe. On the contrary, Muslim expansion in the seventh and eighth centuries contributed to a new characterisation of the Barbarian and Viking raids in the eighth and ninth centuries revived the old Roman characterisations of barbarians and pagans.

Orosius, who was quite popular during the Middle Ages, certainly contributed to the interpretation of the Norse peoples as 'barbarians', assuming that the concept had been generally lost in popular culture, which is extremely unlikely. His descriptions of the violent and wicked Enemy from the North fit perfectly within the European peoples' perspectives and interpretations of these foreign warriors. Furthermore, the old eschatological ideas depicting



the heathen barbarians as agents of destruction — found in the chronicler Hydatius — were still present in ninth-century Britain.

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In conclusion, it can be said that the modern image of the Barbarian as a violent, burly, axe-wielding man was influenced by Viking raids and the European interpretation of medieval Norse culture. However, the truth is that in conceptual — and even descriptive — terms, the roots of this imagery are in the Roman interpretations of the Germanic and Scythian peoples.<sup>126</sup>

The concept and characterisation of the Barbarian remained in the cultural and religious memory of European peoples through oral and literary tradition propagated by Christian works and ideologies that began in Late Antiquity, found in both Orosius and Hydatius in their descriptions of pagans and heretics (through the barbarian peoples). These concepts were later reinforced by the classic barbarians' descriptions, which regained relevance during the Renaissance and in the historiography of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The image of the barbarian spread around the world at the same time as Christianity and Western culture spread later caricatured in the image of the rustic and violent man that can be seen in comics and video games.

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<sup>126</sup> There is a common archaic culture between the barbarians from Germania in Roman times and the Scandinavian warriors of medieval Europe, hence these similarities being natural.

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