

1	Chapter 1	1
2		2
3	Catalogues of Barbarians in Late Antiquity ¹	3
4		4
5	Ralph W. Mathisen	5
6		6
7		7
8		8
9		9
10	The human desire to create tangible lists of stuff is at least as old as the Babylonian	10
11	king lists, the Turin papyrus, the Egyptian Nile records, and the Homeric catalogue	11
12	of ships. Some lists, of course, were of a practical nature: the Roman consular fasti	12
13	gave a chronological framework to the Roman state. Others served a less practical,	13
14	but nonetheless important, purpose. Of particular interest to Greek and Roman	14
15	writers were lists of exotic places and the peoples associated with them. This study	15
16	proposes to look at the creation of catalogues of barbarian peoples during the	16
17	Roman and, in particular, the late Roman periods, and consider what they can tell	17
18	us about interests, ideologies, and mentalities. ²	18
19		19
20		20
21	The Cataloguing Tradition	21
22		22
23	Many aspects of the nature of barbarian alterity, and the place of barbarian otherness	23
24	in Roman intellectual, political, and ecclesiastical ideologies, have been well	24
25	studied in the past. ³ But an aspect of Roman perceptions of barbarians that hitherto	25
26	has been little noticed or understood, and can help us to nuance even further the	26
27	conceptual positions of barbarians in the Roman world, is what one might dub	27
28	the “cataloguing tradition.” This related to the way that Romans conceptualized	28
29	groups of barbarians not for their specific traits but for their collective appearances	29
30	with other groups of barbarians.	30
31		31
32		32
33	¹ An early version of this study was presented as “Catalogues of Barbarians in Late	33
34	Antiquity” at the annual conference of the Medieval Academy of America Conference in	34
35	2003.	35
36	² Late antique writers also enjoyed creating lists, as manifested, e.g., in the <i>Notitia</i>	36
37	<i>provinciarum</i> ; the <i>Notitia dignitatum</i> ; and catalogues of saints, not to mention the great	37
38	compilations of late Roman law. See also A. Diller, “Byzantine Lists of Old and New	38
39	Geographical Names,” <i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift (BZ)</i> 63 (1970): 26–42.	39
40	³ See, inter alios, Y.A. Dauge, <i>Le barbare. Recherches sur la conception romaine de</i>	40
41	<i>la barbarie et de la civilisation</i> , Collection Latomus 176 (Brussels, 1981); G.B. Ladner,	41
42	“On Roman Attitudes toward Barbarians in Late Antiquity,” <i>Viator</i> 7 (1976): 1–25; H.,	42
43	R. Kahane, “On the Meanings of Barbarus,” <i>Hellenika</i> 37 (1986): 129–132; E. Lévy,	43
44	“Naissance du concept de barbare,” <i>Ktéma</i> 9 (1984): 5–14; and D.B. Saddington, “Roman	44
	Attitudes to the <i>externae gentes</i> of the North,” <i>Acta classica</i> 4 (1961): 90–102.	

1 In the cataloguing model, barbarians lacked most or all of the identifying 1
 2 characteristics that were de rigueur in other models; indeed, they had little or 2
 3 no individual identity at all. In the most extreme manifestation of this model, 3
 4 catalogued barbarian peoples did not even have names, but were merely totaled up 4
 5 for each region of the world under consideration. For example, the geographical 5
 6 survey at the beginning of Orosius' *History against the Pagans* enumerates 44 6
 7 *gentes* inhabiting India, 32 between the Indus and the Tigris, 18 from the Tigris to 7
 8 the Euphrates, 12 between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea, 24 in Upper 8
 9 Egypt, 53 in northern Europe.⁴ 9

10 More commonly, barbarian peoples were catalogued as lists of exotic names, 10
 11 the longer the better. These lists are as early as classical literature. Homer, for 11
 12 example, along with his catalogue of Greek ships also included a list of the Trojans 12
 13 and their allies, each accompanied by a brief identifying characteristic.⁵ But the 13
 14 early Greek interest in exotic peoples and places is best represented by Herodotus, 14
 15 whose history of the Persian wars is replete with ethnographic catalogues listing, 15
 16 for example, the Scythians, Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Geloni, Budini, 16
 17 and Sarmatians.⁶ In the earlier Greek lists, outlandish peoples were simply "out 17
 18 there," a natural, necessary, and even defining corollary of the civilized world, and a 18
 19 manifestation of the polarity between Hellenes and barbarians, between civilization 19
 20 and barbarism, and between "here" and "there."⁷ In the Greek mind, these non- 20
 21 Greeks were uniformly classified as "barbarians," although the chauvinistic sense 21
 22 of superiority that the civilized Greeks felt toward their barbarian neighbors did 22
 23 not at all detract from their interest in them. 23

24 The tradition of creating catalogues of barbarians continued in the Roman 24
 25 and late Roman periods. Late antique catalogues include "simple lists," in which 25
 26 names are cited without any intervening commentary, and "descriptive lists," in 26
 27 which each entry is combined with a brief description.⁸ In addition, the creators 27
 28 of lists of peoples also sometimes created hierarchical taxonomies, in which some 28
 29 peoples were subsumed as sub-groups of others. It will be suggested here that the 29
 30 late Romans, perhaps because of their much more intimate interactions with and 30

31 31

32 32

33 33

34 ⁴ Oros. *Hist. adv. pag.* 1.2. 34

35 ⁵ Homer, *Iliad* 2, cited the "archers from Paeonia, from far off Amydon," the "Halizoni 35
 36 from distant Alybe, where men mine silver"; the "Phrygians from far-off Ascania, men keen 36
 37 for war"; the "Carians, men with a strange language"; and the "Lycians, from distant Lycia, 37
 38 by the swirling river Xanthus." 38

39 ⁶ Herodotus, *Histories* 4.102. And the Alexandrian love of cataloguing is exemplified 39
 40 by Callimachus' *Pinakes*, 120 books of tables of all those who were eminent in any kind 40
 41 of literature. 41

42 ⁷ For the importance of geography in the creation of identity, see Ellis in this 41
 42 volume. 42

43 ⁸ In a third type, the "narrative list," not discussed here, several names appear in close 43
 44 proximity during the course of a narrative, but are not directly connected to each other. 44

1 greater sympathy for barbarian peoples, also used catalogues of barbarians as a 1
2 means of integrating barbarian peoples into the Roman conceptual world. 2
3 3
4 *Simple Lists* 4
5 5
6 Roman encyclopediasts continued the Greek tradition of creating simple catalogues 6
7 of barbarian peoples. Circa 40 CE, Pomponius Mela, in his *Description of the* 7
8 *World*, offered laundry lists of the peoples who inhabited different parts of the 8
9 world. In Asia, for example, lived “Medi, Armenii, Commageni, Murrani, Veneti, 9
10 Cappadoces, Gallograeci, Lycaones, Phryges, Pisidae, Isauri, Lydi, Syroclilices.”⁹ 10
11 And at the end of the first century CE, in the full glory of Roman cultural and 11
12 military supremacy, Tacitus catalogued in his *Germania* the peoples who lived 12
13 beyond the northern pale of Roman authority.¹⁰ Barbarians were organized using 13
14 the Aristotelian practice of inventorying different traits, listing singularities, placing 14
15 them in order, and organizing in subcategories within *gentes*. Just as Caesar had 15
16 listed the Condrusi, Eburones, Caerosi, and Paemani as being subsumed under 16
17 the single category of Germani,¹¹ Tacitus opined, regarding the Suebi, “they are 17
18 not a single people ... they are divided among nations and names, although they 18
19 are commonly called Suebi.”¹² In none of these catalogues was there any sense 19
20 of threat or hazard, merely a genteel curiosity about the strange people who lived 20
21 “out there,” and a chauvinistic sense of how the outlandish names and customs of 21
22 barbarian peoples provided a striking contrast to Roman values, and of how much 22
23 better “we” are than they. 23
24 In contrast to Greek ethnography, however, Roman lists almost always 24
25 concerned peoples who actually existed (or were reasonably thought to): there 25
26 were few of the monstrous races that regularly crop up in Greek ethnographers. 26
27 Thus, Tacitus, when he finished his discussion of the Suebi, commented, “But 27
28 other accounts are fabulous, such as that the Hellusi and Oxionae have the faces 28
29 _____ 29
30 _____ 30
31 ⁹ Pomp.Mel. *De situ orbis* 1.2: “Brevis Asiae descriptio ... super Amazonas et 31
32 Hyperboreos, Cimmerii, Zygi, Heniochae, Gorgippi, Moschi, Ceretae, Toretiae, Arimphaei, 32
33 atque, ubi in nostra marie tractus excedit, Matiani, Tibarani, et notiora iam nomina, Medi, 33
34 Armenii, Commageni, Murrani, Veneti, Cappadoces, Gallograeci, Lycaones, Phryges, 34
35 Pisidae, Isauri, Lydi, Syroclilices.” 35
36 ¹⁰ F. DuPont, “‘En Germanie c’est nulle part’: Rhétorique de l’altérité et rhétorique 36
37 de l’identité: l’aporie descriptive d’un territoire barbare dans la Germanie de Tacite,” in 37
38 A. Rouselle, ed., *Frontières terrestres, frontières célestes dans l’antiquité* (Paris, 1995), 38
39 pp. 193–205, at 203, begins a discussion of catalogues of Germanic peoples in Tacitus, 39
40 reproducing the Alexandrian ethnographic classification as known from Agatharcides, and 40
41 the alterity is reduced to a single trait.
42 ¹¹ Caes. *BG* 1.51.2: “Condrusos, Eburones, Caerosos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine 41
42 Germani appellantur.” 42
43 ¹² Tac. *Germ.* 8: “Non una ... gens ... propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque 43
44 discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur.” 44

1 and visages of humans but the bodies and limbs of wild beasts. I leave this hanging 1
2 because it is unconfirmed.”¹³ 2

3 Citing simple lists of barbarians could serve several purposes. For example, 3
4 barbarians were the stuff of humor. The poet Martial, for example, rattled off a list 4
5 of barbarians—Parthians, Dacians, Cilicians, Cappadocians, Egyptians, Indians, 5
6 Jews, Sarmatians, and Alans—with whom the prostitute Caelia had slept, and 6
7 wondered why she avoided Romans.¹⁴ And on another level, the listing of names 7
8 may reflect an old commonplace of folk magic: to know something’s name is to 8
9 be able to control it.¹⁵ And to know all its names would be to control it absolutely, 9
10 as seen in spells that attempt to list all the known epithets of a particular deity.¹⁶ 10
11 When it came to barbarians, the Roman writers certainly knew their names. 11

12 Cataloguing defeated barbarians became more and more a standard aspect 12
13 of Roman imperial ideology. On a trophy in the Pyrenees, for example, Pompey 13
14 the Great listed 876 towns that he had reduced,¹⁷ and in 6 BCE Augustus, on a 14
15 trophy at La Turbie in the Alps, listed forty-eight Alpine peoples defeated by his 15
16 generals,¹⁸ as quoted in full by Pliny the Elder: 16

17
18
19

20 ¹³ *Germ.* 46: “Cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum voltusque, 20
21 corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam.” 21

22 ¹⁴ Martial, *Epig.* 7.30-1-8: “Das Parthis, das Germanis, das, Caelia, Dacis / nec 22
23 Cilicum spernis Cappadocum toros / et tibi de Pharia Menphiticus urbe fututor / navigat, 23
24 a rubris et niger Indus aquis / nec recutitorum fugis inguina Iudaeorum / nec te Sarmatico 24
25 transit Alanus equo / qua ratione facis, cum sis Romana puella / quod Romana tibi mentula 25
26 nulla placet?” 26

27 ¹⁵ For “anachronistic names” as a means of keeping barbarians “in check,” see W. 26
27 Goffart, “Rome, Constantinople, and the Barbarians,” *American Historical Review* 86 27
28 (1981): 275–306, at p. 277. 28

29 ¹⁶ As on *tabellae defixionum*; see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot* 29
30 *innotuerunt tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in* 30
31 *Corp. inscrip. Attic. editas* (Paris, 1904); W.S. Fox, *The John Hopkins Tabellae defixionum* 31
32 (Baltimore, MD, 1912); M. del A. Lopez Jimeno, *Las tabellae defixionis de la Sicilia greca* 32
33 (Amsterdam, 1991); R. Wünsch, *Defixionum tabellae Atticae (IG III.3)* (Berlin, 1897); 33
34 and John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York/ 34
35 Oxford, 1992). 35

36 ¹⁷ Plin. *HN* 7.26: also, *ibid.*: “He celebrated a triumph over Asia, Pontus, Armenia, 36
37 Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, the Scythians, Jews and Albanians, Iberia, the 37
38 Island of Crete, the Bastarnians, and, in addition to these, over the kings Mithridates and 38
39 Tigranes.” For the trophy, whose remains were found in 1984 at Col de Panissars, see P.A. 39
40 Clément, A. Peyre, “Le trophé et l’autel de César,” in P.A. Clément, A. Peyre, eds., *La voie* 40
41 *domitienne* (Languedoc, 1991), pp. 85–86. For a Republican monument in the Piazza della 41
42 Consolazione bearing the names of eastern peoples, see D.E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* 42
43 *Through Roman Eyes* (Stroud, 2000), p. 18. 43

44 ¹⁸ See Ferris, *Enemies*, p. 39. 44

- 1 The Senate and the Roman People to the emperor Augustus Caesar, son of the 1
 2 divine one, chief pontiff, emperor for the fourth time, tribune for the seventh 2
 3 time. In that under his leadership and authority all the Alpine peoples that spread 3
 4 from the upper sea [the Adriatic] to the lower sea [the Mediterranean] have been 4
 5 brought under the authority of the Roman people. The defeated Alpine peoples 5
 6 are the Trumpilini, Camunni, Venostes, Vennonetes, Isarci, Breuni, Genaunes, 6
 7 Focunates, four nations of Vindelici, Cosuanetes, Rucinates, Licates, Catenates, 7
 8 Ambisontes, Rugusci, Suanetes, Calucones, Brixentes, Liponti, Uberi, Nantuates, 8
 9 Seduni, Varagri, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Ucenni, Caturiges, Brigiani, 9
 10 Sogionti, Brodionti, Nermaloni, Edenates, Vesubiani, Veamini, Gallitae, Triullati, 10
 11 Ecdini, Vergunni, Eguituri, Nemeturi, Oratelli, Nerusi, Velauni, Suetri.¹⁹ 11
 12 12
- 13 But later in imperial times there was a subtle paradigm shift. Conquered barbarians 13
 14 became more than merely names in a list, and the presence of barbarian peoples 14
 15 became even more closely connected with imperial policies. When the Roman 15
 16 state laid claim to the entire *orbis terrarum*, or *oikumēnē*, barbarians became an 16
 17 integral part of the Roman conception of their world. They were not just “out 17
 18 there,” not just part of the landscape, but were intimately interrelated to the empire 18
 19 in a co-dependent sort of relationship.²⁰ Martial, for example, wrote to the emperor 19
 20 Domitian, “What people is so distant or so barbarous, Caesar, that it does not have 20
 21 a representative in your city? ... Different languages of peoples are heard, but 21
 22 nevertheless all is one, because you are said to be the true father of the country.”²¹ 22
 23 And Florus, the second-century epitomator of Livy, summarized well the Roman 23
 24 24
- 25 _____ 25
 26 ¹⁹ Plin. *HN* 3.136–137: “Non alienum videtur hoc loco subicere inscriptionem e 26
 27 tropaeo Alpium, quae talis est: IMP • CAESARI DIVI FILIO AVG • PONT • MAX • IMP • 27
 28 XIII • TR • POT • XVII • S • P • Q • R • QVOD EIVS DVCTV AVSPICIISQVE GENTES 28
 29 ALPINAЕ OMNES QVAE A MARI SVPERO CE INFERVM PERTINEBANT SVB 29
 30 IMPERIVM P • R • SVNT REDACTAE • GENTES ALPINAЕ DEVICTAE TRVMPILINI 30
 31 • CAMVNNI • VENOSTES • VENNONETES • ISARCI • BREVNI • GENAVNES • 31
 32 FOCVNATES • VINDELICORVM GENTES QVATTVOR • COSVANETES • RVCINATES 32
 33 • LICATES • CATENATES • AMBISONTES • RVGVSCI • SVANETES • CALVCONES • 32
 34 BRIXENETES • LEPONTI • VBERI • NANTVATES • SEDVNI • VARAGRI • SALASSI 33
 35 • ACITAVONES • MEDVLLI • VCENNI • CATVRIGES • BRIGIANI • SOGIONTI • 34
 36 BRODIONTI • NEMALONI • EDENATES • VESVBIANI • VEAMINI • GALLITAE 35
 37 • TRIVLLATI • ECDINI • VERGVNNI • EGVI • TVRI • NEMATVRI • ORATELLI • 36
 38 NERSVI • VELAVNI • SVETRI. (138) Non sunt adiectae Cottianae civitates XV, quae non 37
 39 fuerant hostiles, item adtributae municipiis lege Pompeia.” 38
- 39 ²⁰ Patrick Amory, “Ethnographic Rhetoric, Aristocratic Attitudes and Political 39
 40 Allegiance in Post-Roman Gaul,” *Klio* 76 (1994): 438–453, at p. 439: “Roman state 40
 41 idealogy assumed a never-ending contest between the civilized Roman and the uncivilized 41
 42 barbarian, a validation of the idea of imperial power.” 42
- 42 ²¹ Martial, *Epig.* 3: “Quae tam seposita est, quae gens tam barbara, Caesar / ex qua 42
 43 spectator non sit in urbe tua? ... vox diversa sonat populorum, tum tamen una est / cum 43
 44 verus patriae diceris esse pater.” 44

1	imperial attitude toward world rule that had obtained ever since the reign of	1
2	Augustus:	2
3		3
4	With all of the nations pacified toward the west and the south, and also to the	4
5	north, at least between the Rhine and the Danube, and likewise in the east	5
6	between the Kura ²² and the Euphrates, those remaining peoples, who were free	6
7	of our rule, nevertheless sensed our greatness, and esteemed the Roman people	7
8	as the victor over the nations. For the Scythians sent ambassadors, as did the	8
9	Sarmatians, seeking peace, and the Chinese, and the Indians living under the	9
10	same sun ... The Parthians, too. ²³	10
11		11
12	In subsequent Roman ideology, other barbarian peoples, too, were incorporated	12
13	under the umbrella of Roman world rule.	13
14	An early fourth-century list of 53 peoples appended to an official list of Roman	14
15	provinces and preserved in a manuscript at Verona has the heading, “Barbarian	15
16	nations that sprang up under the emperors,” ²⁴ suggesting an underlying assumption	16
17	that the existence of the empire was somehow connected to their appearance:	17
18		18
19	Scoti Picti Caledonii Rugi Heruli Saxones Chamavi Frisiavi Amsivari Angli[?]	19
20	Angrivari Flevi Bructeri Chatti Burgundiones Alamanni Suebi Franci Chattovari	20
21	Iuthungi Armilausini Marcomanni Quadi Taifali Hermunduri Vandali Sarmatae	21
22	Sciri Carpi Scythae Gothi Indii Armenii Osrhoeni Palmyreni Mosoritae	22
23	Marmaridae Nabatheï Isauri Fryges Persae	23
24		24
25	This list is followed in the manuscript by lists of barbarians first in North Africa	25
26	and Spain and then across the Rhine:	26
27		27
28	Item gentes quae in Mauretania sunt: Mauri Quinquegentiani, Mauri Mazices,	28
29	Mauri Barbares, Mauri Bacuates, Celtiberi, Turduli, Ausetani, Carpetani,	29
30		30
31	²² A river flowing from the Caucasus Mountains in Turkey into the Caspian Sea.	31
32	²³ Florus, <i>Epit.</i> 4.12: “Omnibus ad Occasum et Meridiem pacatibus gentibus, ad	32
33	Septemtrionem quoque, dumtaxat intra Rhenum atque Danubium, item ad Orientem intra	33
34	Cyrum et Euphratem, illi quoque reliqui, qui immunes imperii erant, sentiebant tamen	34
35	magnitudinem, et victorem gentium populum Romanum reverebantur. Nam et Scythae	35
36	misere legatos, et Sarmatae amicitiam petentes, Seres etiam habitantesque. sub ipso sole	36
37	Indi ... Parthi quoque”	37
38	²⁴ “Gentes barbarae quae pullulaverunt sub imperatoribus”: A. Riese, ed., <i>Geographi</i>	38
39	<i>latini minores</i> (Hildesheim, 1878; repr. Hildesheim, 1964), pp. 128–129, apparently copying	39
40	Th. Mommsen’s editio princeps from <i>Acta academiae berolinensis</i> (1862), pp. 489ff.; see E.	40
41	Demougeot, “L’image officielle du barbare dans l’empire romain d’Auguste à Théodose,”	41
42	<i>Ktéma</i> 9 (1984): 123–143, at p. 124. The list is appended to the “Verona list,” an official list	42
43	of Roman provinces dating to ca. 315, on which see T.D. Barnes, “The Unity of the Verona	43
44	List,” <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik (ZPE)</i> 16 (1975): 275–278. Riese, ed.,	44
	<i>Geographi latini minores</i> , p. xxxiii, dates the barbarian addendum to ca. 300/350.	

1	Cantabri, Enantes. Nomina civitatum trans Rhenum fluvium quae sunt.	1
2	Usiporum. Tubantum. Victoriensium Novariseari. Casuariorum. Istae omnes	2
3	civitates trans Rhenum in formulam Belgicae Primae redactae. Trans castellum	3
4	Mogontiacensium LXXX leugas trans Rhenum Romani possederunt. Istae	4
5	civitates sub Gallieno imperatore a barbaris occupatae sunt. ²⁵	5
6		6
7	The compiler makes it clear that trans-Rhenane barbarians had occupied previously	7
8	Roman territory across the Rhine from Mainz, demonstrating the constant give-	8
9	and-take that went on between Romans and barbarians even in catalogues. By	9
10	incorporating barbarians of recent origin, such as the Alamanni, along with those	10
11	with a long history, such as the Persians, the list endows all of them with the	11
12	mantle of antiquity.	12
13	In simple lists such as these, the names are rattled off in sequence without any	13
14	intervening commentary. There is nothing to distinguish one people from another,	14
15	and the catalogues achieve their force not from the peoples' individuality, but from	15
16	their multiplicity. There was no concern here, for example, with what made a	16
17	Saxon different from a Herul.	17
18	Simple lists became part of the classical literary tradition. Late antique writers	18
19	demonstrated their poetic ingenuity by incorporating unmodified lists into verse,	19
20	with the names cleverly chosen to suit the meter, as in Sidonius Apollinaris' list of	20
21	barbarians who invaded Gaul with Attila the Hun in 451 (<i>Carm.</i> 7.321–325):	21
22		22
23	... pugnacem Rugum comitante Gelono,	23
24	Gepida trux sequitur, Scirum Burgundio cogit,	24
25	Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Bastarna, Toringus,	25
26	Bructerus, ulvosa vel quem Nicer alluit unda	26
27	prorumpit Francus	27
28		28
29	The names had a cumulative effect, not because a Scirian was meant to be seen as	29
30	any different from a Burgundian.	30
31	In the intellectual context of Late Antiquity, these lists served several purposes.	31
32	On a very simple level, of course, they provided an opportunity for writers to	32
33	display their encyclopedic knowledge and exercise their rhetorical cleverness,	33
34	especially if the names were put into verse. ²⁶ But the citing of lists of names was	34
35	more than merely an indication of erudition. Doing so could also have a very	35
36	tangible psychological impact. In 321 CE, the panegyrist Nazarius described one	36
37	of the purposes that rattling off such lists of names could serve: ²⁷ "Why should I	37
38		38
39	²⁵ Riese, <i>ibid.</i>	39
40	²⁶ Note Peter Heather, "Disappearing and Reappearing Tribes," in W. Pohl, H. Reimitz,	40
41	eds., <i>Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800</i> (Leiden,	41
42	1998), pp. 95–111, at 96, where names are chosen "to fit the poetic metre."	42
43	²⁷ <i>Pan. Lat.</i> 10/4.18 (with references to the Galletier and Baehrens editions	43
44	respectively): "Quid memorem Bructeros? quid Chamavos? quid Cheruscos, Lancionas,	44

1 mention the Bructeri, why the Chamavi, why the Cherusci, Lancioni,²⁸ Alamanni, 1
 2 Tubantes? The names blare out²⁹ a call to arms, and the savagery of barbarity evokes 2
 3 dread through their very names. All these nations, which had taken up arms one by 3
 4 one, later joined forces, inflamed by an agreement of confederation and alliance.” 4
 5 The sense of horror conveyed by a list of barbarian names was reprised 300 years 5
 6 later by Isidore of Seville, who, in his catalogue of Germanic peoples, referred 6
 7 to “the Tolosates, Amsiavari, Quadi, Tungri, Marcomanni, Bructeri, Chamavi, 7
 8 Vangiones, Tubantes, the savagery of whose barbarity signifies a certain horror 8
 9 even in their very names.”³⁰ But Victor of Vita, in his late fifth-century depiction of 9
 10 the Vandals of Africa, perhaps put it best: “Study their name and understand their 10
 11 character: could they be called by any name other than barbarians? They bear the 11
 12 word for ferocity, cruelty, and terror.”³¹ 12

13 Nazarius’ reference to a collective, even collaborative, threat posed by these 13
 14 barbarians also is consistent with the fears about barbarian conspiracies discussed 14
 15 above, and resurfaced later in additional conspiracy theories involving endless lists 15
 16 of barbarian peoples, as when the *Augustan History* reported, “All the peoples from 16
 17 the border of Illyricum all the way to Gaul conspired, including the Marcomanni, 17
 18 Naristae, Hermunduri and Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatae, Lacringes, Burei, these and 18
 19 others with the Victuali, and the Sosibes, Sicobotes, Roxolani, Basternae, Alans, 19
 20 Peucini, and Costoboci.”³² The seemingly inexhaustible list of invaders only 20
 21 intensified the sense of threat; the *Augustan History* continued, “Finally, diverse 21

22 _____ 22
 23 Halamannos, Tubantes? bellicum strepunt nomina, et immanitas barbariae in ipsis vocabu- 23
 24 lis adhibet horrorem. hi mones singillatim, dein pariter armati conspiratione foederatae 24
 25 societatis exarserant”; for translation, see C.E.V. Nixon, B.S. Rodgers, *In Praise of Later* 25
 26 *Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici latini* (Berkeley, CA, 1994), pp. 363–364, and cf. Tac. 26
 27 *Ann.* 1.51.2: “Excivit ea caedes Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes.” 27

28 ²⁸ An obscure people otherwise mentioned only in the Calendar of Philocalus: see 28
 29 Nixon–Rodgers, *Praise*, p. 363, n. 79. 29

30 ²⁹ A metaphor also used of barbarians as harbingers of destruction by Cyprian, 30
 31 *Epist. ad Demetriadem* 30 (*PL [Patrologia Latina]* 30.44): “Recens factum est ... cum ad 31
 32 stridulae buccinae sonum, Gothorumque clamorem, lugubri oppressa metu domina orbis 32
 33 Roma contremuit.” The metaphor might have been suggested by the name “Tubantes.” 33

34 ³⁰ Isid. *Hisp. Etym.* 9.2.89–97: “Ut Tolosates, Amsivari, Quadi, Tungri, Marcomanni, 34
 35 Bructeri, Chamavi, Blangiani, Tubantes, quorum inmanitas barbariae etiam in ipsis 35
 36 vocabulis horrorem quendam significat.” 36

37 ³¹ Vict. Vit. *Hist. persec. vand.* 3.62, M. Petschenig, ed., *Victoris episcopi vitensis* 37
 38 *Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae* (Vienna, 1881), *Corpus scriptorum* 38
 39 *ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CSEL)* 7.102–103: “Discutite nomen et intellegite mores. 39
 40 numquid alio proprio nomine vocitari poterant, nisi ut barbari dicerentur, ferocitatis utique, 40
 41 crudelitatis et terroris vocabulum possidentes?” 41

42 ³² *HA Marc. Aurel.* 22.1: “Gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam 41
 42 conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Varistae [i.e. Naristae], Hermunduri et Quadi, Suevi, 42
 43 Sarmatae, Lacringes et Burei, hi aliique cum Victualis, Sosibes, Sicobotes Roxolani, 43
 44 Basternae, Alani, Peucini, Costoboci.” For the Costobocs, see also Brown in this volume. 44

1 peoples of the Scythians, that is, the Peuci, Gruthungi, Ostrogoths, Tervingi, Visi, 1
 2 Gepids, Celts and even Heruls, poured onto Roman soil out of their desire for loot 2
 3 and devastated everything there.”³³ This last passage also reprises the tendency to 3
 4 create taxonomies of barbarian peoples, with smaller groups being subsumed into 4
 5 larger ones, thus creating a polyethnic identity for larger, more inclusive groups. 5
 6 In the early fifth century, the drumbeat continued. Jerome listed the barbarian 6
 7 devastators of Gaul: “The Vandal and Sarmatian, Alans, Gepid, Heruls, Saxons, 7
 8 Burgundians, Alamanni, and—O mournful Republic—the Pannonian hordes.”³⁴ 8
 9 And later in the century the African Dracontius saw threatening barbarians lurking 9
 10 under the bed: “The barbarian goes everywhere, and likewise they take arms, the 10
 11 Sueve, the Sarmatian, the Persian, the Goth, the Alaman, the Frank, the Alan, or 11
 12 whatever distant nations hide in the north and prepare to take arms against us.”³⁵ 12
 13 The image of savagery, horror, and menace that was embedded in lists of 13
 14 barbarian peoples was put to good use in imperial ideology when emperors justified 14
 15 huge expenditures on the Roman military, not to mention their own existence, by 15
 16 playing up the threat posed by savage hostile barbarians.³⁶ Late Roman emperors 16
 17 were triumphally portrayed as victors over the same catalogues of barbarians 17
 18 that threatened imperial security. The *Augustan History*, for example, listed the 18
 19 barbarian peoples who provided captives for the triumph of Aurelian in 274 (*HA* 19
 20 *Aurelian*. 33): “Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes, Eudaemones, Indi, Bactriani, 20
 21 Hiberi, Saraceni, Persae . Gothi, Halani, Roxolani, Sarmatae, Franci, Suevi, 21
 22 Vanduli, Germani.” 22
 23 Emperors advertised their successes by compiling lists of victory titles.³⁷ 23
 24 In his official titulature, Diocletian (284–305), for example, was denoted as 24
 25 _____ 25
 26 ³³ *HA Claud.* 6.2: “Denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peuci, Grutung, Austrogoti, 26
 27 Tervingi, Visi Gipedes, Celtae etiam et Heruli, praedae cupiditate in Romanum solum 27
 28 inruerunt atque illic pleraque vastarunt.” 28
 29 ³⁴ *Jer. Epist.* 123.16: *PL* 22.1057–1058: “Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmata, Halani, Gipedes, 29
 30 Heruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemanni, et, o lugenda respublica, hostes Pannonii.” 30
 31 ³⁵ *Dracont.* *Romulea* 5.32–37, *MGH AA* 14.140–141: “Barbarus omnis eat, rapiant 31
 32 simul arma Suevus / Sarmata Persa Gothus Alamannus Francus Alanus / vel quaequaque 32
 33 latent gentes aquilone remotae / in nos tela parent.” 33
 34 ³⁶ See, e.g., J. Drinkwater, “The ‘German Threat on the Rhine Frontier’: A Romano- 34
 35 Gallic Artefact?”, in R. Mathisen, H. Sivan, eds., *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* 35
 36 (London, 1996), pp. 20–30; and R.W. Mathisen, “Violent Behavior and the Construction 36
 37 of Barbarian Identity in Late Antiquity,” in H. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity* 37
 38 (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 27–35. 38
 39 ³⁷ See A. Arnaldi, “La successione dei cognomina devictarum gentium e le loro 39
 40 iterazioni nella titolatura di Costantino il Grande,” in *Contributi di storia antica in onore di* 40
 41 *Albino Garzetti* (Genoa, 1977); idem, “La successione dei cognomina devictarum gentium 41
 42 e le loro iterazioni nella titolatura di primi tetrarchi,” *Rendiconti dell’Istituto Lombardo* 42
 43 106 (1972): 28–50; E. Kettenhofen, “Zur Siegestitulatur Kaiser Aurelians,” *Tyche* 1 (1986): 42
 43 139–146; K. Schauenburg, “Siegreiche Barbaren,” *Athenische Mitteilungen* 92 (1977): 43
 44 91–100. 44

1 “Germanicus Sarmaticus Persicus Britannicus Carpicus Armeniacus Medicus 1
 2 Adiabenicus.” And in the late sixth century, Maurice Tiberius (582–602) bore the 2
 3 titles “Alamannicus, Gothicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Erullicus, Gypedicus, 3
 4 Africus.”³⁸ In such cases, size did matter: it was felt that the greater the number of 4
 5 barbarian peoples that could be cited as defeated, the greater the glory that accrued 5
 6 to an emperor.³⁹ How the process worked was explained by the panegyrist Latinus 6
 7 Pacatus Drepanius ca. 389 in his panegyric on Theodosius, when he noted that “If 7
 8 that custom had survived into this age, whereby Roman commanders assumed 8
 9 titles, such as Macedonicus, Creticus, or Numantinus, adopted from the names of 9
 10 peoples they had subdued, would there not be fewer cognomina to be read today 10
 11 in the historical archives than in the titles of your house. For he himself would be 11
 12 called Saxonicus, Sarmaticus, and Alamannicus, and the one family would boast 12
 13 as many triumphs as the whole state has enemies.”⁴⁰ This practice also permitted 13
 14 some gallows humor in the 390s by the author of the *Augustan History*, who, after 14
 15 reporting that Caracalla had taken the titles “Germanicus, Parthicus, Arabicus, 15
 16 and Alamannicus,” added that he also could be called “Geticus,” traditionally 16
 17 “conqueror of the Getae,” but here referring to his murder of his brother Geta.⁴¹ 17

18 The emperors’ ability to maintain control over subdued barbarian peoples 18
 19 likewise was reflected in catalogues of Roman barbarian allies. Sidonius Apollinaris 19
 20 pulled out all the stops in his versified list of the barbarians who accompanied 20
 21 Majorian into Gaul in 459 (*Carm.* 5.474–477): 21

22 22
 23 Hoc totum tua signa pavet; Bastarna, Suebus, 23
 24 Pannonius, Neurus, Chonus, Geta, Dacus, Halanus, 24
 25 Bellonotus, Rugus, Burgundio, Vesus, Alites,⁴² 25
 26 Bisalta, Ostrogothus, Procrustes, Sarmata, Moschus 26

27 27
 28 28
 29 29
 30 30

31 ³⁸ *Ep.Aust.* 42: *Corpus Christianorum, series Latina (CCSL)* 107.464. 31

32 ³⁹ A phenomenon going back to the late Roman Republic; note Sallust, *Bell.jurg.* 18, 32
 33 “Victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.” 33

34 ⁴⁰ Pacat. *Pan. Lat.* 12/2.5: “An si eius saeculo mos ille vixisset, quo Romani duces 34
 35 Macedonici Cretici Numantini de vocabulis gentium subactarum adoptivum insigne 35
 36 sumebant, nonne hodie pauciora in annalium scriniis quam in vestrae domus titulis 36
 37 cognumenta legerentur?—cum ipse Saxonicus, ipse Sarmaticus, ipse Alamannicus 37
 38 diceretur et, quantum tota respublica habet hostium, tantum una familia ostenderet et 38
 39 triumphorum.” 39

40 ⁴¹ *HA Carac.* 9.5: “Nam cum Germanici et Parthici et Arabici et Alamannici nomen 40
 41 adscriberet (nam Alamannorum gentem devicerat), Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, 40
 42 dicitur ioco dixisse, ‘Adde, si placet, etiam Geticus Maximus’ quod Getam occiderat 41
 43 fratrem et Gothi Getae dicerentur, quos ille, dum ad orientem transit, tumultuariis proeliis 42
 43 devicerat.” 43

44 ⁴² See B. Bachrach, “A Note on Alites,” *BZ* 61 (1968): 35. 44

1 The “simple lists” of the preceding examples had the virtue of, well, simplicity. As 1
 2 suggested by Nazarius, the roll call of barbarian peoples, without any intervening 2
 3 verbiage, had a certain shock value. But the downside of these “simple lists” is 3
 4 that they told the reader or listener absolutely nothing at all about the individual 4
 5 character traits of the peoples being cited. The only effect was in the piling up 5
 6 of names. One size fit all, and no matter that one people dwelt in Scotland and 6
 7 another in Ethiopia. 7

8 8

9 *Descriptive Lists* 9

10 10

11 Other catalogues were mediated by intervening verbiage that gave the peoples at 11
 12 least a tiny bit of personal identity and created a rather different kind of rhetorical 12
 13 effect. They provided writers with a broader range of uses to which their cataloguing 13
 14 inclinations could be put. Individual barbarian peoples could be given familiar 14
 15 identifying characteristics. Pacatus, for example, in the aforementioned panegyric 15
 16 to Theodosius, briefly described the geographical situation and character traits of 16
 17 several barbarian peoples: 17

18 18

19 The Ocean does not make the Indian secure, nor the cold the one from the 19
 20 Bosphorus, nor the equatorial sun the Arab ... Shall I speak of the Goths received 20
 21 in military service in your camps? Shall I speak of the punishments received 21
 22 by rebellious Saracens for a violated treaty? Shall I speak of the Tanais put off 22
 23 limits to the Scythians and even the unwarlike bows of the fleeing Albanians?⁴³ 23

24 24

25 Likewise, Claudian, in his panegyric to Stilicho of 405 CE, effused, “Who but 25
 26 you could have driven the savage Visigoths back to their wagons or destroyed the 26
 27 boastful Bastarnae? ... For you the fearful shriek of the onrushing Alan had no 27
 28 terrors, nor the fierceness of the nomad Hun, nor the scimitar of the Geloni, nor 28
 29 the Getae’s bow, nor the Sarmatian’s club.”⁴⁴ In a similar manner, in his attack 29
 30 on Rufinus in 400 CE, Claudian stated, “There march against us a mixed horde 30
 31 of Sarmatians and Dacians, and the rash Massageta who wounds his horses for a 31
 32 drink, the Alan drinking water through the broken ice of Maeotis, and the Gelonus 32
 33 who tattoos his limbs.”⁴⁵ In lists of this sort, the litany of barbarian names, each 33

34 34

35 35

36 ⁴³ *Pan. Lat.* 2/12.22: “Non Oceano Indus, non frigore Bosporanus, non Arabs medio 36
 37 sole securus est ... Dicamne ego receptos servitum Gothos castris tuis militem ... dicam a 37
 38 rebellibus Saracenis poenas polluti foederis expetias? Dicam interdictum Scythis Tanain et 38
 39 imbelles arcus etiam fugientis Albani?” 39

40 ⁴⁴ Claud. *Cons.Stil.I.* 94ff.: “Quis enim Visos in plaustra feroces / repulit aut ... 40
 41 tumentes / Bastarnas ... potuit delere? ... nec te terrisonus stridor venientis Alani / nec vaga 41
 42 Chunorum feritas, nec falce Gelonus / non arcu pepulere Getae, non Sarmata conto” (trans. 42
 43 Platnauer, Loeb 1.373). 42

44 ⁴⁵ Claud. *In Rufinum* 1.307–314: “Mixtis descendit Sarmata Dacis / et qui cornipedes 43
 44 in pocula vulnerat audax / Massagetes caesamque bibens Maeotin Alanus / membraque qui 44

1	coupled with a few Homer-like epithets, focused on the diversity of the barbarian	1
2	peoples encountered by Rome rather than on their homogeneity. And small matter	2
3	that on one occasion the Geloni were known for their scimitars, and on another	3
4	for their tattoos.	4
5	After the fall of the western Roman Empire and the establishment of several	5
6	barbarian kingdoms, Roman writers transferred the cataloguing elements of	6
7	victory ideology from Roman emperors to barbarian kings. According to Sidonius	7
8	Apollinaris, suppliants to the Visigothic king Euric ca. 476 included “the blue-	8
9	eyed Saxon, afraid of the land ... the shorn-headed Sicambrian ... the Herul with	9
10	blue-grey eyes ... the seven-foot Burgundian ... the Ostrogoth oppressing the	10
11	Huns”; even the Parthians offered supplication, and as a sign of how the playing	11
12	field had changed, the list also includes “Romans seeking salvation.” ⁴⁶	12
13		13
14		14
15	Christian Ideology	15
16		16
17	Christian writers, too, had their own reasons for creating catalogues of barbarian	17
18	peoples. In the 430s, for example, the moralizing preacher Salvian of Marseille	18
19	purported to demonstrate that barbarian character flaws were no worse than	19
20	Christian ones:	20
21		21
22	The Saxons are savage. The Franks are treacherous. The Gepids are ruthless.	22
23	The Huns are lewd. In short, the life of all barbarian nations is corruption itself.	23
24	Do you think their vices have the same guilt as ours? Is the lewdness of the	24
25	Huns as blameworthy as ours? Is the perfidy of the Franks as reprehensible as	25
26	ours? Is the drunkenness of the Alamanni as blameworthy as the drunkenness of	26
27	Christians? Is the rapacity of the Alans as much to be condemned as the greed	27
28	of Christians? What is stranger if a Hun or Gepid cheats, he who is completely	28
29	ignorant of the crime of cheating? What will a Frank who lies do that is new, he	29
30	who thinks perjury is a kind of word and not a crime? ⁴⁷	30
31		31
32	ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus.”	32
33	⁴⁶ Sid. Apoll. <i>Epist.</i> 8.9.5 <i>carm.</i> 21–45, “Istic Saxona coeruleum videmus / Assuetum	33
34	ante salo, solum timere / Cujus verticis extimas per oras / Non contenta suos tenere morsus	34
35	/ Altat lamina marginem comarum / Et sic crinibus ad cutem recisis / Decrescit caput,	35
36	additurque vultus / Hic tonso occipiti, senex Sicamber / Postquam victus es, elicis retrorsum	36
37	/ Cervicem ad veterem novos capillos / Hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur / Imos Oceani	37
38	colens recessus / Algosio prope concolor profundo / Hic Burgundio septipes frequenter /	38
39	Flexo poplite supplicat quietem / Istis Ostrogothus viget patronis / Vicinosque premens	39
40	subinde Chunos / His quod subditur, hinc superbit illis / Hinc, Romane, tibi petis salutem /	40
41	... Ipse hic Parthicus Arsaces precatur.”	40
41	⁴⁷ <i>De gub. dei</i> 4.14: “Gens Saxonum fera est, Francorum infidelis, Gepidarum inhumana,	41
42	Chunorum impudica; omnium denique gentium barbarorum vita, vitiositas. Sed numquid	42
43	eumdem reatum habent illorum vitia quem nostra, numquid tam criminosa est Chunorum	43
44	impudicitia quam nostra, numquid tam accusabilis Francorum perfidia quam nostra, aut tam	44

1 He also contrasted supposed barbarian virtues with Christian wickedness, although 1
 2 even here barbarian positive traits alternated with negative ones: “The Gothic na- 2
 3 tion is lying, but chaste; the Alans are unchaste, but they lie less. The Franks lie, 3
 4 but they are generous. The Saxons are savage in cruelty, but admirable in chasti- 4
 5 ty.”⁴⁸ As always, however, one wonders to what extent these traits were manifested 5
 6 in reality, especially given Salvian’s inconsistency in his ascription of negative 6
 7 characteristics: the Franks are in one place treacherous but in another lying; the 7
 8 Goths are here ruthless but there lying. 8

9 The triumphalist ideology used to such great effect by the Roman imperial 9
 10 government also was adopted by Christian writers in their efforts to demonstrate 10
 11 the degree to which Christianity embraced the entire *orbis terrarum*.⁴⁹ In the late 11
 12 second century, putting new spin on the book of Acts 2.9–10, Tertullian could ask, 12
 13 “Indeed, the nations believe in (Christ), ‘Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and 13
 14 the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judaea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, 14
 15 Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene.’” He 15
 16 then described, in his own words, others who believed in Christ, including, 16

17
 18 The Jews in Jerusalem and other peoples, such as the different kinds of Gaetuli 18
 19 and the many frontiers of the Moors, and all the borders of Spain and the varied 19
 20 nations of Gaul and, inaccessible to the Romans but surrendered to Christ, the 20
 21 places of the Britons and the Sarmatians and the Dacians and the Germans and 21
 22 the Scythians and of many hidden nations and provinces and of many islands 22
 23 unknown to us and which we are unable to enumerate.⁵⁰ 23
 24 24

25
 26 reprehensibilis ebrietas Alani quam ebrietas Christiani, aut tam damnabilis rapacitas Albani 25
 27 quam rapacitas Christiani? Si fallat Chonus vel Gepida, quid mirum est, qui culpam penitus 26
 28 falsitatis ignorat? Si pejeret Francus, quid novi faciet, qui perjurium ipsum sermonis genus 27
 29 putat esse, non criminis?”; translation from J.F. O’Sullivan, trans., *The Writings of Salvian,* 28
 30 *the Presbyter* (Washington, DC, 1977), p. 114. 29

30 ⁴⁸ Salv. *De gub.dei* 7.15: “Gothorum gens perfida, sed pudica est; Alanorum impudica, 30
 31 sed minus perfida; Franci mendaces, sed hospitales; Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate 31
 32 mirandi.” 32

33 ⁴⁹ Otto J. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns: Studies in their History and* 33
 34 *Culture* (Berkeley, CA, 1973), p. 263: “If the lists of converted peoples in Tertullian and 34
 35 Arnobius were the products of exegesis, those of the post-Nicaean fathers were pure 35
 36 rhetoric. Poets and theologians indulged in exotic names” See P. Geary, “Barbarians 36
 37 and Ethnicity,” in Peter Brown, Glen Bowersock, Andre Grabar, eds., *Late Antiquity: A* 37
 38 *Guide to the Postclassical World* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 106–129, at 107, on mixing 38
 39 and matching barbarian names, and Heather, “Disappearing,” pp. 95–96, on Christian 39
 40 catalogues. 40

41 ⁵⁰ Tertullian, *Adversus Iudaeos* 7.4: “Cui etenim crediderunt gentes, Parthi et Medi 41
 42 et Elamitae et qui habitant Mesopotamiam Armeniam Phrygiam Cappadociam, incolentes 42
 43 Pontum et Asiam Pamphylia, immorantes Aegypto et regiones Africae quae est trans 43
 44 Cyrenen inhabitantes, Romani et incolae, tunc et in Hierusalem Iudaei et ceterae gentes, 44
 44 ut iam Gaetulorum varietates et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniarum omnes termini et 44

1	Tertullian was careful to add his concluding rider to ensure that no nation anywhere	1
2	escaped his assertion of inclusivity.	2
3	Later Christian writers also laid claim to catalogues of barbarian peoples.	3
4	Paulinus of Nola told how Nicetas of Remesiana had spread the gospel among the	4
5	Scythians, Getae, and Dacians. ⁵¹ Jerome wrote to Laeta, “From India, from Persia,	5
6	and from Ethiopia we welcomed crowds of monks every hour. The Armenians	6
7	have laid aside their quivers, the Huns are learning the psalter, the frosts of Scythia	7
8	are warmed by the fires of the faith, the ruddy and yellow-haired army of Getae	8
9	carries about tents of churches.” ⁵² And in the mid-sixth century, Martin of Braga	9
10	in Spain was credited with creating a versified list—very similar to Sidonius’ list	10
11	of barbarian allies—of peoples who had converted to Christianity:	11
12		12
13	Immanes variasque pio sub foedere Christi	13
14	Adsciscis gentes: Alemannus, Saxo, Toringus,	14
15	Pannonius, Rugus, Sclavus, Nara, Sarmata, Datus,	15
16	Ostrogothus, Francus, Burgundio, Dacus, Alanus	16
17	Te duce nosse deum gaudent; tua signa Suevus. ⁵³	17
18		18
19	This last example in particular demonstrates the degree to which the Roman	19
20	catalogue tradition had been assimilated into Christian ideology.	20
21		21
22		22
23	Roots in Reality	23
24		24
25	But, turning from the literary to the real world, to what degree, one might ask,	25
26	did these lists represent the presence of actual peoples bearing these names? The	26
27	answer to this question depends to some degree on chronological perspective.	27
28	Once a people’s name had been entered into the “master list,” it pretty much stayed	28
29	there forever. Writers such as Caesar, Pliny the Elder, and Tacitus provided lengthy	29
30		30
31	Galliarum diversae nationes et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christo vero subdita	31
32	et Sarmatarum et Dacorum et Germanorum et Scytharum et abditarum multarum gentium	32
33	et provinciarum et insularum multarum nobis ignotarum et quae enumerare minus	33
34	possumus?”	34
35	⁵¹ Paul.Nol. <i>Carm.</i> 18.245–264: “Ad tuos fatus Scythia mitigatur ... et Getae currunt,	35
36	et uterque Dacus.”	36
37	⁵² Jer. <i>Epist.</i> 107: “De India, Perside, Aethiopia, monachorum quotidie turbas	37
38	suscipimus. Deposuit pharetras Armenius, Hunni discunt Psalterium, Scythiae frigora	38
39	fervent calore fidei: Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus, ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria.”	39
40	This theme was picked up by Paula and Eustochium in a letter to Marcella, <i>apud Jer. Epist.</i>	40
41	46. 9, “Quid referamus Armenios, quid Persas, quid Indiae, et Aethiopiae populos.”	41
42	⁵³ <i>MGH AA</i> 6.2.195, from the manuscript <i>Parisinus latinus</i> 2832 of the eighth century,	42
43	entitled “Versus Martini Dumiensis episcopi in basilica” = <i>Anthologia Latina</i> no. 349; for	43
44	Martin, a Pannonian, and his church, see Greg.Tur. <i>Hist.</i> 5.37. For similar, see also Ven.	44
	Fort. <i>VGerm.Par.</i> 193; and Paul.Diac. <i>Hist.Lang.</i> 2.26.	

1 lists of northern peoples attested as of the end of the first century CE, many of 1
 2 which—such as the Suevi, Marcomanni, Quadi, Sicambri, Chatti, Burgundians, 2
 3 Vandals, and Gothi—made regular appearances in later catalogues.⁵⁴ 3

4 But the “barbarian canon” also was dynamic and evolving. The names of new 4
 5 peoples made their way in. The third century saw the appearance in the Verona 5
 6 catalogue and other lists of a number of previously unattested peoples, such as the 6
 7 Franks, Alamanni, and Saxons. And in the second half of the fourth century, still 7
 8 new groups appeared on the scene, such as the Huns, Gepids, Vesi, Ostrogoths, 8
 9 and Geloni. Finally, the post-Roman period saw additional new arrivals, such as 9
 10 the Slavs and Bulgars. And the recent arrivals certainly got a better press than the 10
 11 old-timers. For example, Sidonius cited only nine of 38 names available from 11
 12 the Principate, but ten of 24 post-third-century peoples.⁵⁵ Thus, even though the 12
 13 compilers of late antique lists of barbarian peoples did favor the names of peoples 13
 14 who actually existed in their own times, they also used their literary license to flavor 14
 15 their lists with names from the hoary past, in an effort, no doubt, to anchor their 15
 16 lists in antiquity and endow them with the same sense of permanence conveyed by 16
 17 the catalogues of Caesar, Pliny, and others. 17

18 In addition, we can be fairly confident that, at least at the time of its initial 18
 19 appearance, a people not only existed but also was a cause of interest or concern. 19
 20 But, subsequently, once a name had become part of the canon, one can be less and 20
 21 less confident that a people who appears in an extended list is meant to be anything 21
 22 more than a placeholder, part of the “cast of thousands” who provided the literary 22
 23 flavoring for the main course. 23

24 Indeed, ancient writers themselves realized that the names of barbarian peoples 24
 25 they so readily cited were not fixed in stone. In the 550s, for example, the Gothic 25
 26 historian Jordanes spoke of the Venetae, “whose names now are altered in various 26
 27 families and places; they principally are called the Slavs and Antes.”⁵⁶ And, in 27
 28 general, it was recognized that the same peoples could go under different names or 28
 29 be understood to be incorporated into a larger super-group. 29

30 In general, the creation and use of lists of barbarian peoples represented more 30
 31 than just literary tours de force by writers who wanted to display their encyclopedic 31
 32 learning or poetic skill. They also were an integral part of Roman, Christian, and 32
 33 barbarian political ideology that viewed barbarian peoples collectively, whether as 33
 34 a completely homogeneous body or with very minimal identifying characteristics, 34
 35 as a means of presenting a simplified picture of how Romans, Christians, and 35
 36 barbarian kingdoms could classify and deal with the multitudes of different 36
 37 37

38 ⁵⁴ Caesar, *BG* 1.51, 2.4, 4.1–18, 5.39, 7.4, 7.75; Tacitus, *Germ.* 29, 31–46, and *Ann.* 38
 39 1.51.1; Pliny, *HN* 3.8–36, and 4.40, 96–118. 39

40 ⁵⁵ And Jordanes used 7 of 38 early names, but 11 of 27 later ones. 40

41 ⁵⁶ *Jord. Get.* 5: “Venetarum natio populosa consedit, quorum nomina licet nunc per 41
 42 varias familias et loca mutantur, principaliter tamen Scлавени et Antes nominantur”; also 42
 43 *Get.* 23: “Nam hi, ut in initio expositionis vel catalogo gentium dicere coepimus, ab una 43
 44 stirpe exorti, tria nunc nomina ediderunt, id est Venethi, Antes, Scлавени.” 44

1	peoples who manifested a multitude of different governments, customs, religions,	1
2	and ways of life.	2
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