1.0 INTRODUCTION

The topic of "Ammianus Marcellinus' use of animal imagery to describe barbarians" was chosen as a result of the following investigation.

All the metaphors and comparisons¹ in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus were identified and categorized, and those taken from the animal world were seen to form by far the largest group. Further identification and categorization within the animal group revealed that the images used to describe barbarians and officials respectively, constituted by far the largest categories. This method of identifying and categorizing images obviously involves a subjective approach and because of this its validity may be questioned, since these processes may differ from reader to reader and thereby result in differing numbers of images.² Fortunately, in the case of Ammianus Marcellinus' imagery, the animal images in general so outnumbered those in the other categories, and, within the animal category itself, those images used of barbarians and officials respectively, were so dominant that the subjective element was of no significance.³

¹The term "comparison" is used in preference to "simile" because ancient rhetoricians did not regard simile as an independent figure of comparison, as does modern usage; in its purpose and in its method of use simile does not differ from other figures of comparison. See McCall, p. 259.

²See Hornstein, PMLA LVII (1942), 639-40; cf. Tuve, pp. 420-21.

³See histograms in Appendices A and B.

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AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS' USE OF ANIMAL IMAGERY
TO DESCRIBE BARBARIANS

by

Margaret Doetsch, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Classics
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

September 17th, 1975

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Ammianus Marcellinus' use of animal imagery
to describe barbarians.

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Thesis Supervisor

Chairman, Department of Classics

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ABSTRACT

In the work of Ammianus Marcellinus there are many examples of animal imagery to describe barbarians. This thesis examines these in relation to ancient rhetorical theories on imagery and to the use of animal imagery of barbarians in tradition and in writers contemporaneous with Ammianus, it also considers them from the point of view of the general style and historical functions of the work. The analysis shows Ammianus' animal imagery of barbarians to be unique in terms of its emotional and imaginative values, although with regard to the moral purpose of the history its use is firmly established in the past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Dr. R. C. Blockley for his helpful supervision during the preparation of this thesis.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHR	American Historical Review
BAGB	Bulletin de l'Association G. Bude
CPh	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
G&R	Greece and Rome
IS	Lewis and Short
PhQ	Philological Quarterly
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
RPh	Revue de Philologie
WS	Wiener Studien

TRANSLATIONS

Except where indicated, the translations in this thesis are the author's own. When use has been made of other translations, the reader is referred to those translations for any deviations from them.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

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All the metaphors and comparisons¹ in the work of Ammianus Marcellinus were identified and categorized, and those taken from the animal world were seen to form by far the largest group. Further identification and categorization within the animal group revealed that the images used to describe barbarians and officials respectively, constituted by far the largest categories. This method of identifying and categorizing images obviously involves a subjective approach and because of this its validity may be questioned, since these processes may differ from reader to reader and thereby result in differing numbers of images.² Fortunately, in the case of Ammianus Marcellinus' imagery, the animal images in general so outnumbered those in the other categories, and, within the animal category itself, those images used of barbarians and officials respectively, were so dominant that the subjective element was of no significance.³

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²See Hornstein, PMLA LVII (1942), 639-40; cf. Tuve, pp. 420-21.

³See histograms in Appendices A and B.

This predominance of animal images used of barbarians and officials seemed worthy of examination. However, an in-depth study of one category appeared preferable to a cursory treatment of both groups. Personal interest therefore led to an investigation of the images used of barbarians.

In previous studies of Ammianus critics have made cursory comments on the use of animal imagery to describe barbarians,⁴ but no detailed work has, to the author's knowledge, been undertaken on the subject. It is therefore proposed in this thesis to study in great depth Ammianus' use of animal imagery with regard to barbarians and to determine its effect on his historical work.

In view of the influence of rhetoric on ancient writers, it is intended first of all to investigate Ammianus' possible awareness of ancient rhetorical theories on metaphor and comparison. These theories themselves will then be analysed. Because of the importance of literary tradition to ancient writers, the use of animal imagery for barbarians by previous authors will be studied. Contemporary usage in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. will also be examined in order that Ammianus' work may be judged in relationship to this. The thesis will then analyse Ammianus' use of animal

⁴ Ensslin, pp. 32-33; Demandt, pp. 31-32; Vogt, p. 27; Camus, pp. 116-117; Fontaine, BAGB (1969), 429-30.

imagery for barbarians with regard to rhetorical theories,
literary tradition and contemporary usage. Finally,
Ammianus' animal imagery will be examined in relation to the
general style and historical functions of his work.

2.0 BIOGRAPHY OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

A life devoted for the most part to study and writing would seem to indicate that Ammianus Marcellinus was probably aware of ancient theories on metaphor and comparison.

Ammianus, a Greek from Antioch,¹ was probably born about the years A.D. 327-335.² In all likelihood he belonged to the hereditary group of the curiales, those middle-class townsmen upon whom the duties of local government fell. In his work he describes himself as a "gentleman",³ whilst the fact that he was a staff-officer (protector et domesticus), a member of the high-ranking palace troops when still a young man,⁴ is also an indication that he came from a good background, for unless one's family wielded influence,

¹A.M. XXXI, 16, 9, and Libanius, Ep. 1063.

²This approximate date is calculated in the following way. In 357 Ammianus describes himself as an adulescens (A.M. XVI, 10, 21). This term is usually applied to an individual between the ages of fifteen and thirty. If one takes the upper limit of thirty, this gives a birth date no earlier than 327. In 354 Ammianus first appears in the pages of his history, where one finds him attached to the staff of Ursicinus, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry in the East (A.M. XIV, 9, 1). He must have been at least nineteen years old at the time since that was the earliest age for recruits at that period (Cod. Theod. VII, 13, 1). This gives a birth date no later than 335. See Dautremar, p. 11, and Rowell, p. 23.

³A.M. XIX, 8, 6, ingenuus.

⁴Ibid. XV, 5, 22; XVI, 10, 21.

the only way to achieve this rank was through long, meritorious service.⁵ It would also appear that he might have been threatened with conscription for curial service under Julian.⁶ Moreover, the whole tone of his history is middle-class being very much concerned with the economic and social misfortunes of the curiales.⁷

Nothing is known about his early life and education but, given his social background, he probably underwent a rhetorical training since this was still regarded as an essential preparation for political and professional activity.⁸ In Antioch there was every opportunity for this seeing that it boasted schools comparable to those of Athens, where both Greek and Latin rhetoricians were to be found.⁹

⁵Cod. Theod. VI, 24, 3.

⁶This is deduced from his hostility to Julian's attempts to enlist people for curial service (A.M. XXI, 12, 23; XXII, 9, 12; XXV, 4, 21). See Ensslin, pp. 5-6; cf. Pack, CPh XLVIII (1953), 80-85. For further evidence of Ammianus' curial background see Thompson, p. 2.

⁷Eg. A.M. XXI, 16, 17; XXII, 4, 3; 12, 6-7; XXV, 4, 17. For a detailed study of Ammianus Marcellinus as a middle-class historian see Anderson.

⁸Libanius, Ep. 245, 8; Or. III, 19; XXXIV, 25; XXXV, 1; cf. Themistius 339b, c.

⁹Libanius Or. I, 104; 112, 216; XL, 22; XLIII, 19; Ep. 534; 539; 566. For a study of the schools of Antioch, see Walden, pp. 265-281.

As stated previously, he entered the army as a young man and was enrolled among the protectores et domestici.

In 354 one finds him attached to the staff of Ursicinus, Master of the Cavalry in the East.¹⁰ This initial tour of duty in the East was short-lived since in 354 Ursicinus was recalled to the West because, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, Constantius believed that he had designs on the imperial power for his children.¹¹ He was therefore given the difficult task of suppressing Silvanus the Frank who had made himself emperor at Cologne. Ammianus accompanied him.¹²

He remained with Ursicinus in Gaul until 357 and was therefore in close proximity to Julian, the newly appointed Caesar, whom he eventually considered the greatest Roman of the period.¹³ After Gaul, Ursicinus was sent back to the East, still accompanied by Ammianus.¹⁴ However, when the Persians began hostilities in 359, he was again recalled to the West, but on reaching Thrace he was ordered back to Mesopotamia to meet the Persian attack which had finally been launched.¹⁵

¹⁰ A.M. XIV, 9, 1; 3.

¹¹ Ibid. XIV, 11, 2-5. Thompson (pp. 43-45) disputes this, believing that Ursicinus was recalled only for the purposes of consultation on military matters, an intention rejected by Ammianus as pretence.

¹² A.M. XV, 5, 17-31.

¹³ Ibid. XXV, 4, 1-15.

¹⁴ Ibid. XVI, 10, 21.

¹⁵ Ibid. XVIII, 6, 5.

This attack culminated in Roman defeat at Amida which brought about the dismissal of Ursicinus in 360.¹⁶ Ammianus is not found on the staff of his successor, Agilo, and it is therefore assumed by some biographers that he retired into private life.¹⁷ This seems unlikely in view of the fact that he took part in Julian's Persian campaign of 363.¹⁸ However, after the failure of this expedition and Julian's death, Ammianus appears to have retired from army life and to have returned to live at Antioch, having spent from nine to seventeen years in the army depending on the date of his birth.¹⁹

With his retirement from the army Ammianus seems to have dedicated himself full-time to intellectual pursuits in preparation for his future historical work.²⁰ It is believed that he stayed in Antioch for the next sixteen years, presumably reacquainting himself with the theories learned during his rhetorical training and reading anew or for the first time those authors, borrowings from whom abound in his

¹⁶Ibid. XIX, 1-9; XX, 2, 5.

¹⁷Eg. Klein, p. 6, and Seek, E-W. I, 1846.

¹⁸A.M. XXIII, 5, 7.

¹⁹See p. 4, n. 2.

²⁰Dautremer, p. 37; cf. Thompson, pp. 12-13.

work.²¹ At the same time he also travelled abroad, visiting Alexandria with its vigorous intellectual life and certain parts of Greece with its long cultural tradition.²²

The last part of his life was probably spent in Rome. Whilst there are no direct references in Ammianus' work stating that he had ever been to Rome, it is known from Libanius that he was there in 392 when Libanius wrote to him from Antioch congratulating him on the success of his work at Rome.²³ Moreover, as Rowell points out,²⁴ there are several passages in which Ammianus so describes the Roman scene that one can only conclude that he was witness to this. The passages in question are those in which he characterizes with great detail the Roman nobility and the lower classes.²⁵ It is difficult to determine just exactly when he went to Rome, but a date soon after 378 has been suggested²⁶ because of the fact that in his last book Ammianus so describes one of the Thracian battle-fields as would seem to suggest that

²¹For lists of borrowings from other writers see Michael; Fletcher; RPh LXIII (1937), 378-395; Owens.

²²A.M. XXII, 16, 15-19; XVII, 4, 6; XXVI, 10, 19.

²³Libanius, Ep. 1063 (our last known reference to Ammianus).

²⁴Rowell, p. 27.

²⁵A.M. XIV, 6, 7-25; XXVIII, 4, 6-34.

²⁶Thompson, p. 14; cf. Rowell, p. 27.

he saw this soon after the completion of the war, which ended in the battle of Adrianople in 378, the last major event to be described in his work.²⁷ It is not unlikely, therefore, that Ammianus visited Thrace on his way to Rome shortly after 378.

At Rome Ammianus presumably devoted all his energies to writing his history. In view of the facilities available to him in Antioch and on his travels, probably much of the preparatory work had been done before he reached Rome. With regard to the remaining background work, he apparently did not receive all the help he anticipated in Rome, since he complains of the attitude of the Roman nobility towards foreigners and learning.²⁸ These complaints perhaps stem from the possibility that he was one of the educated foreigners expelled during the famine of 384 when entertainers were allowed to stay.²⁹ This cool reception by the Roman nobility and their disdain for the serious pursuit of knowledge also suggest that most of the groundwork for his history had been done prior to his arrival in Rome.

²⁷ A.M. XXXI, 7.16.

²⁸ A.M. XIV, 6, 12-15; 18; 22; XXVIII, 4.17.* For Ammianus' attitude towards the Romans see Thompson, G & R XI (1942), 130-4.

²⁹ A.M. XIV, 6, 19. The year 383 has also been suggested for his possible expulsion. For a discussion of these disputed dates see Palanque, REA XXXIII (1931), 346-356, and Paschoud, pp. 64-65.

Thus, the greater part of Ammianus' life seems to have been dedicated to study and writing. Prior to his entry into the army, he probably underwent a rhetorical training, given his social background. His military career presumably curtailed this intellectual activity for some time. However, the rest of his life seems to have been devoted to study which culminated in his historical work. During the course of his studies it is highly probable that he became versed in rhetorical principles on metaphor and comparison because of the importance attached to rhetoric by ancient writers.

3.0 ANCIENT RHETORICAL THEORIES ON METAPHOR AND COMPARISON

In the following discussion of ancient rhetorical ideas on metaphor and comparison the works of rhetoricians who lived prior to the third century A.D. will be examined, since by that time works of rhetoric were nothing more than handbooks of different rules with the briefest of discussions for each rule, and offering no insight into the various topics listed.

In ancient rhetorical theory, metaphor and comparison tend to be defined in terms of logical considerations. Metaphor therefore is described as "the transfer of the name of one thing to something else, either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on the principle of analogy",¹ whilst comparison is described either as the genus² or species³ of metaphor differing from the latter by the presence of a comparative particle or conjunction. Cicero in his definition of metaphor did go a

¹Arist. Po. 21, 1457^b, 6-9, μεταφορά δὲ ἐστὶν ὀνόματος ἑλλοτρίου ἐπιφορά ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδους ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶδους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον.

²Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 6, 8, "In totum autem metaphora brevior est similitudo ..." of. Cic. De Orat. III, 39, 157.

³Arist. Rhet. III, 4, 1406^b, 20-22, "Ἐστὶν δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἴπῃ τινὲς Ἀχιλλεὺς ὡς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν, εἰκὼν ἐστὶν, ὅταν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπόρουσε, μεταφορά... of. Homer, Il. XX, 164.

little further than a transference of ideas in that he hinted at the synthetic force of metaphor, defining this as "a short form of comparison, contracted into one word; this word is placed in a context not belonging to it as if it were in its own place and if it is recognized it is a source of pleasure, but if it contains no similarity it is rejected."⁴ Hermogenes of Tarsus is the only one who emphasized the synthetic force of metaphor:

"Figurative use of language is found with the introduction of a term not connected with the subject-matter but signifying some other object which is able to unite both the subject under discussion and the extraneous object. This is also called metaphor by the grammarians, but one should not consider it in the way they describe, namely as the transfer from inanimate to animate and the opposite, for on the whole rhetoric has nothing to do with such an approach..."⁵

After defining metaphor and comparison for the most part along logical lines, ancient rhetoricians then proceeded to discuss their types and functions.

⁴Cic. De Orat. III, 39, 157, "Similitudinis est ad verbum unum contracta brevis, quod verbum in alieno loco tamquam in suo positum si agnoscitur, delectat, si simile nihil habet, repudiatur" For a discussion of the authenticity of this passage, see Appendix C.

⁵Spengel, Rhet. Graec. II, 254. Τροπή ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου πράγματος ἁλλοτρίου δι' ἑμφαντικὸν ὄνμα θεῖναι κοινὸν εἶναι δυνάμενον καὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου καὶ τοῦ ἐξωθεν ἐμφανόμενου, ὃ καλεῖται καὶ μεταφορά παρὰ τοῖς γραμματικοῖς οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι, τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐψύχων εἰς τὰ ἐψύχια, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἐψύχων εἰς τὰ ἀψύχια, γὰρ ἡ ῥητορικὴ πολυπραγμονοῦσα μὴδὲν μήτε ἐψύχων μήτε ἀψύχων...

3.1 Metaphor

Two types of metaphor were recognized which were defined in terms of their functions. Cicero most clearly expresses the ancient position when he states that "necessity gave birth to metaphor owing to the pressure of poverty and deficiency, but later delight and pleasure made it popular Therefore there are those metaphors which are types of borrowing when you take what you lack from elsewhere, whilst there are also the somewhat bolder ones which do not indicate poverty but give some kind of brilliance to the style."⁶

Within the linguistic category, in addition to the so-called "necessary" metaphors such as gemma for vinebud, sitire segetes for the drought of crops, and fructus laborare for the blight of fruit,⁷ there are those which started off as literary metaphors but which, through usage, became equated with the literal terms and developed into what modern terminology describes as dead metaphors. The author of the Thal' Euphrasia writes of this type when he says that "usage has so well established some metaphors that we no

⁶Cic. De Orat. III, 38, 155-56, "... quem necessitas genuit inopia coacta et angustiis, post autem iucunditas delectatioque celebravit Ergo haec translationes quasi mutuationes sunt, cum quod non habeas aliunde sumas, illae paulo audaciores, quae non inopiam indicant, sed orationi splendoris aliquid arcessunt ..."

⁷Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 6, 6.

longer need the literal expressions, on the contrary the metaphor has taken the place of the literal expression, for example, 'the eye of the vine' (shoot) etc."⁸

Turning to the literary type of metaphor, one sees that it was used specifically to embellish or denigrate a subject, to clarify it, and to make possible a greater understanding of reality. Aristotle categorized these functions and subsequent writers followed his theories. The following passages describe these traditional functions:

"... and if you wish to embellish your subject, you must derive your metaphor from the finest material of the same class, and if you wish to decry it, you must take it from the most degrading sources..."⁹

"Furthermore, the greatest elegance springs from metaphor and deception, for what a man has learned becomes clearer from the meaning being opposite, and the mind seems to say, 'how true, but I did not realize it'."¹⁰

Rhetoricians by their very nature are concerned with audience effect. Hence, for the most part, these functions

⁸ Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 2.27, οὕτω γοῦν ἑνὶ καὶ μετῆνεγκεν ἢ συνήθεα κελύβας ὥστε οὐδὲ κυρίων ἔτι εἰδείσθμεν, ἀλλὰ μεμίνηκεν τῇ μεταφορᾷ κατέχουσα τὸν τοῦ κυρίου τόπον, ὡς "ὁ τῆς ἀμπέλου ἀφ' ὧν ἄνθος" καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου τοιοῦτον.

⁹ Arist. Rhet. II, 2, 1405^a, 14-16, ... καὶ ἑκὼν τε κοσμεῖν βούληται, ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίων τῶν ἐν ταῦτῳ γένει φέρειν τὴν μεγαλειότητα, ἑκὼν τε φέγειν, ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων... Cf. Rhet. ad Her. IV, 34, 45; Cic. De Orat. III, 157-58; Περὶ Ὑψους, 22, 4-6; Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 2, 78; Quint. Inst. Orat. VII, 6, 6.

¹⁰ Ibid. III, 11, 1412^a, 19-22, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τὰ ὁμοειδῆ τὰ πλεονάζοντα διὰ μεταφορᾶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προσεχέμεν· μᾶλλον γὰρ γίνεταί ὁ λόγος ὅτε ἐμμεθῆ παρὰ τὸ ἐναντίως, ἔχειν καὶ εὐκλεῖν λέγειν ψυχρῇ ὡς ἡλιοφάνεια, ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἡλιόφάνειαν.
See previous footnote for references from later writers.

were regarded from the point of view of the listener. Cicero very clearly indicates this when he states that the listener is impressed by the strangeness of metaphor (compare Aristotle's comment in the previous quotation), by its synthetic force, and by its concrete representation of ideas.¹¹ However, the author of the Περὶ Ὑψους was very much aware of the fact that metaphor could reveal a writer's emotions and for him metaphor was the natural language of emotion:

"... but strong and appropriate emotions as well as genuine sublimity make acceptable the use of numerous and bold metaphors ... because it is in their nature to sweep and to drive everything else before them in the surging movement of their current. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that they definitely demand the hazardous as being essential for their effect and they do not allow the listener time to count them because he shares in the excitement of the speaker."¹²

Besides neglecting the writer's feelings, ancient rhetoricians, generally speaking, did not examine metaphor in terms of its imaginative value, although Aristotle and Cicero did recognize the genius involved in metaphor. According to Aristotle, "it is not possible to learn metaphor

¹¹ De Orat. III, 39, 159-160.

¹² Περὶ Ὑψους, 32, 4, ... ὁρῶν δὲ πλήθος καὶ τόλμης μεταφορῶν, ... τὰ εὐκλεῖα καὶ σφοδρὰ πάθη καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ὕψος εἶναι φησὶ ἴδια τινα ἀλεξιφάρμακα, ὅτι τῷ ῥοθίῳ τῆς φωνῆς περὶ πέφυκεν ἅπαντα τὰλλα παρασύρειν καὶ προωθεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν κύματι πάντως εἰσπράττεσθαι τὰ παραβόλα, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι τὸν ἀκροκτὴν σχολάζειν περὶ τὸν τοῦ πλήθους ἐλεγχον διὰ τὸ συνενοεῖν τῷ λέγοντι.

alone from anyone else, rather it is a sign of genius, for the making of good metaphors depends on perceiving the likenesses in things."¹³ The customary neglect of the imaginative aspects of metaphor probably resulted from the importance attached to the observance of specific rules, particularly that concerning customary usage, as will be seen in the following discussion of the rules for the use of metaphor.

The general rule for the usage of metaphor was appropriateness. Aristotle stated that "it is necessary to take one's metaphors ... from terms which are appropriate,"¹⁴ and all later rhetoricians adhered to this position. For an understanding of the elements of an appropriate metaphor, one can do no better than to turn to Cicero who most clearly expounds these:

"... in the first place lack of similarity must be avoided ... then one must take care that the similarity is not too far-fetched ... one must also avoid all unseemliness in the associations to which the comparison will direct the listener's thoughts.... I do not like the metaphor to be on a bigger or lesser scale than the subject demands ... I do not like the metaphorical term to be less

5
¹³ Arist. Po. 22, 1459^a, 6-8, μόνον γὰρ τοῦτο ὥστε πρὸ ἄλλου ἔστι λεῖψιν εὐφύας τε σημεῖον ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ εἰ μεταφέρειν τὸ τὸ ὁμοίον θεωρεῖν ἐστιν.
cf. Cic. De Orat. III, 39, 160.

¹⁴ Arist. Rhet. III, 11, 1412^a, 11-12, δεῖ δὲ μεταφέρειν ... ἀπὸ οἰκείων...

effective than the literal and proper word would have been ... And furthermore, if one is afraid of the metaphor's appearing too bold, it must be toned down with an introductory word, as is often done ..."¹⁵

C Thus, for a metaphor to be regarded as appropriate, there had to be similarity, restraint, and effectiveness, and in determining these qualities the writer was not to rely on his own judgment but was always to be guided by customary usage, as the author of the Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας emphasized:

"Usage, which is our teacher in all other matters, is especially so with regard to metaphors ..."¹⁶

Thus, from this analysis of the functions and practical usage of metaphor as described by the ancient rhetoricians, the following conclusions can be drawn. There were two types of metaphor, linguistic and literary, which were defined in terms of their functions, the one being used to overcome a scarcity in vocabulary and including

¹⁵ De Orat. III, 40-41, 162-65, "... primum est fugienda dissimilitudo ... Deinde videndum est ne longe sit ductum ... Fugienda est omnis turpitudine earum rerum, ad quas eorum animos, qui audient, trahet similitudo nolo esse aut maius, quam res postulet ... nolo esse verbum angustius id quod translatus sit, quam fuisset illud proprium ac suum ... Atque etiam, si vereare, ne paulo durior translatio esse videatur, mollienda est praeposito saepe verbo ..." cf. Rhet. ad Her. IV, 34, 45; Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 32, 6; Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 2, 78; 80; 83-85; Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 6, 14-18.

¹⁶ Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 2, 86, Πάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ συνήθειαν καὶ μέλιον μεταφορῶν διδασκαλός...

dead metaphors, the other being employed for stylistic purposes. A rhetorician by his very nature is concerned with the audience rather than with the writer. Generally speaking, therefore, the author's emotions were neglected, whilst a preoccupation with rules resulted for the most part in a disregard for his imaginative powers. However, a minority of rhetoricians did recognize these important aspects.

3.2 Comparison

In comparison one is confronted by a more complex phenomenon than that of metaphor, since the ancient rhetoricians had more than one term for comparison and sometimes disagreed in their interpretations of the various terms.¹⁷ The problem is further compounded by the all too brief and baffling nature of their discussions. Of all the ancient rhetoricians Quintilian offers the most insight into the question of comparison, although his work is not without difficulties. In the following discussion an attempt will be made to clarify the confusion of ideas which confronts one in ancient rhetorical theories on comparison.¹⁸

¹⁷The terms for comparison which are discussed in any detail are the Greek, *παράβολον*, *εἰκὼν* and *εἰκασία*, and the Latin, *similitudo* and *imago*. For the types of comparisons to which these are applied see Appendix D.

¹⁸For a detailed study of comparison see McCall's book which the present author found very helpful in her study of comparison.

Two main types of comparison were recognized which, as in the case of metaphor, were defined according to their functions, one being employed for arguments, the other for stylistic purposes. This is expressed most clearly by Quintilian who states that "the invention of comparisons has also offered an excellent means of illuminating our descriptions: of these, there are some which are inserted among our arguments for proof, whilst others are designed to give vividness to our pictures."¹⁹ The former could also have a stylistic effect, for comparisons in general were regarded as embellishments of thought (exornationes sententiarum).²⁰ Hence Quintilian states that "the type of comparison which I discussed with regard to arguments also embellishes a speech and makes it sublime, rich, attractive, or striking."²¹

The two main categories of comparisons seem to have been further subdivided in terms of their effectiveness.

¹⁹ Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 3, 72, "Praeclare vero ad inferendam rebus lucem repertae sunt similitudines: quarum aliae sunt quae probationis gratia inter argumenta ponuntur, aliae ad exprimendam rerum imaginem compositae ..."

²⁰ Rhet. ad Her. IV, 34, 46.

²¹ Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 3, 74, "Sed illud quoque de quo in argumentis diximus similitudinis genus ornat orationem, facitque sublimem floridam iucundam mirabilem." Aristotle, however, deviated from this concept, separating the two. See Appendix D.

With regard to comparisons used in arguments, Quintilian considered the most effective to be the extended type "which is drawn from almost equal subject-matter without any admixture of metaphor", such as "just as those who have been accustomed to receive bribes in the Campus Martius are wont to be especially hostile to those candidates whose money they suspect of having been withheld, in the same way the judges then came into court prejudiced against the accused."²²

In this example both situations come from the sphere of public life; the details are parallel, and there is no metaphor such as a term like serpere used instead of venire to obscure the main point by evoking a serpent image. In this passage it seems to me that Quintilian is hinting at the basic differences between comparison and metaphor, for

²² Quint. V, 11, 22, "... quae ducitur citra ullam tralationum mixturam ex rebus paene paribus: 'ut qui accipere in campo consueverunt iis candidatis quorum nummos suppressos esse putant inimicissimi solent esse sic eius modi iudices infesti tum reo venerant.'" Aristotle also seems to have demanded like subject-matter in comparisons used for arguments in so far as he considered it absurd to compare men and animals; cf. Arist. Pol. II, 2, 1264^a, 4-6. The similarity in view-point between Aristotle and Quintilian seems to have ended there in that the example used by Aristotle to illustrate the comparison used in arguments fits into the category of what Quintilian describes as the common comparison; cf. Arist. Rhet. II, 20, 1393^a, 4-8, and page 21. Whilst the example quoted of Quintilian's ideal comparison is in the form of a simile, form does not seem to have been a distinguishing factor, since only the subject-matter and lack of metaphorical content are singled out. With regard to the other types of comparisons used for arguments and the different kinds of stylistic comparisons, the same disinterest in form is apparent both from the lack of comment on the part of the rhetoricians and from the examples quoted by them.

he appears to be rejecting metaphor in the present passage because it is too imaginative and emotional to be included in a comparison used for arguments which depends for its effect on explicitness and cold logic. Stanford very clearly delineates these differences between metaphor and comparison when he points to Aristotle's attempt to paraphrase by means of a comparison Pericles' metaphor, "the Spring has been lost from our year."²³ Aristotle writes that "the youth that had died in the war, had so vanished from the city, as if one were to take the spring from the year."²⁴ In attempting to develop logically both parts of the comparison, he produces a lengthy image and thereby considerably reduces the imaginative and emotive value of the metaphor which has nothing to do with reason but is an immediate reaction to the death of the youths. Quintilian seems to me to be pointing to these very distinctions between metaphor and comparison when he rejects the use of metaphor in what he regards as the most effective type of comparison used in arguments.

Quintilian differentiates between his own ideal comparison and what he describes as the common comparison used in arguments, in terms of disparate subject-matter, for

²³Stanford, p. 29.

²⁴Arist. Rhet. III, 10, 1411^a, 2-4, ... ὥσπερ Περικλῆς εἶπεν
τὴν νεότητά τὴν ἀπολωμένην ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὕτως
ἡφανίσθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὥσπερ εἰ τις τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ
τοῦ ἐνέκυστου ἐξέλκοι.

this type of comparison "is accustomed to compare things whose resemblance is far less obvious."²⁵ One can also assume from his comments on the most effective type of comparison and from examples quoted to illustrate the common comparison that metaphorical content could also be a distinguishing factor. As an example of this type of comparison Quintilian gives the following from Cicero's Pro Murena.²⁶

"But if those who are just entering port from the high seas are accustomed to show the utmost zeal in warning those who are just leaving of the state of the weather, the possibility of pirates, and the nature of the shorelines because it is a natural instinct for us to take an interest in those who may experience the same dangers that we have endured, what attitude then should I, now in sight of land after being violently tossed at sea, have towards this man who I see must face the most violent storms?"²⁷

According to Quintilian's criteria of what constitutes the most effective type of comparison, this one from Cicero is lacking in that the situations are not parallel, being taken from different spheres of human activity, whilst the metaphor in the subject part, even though carried over from

²⁵ Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 23, "... longius res quae comparentur repetere solet."

²⁶ Cic. Mur. 2, 4.

²⁷ Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 23, "... quod si e portu solventibus qui iam in portum ex alto invehuntur praecipere summo studio solent et tempestatum rationem et praedonum et locorum, quod natura adfert ut iis faveamus qui eadem pericula quibus nos perfuncti sumus ingrediantur: quo tandem me animo esse oportet, prope iam ex magna iactatione terram videntem, in hunc, cui video maximas tempestates esse subeundas?"

the sea-sailor image of the comparative part, diverts the attention of the reader from the specific comparison being made. However, this type of comparison seems to have been favoured by the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium since he uses it to illustrate the kind of comparison that should be used in arguments: "In the form of a negation and for the purposes of argument, the following type of comparison will be used: 'an untrained horse, however well-built by nature, cannot be fit for the services desired of a horse, nor can an uncultivated man, however well-endowed by nature, attain virtue.'"²⁸

Both by Quintilian's and Aristotle's standards this comparison loses in effectiveness because of the analogy drawn between man and animal.

Least effective for Quintilian as a comparison to be used in arguments was that dealing with personal characteristics.²⁹ However, the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium recommended this type specifically for emotional

²⁸Rhet. ad Her. IV, 46, 59, "Per negationem dicetur probandi causa hoc modo: 'Neque equus indomitus, quamvis bene natura compositus sit, idoneus potest esse ad eas utilitates quae desiderantur ab equo; neque homo indoctus, quamvis sit ingeniosus, ad virtutem potest pervenire.'"

²⁹Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 24.

arguments.³⁰ For the most part this type of comparison seems to have been constructed in the form of a simile with the order of subject/comparison and a description of varying length belonging directly to the comparative part and metaphorically to the subject:

"That despicable individual" who every day glides through the middle of the forum like a crested serpent with curved fangs, poisonous gaze, and mad panting, glancing this way and that to see if he can find anyone to blast with venom from his throat, to smear it with his lips, to drive it in with his fangs, to spatter it with his tongue."³¹

³⁰ Rhet. ad Her. IV, 49, 62. McCall in his comments on this passage states that this type of comparison is neither used for arguments nor for stylistic purposes but is purely emotional in its function (page 81). It seems to me that in increasing the categories of comparison McCall goes contrary to the theories of the ancients themselves who divided comparisons into those used for arguments and those with a stylistic function (see, for example, Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 3, 72). I prefer to think that in this passage the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium is discussing a type of comparison used in arguments, one by which an audience will be persuaded either to support or censure an individual. The fact that other rhetoricians regarded this type of comparison as one that could be used for arguments, also seems to support this point of view; cf. Cic. De Invent. I, 30, 49 and Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 24.

³¹ Rhet. ad Her. IV, 49, 62, "... Iste qui cotidie per forum medium tamquam iubatus draco serpit dentibus aduncis, aspectu venenato, spiritu rabido, circum inspectans huc et illuc si quem reperiat cui aliquid mali faucibus adflare, ore attingere, dentibus insecare, lingua aspergere possit;" cf. Demosthenes, Adv. Aristogeit. 1, 52. This type of comparison could also be expressed merely as a descriptive likeness without any specific comparison of two situations, for example, "Who is he making that distorted face of an old barefooted dancer?" (Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 24, "... quis istam faciem planipedis senis torquens?..." This is possibly from C. Cassius Parmensis, a poet and dramatist of the 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.)

Perhaps for the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium it was the recognition of metaphor as the language of emotion that caused him to suggest the use of this type of comparison for emotional arguments. Quintilian on the other hand, as previously illustrated,³² seemed to reject the use of emotional comparisons in arguments and to prefer those based on reason. For him, therefore, it was probably the metaphorical content along with the disparate subject-matter and lack of development of the subject part, which considerably weakened this type of comparison for use in arguments, so much so that he stated that "this kind of comparison which the Greeks call εἰκὼν and by which the appearance of things or persons is expressed ... should be more sparingly used in arguments than those comparisons which help to prove our point."³³

From the above discussion it appears that the ancient rhetoricians were divided on the desirability of metaphorical content and disparate subject-matter in comparisons used for arguments. With regard to stylistic comparisons, however, all seemed to agree that these elements made for effective comparisons. Their differences were concerned with the relative effectiveness of the detailed and abridged comparisons and the suitability of their use in prose.

³²See pp. 20 and 21.

³³Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 24, "... admonendum est rarius esse in oratione illud genus, quod εἰκόνα Graeci vocant, quo exprimitur rerum aut personarum imago ..."

The author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium and Quintilian recommended that for vividness a poetical type of comparison should be used in which there was a reciprocal presentation of both parts of the comparison.³⁴ It would also appear from the examples given that one is concerned with the reciprocal presentation of dissimilar situations with the comparative part applied metaphorically to the subject. As one example of this type of comparison Quintilian gives the following:

"... for as storms are often preceded by certain premonitory signs in heaven, but often on the other hand break out unexpectedly from some obscure cause without any warning whatsoever, so with the storms that sway the people at election times one often understands their origin but often on the other hand they are so obscure that they seem to have erupted without any cause."³⁵

³⁴Rhet. ad Her. IV, 47, 60. "Ante oculos ponendi negotii causa sumetur similitudo - dicetur per conlationem ..." cf. Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 3, 79; it is he who considers this type of comparison as worthy of a poet; hence the term "poetical" applied to it.

³⁵Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 3, 80, "... nam ut tempestates saepe certo aliquo caeli signo commoventur, saepe inproviso nulla ex certa ratione obscura aliqua ex causa concitantur: sic in hac comitiorum tempestate populari, saepe intellegas quo signo commota sit, saepe ita obscura est ut sine causa excitata videatur;" cf. Cic. Mur. 17.36. To illustrate the vivid comparison the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium (IV, 47, 60) gives a long simile with the comparative part describing a magnificently dressed and imposing lyre player who sings and moves in a distorted manner and is therefore driven from the stage, and the subject part portraying a man of noble birth with striking looks and possessing great wealth but lacking virtue, who is consequently driven from the stage of life because of this lack. Presumably it is the metaphorical content in this comparison which distinguishes it from that which he recommended for arguments since both are reciprocally presented; see p. 23.

Thus it appears that for Quintilian those very elements which weakened comparisons used for argument, namely disparate subject-matter and metaphorical content, made for effective stylistic comparisons. In making the distinction he seems to me to be differentiating between the two categories in terms of imaginative and emotional qualities. The comparison that is not drawn from parallel situations and which contains metaphor is too imaginative and emotional to be employed in a comparison used in arguments which has to be exact and confining in its details and without a hint of prejudice. The one is the product of a more vivid imagination stirred by emotion, the other of a more rational mind. Comparisons therefore for Quintilian were probably to be examined not only in terms of their effect on the listener but also according to the imagination and emotions of the writer.³⁶

For the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium and for Quintilian a poetical type of comparison was most effective for vividness. In contrast to this point of view is the one expressed by the author of the Περὶ Ἐμπνεύσεως who states

³⁶ It is possible that the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium also viewed comparisons in this way seeing that there is metaphorical content in the examples given of stylistic comparisons and of those used for emotional arguments, whilst there is none in the example used to illustrate his other type used for arguments. However, in view of the limited number of examples available and the lack of comment on the part of the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium it is impossible to state this with any certainty.

that poetical comparisons are to be used sparingly in prose, and then only in the grand, graceful, and plain styles.³⁷

Whilst recognizing the imaginative qualities of detailed comparisons, which relate them very closely to poetry and its imaginative nature, yet he neglects the explicitness of comparison, which states that one thing is like something else and which makes comparison to some extent explanatory like prose. However, in his discussion of the abridged comparison the author of the Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας did realize that this type was useful in prose and should be used in preference to bold metaphors.³⁸ There he recognizes the prosaic nature of some comparisons and he also appears to me to be evaluating comparison and metaphor in terms of the writer's descriptive powers and emotions: for him metaphors were more daring than comparisons and presumably stemmed from a more lively and excited imagination.

Aristotle goes even further than the author of the Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας and asserts that every kind of stylistic comparison is poetic by nature and by virtue of this must be used with the utmost caution in prose.³⁹ Aristotle's position on the subject of comparison is very contradictory.

³⁷ Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 2.90; 3.146; 4.209.

³⁸ Ibid. 2, 80.

³⁹ Arist. Rhet. III, 4, 1406^b, 24-25.

Whilst allowing the use of metaphor in prose, he rejects the use of comparison, although he describes the latter as metaphor with the addition of a comparative particle or conjunction.⁴⁰ Moreover, the examples of comparison immediately following his statement concerning the poetic nature of comparison are all prose examples.⁴¹ One therefore might have expected him to review his position. Furthermore, one finds him questioning the length of comparisons which in contrast to the brevity of metaphor made them less effective as a medium for seeing all the facets of reality implied in the terms of the comparison: in its explicitness, comparison circumscribes our thoughts, metaphor gives them free rein to explore.⁴² One might have therefore expected him to consider this expansiveness as ideally suited to prose, but his initial example from Homer seems to have determined his conclusions.

The author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium recognized the highly metaphorical nature of the abridged comparison but, rather than treating it as a poetical device after the manner of Aristotle, he like the author of the Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς

⁴⁰ Ibid. Rhet. III, 4, 1406^b, 20-22; see p. 11, n. 3.

⁴¹ Arist. Rhet. III, 4, 1406^b, 27 - 1407^a, 11; the examples are taken from orators and prose writers of the 5th and 4th centuries - Androtion, Theodamas, Plato, Pericles, Demosthenes (the 5th century Athenian general), Democrates, and Antisthenes.

⁴² Ibid. III, 10, 1410^b, 17-20.

recommended its use in prose regarding it as an excellent means of clarification. Its effectiveness in clarifying a situation rests in the fact that it is very close to metaphor: an intermingling of the two parts gives it an almost synthetic force, whereby the two elements of the comparison form, as it were, one commanding image. As an example of this type of comparison, the following is given:

"In maintaining a friendship, as in a footrace, you should train yourself not only so that you can go the required distance, but also so that by stretching yourself in will-power and strength you may easily run further."⁴³

As the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium states, "the comparison is presented in an abridged form, for one term is not detached from the other as in the other comparisons, but the two are conjoined and intermingled in the presentation."⁴⁴

The humorous comparison is yet another type of stylistic comparison discussed by the ancient rhetoricians. Unlike the other stylistic comparisons discussed so far, this type is

⁴³ Rhet. ad Her. IV, 47, 60, "... In amicitia gerenda, sicut in certamine currendi, non ita convenit exerceri ut quoad necesse sit venire possis, sed ut productus studio et viribus ultra facile procurras;" cf. Περὶ Ἐρμηνείας, 2, 80,

⁴⁴ Ibid. "Dictum autem simile est per brevitatem, non enim ita ut in ceteris rebus res ab re separata est, sed utraque res coniuncte et confuse pronuntiatae."

not expressed in the form of a comparison but has instead the metaphor form. Presumably it was classified as a comparison because of its origin: it appears to have been derived from the popular fifth and fourth century game of *εἰκισμός/ἀντεκκαυμός*, in which one person would ask what some individual was like and provide his own answer to which the second person would make a comparison in reply.⁴⁵ The humour provided by this type of comparison came for the most part from the use of nicknames:

"In the case of nicknames a kind of comparison is employed, for there is wit in the contrast made. Writers may use such comparisons as "Egyptian clematis" of a tall, swarthy man and "sheep at sea" of a fool on the water."⁴⁶

The detailed, abridged, and numerous comparisons along with their respective functions were the types of stylistic comparisons generally recognized by ancient rhetoricians. The following conclusions can therefore be drawn about ancient rhetorical ideas on comparison.

There were two main types of comparison, those used primarily in arguments and the chiefly stylistic ones. Both groups seem to have been subdivided on the basis of their

⁴⁵See McCall, pp. 13, 152, et passim.

⁴⁶Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 3, 172. Περὶ δὲ σκωμμάτων μὲν οἷον εἰκασίς τις ἐστίν· ἡ γὰρ ἀντιθέσις εὐτρεπέλιος· χρῆσονται, τε τὰς τοιαύτας εἰκασίας, ὡς Ἀἰγυπτίαν κλημάτις, μακρὸν καὶ μέλαν, καὶ τὸ Ὀυλίσσιον πρόβατον, τὸν μῶρον τὸν ἐν τῇ Ουλίσσῃ.

effectiveness which appears to have been determined by their structure and content.

Within the comparisons used for arguments three types were apparently recognized. One type was the detailed comparison constructed out of like subject-matter and free of metaphorical content: this type was regarded as most effective by Quintilian. A second type, also detailed in structure, seems to have been composed of dissimilar subject-matter and/or metaphorical content: it would appear that this was the most commonly used among comparisons for arguments. The third type recognized was that dealing with personal characteristics and used in emotional arguments: for the most part, this was constructed in the form of a simile with the order of subject/comparison and a description of varying length belonging directly to the comparative part and metaphorically to the subject.

With regard to stylistic comparisons, it would appear that three types were also generally recognized. On the one hand there was the detailed comparison which seems to have been constructed from dissimilar subject-matter and metaphor: this type was regarded by certain rhetoricians as being most effective for achieving vividness. On the other hand there was the abridged comparison which apparently consisted of a short phrase, with a description, belonging strictly to the comparison, applied directly and metaphorically to the subject: this comparison was considered as very effective

for the purposes of clarification.' Finally there was the humorous comparison which was in fact metaphor, but seemingly because of its origins was described as comparison.

In determining the suitability of all the various types of comparisons for their respective functions, the ancient rhetoricians to some extent seem to have taken into consideration the basic differences that exist between comparison and metaphor, between the explanatory, logical, and rational nature of the one and the synthetic, imaginative, and emotional qualities of the other.

4.0 THE USE OF ANIMAL IMAGERY OF BARBARIANS IN LITERARY TRADITION.

In the previous chapter the importance of customary usage to a writer was indicated.¹ It is therefore the purpose of the present chapter to examine how the predecessors of Ammianus Marcellinus employed animal imagery with regard to barbarians. The choice of writers was made on the basis of providing a cross-section of the uses of animal imagery for barbarians in, for the most part, historians. The study therefore will examine the work of Strabo, Dio Cassius, Caesar, Velleius and Tacitus. As a preliminary to this, the term "barbarian" will be analyzed to provide a background against which the usage of the imagery is to be judged.

4.1 An analysis of the term "barbarian".

The term "barbarian" was, generally speaking, used of non-Greeks and non-Romans.² Originally it was also employed by the Greeks of the Romans and even, in jest, the Romans applied it to their own native culture. Hence Plautus could

¹Page 17.

²For more detailed information on the term "barbarian" see Bevan, Jones, and Carlyle, ed. Marvin, pp. 48-113, and Ehrenberg, pp. 173-181.

say that he was translating Greek plays into a barbarian tongue.³ However, with the Roman defeat of Pyrrhus in the third century B.C. and the emergence of Rome as an important power, with the realization that there was some affinity between the Greek and Roman cultures since both had developed within free city-states, and with the spread of Hellenic culture among the Romans, the term "barbarian" ceased to be applied to them by the Greeks. Henceforward barbarians were either non-Greeks or non-Romans.

For the Greeks who lived prior to the fifth century B.C., the term "barbarian" had a linguistic connotation. There was no value judgement attached to it. The word was used of anyone who could not speak the Greek tongue, who made noises like "bar bar" instead of speaking Greek. Whatever the people, whether civilized or not, they were barbarians because of their inability to talk Greek.

In the fifth century B.C., notably as a result of the struggle with Persia, the Greeks realized that they possessed a culture superior to that of other races, the differences being moral and intellectual. Hence the term "barbarian" came to be associated with a notion of cultural inferiority. Evidence of this is very apparent in Euripides who makes frequent reference to barbarian inferiority and Greek

³Plaut. *Asin.* prol. 11; cf. *Trin.* prol. 19.

superiority.⁴ Aristotle, writing a century later, very clearly summarizes the Greek attitude. He states that the Greeks combined the moral quality of free men with intellectual capacity. Northern tribes certainly had their liberty but they did not have the intelligence to develop a civilization whilst the Asiatics had the brains but not the free spirit.⁵ Isocrates went even further than this, believing that in terms of intellectual ability the Greeks were also superior to the Asiatics for "they have minds better trained for understanding and for the expression of ideas in words."⁶ The Greeks felt that they had a natural right to rule the barbarians and to impose their culture on these peoples. Isocrates was the great exponent of Greek imperialism: for example, in his address to Philip, the king of Macedon, he urges him to lead the Greeks to conquer Asia and to give to the Asiatic peoples the benefits of Greek culture in place of barbarian despotism.⁷ With the conquests

⁴For example, Eur. Med. 536-41; 591-92; 1330-43; Andr. 173-76; 243; 261-62; 647-54; 662-67; 870; Or. 405; 1110-15; 1507; 1527-28; IA 952-54; 1264-75; 1400-1. For a detailed study of the treatment of barbarians by 5th century dramatists see Bacon.

⁵Arist. Pol. VII, 1327^b, 24-33.

⁶Isoc. Or. XV, 294, ... τῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἔχοντες πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἄλλων.

⁷Ibid. Or. V, 104; 120-123; 137; 139; 154.

of Alexander the Great this belief became reality and in the centuries following Alexander the educated class in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt became Greeks in culture. With regard to the status of these Hellenized barbarians, one might believe from the above quotations that a Hellenized barbarian would be regarded as inferior to a Greek. In fact, this was not the case, for when a barbarian put on the mantle of Greek culture, he was considered a Greek, not a barbarian Greek. Hence, for example, one finds Zeno of Citium, a Phoenician from Cyprus, as founder of the Stoic school in Athens soon after the death of Alexander, whilst Diogenes, President of the Stoic School in the earlier part of the second century B.C., came from Babylonia.

The term "barbarian" besides acquiring a meaning of cultural inferiority, also developed a connotation of savage, cruel, etc., again as a result of the struggle with Persia. In Euripides one finds a comprehensive interpretation of the term. As Bacon points out, depending on the content, it can have the sense of wicked, savage, shameless, pitiless, effeminate, lecherous. She is also of the opinion that these qualities represent a contemporary Greek view of foreigners.⁸

These connotations of cultural inferiority and baseness for the term "barbarian" were to persist, so that

⁸Bacon, p. 12. For references from Euripides see Andr. 243; 261; Tr. 764; Hec. 326ff.; 1129; 1247ff; Med. 1323ff; Heracl. 131; IT 31; 389; 417; 739; 886; Or. 1110ff; 1351; 1369ff; Hel. 501; 1210.

at the end of the first century B.C. Dionysius of Halicarnassus differentiated between Greek and barbarian in the following way:

"...I would differentiate Greeks from barbarians, not by their name nor on the basis of their language, but by their conscience and their preference for decent behaviour, and especially by their refraining from inhuman treatment of one another. All in whose nature these qualities were found I believe ought to be called Greeks, but those of whom the opposite was true, barbarians. In the same way plans and actions which were reasonable and humane I consider to be Greek whilst those which were cruel and bestial, particularly when they affected relatives and friends, I regard as barbarous."⁹

This passage also indicates the possibility of change from barbarian to Greek without any hint of prejudice, which had also been allowed in preceding centuries.

With the spread of Greek culture among the Romans came the adoption of Greek attitudes towards barbarians. Cicero, in a letter to his brother, Quintus, who was governor of Asia in 60 B.C., expresses Roman debt to Greece and at the same time gives an indication of the Roman attitude towards barbarians:

⁹Dion. Hal. XIV, 6, 5-6, ... τὸ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐκ ὀνόματι διαφέρειν τοῦ βαρβάρου ἡγίουν οὐδὲ διαλέκτου χάριν, ἀλλὰ συνέσει καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων προκίρεσει, μέλει τε δὲ τῷ μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρώπινον φύσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους περὶ νομῆν. ὅσοις μὲν οὐκ ταῦτα ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπῆρθεν ἐν τῇ φύσει, τούτους οἶμαι δεῖν λέγειν Ἕλληνας, ὅσοις δὲ τὰναντία, βαρβάρους. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ φιλκνωσίᾳ διακρίνει, τε καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικὰς εἶναι λογίζομαι, τὰς δὲ ὡκείας καὶ θηριώδεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ συγγενεῶς τε καὶ φίλους γίνονται, βαρβαρικὰς.

"If the lot had made you a ruler of Africans, Spaniards or Gauls -- savage and barbarous peoples -- still it would have been your duty as a man of civilized feeling to study their well-being and to serve their interest and security. But seeing that we are set over a race of men who not only possess the higher culture, but are considered to be the source from which it has spread to others, we are especially obliged to repay them that which we have received at their hands. For I am not ashamed to confess that whatever we have accomplished has been achieved by the principles and methods handed down to us by Greek teachers and their works. And so, besides the general good faith which is the due of all mankind, we seem to owe it especially to that race of men to put into practice willingly the lessons that we have learned, amongst the very people by whose maxims we have been instructed."¹⁰

In this passage one sees expressed those ideas of cultural inferiority and baseness which the Greeks attributed to the barbarians relative to themselves. In another passage, this from the De Legibus, Cicero also indicates the possibility of change from barbarian to a civilized human being:

¹⁰ Cic. Ad. Q. Fr. I, 1; 27, "Quod si te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis praefecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuae consulere eorum commodis et utilitati salutique servire; cum vero ei generi hominum praesimus, non modo in quo ipsa sit sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus a quibus accepimus. Non enim me hoc iam dicere pudebit ... nos ea quae consecuti sumus iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque tradita. Qua re praeter communem fidem quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere vigemus, ut quorum praeceptis sumus eruditi apud eos ipsos quod ab iis didicerimus velimus expromere." (Translation largely due to Jones.)

"There is no resemblance in nature so great as that between man and man, there is no equality so distinct therefore whatever the definition of man, it alone is valid for all mankind For reason which is the only distinguishing feature between men and beasts ... is definitely common to all: men differ in their knowledge, but are equal in their capacity for learning There is no one of any race who under the guidance of nature cannot attain to virtue."¹¹

It was this attitude which was to allow barbarian subjects from East and West to become Roman citizens. For example, by means of the extension of the Latin right (the method by which municipal officials acquired full Roman citizenship), Pompey the Elder encouraged the spread of Roman culture in the region between the Po and the Alps. Under the Empire the Latin right was given not only to single towns and certain groups of individuals but also to whole districts so that, for instance, one finds Vespasian giving this right to all the urban communities of Spain. By means of service in the army, citizenship was also conferred. It was Augustus who started this policy by granting citizenship, after twenty-five years' service, to barbarian auxiliary troops and their families. Having served with the legions and become thoroughly Romanized, these individuals were considered worthy of Roman citizenship.

¹¹ De Leg. I, 10, 29-31, "Nihil est enim unum uni tam simile, tam par, quam omnes inter nosmet ipsos sumus itaque quaecumque est hominis definitio, una in omnes valet Etenim ratio, qua una praestamus beluis ... certe est communis, doctrina differens, discendi quidem facultate par Nec est quisquam gentis ullius, qui ducem naturam nactus ad virtutem pervenire non possit."

Against this background of barbarian cultural and moral inferiority, conditions which did, however, admit of change, the use of animal imagery for barbarians by Ammianus' predecessors will be examined.

4.2 The use of animal imagery of barbarians in literary tradition.

It is proposed to deal with the writers concerned in chronological order. Hence the analysis will first examine the imagery used by Caesar.

In the De Bello Gallico there are six passages where animal imagery is used to describe barbarians. In all cases the term ferus is employed, four times of the Germans and twice of the Belgic Nervii.

In analyzing the imagery used of the Germans, one finds that three of the uses occur in Caesar's description of his dealings with the Germans under Ariovistus.

The Germans were entering Gaul in ever-increasing numbers:

"At first about fifteen thousand of them crossed the Rhine; then, when those barbaric, wild animals had taken a liking for the farmlands, the way of life, and the wealth of the Gauls, more were brought over, and at the present time there are about one hundred and twenty thousand of them in Gaul."¹²

¹²Caes. B.G. I, 31, 5, "Horum primo circiter milia XV Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos pluris: nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et viginti milium numerum."

Gaul, however, was not their objective:

"Those barbaric, wild animals would not stop short after seizing the whole of Gaul, but, like the Cimbri and Teutoni before them, they would break forth into the Province and from there would rush into Italy."¹³

Communication with them was virtually impossible. When Ariovistus sent deputies to arrange some kind of discussion between the two parties,

"Caesar thought there was no reason for a parley especially since at the previous day('s parley) the Germans could not be restrained from discharging darts upon our men. He also believed it would be very dangerous to send one of his staff to him and so to expose a man to wild animals."¹⁴

In fact, the men that he did eventually send were immediately taken prisoner by Ariovistus.

In these passages Caesar is attempting to justify his destruction of an officially recognized ally, Ariovistus. He therefore uses the metaphorical term ferus to vilify the Germans for his audience and to arouse their fear and hatred. The term conveys the untamed, uncivilized nature of his opponents in striking contrast to the civilization it

¹³Caes. B.G. I, 33, 4, "Neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent."

¹⁴Caes. B.G. I, 47, 2-4, "Colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis quod pridie eius diei Germani retineri non poterant quin in nostros tela coicerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris obiecturum existimabat."

allegedly threatened. The characteristics of these wild creatures are also detailed specifically: aggressiveness, acquisitiveness, cruelty, recklessness, arrogance, and treachery.¹⁵ Caesar is manipulating the Roman attitude towards barbarians, which, as was seen in the previous section, regarded them as culturally and morally inferior. His Roman audience, accustomed to the wild beast fights of the Circus, would not remain unmoved by the word ferus. In the discussion of metaphor and comparison ancient rhetoricians were shown to be aware of the emotional intensity of metaphor,¹⁶ so that Caesar's choice of the metaphorical ferus was probably not unintentional. The audience would react immediately to the image of the German wild animals on the verge of invading Italy: they would fear and hate the Germans and would allow Caesar's treacherous treatment of an ally.

The word ferus was therefore used on the one hand for propaganda purposes. It would also seem to reflect Caesar's own cultural prejudice against the barbarians. In Book VI of the De Bello Gallico (VI, 21-23) Caesar gives an ethnographical description of the Germans, depicting a culture that is completely alien to that of the Romans. With regard to their religion, their economic and agrarian system, their method of tribal leadership in war, their

¹⁵Caes. B.G. I, 31,5; 12-13; 36, 7; 44, 1; 47, 2; 53, 7.

¹⁶Pages 15; 20-21; 23-28.

sexual mores, there are no similarities to Roman customs.¹⁷

Sherwin-White points to the series of negative statements which stylistically emphasize the alienation of the two cultures.¹⁸

The term ferus would therefore seem to be an expression of Caesar's own attitude towards the Germans: he felt that they were a wild people, totally dissimilar to the Roman people in their way of life. This belief, that the term ferus reflects Caesar's own attitude to the Germans, is perhaps strengthened by the fact that on another occasion Caesar uses the word to describe the northern tribes who lived near the mouth of the Rhine.¹⁹ Here it is found in juxtaposition with a description of the custom of those tribes of eating fish and birds' eggs. The custom seems to have provoked the use of the word ferus as a means of explaining the animal state of these tribes. It is interesting to note that Caesar hardly ever describes the barbarian Gallic tribes in terms of feri (the Nervii are the exception and are to be discussed in the following paragraph). As Sherwin-White points out,²⁰ the reason for this would seem to be that Caesar recognized points of contact between the

¹⁷ Compare with a similar description at IV, 1-3, which concentrates on the economic pattern of the German way of life.

¹⁸ Sherwin-White, pp. 29-30; cf. Caes. B.G. VI, 21, 1-2; 22; 23, 5-6.

¹⁹ Caes. B.G. IV, 10, 4.

²⁰ Sherwin-White, p. 29.

Gallic and Roman cultures: for example, the gods worshipped by the Gauls were similar to the Roman gods and the pattern of daily life, ~~though~~ differing in details, was the same.²¹

In describing the Belgic Nervii as wild animals, Caesar seems to be reacting once again to a culture that is very different from that of the Romans. One is led to this conclusion by the fact that on both occasions when he uses the term, he appears to explain its meaning by indicating the remoteness of these people from the effects of civilization: on the one hand, of the Belgic tribes the Nervii "lived farthest away",²² on the other hand, "traders had no means of access to them"²³ because they were afraid of the debilitating effects these outside contacts might have on them. In fact, the Nervii lived in close proximity to the Germans, so that in Caesar's mind they were associated -- they were both regarded as feri.²⁴

²¹Caes. B.G. VI, 17, 1-3; 19, 1-5.

²²Ibid., II, 4, 8, "... qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur longissimeque absint..."

²³Ibid. II, 15, 4, "... nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus ... esse homines feros."

²⁴It is unlikely that the use of the term ferus expresses any more than cultural prejudice as far as Caesar's own feelings towards the barbarians are concerned, although this term was intended to arouse fear and hatred in his audience. When he composed the De Bello Gallico in the winter of 52 B.C. as a defence of his campaigns and conquests in Gaul, Caesar had virtually reduced the whole of Gaul, had defeated marauding German tribes and had waged war successfully in Britain. It is improbable that with such a record of success Caesar would have written with fear of the Germans. As for hatred, it is hardly likely that Caesar would have found qualities to admire in the Germans (B.G. IV, 1, 8-9, and VI, 23) or would have advocated kindly treatment of the defeated Nervii (B.G. II, 28) if he had hated the barbarians.

In Caesar, therefore, the animal imagery would seem to have a two-fold purpose. On the one hand, with regard to the description of the campaign against Ariovistus, it was used primarily for audience effect to arouse their fear and hatred against the Germans so that they would judge Caesar's treacherous treatment of an ally with a more kindly eye. On the other hand, in this description and in the other instances where it occurs, it represents Caesar's reactions to cultures which were completely alien to his own and explains the wild nature of these cultures in contrast to the civilization of Rome.

The next author to be discussed is the geographer, Strabo, who lived from 64 B.C. to 19 A.D. Whilst known to us for his Geography, he was in fact a historian before a geographer, but unfortunately his Historical Sketches have not come down to us. He therefore has close links with the other writers in this study, but, more important for this analysis, his work gives detailed descriptions of barbarians. Thirteen examples of animal imagery were found and in those instances, one of the two terms, $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ or $\theta\eta\rho\omega\delta\eta\varsigma$, or variants thereof, occurred.

Of the Lusitanians, a northern Spanish tribe, Strabo speaks as follows:

"The intractability and wild animalism of these people have resulted not only from their engaging in warfare, but also from their remoteness; for the journey to their country, whether by sea or land,

is long, and since they are difficult to communicate with, they have lost their sociability and humanity. However, they are becoming more human now because of peace and of the sojourns of the Romans among them. But wherever such sojourns are rarer the people are more difficult and have more of the wild beast in them."²⁵

In disagreement with other writers as to the urbanized state of Spain, he gives the following reasons:

"In the first place, the country is not naturally capable of containing many cities because of the poverty of its soil or because of its remoteness and wildness, and, secondly, the ways of life and the activities of the inhabitants, apart from those who live on the seaboard of Our Sea, do not suggest anything of the kind: those who live in the villages are wild animals (and such are most of the Iberians), and even the cities themselves cannot easily tame their inhabitants when these are outnumbered by the creatures that live in the forests for the purpose of injuring their neighbours."²⁶

The Cantabrians, another northern Spanish tribe, and their neighbours are described as living

"on a low moral plane - that is, they have regard, not for a rational way of life, but rather for satisfyin^g their physical needs and bestial instincts -- unless some one thinks these men have regard for

²⁵ Str. III, 3, 8, Τὸ δὲ ἐνήμερον καὶ ἀγριώδες οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν συμβέβηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ πλοῦς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μακρὸς καὶ χεῖ ὁδὸς, δυσεπί-
μεκτοὶ δ' ὄντες ἀποβεβλήκασι τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ φίλινθρωπον. ἥτιον δὲ νῦν τοῦτο πάχους διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίδημιν. ὅσοις δ' ἥτιον τοῦτο συμβαίνει χαλεπώτεροί εἰσι καὶ θηριώδεστεροι. The translations of Strabo are largely due to Jones.

²⁶ Ibid. III, 4, 13, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς χώρας φύσις πόλεων ἐπιδεκτικὴ πολλῶν. ἔστι διὰ τὴν ἀποστήτητα ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν καὶ τὸ ἐνήμερον, οὐθ' οἱ βίος καὶ πράξεις αὐτῶν (ἐξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς) ὑπερχορεύουσι τοιοῦτον. οὐδὲν γὰρ οἱ κατὰ κώμας οἰκοῦντες. τοιοῦτοι δ' οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰβήρων. αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἡμεροῦσιν οὐδ' αὐταὶ ῥαδίως ὅταν πλεονάζῃ τὸ τὰς ὕλης ἐπὶ κακῶ τῶν πλησίων οἰκοῦν.)

rational living who bathe with urine which they have aged in cisterns, and wash their teeth with it, both they and their wives."²⁷

Strabo gives examples of "the stories relating to the ferocity and bestial insensibility"²⁸ of the northern Spanish tribes, especially of the Cantabrians: the killing of children by mothers to prevent their capture by the enemy, the killing of captive parents by a young child, the killing of fellow captives, and suicide by horrific methods rather than capture. Such instances of "ferocity and bestial insensibility" are also found among the Celtic, Thracian, and Scythian tribes.²⁹ In the following chapter Strabo again refers to the insensibility of the Cantabrians quoting as a further example of this trait the singing of the pæan of victory by some captive Cantabrians nailed to crosses. Commenting on this, he says that "such traits as these would indicate a certain wild animalism, and yet there are other things which, although not marks of civilization perhaps, are not bestial."³⁰

²⁷ Str. III, 4, 16, ... τὸ μὴ πρὸς δακρυγῆν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀνδύκην καὶ ὀργὴν Θηριώδη μετὰ ἔθους φαύλου ἦν· εἰ μὴ τις οὐκ ἔταλ πρὸς δακρυγῆν ἦν τοὺς οὐρῶ λουομένους ἐν δεξιμένῳ πικλομένῳ καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας σπληνόμενους καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν...

²⁸ Ibid. III, 4, 17, ... τὰ πρὸς ὁμότητι καὶ ἀπόνειαν Θηριώδη...

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid. III, 4, 18, τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡθῶν ἀγριότητος τινος παραδείγματ' ἂν εἴη· τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἡττον μὲν ὥς πολιτικά, ὅδ' Ἰβηριώδη δὲ...

With regard to the Irish, he states that "they have more of the wild animal in them than the Britons since they are man-eaters as well as herb-eaters and since they regard it as honourable to eat their fathers when they die, and to have intercourse openly, not only with other women, but also with their mothers and sisters."³¹ Man-eating is also said to be a custom of the Scythians.³²

In describing the Germans, Strabo speaks of them as having "more of the wild animal in them" than the Celts.³³ The Celts have become more human through contact with Roman civilization, so that now they have turned to agriculture from their old warlike way of life and are becoming involved in pursuits which produce the cultured man.³⁴

He mentions the Scythian custom of sacrificing strangers, eating their flesh, and using their skulls as drinking-cups. This custom is labelled as "wild animalism", whilst the Scythians themselves are described as having

³¹Str. IV, 5, 4, ... ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Βρεττανῶν ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κατακοῦντες αὐτὴν, ἐνθρῳποφύγοι τε ὄντες καὶ ποθηφύγοι, τοὺς τε πατέρας τελευτήσαντας καταθίεν ἐν καλῷ τεθειμένοι καὶ φανερώς μίσγεσθαι τῷς τε ἄλλαις γυναῖξιν καὶ μητέροι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς...

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid. VII, 1, 2, ... τῷ τε πλεονεκμῷ τῆς ἀγριότητος...

³⁴Ibid. IV, 1, 2; 5; 11; 14; IV, 4, 2.

"numerous wild animal qualities."³⁵ Elsewhere, he says that "their burials, customs, and their way of living as a whole, are alike, that is they are self-assertive, warlike, uncouth, wild animals".³⁶

As for the Dardanians, "they are such terribly wild animals that they dig caves beneath their dung-hills and live there".³⁷

Finally, in his description of the Illyrian seaboard Strabo states that "in earlier times it was despised, perhaps through ignorance of its fertility, but more likely because of the wild animalism of the inhabitants and their piratical habits."³⁸

In these passages, Strabo shows himself to be the perfect witness of the cultural and moral superiority felt by Greeks and Romans towards barbarians, particularly the northern tribes: each passage reiterates the inferiority of the barbarians -- they live far removed from civilization, with no concept of the agricultural and urban way of life,

³⁵Str. VII, 3, 7. ... τὴν ἀγριότητα... αὐτοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα τοιοῦτους.

³⁶Ibid. XI, 8, 7. ... καὶ ταφαὶ δ' ἐστὶ περικλήρικαι καὶ ἥθη καὶ ὁ σύμπας βίος, αὐθέκαστος μὲν, σκυρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀγριὸς καὶ πολεμικός...

³⁷Ibid. VII, 5, 7. ἀγριοὶ δ' ὄντες οἱ Δαρδάνιοι τελέως, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ ταῖς κορυφαῖς δρύκντες σπήλαια ἐνταῦθα δικάτας ποιεῖσθαι...

³⁸Ibid VII, 5, 10, τοιαύτη δ' ὁδοὺς ὠλεώμεστο πρότερον ἢ Ἰλλυρικὴ παραλία, τέχῃ μὲν καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπων τῆς κρητῆς, τὸ μὲντοι πλέον διὰ τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ ληστρικὸν ἔθος.

and with customs totally unacceptable to the civilized man. The animal terms, *ἄγριος* and *θηρῶδες*, would appear to be used to emphasize the alienation of the barbarians. The recognition of metaphor by the ancient rhetoricians as an effective means of emphasizing reality has already been seen,³⁹ and in the passages from Strabo the barbarians are portrayed as wild animals apparently for this very purpose, to depict vividly the uncivilized state of the barbarians in contrast to the civilized state of the Greeks and Romans. The educated audience for whose instruction Strabo wrote, would immediately recognize the gulf between themselves and the barbarians.⁴⁰

However, Strabo did not regard this gulf as impassable. He bears testimony to the liberal attitude generally shown by Greeks and Romans towards barbarians and described at the beginning of this chapter. He believes that it is not the intrinsic nature of the barbarians which makes them into wild animals, but circumstances. Once the circumstances have changed through contact with civilizing influences, the barbarians gradually lose their animal characteristics, as Strabo indicated in the passage about the Lusitanians, "who are becoming more human now because of peace and of the

³⁹Pages 12 and 14.

⁴⁰For Strabo's comments on the purpose of the Geography see I, 1, 22-23.

sojourns of the Romans among them."⁴¹ This liberal attitude, whilst it has its roots in tradition, is all the more understandable in Strabo in that at the time of his writing the barbarians had been everywhere crushed and defeated.

Strabo's animal imagery, therefore, seems to be motivated by cultural prejudice, being used to emphasize the cultural differences which separated barbarians from Greeks and Romans.

In turning to Velleius Paterculus, one finds certain points of contact between him and Amianus Marcellinus in that as an officer in the Roman army he too was personally involved in fighting barbarians, notably the Germans and Pannonians, at a time of danger to the Empire, and he too idolized the emperor, namely Tiberius, under whom he had served.

In Velleius there are eight examples of animal imagery, seven of which involve the use of the words, ferus or feritas, and one which employs the term pecus.

Four of the eight examples of imagery are employed of the Germans. In his description of the terrible Varine disaster of A.D. 9, Velleius attributes this to the deception of the Germans

⁴¹ Str. III, 3, 8; see p. 47, n. 25. For further examples of debarbarization, see Strabo, III, 2, 15; 4, 20; IV, 1, 2; 5, 11; 14; IV, 4, 2. He also recognized that civilization could have a bad effect on barbarians in its introduction to luxurious living; see VII, 3, 7.

"who in their utter wild animalism and cunning, which are scarcely credible unless you have experienced them, trumped up a series of fictitious lawsuits. By provoking one another to dispute and then expressing their gratitude that Roman justice was settling them, that their own wild animalism was being tamed by this new and hitherto unknown method, and that quarrels which were usually settled by arms were now being ended by law, they reduced Quintilius (Varus) to a complete state of helplessness. He came to look upon himself as a city praetor administering justice in the forum, and not a general in command of an army in the heart of Germany."⁴²

The outcome of this deception was that Varus was attacked completely unawares by the Germans, the Roman army "was exterminated almost to a man by the very enemy whom it had always slaughtered like cattle,"⁴³ and "the body of Varus, partially burned, was mangled by the enemy in their wild animalism."⁴⁴

⁴² Vell. II, 118, 1, "At illi, quod nisi expertus vix credat, in summa feritate versutissimi natumque mendacio genus, simulantes fictas litium series et nunc provocantes alter alterum in iurgia, nunc agentes gratias quod ea Romana iustitia finiret feritasque sua novitate incognitae disciplinae mitesceret et solita armis discerni iure terminarentur, in summam socordiam perduxere Quintilium, usque eo, ut se praetorem urbanum in foro ius dicere, non in mediis Germaniae finibus exercitui praeesse crederet." The translations of Velleius are largely due to Shipley.

⁴³ Ibid. II, 119, 2, "... ab eo hoste ad interuiccionem trucidatus est, quem ita semper more pecudem trucidaverat ..."

⁴⁴ Ibid. II, 119, 5, "Vari corpus semiustum hostilis laceraverat feritas ..."

The portrayal of the Germans as wild, cruel, savage animals, would seem to spring from the fact that Velleius was part of the relief force sent to the Rhine after the great disaster of Varus in A.D. 9. That this disaster made a terrible impact on him is seen from his comments about it: the news of the disaster is described as "calamitous",⁴⁵ whilst the disaster itself is said to be "most awful" and "the heaviest that had befallen the Romans on foreign soil since the disaster of Crassus in Parthia."⁴⁶ To confront the perpetrators of such a misfortune must have been a forbidding experience so that even in its recollection

Velleius is filled with fear and hatred which are reflected in the repetition of the word feritas. The emotions of Velleius are also evident in the portrayal of the Germans as being "like cattle". This abridged comparison which has almost the synthetic force of metaphor⁴⁷ virtually transforms the Germans into a herd of stupid animals: such had they been previously in the face of the Roman army. Yet now these bovine creatures had just destroyed "an army unexcelled in bravery, the first of Roman armies in discipline, in

⁴⁵Vell. II, 117, 1, "... funestae ..."

⁴⁶Ibid. II, 119, 1, "... atrocissimae calamitatis, qua nulla post Crassi in Parthis damnum in externis gentibus gravior Romanis fuit ..."

⁴⁷For this type of comparison and its close affinity to metaphor see above, pp. 29-30.

energy, and in experience in the field."⁴⁸ This terrified Velleius.

Contrary to the general attitude towards barbarians which considered them equal in intelligence to Greeks and Romans, Velleius, in respect to the Germans, regarded them, as inferior in terms of innate ability. Besides being reflected in the above comparison, this is also apparent from a comment made about Arminius, the German leader in the Roman defeat, that "he possessed an innate ability quite beyond the average barbarian."⁴⁹ Moreover, Velleius believed that the Germans were incapable of debarbarization for he ridicules Varus for thinking that they "who were men only in limbs and voice and who could not be broken by the sword, could be calmed by the law."⁵⁰ In this respect also, he stands at variance with tradition.⁵¹ Sherwin-White best sums up

⁴⁸Vell. II, 119, 2, "Exercitus omnium fortissimus, disciplina, manu experientiaque bellorum inter Romanos milites princeps ..."

⁴⁹Ibid. II, 118, 2, "... ultra barbarum promptus ingenio ..."

⁵⁰Ibid. II, 117, 3, "... qui nihil praeter vocem membraque haberent hominum, quique gladiis domari non poterant, posse iure mulceri."

⁵¹This attitude seems to have been restricted to the Germans for when speaking of the Pannonians, for example, of whom he also had first-hand experience during the great Pannonian revolt of A.D. 6, he admits the possibilities of their Romanization (II, 110, 5).

Velleius' attitude towards the Germans, when he describes it as "the authentic hysteria of personal fear."⁵²

Whilst the animal imagery used of the Germans results primarily from Velleius' fear and hatred of them, it also has the effect of enhancing Tiberius' reputation as a general. Having depicted the Germans as wild, savage animals, he then proceeds to describe Tiberius' reaction to the defeat of Varus: he so aggressively made war on the enemy, that he penetrated their country and routed them without any loss to his own troops.⁵³ Tiberius accomplished this in spite of the fact that his enemy were cruel, vicious animals. The animal terms used of the Raeti and Vindelici and of the Langobardi would also seem to be used for the same effect. Testifying to the success of Tiberius and his brother, Drusus, against the Raeti and Vindelici, two Alpine tribes, Velleius depicts them as fighting in a fairly large-scale war, in country that was virtually inaccessible and, as ultimate proof of their achievement, against men "fierce in their wild animalism."⁵⁴ The defeat of the Langobardi, a tribe living to the north of Germany, is listed as one of the numerous successes of Tiberius during the summer of A.D. 5. Not only

⁵²Sherwin-White, p. 34.

⁵³Vell. II, 120, 2.

⁵⁴Ibid. II, 95, 2, "... feritate truces ..."

did he defeat many wild animal German tribes, he also tamed the Langobardi "who were even fiercer in their wild animalism than the Germans."⁵⁵ The vilification of the enemy for the purposes of glorifying Augustus seems to be Velleius' intention when he describes Augustus as having tamed the Alps which were "full of wild animal and barbarous tribes,"⁵⁶ and as having pacified the Spanish provinces which were "so extensive, so populous, and so abounding in wild animalism."⁵⁷ Having extolled the merits of Augustus' principate in the previous chapter, he then proceeds to give a general picture of the achievements of his rule and deals first of all with the pacification of the provinces. This achievement is magnified by the portrayal of Augustus' breaking the spirit of wild animals that had remained untamed for numerous years in spite of Roman efforts to tame them.

With the exception of the animal imagery used of the Germans, which is racialist in tone, the animal terms found in Velleius take their origin in the culture prejudice characteristic of Greeks and Romans. Velleius intimates

⁵⁵Vell. II, 106, 2, "... gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior ..."

⁵⁶Ibid. II, 90, 1, "Alpes feris incultisque nationibus celebres perdomitae."

⁵⁷Ibid. II, 90, 4, "Has igitur provincias tam diffusas, tam frequentis, tam feras ad eam pacem ... perduxit Caesar Augustus ..."

this in his juxtaposition of the terms, ferus and incultus, used of the Alpine tribes;⁵⁸ their lack of civilization made them into wild animals.

Velleius therefore, on the one hand, differentiates in his use of animal imagery as applied to the Germans and other barbarians. With regard to the Germans, it is an expression of Velleius' own fear and hatred of them and has a racialist tone attached to it. As far as other barbarians are concerned, it is a reflection of culture prejudice. On the other hand, whatever the nationality of the barbarian, the animal imagery is also employed for the purposes of glorifying either Tiberius or Augustus.

Tacitus, the next author for discussion, is particularly important for this study of literary tradition because of the influence he exerted on Ammianus Marcellinus⁵⁹ and because of the fact that German affairs engrossed so much of his attention, as they did that of Ammianus.

Four examples of animal imagery were found, two involving the use of the term feritas, one that of rabies, and one that of animal.

⁵⁸Vell. II, 90, 1.

⁵⁹For the influence of Tacitus on Ammianus Marcellinus see Wirz, *Philologus* XXXVI (1877), 634-35 ; Weinstein; Fletcher, *RPh* LXIII (1937), 389-92

In the north-eastern part of Germany lived the Marii

"who in their savagery add to their natural wild animalism by means of artifice and their choice of time for battle: with black shields and painted bodies, they choose black night for battle and cause terror by their horrific appearance and by the shadow of their hostly army so that no enemy can endure this strange and infernal-like vision, for in every battle the eyes are the first to be conquered."

The semi who dwelt even farther north than the Marii, are described in the following way:

"The wild animalism of the semi is dreadful, their poverty terrible; they have no weapons, no horses, no homes; they live on meat, clothe themselves in skin and sleep on the ground: arrows are their only means of support which they tip with bones. The same hunt feeds both men and women, for the women accompany the men everywhere and seek a share in the prey. There is no other shelter for their children against wild animals and storms except a covering made out of a kind of network of branches; the young men return to this, this is the refuge of the old. However, they think it better than toiling in the fields, labouring over houses, and transacting their own and other people's business in hope and fear: secure against men, secure against gods, they have achieved something very difficult -- they have no need of prayers."⁶¹

⁶⁰ Tac. Germania 43, 5, "... truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra scuta, tincta corpora; atra ad proelia noctes laetant ipsaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur."

⁶¹ Ibid. 48, 3-5, "Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitutui pelles, cubile humus: solae in sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur; huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare: securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset."

The use of the term feritas of the Harii and the Fenni would seem to be related. Both are remote tribes and, according to Tacitus' description, uncivilized beings. In describing other remote tribes Tacitus also points out uncivilized aspects of these peoples, such as the cruelty of the Langobardi who in the festival of their goddess, Nerthus, used to sacrifice the attendants of the goddess,⁶² or the squalor and sloth of the Peucini and Venedi, characteristics also shared by the Fenni.⁶³ However, the term feritas is only applied to the Harii and the Fenni. This difference in treatment which turns the Harii and the Fenni into wild animals would seem to reflect Tacitus' revulsion at the customs of these two tribes. This revulsion also finds expression in the other pejorative words used in the descriptions of these peoples: the Harii are "savage, horrific, ghostly, infernal-like,"⁶⁴ the Fenni "dreadful, terrible".⁶⁵ Moreover, in describing the Fenni as "secure against men, secure against gods," and hence "in no need of prayers",⁶⁶ Tacitus would seem to be eliminating the Fenni

⁶²Tac. Germ. 40, 2-5.

⁶³Ibid. 46, 1.

⁶⁴Ibid. 43, 5; see above, p. 59, n. 60.

⁶⁵Ibid. 46, 3; see above, p. 59, n. 61.

⁶⁶Ibid. 46, 5; see above, p. 59, n. 61.

from the realm of human kind. The only category left of living creatures known to man is that of animals: the Fenni therefore must be of this kind. In fact, the Fenni represent our last contact with reality: beyond them one moves into the world of the fabulous, the "the Mellusii and the Oxiones, with human faces and faces, but the bodies of wild animals."⁶⁷

The remoteness of these tribes just described kept them from the civilizing influence of the Romans and made them least known to them: hence the horror stories. With regard to the more southerly German tribes, Tacitus' attitude is quite different. The Romans had grown used to these tribes through warfare and in fact changes were taking place among them as a result of Roman influence so that the primitive tribal communities described in Caesar and Strabo were beginning to disintegrate. Hence one finds Tacitus praising the Chatti for their highly developed military organization which was essentially Roman:

"... they appoint leaders and obey those whom they have elected; they acknowledge ranks, recognize opportunities, postpone the attack, organize the duties of the day, and intrench themselves at night; they regard fortune as full of risk, courage as certain, and, something very rare and granted only to

⁶⁷ Tac. Germ. 46, 6, "... Mellusios et Oxiones ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere ..."

⁶⁸ For a detailed description of Tacitus and the Germans see Sherwin-White, pp. 33-51, and Dudley, pp. 213-233.

Roman discipline, they depend more on the leader than on the army. All their strength rests with the infantry whom they load with trenching tools and supplies in addition to weapons: one would see other tribes going out to battle, the Chatti on a campaign."⁶⁹

Greater familiarity with the more southerly German tribes also led to an increased recognition of the value of certain barbarian customs in contrast to present Roman ones. Tacitus therefore is seen to praise the barbarians for their chaste matrimonial and sexual customs,⁷⁰ their lack of interest in luxurious living,⁷¹ their excellent treatment of feuds and friendships,⁷² their repression of freedom,⁷³ the calibre of their leaders,⁷⁴ and, most of all, for their fight for liberty.⁷⁵

⁶⁹Tac. Germ. 30, 2-3; "... praeparare electos, audire praeparatos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, differre innotus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dupia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque rarissimum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, vix reponere in duce quam in exercitu. omne robur in pedite, quem super arma feramentis quoque et copiis onerant: alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum."

⁷⁰Ibid. 18, 1; 19; 20, 3.

⁷¹Ibid. 5, 4-5; 27; cf. Strabo, VII, 3, 2.

⁷²Ibid. 21.

⁷³Ibid. 25, 3.

⁷⁴Tac. Ann. II, 83, 31ff.; XII, 36, 25ff.; XIII, 55, 17ff.; XIV, 35.

⁷⁵For example, Tac. Agr. 29, 3-4; 30-32; Hist. IV, 14; 64.

However, all was not admiration. Tacitus considered the Germans as posing the most serious threat to Rome in her history:

"Neither the Samnites nor the Carthaginians, neither the Spaniards, nor the Gauls, not even the Parthians have brought themselves so often to our attention. Indeed, the freedom of the Germans poses a more serious threat than the despotism of the Parthian king."⁷⁶

To support this viewpoint, he points to the fact that the conquest of Germany lasted for about two hundred and ten years, from the invasion of the Cimbri in the second century B.C. to the second consulship of Trajan. During that time five consular armies were lost, Varus and three legions were destroyed, whilst victories were only gained at a price. As for victories in more recent times, they were less frequent than triumphs.⁷⁷ It therefore gives Tacitus great pleasure

to see the Germans destroying one another. Commenting on the virtual annihilation of the Bructeri by a confederacy of neighbouring tribes, he expresses the hope that the Germans will continue to hate each other, stating that disunion among Rome's enemies is the greatest gift fate can bestow.⁷⁸

However, Tacitus' apprehension about the Germans did not prompt the use of animal imagery as it did in the case of

⁷⁶ Tac. Germ. 37, 3, "non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas."

⁷⁷ Ibid. 37, 2: 4-6.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 33.

Velleius. This can possibly be attributed to various reasons: there was a remoteness from external affairs on the part of Tacitus who was very Rome-oriented; Trajan's successes gave some feeling of security; the Germans were more of a known quantity to the Romans and so could be more accurately assessed; the Germans were to some extent becoming Romanized.⁷⁹

One other incident is found in connection with the Germans. In this instance, the Batavian leader, Civilis, is described by his fellow-chieftans as having been drawn into arms against the Romans "by his canine madness."⁸⁰ In view of the previous discussion which attempted to show that cultural prejudice only motivated the use of animal imagery for the remote German tribes, and that Tacitus' apprehension of the Germans did not take expression in animal terms, it would seem that one must look elsewhere for an explanation of the animal image used of Civilis, notably, in the immediate context. Civilis is portrayed as a wild dog, plagued by madness to illustrate the anger of the Batavian chieftans at being drawn

⁷⁹ Admittedly the Romanization still had far to go. Hence comes Tacitus' rhetorical question as to "who besides ... would want to leave Asia or Africa or Italy and go to Germany with its desolate landscape, its harsh climate, its miserable way of life and customs -- unless it were his birth-place?" (Germ. 2, 2, "quis porro ... Asia aut Africa aut Italia relictâ Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu aspectuque nisi si patria sit?").

⁸⁰ Tac. Hist. V, 25, 12, "... Civilis rabie semet in arma trusus ..."

into combat with the Romans by their rebel leader. As Tacitus says, the chiefs spoke "more violently."⁸¹ The language in the rest of the speech also indicates this: the chiefs speak of "the extinction of their race...the hatred of the gods for the Batavi...the deadliness of the war...the extremity of their situation."⁸²

In the immediate context also lies the explanation for the comparison used by Agricola of the Britons:

"Just as all the bravest animals rushed to attack you when you penetrated the forests and woodlands, whilst the timid and powerless ones fled at the very sound of your march, in the same way the most spirited of the Britons fell a long time ago, whilst the rest are a crowd of cowardly, frightened individuals."⁸³

A comparison is apparently employed in the present context because Agricola is portrayed as attempting to reason with his troops that the Britons are easily defeated: that ancient writers recognized the rationality of comparisons has already been demonstrated,⁸⁴ and the comparison used of the Britons makes its particular appeal to reason through

⁸¹Tac. Hist. V, 25, 12, "... atrociora ..."

⁸²Ibid. V. 25, 13-16, "... excidium gentis ... infensos Batavis deos ... bellum ... ferale ... extrema ..."

⁸³Tac. Agr. 34, 2, "quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium."

⁸⁴Pages 20-25.

its parallel details and its lack of metaphorical content. In fact it deviates only slightly from what Quintilian regarded as the ideal comparison for arguments in that it compares man with animal. In the remainder of the speech Agricola points to the fact that the Britons are a known quantity, thereby perhaps explaining Tacitus' own attitude towards the barbarians which seems to be that on the whole (the very remote tribes being the exception) they can be approached rationally.⁸⁵ They have defeated the Britons before. Now these peoples have been surprised, their situation is critical, they are glued to the spot in fear. The Romans, therefore, will win a remarkable victory.⁸⁶

In conclusion it is to be noted that the animal imagery used of barbarians by Tacitus is very limited. A remoteness from events on the part of Tacitus, some security as a result of Trajan's successes, increased familiarity with the barbarians, and their gradual Romanization probably contributed to this. Only in the case of the remoter barbarians is

⁸⁵The fact that Tacitus' ethnographical account of the Britons is so cursory probably stems in part from the fact that the Romans were becoming used to the Britons. Sherwin-White (p. 49) points to the fact that only a chapter and a half are devoted to geography and products (Agr. 10; 12. 3-7), one chapter to the racial origins of the Britons (Agr. 11), and ten lines to their "mores" and "instituta" (Agr. 12, 1-3; 13.1). The Britons, moreover, adapted with ease to Roman civilization, as Tacitus' description of Agricola's activities in this field indicates (Agr. 21).

⁸⁶Agr. 34, 1-2; 3-4.

animal imagery used which is a reflection of the culture prejudice felt by a civilized Roman in the face of the wild customs of the very northern barbarians. In the two other instances where animal imagery is used, one finds that the imagery is very much related to the context: on the one hand it is employed to illustrate the anger of the Batavian leaders against their chief, on the other hand it forms part of the reasoning process used by Agricola to persuade his troops that the Britons can be defeated.

For the final author of this survey of animal imagery in literary tradition one must turn to Dio Cassius. He was witness to the attacks of the Alamanni, Goths, and Persians at the beginning of the third century A.D., peoples who dominate the history of Ammianus Marcellinus. It is therefore with interest that one examines Dio's work for his reaction to barbarians.

In the whole of Dio's work only four examples of animal imagery were found, one describing the Germans of Julius Caesar's era, and three the Britons involved in the rebellion of A.D. 61.⁸⁷

⁸⁷In view of the fact that of the eighty books written by Dio only about 30 are intact (Books 34-60 for the most part, Book 78, part of 79 and certain fragments covering events of the years 207-200 B.C. -- the traditional division of books is used in this thesis) with the rest supplied from excerpts and epitomes, one cannot say with certainty that the originals did not contain other examples of animal imagery. However, the fact that the excerpts are regarded as giving the actual words of Dio and that the epitomes, although paraphrases, stick very closely to his text, as comparisons between extant passages and the epitomes indicate, and the fact that three of the examples of animal imagery occur in an epitome, would seem to justify one in assuming that the small number of images would not have been greatly altered even if the original books had been extant.

It is interesting to note that no animal imagery occurs in the descriptions of Dio's own period and that the Germans and Britons are nowhere else depicted as animals.⁸⁸ This leads one to suspect that the animal imagery stems from the source used by Dio for the period, or is employed for a specific effect in the particular contexts: it would not seem to be the expression of Dio's own attitude.

Describing the Roman reaction to Ariovistus and his Germans, Dio says that the Romans, frightened by their size, their numbers, their boldness, and their resulting ready threats, were in such a mood as to feel that they were going to fight not against men, but against savage and untamable wild beasts.⁸⁹ It is possible that in the use of this image Dio was influenced by the descriptions of the Germans found in Caesar's *De bello Gallico*⁹⁰ -- Caesar is generally regarded as Dio's ultimate source for the conquest of Gaul -- and utilized the imagery found there for his own purposes, notably

⁸⁸ For other descriptions of the Germans and Britons see especially LVI, 19-24; LXXI, 3; LXXV, 11-15 (passim); LXXVII, 13-15 (Germans); LXXIX, 50-53; LXXXVI, 11-13 (Britons). For further references see Cary IX, 506-507, and 528.

⁸⁹ Dio Cass. XXXVIII, 35, 2, ... τέ τε γὰρ μεγέθη κούρων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τε θράσος καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προχείρους ἀπειλὰς ἐκπληγόντες οὕτω διετέθησαν ὥς μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἀλλὰ πρὸς θηρὰ ἄπορα καὶ ἄγρια προσολοσμένους.

⁹⁰ Caes. B.G. I, 31, 5; 33.4; 47, 3; see above, pp. 41-42.

to illustrate the emotions of the Roman soldiers when confronted by the Germans, to contrast these emotions with the rationality of Caesar, and thereby to show the irrationality of the soldiers in the face of the enemy. The imagery found in Caesar is modified so that the Germans become "wild, wild beasts" (the term *ἄγριος* is used of animals to denote a state of wildness, whilst *θηρίον* is a wild beast) and "untamable". The speech of Caesar that follows in Dio points to the success of the Romans against their former enemies, to the inadequacies of the Germans and the superiority of the Romans in terms of warfare.⁹¹ Everything indicates that the Germans are not to be considered as "untamable, wild, wild beasts." Perhaps one may regard this interpretation as an exposition of Dio's own attitude to the Germans which accounts for the lack of imagery elsewhere. History has taught that barbarians are vincible and capable of civilization. To think of them as otherwise, to think of them in fact as savage animals, is irrational. When describing Germany at the time of the Varine disaster, Dio states that "the barbarians were adapting to Roman ways, were becoming accustomed to hold markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblies."⁹² This

⁹¹Dio Cass. XXXVIII, 36-46.

⁹²Ibid. LVI, 18, 2, ... ἔς τε τὸν κόσμον σφῶν οἱ βάρβαροι ματὲρρυθίζοντο καὶ ἀγορὰς ἐνομίζον συνόδους τε εἰρηνικὰς ἐποιοῦντο. Compare with Velleius' comments on the debarbarization of the Germans of the same period (Vell. 117, 3); see above, p. 54.

comment was of course even more valid for the third century A.D. and probably accounts for the fact that Dio could view the Germans without the emotional reaction found in previous writers. This attitude was in evidence in Tacitus, but it appears to have become more ingrained with the passage of time, so much so that not even a new conglomeration of tribes, like the Alamanni, produces any personal reaction from Dio, whilst the Goths, a relatively unknown element to the Romans, are not even mentioned by him. This omission could, of course be due to the epitomist or to the excerptor seeing that we do not have the original Book 77 which deals with this period. However, Herodian, in describing the same period and writing just a little later, is equally silent,⁹³ which would seem to suggest that the Romans were so used to the Germans that

even unknown elements were identified with those who had long been undergoing the process of Romanization: they would ultimately fit under the same umbrella. This does not mean that Dio dismissed the Germans as posing no threat to the Romans. He recognized the danger they presented in the Marcomannic Wars when they broke across the frontier of the Danube, swept across Pannonia and Noricum, and actually penetrated as far as Aquileia: these wars were only won

⁹³In describing the activities of Caracalla in Germany, Herodian merely states that he went to the Danube area and dealt with the northern part of the Empire (Hdn. IV, 7, 2).

through "hardship, distress and perils."⁹⁴ However, perhaps a history of these victories and of long acquaintance with the German people led him to write more rationally.

With regard to the literary use of the Britons, this seems to be very much related to the context and not a personal reaction of Dio. In the case of the literary use of the Britons, Dio probably found the material in his sources and then used them for effect in his own description of the rebellion of Boudicca which is very dramatically told.⁹⁵ To introduce an episode, Dio describes the terrible portents which preceded the fatal disaster in Britain -- foreign jars on wheels with lightning from the senate-house, outcries and lamentations from silent theatres, houses under the water in the Thames, blood-red water at flood-tide in the

ocean between Britain and Gaul. Boudicca herself is of terrifying aspect -- very tall, with fierce eyes, harsh voice, a mass of yellow hair down to her hips, a huge golden necklace, a tunic of different colours, a thick cloak fastened with a brooch and a spear. She addresses her subjects with a speech that is charged with emotion, that makes its impact through rhetorical questions, exclamation and contrast, that has for its themes freedom and slavery, past and present,

⁹⁴Dio Cass. LXXI, 14, 2... πολλοὶς καὶ μεγάλῃς ἀγῶνι καὶ κινδύνῳ...

⁹⁵Ibid. LXII, 1-12; parts of this description are very close to Tacitus; cf. Tac. Ann. XIV, 32, 22ff., 35.

Roman effeminacy and British toughness, that climaxes with the highly emotional appeal that the Britons should show the Romans that "they are hares and foxes trying to rule over dogs and wolves".⁹⁶ She then prays to Andraste, a goddess of the Britons, and again returns to the themes of liberty and slavery, Roman effeminacy, and British toughness. Thereafter she wreaks indescribable destruction and commits every known atrocity, "the worst and most bestial" of which was the torture of noble women.⁹⁷ Paulinus, the Roman leader, on hearing of the dreadful disaster, returns to Britain and, in emotional appeals to his soldiers, urges them to overcome the fear of the Britons: he points to past successes, present treachery, future glory, to freedom or slavery, to dying bravely or suffering tortures "as if we had fallen in with savage, lawless, impious, wild beasts", the culmination of his address.⁹⁸ The whole description is full of drama and terror, and the imagery seems to be used

⁹⁶ Dio Cass. LXII, 5, 6, δείξωμεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι λύκων καὶ κύνων ὅντες κυνῶν καὶ λύκων ἔρχεν ἐπιχειροῦσιν.

⁹⁷ Ibid. LXII, 7, 2, καὶ ὃ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηραιοτάτον... The torture consisted of hanging up the women naked, cutting off their breasts and stitching them to their mouths so that they looked as if they were eating them, and of impaling the women on sharp skewers run lengthwise through their bodies.

⁹⁸ Ibid. LXII, 11, 4, ... καθάπερ ἐς θηρία τὰς ἀγρία ἔνομα ἄνθρωποι ἐμπεπτωκότας. As examples of tortures are given impalement and looking on their entrails cut from their bodies.

to increase these elements. It was possible to see in the amphitheatre at Rome executions of men tied to stakes and defenceless, whose limbs would then be torn asunder by animals that were sometimes specially trained for the work.⁹⁹ The metaphorical image¹⁰⁰ used by Dio to transform the Britons into these very animals that systematically torture their victims, and make a very real and forcible impact on Dio's audience. Emotions will now have been increased with the Romans described in the proverbial language of cowardice and cunning as "hares and foxes" harassed by the fearless, cruel, predatory Britons as "dogs and wolves".

The literary seems to be an integral part of the context, used for the purposes of audience effect rather than a personal reaction of Dio. The lack of animal imagery elsewhere to describe the Britons would seem to confirm this.¹⁰¹

With regard to the Persians, it is seen that Dio speaks of them as "a source of fear to us,"¹⁰² when they, under the

⁹⁹ See Friedländer, II, 72.

¹⁰⁰ Whilst one of the images (LX I, 11, 4) is expressed in the form of a comparison, it is virtually a metaphor, fitting into the category of the abridged comparisons which are highly metaphorical in nature (see above, pp. 29-30).

¹⁰¹ Compare with LXXIX, 50-53; LXXVI, 11-13.

¹⁰² Dio Cass. LXXX, 4, 1, ... φοβερὸς ἡμῶν...

leadership of Artabanus, overthrew the Parthian monarchy about A.D. 23 and then proceeded against Armenia, threatening Egypt, Asia and Syria. However, this fear arose not so much from the Persians themselves as from the state of the Roman army at that time: the implication seems to be that if the army had been well-disciplined, the Persians would not have been a source of alarm.¹⁰³ It was a rational fear which was confirmed by subsequent events when in 233 the Persians inflicted a serious defeat on the Romans.¹⁰⁴ In spite of this defeat, Severus Alexander considered it preferable to divert his energies to the Germans who were causing trouble in Illirica rather than to continue his fight with the Persians for, as Herodian says, "the danger from the Persians was not considered the same as that from the Germans: those who live in the East separated (from the West) by a vast continent and a wide sea scarcely ever hear of the land of Italy, whilst the Illyrian provinces, since they are narrow and do not have much territory under the control of the Romans, make the Germans almost neighbours of the Italians with common borders."¹⁰⁵ An underlying belief in the ultimate superiority

¹⁰³ Ibid. LXII, 4, 2.

¹⁰⁴ For this defeat see Herodian, VI, 5.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. VI, 7, 4, οὐ γὰρ ὅμοιον ᾔγοῦντο τὸν ἐκ Περσῶν κίνδυνον οἷον τὸν ἐκ Γερμανῶν. αἳ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς κατακκοῦντες, μακρὰ γῆ καὶ θαλάττη πολλῇ διειρημένοι, τὴν Ἰταλῶν χώραν μέδι ἀκούουσιν, τὰ Ἰλλυρικά δὲ ἔθνη στενὰ ὄντα καὶ οὐ πολλὴν ἔχοντα τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γῆν, παρὰ τοσούτον ὁμῆρους καὶ γέγονος πολεῖ Γερμανοὺς Ἰταλιώτας.

of the Roman army, and the remoteness of Persia from Italy perhaps allowed Dio to view the Persians rationally.

In Dio, therefore, the barbarians are described in animal terms for reasons that are very much related to the context. Indirectly, in one instance, the imagery might be considered as also being related to Dio's attitude when it is used to contrast the irrational feelings of the Roman soldiers with the rational approach of Caesar towards barbarians. As for Dio's attitude towards barbarians, it appears to be an extension of that seen in Tacitus: the barbarians are a rational phenomenon so that not even a new tribe arouses any comment. This approach possibly accounts for the general lack of imagery for barbarians in Dio.¹⁰⁶ Past Roman successes, long acquaintance with the barbarians, and their gradual Romanization perhaps brought about this approach as in the case of Tacitus.

4.3 General conclusions on the uses of animal imagery in literary tradition.

Animal imagery for the most part designates the barbarians as "wild animals" by means of the metaphorical terms, *typos* or *θηρῶδες*, or *ferus*, or related terms. The repetition of

¹⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that in Herodian, who wrote a little later than Dio and whose history covered the years A.D. 180-238, there is no animal imagery used of barbarians.

the... of... and... at its lead one to believe... with a... of "unreliable",... of the Περὶ Ἐκτακτοῦ itself, "and... of... that... no... of...".¹⁰⁷ However, one must not lose sight of the... of... which is... "and... is... to... is... with regard to...".¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the... which... of the ancient world no doubt...¹⁰⁹ or an audience brought up on... spectacles, the... would... by modern criticism they would... of... (as previously indicated)¹¹⁰... for ancient... to the more important... and....

¹⁰⁷ Περὶ Ἐκτακτοῦ, 2, 27; see also, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁸ ibid., 2, 27; see above, p. 17.

¹⁰⁹ or a detailed description of... Richardson, II, 62-73.

¹¹⁰ pp. 15-17.

The imagery is put to various uses. In the previous chapter it was seen that metaphors were to be used for embellishment or denigration, clarification and for emotional purposes.¹¹¹ Examples of all these uses are found in the authors studied. In Caesar, Strabo, and Tacitus the imagery is generally motivated by culture prejudice felt towards the barbarians and has the added effect of emphasizing the differences that existed between the civilized Greeks and Romans and the barbarians. For Velleius, in the case of the Germans, the culture prejudice becomes racial prejudice, which is imbued with fear and hatred of the Germans as a result of his going to Germany immediately after the Varine disaster of A.D. 9: the imagery used of other barbarians by Velleius is based on culture prejudice. With regard to Dio, the animal imagery does not stem from prejudice: it is used for the most part for dramatic effect for the benefit of his audience to secure their involvement in particular descriptions. In Caesar and Velleius the imagery also has the effect of enhancing Caesar's and Tiberius' reputations at the expense of the barbarians.

In the introduction to this chapter Greek and Roman attitudes towards barbarians were discussed and there it was seen that once a barbarian became civilized he was accepted as either Greek or Roman. The use of animal imagery in the

¹¹¹ See pp. 14-15.

authors studied appears to be related to the process of debarbarization. When barbarians were new and unfamiliar to the Greeks or Romans, this seems to have resulted in outbursts of animal imagery as an expression of cultural alienation. With the progression of time and the gradual debarbarization of these, the animal imagery seems to have decreased in the process until finally in Dio's description of his own period there is no animal imagery whatsoever. Admittedly, in view of the small number of images found, one cannot say this with any certainty. However, given the fact of debarbarization and its consequences, it is not to be dismissed as a possibility.

5.0 THE USE OF ANIMAL IMAGERY OF BARBARIANS IN CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.

This study of contemporary writers will examine the historians, Eunapius and Zosimus.¹ These two writers are of especial interest in that like Ammianus they came from the East and along with Ammianus were possibly inter-dependent in the matter of sources.²

In Eunapius two animal images were found in descriptions of barbarians, one in the Universal History, the other in the Lives of the Sophists,³ whilst in Zosimus no examples of animal imagery were found of barbarians. This is in striking contrast to the work of Ammianus which is full of

¹Unfortunately, through a lack of surviving sources, this study of contemporary historians is inevitably very limited. In the case of Zosimus, his New History is extant up to the beginning of Book VI, but only a little of Eunapius' Universal History remains to us. To complement the extant fragments of this, his Lives of the Sophists will also be included in the study.

²With regard to the question of sources, scholars concentrate especially on Julian's expedition against the Persians. Thompson (pp. 134-137) thinks it possible that Eunapius followed Ammianus and supplemented him by anecdotes from the memoranda of Oribasius. Chalmers (CQ X, 1960, 152-60) suggests that Ammianus was able to study Eunapius before publishing his own history. It is generally accepted that Zosimus used Eunapius because of Photius' comment to this effect (Bibl. cod. 98); for discussions of Zosimus' debt to Eunapius see Mendelssohn, pp. xxxv-xlvi; Ridley, Helikon IX-X (1969-70), 574-592; Pashoud, Zosime, pp. xxxiv-lxiii.

³Eun. Hist. p. 47, ll; V.S. 466.

animal imagery to describe barbarians. In view of the alleged inter-dependence of the three, how does one account for the lack of animal imagery in Eunapius and Zosimus?

5.1 An analysis of Eunapius and Zosimus.

The respective styles of the two historians will first be discussed. In the case of Eunapius, one is confronted by a style that is very ornate.⁴ This is in striking contrast to the style of Zosimus which is totally devoid of rhetoric and ornament.⁵ Mendelssohn points to the respective descriptions of Eunapius and Zosimus concerning the surrender of the Quadi to Julian.⁶ Eunapius' description depicts in detail the weeping and wailing suppliant Quadi, the request of Julian for the king's son as hostage, a hostage he already has unbeknown to the father, the impassioned speech of the father illustrating his misfortunes especially the loss of his son whom he believes dead, the dramatic appearance of the son safe and well, and the moving speech of Julian explaining the conditions of peace.⁷

⁴For Eunapius' style see Photius, Bibl. cod. 77; Wright, pp. 321-22; Ridley, pp. 583-90.

⁵For Zosimus' style see Photius, Bibl. cod. 98; Ridley, pp. 583-90; Paschoud, Zosime, pp. lxx-lxxv.

⁶Mendelssohn, p. xxxvi.

⁷Eun. Hist. p. 41, 1 - p. 45, 9.

In comparison, Zosimus gives a very brief, sober description of the episode, omitting all speeches, all drama, and offering very little emotion.⁸ The very simple style of Zosimus, therefore, is an important factor in the lack of imagery in his work. Given Eunapius' highly rhetorical style, one might perhaps have expected the barbarians to be designated in the traditional animal terms especially since they, in ever increasing and new hordes, were having a more devastating affect on the Empire than previously.

In her study of Eunapius and the Lives of the Sophists, Opelt states that the traditional antithesis, Hellenic-Barbarian, is missing in Eunapius, and attributes this to the fact that being a Neo-Platonist he exhibits an open attitude towards the nationalities of the world.⁹ The term "Greek" in Eunapius, is described as having only a geographical or religious-political significance.¹⁰ Its cultural connotations are therefore extremely limited. Perhaps in the philosophy of Eunapius there lies a reason for the lack of animal imagery to describe barbarians. In the study of literary tradition it

⁸Zos. III, 7, 6.

⁹Opelt, WS III (1969), 34-36.

¹⁰For examples of its geographical significance see Eun. V.S. 465; 466; 491, for examples of its religious-political significance, see *ibid.* 465, 493, and Hist. p. 115, 4; in the case of the last example, it is interesting to note that it is used of Fravitta, a Goth.

was seen that cultural prejudice was an important factor in the use of animal imagery. When one's philosophy is alien to such prejudice, the need for animal imagery in this respect disappears.

Other factors in the lack of animal imagery are probably Eunapius' and Zosimus' indifference to the western half of the Empire, and the relative security of the eastern part.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, barbarian pressure was felt most strongly in the western half of the Empire, where enormous numbers of Franks, Alamanni, Saxons, Goths, and Huns pushed against the Roman frontiers, menacing Italy and Rome herself. In contrast, the Empire did not have to worry about its eastern frontier. There were hostilities from the beginning of Constantius II's reign in 337 to the defeat of Julian's expedition in 363, and some sporadic fighting under Valens, with two short wars under Theodosius II in 421-2 and 440-2, but in most of those forty years there were truces and when peace was made, there was genuine peace.¹¹

Eunapius and Zosimus lived in the East and their works show little interest in the West and in Rome as the oecumenical centre of the Empire.¹² Eunapius describes the East as being

¹¹For this contrast between West and East, see Jones II, 1025-1031.

¹²For an analysis of Eunapius' attitude towards the Empire and Rome in the Lives of the Sophists, see Opelt, pp. 32-34.

subject to the Romans.¹³ Nowhere is there the close identification with the Romans that one finds in Ammianus who often speaks of them in the first person.¹⁴ As for Rome herself, she is merely mentioned as the place of residence of Porphyry, Plotinus, and Anatolius, and as the city where Prohaeresius was triumphant.¹⁵ These fleeting references are also to be compared with the eulogies on Rome found in Ammianus.¹⁶ The same indifference to the West and Rome is found in Zosimus. It is especially obvious in his description of the fall of Rome at the hands of Alaric.¹⁷ This is so narrated as to prevent anyone from thinking that Zosimus associated himself with the disaster. In contrast is the description of the fire which threatened the existence of Constantinople. This is presented as "a danger beyond all measure",¹⁸ as "the most awful peril for the city"¹⁹: no

¹³Eun. V.S. 487.

¹⁴For example, A.M. XXVII, 10, 16; 12, 9; XXXI, 5, 12; 8, 1; 8, 3.

¹⁵Eun. V.S. 456; 490; 492.

¹⁶For example, A.M. XIV, 6, 3-6; XVI, 10, 13-17.

¹⁷Zos. V, 37-41.

¹⁸Ibid. V, 24, 3, ... πλείους υπερβολῆς επέκεινα κίνδυνος...

¹⁹Ibid. V, 24, 4, ... ἐσχατῶς ἤδη τὴν πόλιν ... κινδυνεύουσιν...

such words are used by Zosimus to describe the fall of Rome. In a brief description Zosimus' concern for Constantinople is revealed, whilst the many pages devoted to the fall of Rome are devoid of any such concern for the centre of the Empire.²⁰

Little interest in the West in addition to the fact that the East did not suffer too much at the hands of barbarians would therefore seem to be factors in the lack of animal imagery of barbarians in Eunapius and Zosimus. Indifference and security are hardly likely to produce an outburst of imagery, as the study of literary tradition indicated.

With regard to the two animal images used of barbarians in Eunapius, it would seem therefore that one should not attribute these to any personal animosity against the barbarians on the part of Eunapius. The explanation for them rests rather in the desire for dramatic effect which is very much in keeping with his style.

One of the images is used of the Goths in the description of events leading up to the Gothic War of 367-369.²¹ The description relies heavily on contrast for its effect. The

²⁰ Goffart (p. 430) attributes Zosimus' long chapters on the West to his sources rather than to his personal concern. Further evidence of both Zosimus' and Eunapius' attitudes towards the Empire will be given in the following chapter where their treatments of the various barbarian attacks described by Ammianus will be compared with Ammianus' treatment of them.

²¹ Eun. Hist. pp. 46-48.

Goths are depicted first as being full of arrogance and pride, those traditional attributes of barbarians.²² Then suddenly they are trapped. The inhabitants of the towns where they are held in custody ridicule their huge, heavy, tottering bodies with their "narrow, insect-like waists".²³ Then abruptly their laughter ceases when the king of the Goths demands that the Romans return his people to him. The description ends with a presentation of the opposing points of view.²⁴ The juxtaposition of the insect comparison and the adjectives describing the enormous size of the Goths fits into the pattern of contrast which characterizes the whole narrative, and vividly depicts the grotesque appearance of the Goths.

The second image is used of Sapor, the king of the Persians. This portrays Sapor as "a wild animal"²⁵ towards those who approached him in audience and is employed to illustrate the devastating affect that Eustathius, the philosopher, had on him. His influence was such that the king of Persia was overwhelmed by his eloquence and almost

²²See above, p. 43.

²³Eun. Hist. p. 47, 10-11, ... κατὰ τὸ μέγαν σώμα καὶ τὸν ὀλίγον ὀπίσθιον, ὡς περὶ ... ἐντομῶν.
For the notched appearance of insects see Arist. HA 487^a, 33-35; cf. 523, 13-15.

²⁴This description is to be compared with the very sketchy ones of Ammianus and Zosimus which deal with events leading up to the war; see A.M. XXVII, 5, 1; Zbs. IV, 10, 1-2.

²⁵Eun. V.S. 466, ... ὡς περὶ ...

gave up his tiara to put on the philosopher's cloak -- this from one described as "a wild animal". This image used of Sapor may have its origins in the traditional portrayal of Persian rulers as cruel despots.²⁶ Whether it is validly used of him is difficult to determine. Sykes feels that we know too little of his character to pass judgement on him.²⁷ On the other hand, in the pages of Ammianus he emerges as a savage ruler, but this portrayal may also be influenced by the traditional one of the Persian tyrant.²⁸

5.2 Conclusions on Eunapius and Zosimus.

In Eunapius only two animal images were found of barbarians, whilst in Zosimus there was no imagery. With regard to Eunapius, this dearth of imagery probably stemmed in part from his Neo-Platonic philosophy. In the case of Zosimus, the use of imagery was alien to his pure, simple style. Moreover, both writers show little interest in the Western half of the Empire where the barbarians were causing havoc, whilst in the Eastern half of the Empire, the situation was relatively

²⁶For a typical portrait of the Persian despot see Themistius, II, 35c-37b.

²⁷Sykes, I, 425.

²⁸Ammianus' treatment of Sapor will be discussed in the following chapter.

peaceful: these conditions would hardly have been likely to result in an outburst of abuse against the barbarians. With regard to the images themselves, they are used for rhetorical effect and are very much in keeping with the style of Eunapius. In accordance with rhetorical principles for effectiveness of description,²⁹ one is expressed as a metaphor, the other as a highly metaphorical comparison, with the metaphor taking up the traditional use of *λύπος* for barbarians.

²⁹See above, pp. 14-15, 29-30.

6.0 THE USE OF ANIMAL IMAGERY OF BARBARIANS IN AMMIANUS.

MARCELLINUS.

The previous chapters of this thesis examined Ammianus' background, rhetorical theories on imagery, and the traditional and contemporary usages of animal imagery for barbarians. In the present chapter Ammianus' use of animal imagery for barbarians will be analysed in the light of these investigations, and it is thereby hoped that a deep understanding of Ammianus' imagery will result.

The analysis will deal firstly with the major barbarians of the period, the Alamanni, Goths, Scythians, and Persians, and thereafter with the minor ones, the Isaurians, Saracens, Austoriani, Iesalenses, Isafilenses, Scots and Picts, and the Saxons.

6.1 The Alamanni.

In absolute terms the Alamanni are qualified by the most images.^{1a}

They are depicted by Constantius as "an evil gliding beyond bounds"² and "with necks swelling too high".³ Then "in the translations of Ammianus are largely due to Rolfe."

^{1a} See histogram in Appendix A.

²A.M. XV, 8, 7, "... malo ultra adposita iam proserpenti ..."

³Ibid. "... colla superbarum gentium detumescant ..."

their barbaric, canine madness"⁴ they became more audacious and "just as wild beasts, accustomed to live by plundering, when their guards are negligent, do not stop even when these are removed and replaced by stronger ones, but ravenous with hunger rush upon flocks and herds without regard for their own lives, so they too, when they had used up all their plunders, forced by hunger, often drove off booty and sometimes perished before finding anything."⁵ Their threats "screeched" on every side,⁶ they "howled wildly and mournfully",⁷ until the Romans curtailed their activities by "slaughtering some of them like cattle".⁸ Undaunted, they broke out again and "in their barbaric, wild animalism, driven by canine madness, they screamed for battle."⁹ Julian considered them possessed by "canine madness".¹⁰ In

⁴ Ibid. XVI, 1, 16, "...barbarica rabies..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = fury. Dr. E. J. Bartsch, the external examiner of this thesis, preloqs. Rolfe's translations of rabies, cf. 100, 11, 11, 13, 91, 108, 208, 210, and 211 in this chapter.

⁵ Ibid. XVI, 5, 17, "utque bestiae custodum neglegentia raptu vivere solitae, ne his quidem remotis, adpositisque fertioribus abscesserunt, sed tumescentes inedia, sine respectu salutis, armenta vel greges incursant, ita etiam illi, cunctis quae diripuerunt consumptis, fame urgente, agebant aliquotiens praedam, interdum antequam contingerent aliquid, appetebant."

⁶ Ibid. XVI, 11, 1, "... Germanis undique circumfremmentibus minis ..."

⁷ Ibid. XVI, 11, 8, "... ferum ululantes et lugubre ..."

⁸ Ibid. XVI, 11, 9, "... trucidabant ut pecudes ..."

⁹ Ibid. XVI, 12, 2, "... barbara feritate certaminum rabiem undique concitante." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = frenzy.

¹⁰ Ibid. XVI, 12, 31, "... rabies ..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = madness.

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contrast with the Roman soldiers they were "wild animals".¹¹ Finally they were subdued and their king, "after committing in his wild animalism every terrible atrocity",¹² was captured. Thus in his youth was Julian subjected to warfare "with tribes of wild animals."¹³

In the chapter on rhetorical theories on imagery, Aristotle was seen to have commented on the imaginative nature of metaphor, describing good metaphors as being a sign of genius.¹⁴ I would like to suggest that in this extended image, made up for the most part of metaphors, one sees such a genius at work. Admittedly there is some evidence of customary usage in that the traditional terms, ferus and feritas, are employed, but the imagery as a whole emerges as something quite different from that seen in the study of earlier writers. These writers generally made intermittent references to barbarians as wild animals, expressed by the term ferus or a variant thereof: even Velleius whose references to the Germans were more frequent restricted himself, except in one instance, to the term feritas.¹⁵ In this extended image used of the Alamanni Ammianus draws on other animals besides the

¹¹A.M. XVI, 12, 47, "... feri ..."

¹²Ibid. XVI, 12, 61, "... post feros lugubresque terrores ..."

¹³Ibid. XXII, 12, 2, "... efferatarum gentium ..."

¹⁴See above, pp. 15-16.

¹⁵For Velleius' use of animal imagery see pp. 52-58.

traditional ferus, and so uses these in conjunction with the customary term as to represent the movement of historical events up to the battle of Strasburg when the Alamanni were defeated.

With no effective opposition, the Alamanni were stealing across the Roman frontiers into Gaul and causing great devastation there: they were stealthily gliding snakes, ever ready to shoot out their venom. To cope with the problem, Julian was appointed Caesar, but in spite of some success against them the barbarians continued their attacks with even greater vigour, being especially driven by a shortage of food: this situation is reflected in the change of imagery from snakes to wild dogs and wolves who continue to raid flocks for food in spite of a diligent master. Barbarian pressure increased, so much so that Julian decided to take punitive action against the Alamanni: the increase in pressure is represented by screeching birds, howling dogs, the punitive action by their slaughter like cattle. The relief was short-lived because the seven kings of the Alamanni collected their forces in one spot and approached the city of Strasburg, eager for battle with the Romans: the Alamanni now become a mass of wild animals driven by canine madness. A reiteration of the same two animal terms a little later in the description emphasizes this idea.¹⁶

¹⁶ This ultimate image of a mass of wild animals is maintained by Ammianus at XXII, 12, 2, where Julian is described as fighting against "tribes of wild animals."

In this ever-changing, ever-growing animal description Ammianus represents the Alamanni as an ever-increasing danger to the Empire. This picture of an ever-increasing danger is also created by the use of both metaphor and comparison. As was seen in the discussion of rhetorical theories on imagery, ancient rhetoricians recognized the emotional nature of metaphor and the more rational nature of comparison.¹⁷

Ammianus' rhetorical background was intimated in Chapter One of this thesis¹⁸ so that he probably made the same distinction. The image used of the Alamanni seems to illustrate this. Metaphors make up the first part of the image and set the general tone -- it is emotional. Nevertheless, the emotions are still in control as is evinced by the use of the comparison. In fact, the emotions are so under control that one of the more rational comparisons is used, namely the common comparison used in arguments.¹⁹ However, thereafter the image moves on apace as the danger to the Empire increases, and metaphor follows metaphor with the majority in the chapter dealing with the battle of Strasburg.

The opinion of the author of the Περὶ Ὑψους that metaphors result from strong and appropriate emotions,²⁰ is

¹⁷See above, pp. 15; 20-21; 23-28.

¹⁸See above, pp. 5; 7-8.

¹⁹For this comparison see pp. 21-23.

²⁰Περὶ Ὑψους, 32, 4-5; see above, p. 15.

very applicable in the case of this image used of the Alamanni since it is a reflection of Ammianus' great hatred for these barbarians. The attacks of the Alamanni occurred at a time when the Empire was in jeopardy from internal strife and weakness. Constantius had removed Gallus and, confronted by these barbarian attacks, was forced, for lack of an heir, to confer the purple on Julian, his cousin, an intellectual with no military experience. Moreover, there were problems in the East with the Isaurians, Saracens, and Persians. When describing this period, Ammianus speaks of "the terrible straits that beset us throughout our far-flung Empire."²¹ This hatred for the Alamanni, therefore, would seem to stem in part from the fact that they chose to attack the Empire when it was least able to cope. In fact, it is interesting to note that once Julian had defeated the Alamanni at the battle of Strasburg, the animal imagery used of them virtually ceases even though they make frequent appearances elsewhere.²²

That Ammianus hated the Alamanni is everywhere accepted by scholars. Camus,²³ for example, points to the passage

²¹A.M. XV, 8, 6, "... nos per disiunctissimas terras, arduae necessitates adstringunt." Admittedly these words issue from the mouth of Constantius, but all the other evidence in this discussion of the Alamanni would seem to indicate that they are to be regarded as Ammianus' viewpoint.

²²See histogram in Appendix F.

²³Camus, p. 118.

where Ammianus intimates that a surprise attack on them was disgracefully betrayed by members of that people, who held high positions in the imperial service: Latinus, count in command of the body-guard, Agilo, tribune in charge of the stable, and Scudilo, commander of the targeteers, are mentioned.²⁴ Ensslin²⁵ indicates that Ammianus considered it an "honourable duty"²⁶ to fight against barbarians who, "as if sacrificing to their impious Manes with Roman blood, have broken through our peaceful frontier and are over-running Gaul confident in the belief that terrible straits beset us throughout our far-flung Empire."²⁷ It is therefore with great satisfaction that he relates a Roman success after an initial defeat: the Lentienses, a tribe of the Alamanni, in one of their raids across the Roman frontier had ambushed the Romans and inflicted heavy losses on them; the following day the Romans "poured like a torrent on the enemy ... and put them all to most shameful flight.... they trod under foot the horde of barbarians, except those whom flight had saved from

²⁴ A.M. XIV, 10, 7-8.

²⁵ Ensslin, pp. 30-31.

²⁶ A.M. XV, 4, 1, "... honestum et utile ..."

²⁷ Ibid. XV, 8, 6, "... velut impiis eorum manibus Romano sanguine parentantes, persultant barbari Gallias, rupta limitum pace: hac animati fiducia, quod nos per disiunctissimas terras, arduas necessitates adstringunt." For comment on this passage see above, p. 93, n. 21.

death, trampling on heaps of dead bodies and drenched with the blood of the slain."²⁸ Thompson points out the delight with which Ammianus depicts the slaughter and devastation caused by Julian among the Alamanni.²⁹ Perhaps this is best exemplified by the description of the battle of Strasburg. Then, through "the gracious will of an appeased deity"³⁰ the Romans were able to wreak incredible slaughter amongst the Alamanni. "Not one of those who dealt the wounds could with their blood glut his rage or satiate his right hand by continual slaughter."³¹ Some of the Alamanni lay mutilated, half-dead, pleading for death, others kept slipping in the blood of their fellow-soldiers and were buried beneath those who kept falling in heaps on top of them. "When all this had turned out so very successfully",³² the victorious Romans pressed on even more vigorously so that the barbarians had to take to the river. There the slaughter continued and "at

²⁸ A.M. XV, 4, 11-12, "... more fluminis hostibus superfusi ... universos in fugam coegere foedissimam.... proterebant barbaram plebem, nisi quos fuga exemerat morte, calcantes cadaverum strues, et perfusi sanie peremptorum."

²⁹ Thompson, p. 5.

³⁰ A.M. XVI, 12, 52, "aderatque propitiati numinis arbitrium clemens ..."

³¹ Ibid. XVI, 12, 52, "... nec quisquam vulnerantium sanguine iram explevit, nec satiavit caede multiplici dexteram ..."

³² Ibid. XVI, 12, 54, "quae ubi satis evenere prosperrime ..."

last the reddened river's bed, foaming with the blood of the barbarians, was itself amazed at these strange additions to its waters."³³ This slaughter at the river, this "theatrical scene", with the "curtain showing many wonderful sights"³⁴, brought the battle to its conclusion and thereafter the Alamanni capitulated. The fight was won "by the favour of the supreme deity."³⁵ On the Roman side only two hundred and forty-three soldiers and four officers perished. As for the Alamanni, six thousand perished on the field, whilst "heaps of dead, impossible to reckon",³⁶ were lost in the river.³⁷

At the root of this hatred for the Alamanni is Ammianus' tremendous attachment to Rome. This has already been mentioned in the study of Eunapius and Zosimus and it is proposed to develop the theme here.³⁸

³³ A.M. XVI, 12, 57, "spumans denique cruore barbarico, decolor alveus insueta stupebat augmenta."

³⁴ Ibid. "... velut in quodam theatriali spectaculo, aulaeis miranda monstrantibus multa ..."

³⁵ Ibid. XVI, 12, 62, "... favore superni numinis ..."

³⁶ Ibid. XVI, 12, 63, "... inestimabiles mortuorum acervi ..."

³⁷ For similar delight at the defeat of northern barbarians see A.M. XVII, 13, 8-15; XIX, 11, 13-17; it is interesting to note that defeat of other barbarians is not told with such great relish. Perhaps they were not regarded as such a great threat to the Empire as the northern barbarians. The relative danger to the Empire from the various barbarians will be discussed in the following pages.

³⁸ See above, p. 83.

Pascheud points to the exceptional role Ammianus attributes to Rome, since eleven passages put end to end would form almost a consecutive history of Rome from 353-375.³⁹ These passages are concerned primarily with "dissensions, taverns, and other similar vulgarities",⁴⁰ which Ammianus considers as blots on her magnificence and splendour, as impediments to her ultimate supremacy.⁴¹ For him she is a "venerable city, that has crushed the proud necks of wild animal tribes, that has made laws, the everlasting foundations and moorings of liberty."⁴² She is "the home of empire and of every virtue."⁴³ Physically, she is "the most majestic abode in the world,"⁴⁴ the temple of the whole world.⁴⁵ Ammianus finds it intolerable that

³⁹Paschoud, p. 59, see A.M. XIV, 6; XV, 7; XVI, 10; XVII, 4; 11, 5; XIX, 10; XXVI, 3; XXVII, 3; 9, 8-10; XXVIII, 1; XXIX, 6, 17-19.

⁴⁰A.M. XIV, 6, 2, "... seditiones ... tabernas et vilitates harum similis alias ..."

⁴¹Ibid. XIV, 6, 3.

⁴²Ibid. XIV, 6, 5, "... urbs venerabilis, post superbas efferatarum gentium cervices oppressas, latasque leges, fundamenta libertatis et retinacula sempiterna ..."

⁴³Ibid. XVI, 10, 13, "... imperii virtutumque omnium larem ..."

⁴⁴Ibid. XVI, 10, 20, "... augustissima omnium sede ..."

⁴⁵Ibid. XVII, 4, 13, "... in templo mundi totius ..."

"this magnificence and splendour ... are marred by the rude worthlessness of a few".⁴⁶ Hence comes his preoccupation with the unpleasant aspects of Rome. She will only be supreme when these are eradicated.

As was seen in Chapter Two of this thesis,⁴⁷ Ammianus spent quite a number of years in the Roman army and after retiring from the army eventually left Antioch for Rome, so that he, a Greek, might write a history of the "eternal city"⁴⁸ and her Empire.

Ammianus' attachment to Rome, therefore, was very great, so great in fact that the threat of the Alamanni aroused in him a hatred that ceased to be reasonable, that became passionate and irrational,⁴⁹ as the imagery and the other descriptions illustrate.

The imagery not only reflects Ammianus' hatred of the Alamanni, but also has the effect of glorifying his beloved Julian.⁵⁰ One is reminded of Velleius whose imagery revealed

⁴⁶ A.M. XIV, 6, 7, "... laeditur hic ... magnificus splendor, levitate paucorum incondita ..."

⁴⁷ See above, pp. 6-9.

⁴⁸ A.M. XIV, 6, 1, "... urbem aeternam ...". Compare with XV, 7, 1; XXVI, 3, 1; XXVII, 6, 17.

⁴⁹ See Paschoud, p. 44.

⁵⁰ For Ammianus' adulatory attitude towards Julian see above, p. 6.

a hatred of the Germans and at the same time had the effect of magnifying Tiberius' reputation.⁵¹

In the chapter which introduces his descriptions of Julian's activities among the Alamanni, Ammianus states that his successes over these peoples "ought to be preferred to his many admirable later achievements in that as a very young man, brought up like Erectheus⁵² in Minerva's retreat and drawn from the quiet shades of the Academy, not from a soldier's tent, to the dust of battle, he vanquished Germany, subdued the meanderings of the freezing Rhine, here shed the blood of kings breathing cruel threats, and there loaded their arms with chains."⁵³ He also states that in describing these achievements, "I will put in play all the resources of my modest ability, if only they will suffice".⁵⁴ The animal imagery used of the Alamanni would seem to be one of these resources whereby they are transformed into wild, savage creatures. That Julian, a youth with no military experience, overcame these animals makes his achievements all the more

⁵¹See above, pp. 56-57.

⁵²Erectheus, one of the earliest kings of Athens, is said to have been educated by Minerva because of his discovery of many useful arts.

⁵³A.M. XVI, 1, 5, "... quas anteferri gestis eius postea multis et miris, hac ratione deberent, quod aduliscens primaevus, ut Erectheus in secessu Minervae nutritus, ex academiae quietis umbraculis, non e militari tabernaculo in pulverem Martium tractus, strata Germania, pacatisque rigentis Rheni meatibus, cruenta spirantium regum hic sanguinem fudit, alibi manus catenis adflixit."

⁵⁴Ibid. XVI, 1, 2, "... instrumenta omnia mediocris ingenii (si suffecerint,) commoturus."

remarkable. The link between Julian and the barbarians as wild animals is specifically made in a later chapter where Julian is described as "having been subjected in the first flower of youth to warfare with tribes of wild animals."⁵⁵

The animal imagery used of the Alamanni would therefore seem to have three functions. It is used to depict the ever-increasing danger to the Empire from their attacks. It illustrates Ammianus' tremendous hatred of them. It also has the effect of glorifying Julian.

Ammianus' use of animal imagery to express his hatred of the Alamanni is, for the most part, at variance with the traditional use of animal imagery of barbarians. The study of previous authors showed that, generally speaking, the imagery was prompted by a cultural prejudice which decreased through acquaintance with the barbarians and through their debarbarization. In the fourth century A.D. knowledge of the Germans, and the debarbarization process were even more firmly established. Ammianus himself testifies to this, stating that it was very common for Germans to hold important military positions.⁵⁶ and examples of these are scattered

⁵⁵A.M. XXII, 12, 2, "... in aetatis flore primaevio, obiectus offeratarum gentium armis ..."

⁵⁶Ibid XXXI, 16, 8.

throughout his history.⁵⁷ Besides occupying important military positions, Germans also held the consulship, the highest civil honour which the Emperor could bestow. Ammianus gives as examples of these Dagalaifus and Merobaudes who were consuls in 366 and 377 respectively.⁵⁸ Dill states that these Germans often possessed "the charm of Roman culture and a social tact which gave them admission even to the inner circle of the Roman aristocracy."⁵⁹ Certainly, Symmachus numbered amongst his most valued friends Richomer and Bauto, two Franks of high birth, who rose to the position of consul in the time of Theodosius.⁶⁰ Bauto was also the father of the Empress Eudoxia. The promotion of Germans to important military and civil positions within the Empire was just one more step in the process which had started in the time of Augustus, whereby German tribes were settled on Roman territory

⁵⁷Reference has already made to Latinus, a count in command of the body-guard, Agilo, a tribune in charge of the stable, and Scudilo, a commander of the targeteers -- see above, p. 94, and A.M. XIV, 10, 8. For other examples see Silvanus the Frank, a commander of the infantry in Gaul (A.M. XV, 5, 2) and Mallobaudes, a fellow Frank, who first appears in Ammianus as a tribune of the palace troops (XIV, 11, 21) and later as a count of the bodyguard (XXXI, 10, 6).

⁵⁸A.M. XXVI, 9, 1; XXXI, 8, 2.

⁵⁹Dill, p. 297.

⁶⁰Symm. Ep. 3; Ep. 4; in Ammianus Richomer appears as a count of the bodyguard (XXXI, 7, 4).

and enlisted in the service of the Roman army. Ammianus offers evidence of this process when he describes how the Salian Franks settled in Toxiandra on Roman soil ⁶¹ and how the Goths gained permission from the Emperor Valens to settle in Thrace in return for help in war when the Huns drove them from their own territory. ⁶² He also describes the activities of the Batavi whose cavalry detachments were an important source of strength to the Roman army. ⁶³ The Batavi had long been settled on Roman soil and had a history of long and faithful service in the Roman army. ⁶⁴

Ammianus bears witness to Roman acquaintance with barbarians and the debarbarization process, but he wants nothing to do with these policies. As far as he is concerned, these policies are detrimental to the Empire. It has already been seen how he attributes a Roman failure against the Alamanni to the treachery of certain members of this tribe in the Imperial Service. ⁶⁵ The Laeti, Germans settled on Roman soil, are also described as having endangered the state.

⁶¹A.M. XVII, 8, 3-4.

⁶²Ibid. XXXI, 4.

⁶³Ibid. XVI, 12, 45; XX, 1, 3; 4, 2; XXVII, 1, 6; 8, 7; XXXI, 13, 9.

⁶⁴Tac. Hist. I, 59; IV, 12; Ann. II, 8.

⁶⁵See above, p. 94.

by breaking out at a time when Julian was engaged in conflict with the Alamanni.⁶⁶ As for the settlement of the Goths in Thrace, "diligent care was taken that no future destroyer of the Roman state should be left behind even if he were afflicted by a fatal disease."⁶⁷ Previous writers also recognized the threat to the Empire from the Germans. Tacitus considered them as posing the most serious danger to Rome in her history.⁶⁸ Dio Cassius likewise recognized the danger from them.⁶⁹ However, neither breaks into an outburst of violent emotion expressed in the form of animal images. It was suggested that a feeling of security resulting from Roman military superiority and from long acquaintance with the Germans, which allowed them to be more accurately assessed, possibly accounted for this. Ammianus himself testifies to the superiority of Roman armies⁷⁰ as well as to long acquaintance with the Germans, but these do not allow him to approach the Alamanni rationally. His attachment to the Empire was so great that the threat presented by them aroused in him such strong emotions that

⁶⁶A.M. XVI, 11, 4.

⁶⁷Ibid. XXXI, 4, 5, "... navabatur opera diligens, nequi Romanam rem eversurus relinqueretur, vel quassatus morbo letali."

⁶⁸See above, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁹See above, pp. 70-71.

⁷⁰A.M. XVI, 12, 47.

only the wholesale slaughter of the enemy could satisfy him. Hence the battle of Strasburg offered him great relief: the lack of imagery in subsequent descriptions of the Alamanni would seem to indicate this.

In using his imagery as an expression of his hatred for the Alamanni, Ammianus does bear some resemblance to Velleius whose imagery reflects his hatred of the Germans.⁷¹ However, in the case of Ammianus, an obsessive fear for the safety of the Empire seems to have been the chief motivating force behind the imagery, whereas in Velleius there is no evidence of a such a preoccupation.

For the most part, therefore, Ammianus is at variance with tradition in his use of animal imagery of the Alamanni. He does employ certain of the traditional terms, but he uses these in conjunction with other imagery to create a highly imaginative image quite different from anything found in the previous historians studied. It does not appear to be motivated by cultural prejudice which traditionally was the general cause of animal imagery used of barbarians, and which was mitigated by their debarbarization. It seems to stem rather from a deep hatred of the Alamanni on the part of Ammianus because of the danger they presented to the Empire: he was opposed to those measures which allowed their incorporation into the Empire regardless of any debarbarization.

⁷¹See above, pp. 54-56,

He is to be likened in two respects to Velleius. Velleius used his imagery to express his fear and hatred of the Germans, although he does not appear to have been obsessed with a fear for the safety of the Empire as was Ammianus. Velleius' imagery also had the effect of glorifying Tiberius, his beloved leader, just as Ammianus' imagery glorified Julian, his ideal emperor. It is interesting to note that Tacitus who is regarded as an important influence on Ammianus made little impact in terms of the use of imagery of the Germans.⁷²

In turning to contemporary writers, one sees that Ammianus' attitude to the Alamanni bears no resemblance to that of either Eunapius or Zosimus. Admittedly Eunapius does state in his history that he will not describe Julian's exploits against the Alamanni, because Julian has already written about these and he does not wish to compete with him in describing those events.⁷³ This naturally accounts for Eunapius' silence on the Alamanni. However, in view of the fact that they were one of the major enemies of the Empire, one might have expected him to deal with them in his work. Perhaps one might interpret the different treatments of the Alamanni by Eunapius and Ammianus as a reflection of the differences in attitude towards the Empire, especially towards the West, on their

⁷²See above, p. 58.

⁷³ Eun. Hist., p. 63, 20 - p. 64, 3.

parts, which has already been indicated in the chapter on Eunapius and Zosimus.⁷⁴ For Ammianus, the activities of the Alamanni constituted a great danger to the Empire. Their importance was such to Eunapius that it was sufficient for him to point to Julian's book for a description of these.⁷⁵

With regard to Zosimus, it is interesting to compare his description of the activities of the Alamanni up to the battle of Strasburg with that of Ammianus. Zosimus states that "the Franks, Alamanni, and Saxons had already taken and ravaged forty cities situated on the Rhine and had seized numerous of their inhabitants along with a vast amount of spoils."⁷⁶ In spite of the arrival of Julian in Gaul, "the barbarians continued their attack with complete indemnity".⁷⁷ As for the battle of Strasburg, "as soon as he had heard his scouts' report that a vast horde of barbarians had crossed near the city of Strasburg, which is situated on the bank of the

⁷⁴See above, pp. 82-84.

⁷⁵In the varied treatments of the Alamanni by Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus, differing backgrounds that were military, sophistic, and bureaucratic respectively, may have also played a part.

⁷⁶Zos. III, 1, 1, ... καὶ Φράγκους μὲν καὶ Ἀλμαννοὺς καὶ Σάξονας ἤδη τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἐπικειμένους τῷ Ῥήνῳ κατεληφότας, καὶ αὐτὰς μὲν ἀνκετόους πεπολεηκότας, τοὺς δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀπερὸν ὄντας πλῆθος λεησμένων μετὰ πλούτου λαφύρων ἀνκρεθμήτου...

⁷⁷Ibid. III, 2, 3, ... τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν ἦν μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἐπεσελόντων...

Rhine, he advanced with his army on the spur of the moment. Having joined with the enemy in battle, he, beyond all expression, set up the trophy: sixty thousand men⁷⁸ perished in the battle itself and as many others jumped into the Rhine and were destroyed in the river. Therefore, if any one should wish to compare this victory with the battle of Alexander against Darius, he would not find it inferior to that."⁷⁹ These brief references to the Alamanni are to be compared with Ammianus' description of them which depicts them as an ever-growing danger to the Empire in the form of ever-evolving wild animals that burst in a monstrous mass on the Romans at the battle of Strasburg.

Eunapius' and Zosimus' treatments of the Alamanni would therefore seem to offer further evidence of the differences in attitude towards the Empire on their parts and on the part of Ammianus, which were intimated in the previous chapter. Whatever the connections in the way of sources among Ammianus, Eunapius, and Zosimus, Ammianus stands apart from the others in his attitude to the Empire.

⁷⁸ Compare with the six thousand men reported by Ammianus (XVI, 12, 63).

⁷⁹ Zos. III, 3, 3, ἀγγελλόντων δὲ τῶν κατασκόπων ὡς περὶ πόλιν Ἀργέντορα, τὴν πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ῥήνου κειμένην ὄχθῃ, πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐπεκρίνωθαι βαρβάρων, ἕνα τῷ γυνῶναι μετὰ τοῦ σχεδικοθέντος αὐτῷ στρατοπέδου προῆλ, συμμαχίας δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις πύσης ὑπερβολῆς ἐπέκεινα τὸ τρόπκιον ἔστησεν, ἐξ ἧς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ μυριάδων ἀπολομένων, ἑτέρων δὲ τοσούτων ἐλαχμμένων κατὰ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ διαφθαρουσῶν ἐν τῷ ρεύματι, ὥστε εἰ τις ἐθέλοι τῇ πρὸς Δαρείον Ἀλεξάνδρου μάχῃ τούτην παραβλεῖν τὴν νίκην, οὐκ ἂν εὖρος ταύτην ἐκείνης ἐλάττωα.

6.2 The Goths

After the Alamanni, in absolute terms, the Goths are qualified by the largest number of images, although, proportionally speaking from the point of view of the number of chapters referring to them, the Goths are qualified by a greater number of images than the Alamanni.⁸⁰

They are described in animal terms as "dogs stricken with madness, desperate".⁸¹ Then they become "fire-darts, fleeing birds",⁸² gathering to support their chieftans against the Romans. The Romans for their part "feared the enemy and their insane leaders as they would rabid wild animals".⁸³ In the battle that ensued both Romans and Goths suffered heavy losses and the Goths were beleaguered in the mountains. "Driven by their wild animalism"⁸⁴ they tried to break out. Once free, they committed every "wild animal"⁸⁵ atrocity. "Like wild beasts that had broken their cages, they

⁸⁰ See histogram in Appendix F.

⁸¹ A.M. XXXI, 7, 3, "... cum desperatione rabies ..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = madness.

⁸² Ibid. XXXI, 7, 7, "... incensi malleoli ... aliti velocitate..."

⁸³ Ibid. XXXI, 7, 9, "... verebantur hostes et male sanos eorum ductores, ut rabidas feras ..."

⁸⁴ Ibid. XXXI, 8, 4, "... feritate urgente ..."

⁸⁵ Ibid. XXXI, 8, 7; the term fera is used specifically of the captivity of noble boys and girls, but is equally applicable to all the atrocities described in this chapter.

poured raging over the wide area of Thrace".⁸⁶ Then, "like wild animals",⁸⁷ they hunted the Romans, whilst their "canine madness"⁸⁸ infected other parts of the Empire. At the battle of Hadrianople "the barbarian mob howled wildly and harshly"⁸⁹ for the fight. Victors in the conflict, "like wild beasts made even more fierce and violent by the provocative taste of blood",⁹⁰ they made for Hadrianople, hoping to destroy the city. Wild beasts "stricken with madness",⁹¹ they attacked it.

This imagery used of the Goths moves at a different pace than that employed of the Alamanni, reflecting as it does the sudden rapidity and violence of the Gothic attack against the Romans. The Goths, from being in control, are suddenly transformed into raging dogs as a result of the treacherous treatment at the hands of the Romans. The fire-dart/bird image has the effect of illustrating not only the

⁸⁶ A.M. XXXI, 8, 9, "... velut diffractis caveis bestiae, per Thraciarum amplitudines fusius incitati ..."

⁸⁷ Ibid. XXXI, 9, 1, "... ut ferae ..."

⁸⁸ Ibid. XXXI, 10, 1, "... rabies ..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = madness.

⁸⁹ Ibid. XXXI, 12, 11, "... ululante barbara plebe ferum et triste ..."

⁹⁰ Ibid. XXXI, 15, 2, "... ut bestiae sanguinis inritamento atrocius efferatae ..."

⁹¹ Ibid. XXXI, 15, 4, "... rabies ..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = ~~mad~~rage.

speed with which the Goths came together but also the swiftness of the Gothic attack which is implied in the fire-dart part of the image. Then they quickly explode into a mass of wild animals infected by their previous canine madness. Suddenness, madness, violence, are further emphasized by the image of wild beasts bursting out of their cages. This image brings to mind the bestiae of the gladiatorial contests, the lions, tigers, panthers, and such like animals, the most dangerous of all wild beasts, ravenous for their prey.⁹² This image is particularly appropriate in that one of the reasons for the Gothic attack was hunger.⁹³ The ferocity and madness of the Goths are reiterated in the repetition of the terms fera and rabies. The fury continues unabated, as is depicted by the image of the Goths as howling, ferocious animals at the battle of Hadrianople. The next image emphasizes once more the violence of their attack as it recalls the gladiatorial animals, the lions, tigers, panthers and other dangerous creatures of the earlier comparison, creatures now made even more violent because of the taste of their opponents' blood. The imagery ends as it began on a note of madness. The imagery used of the Alamanni depicted a growing danger to the Empire, which climaxed in the battle of Strasburg. That

⁹²For this definition of bestia see LS, p. 234.

⁹³A.M. XXXI, 4, 11; 5, 1; 8, 4.

employed of the Goths, although made up of many of the terms found of the Alamanni, is used in such a way that madness and violence are the keynotes of the description from beginning to end.

Besides reflecting the character of the Gothic attack, the imagery also illustrates very clearly Ammianus' attitude towards the Goths.

He recognized that they had some justification for their rebellion against the Romans. He blames Lupicinus, the commanding general in Thrace, and Maximus, another leader in that area, for causing this:

"Their treacherous greed was the source of all our evils. I say nothing of other crimes which these two men, or at least others with their permission, committed with the worst of motives against the foreign new-comers who were as yet blameless, but one melancholy and unheard-of act shall be mentioned of which, even if they were their own judges of their own case, they could not be acquitted by any excuse."⁹⁴

"Because of the ruinous negligence" of these men⁹⁵ the Goths were deprived of the necessities of life and were prevented from moving into the interior of Thrace "by an

⁹⁴A.M. XXXI, 4, 10, "quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia malorum omnium fuit. nam (ut alia omittamus, quae memorati vel certe sinentibus idem, alii perditis rationibus, in commensantis peregrinos adhuc innoxios deliquerunt,) illud dicetur, quod nec apud sui periculi iudices, absolvere ulla poterat venia, triste et inauditum"; the Goths were starving and these leaders took advantage of the situation to provide themselves with slaves by collecting dogs from far and wide and offering them as food in exchange for Goths who were to be used as slaves (A.M. XXXI, 4, 11).

⁹⁵Ibid. XXXI, 5, 1, "... dissimulatione pernicioosa ..."

abominable kind of traffic".⁹⁶ At Marcianopolis⁹⁷ "a more atrocious crime was committed which kindled the terrible torches which were to burn for the destruction of the state",⁹⁸ when Lupicinus ordered the slaughter of certain Goths at a dinner-party given for them by him.

Whilst these passages show a certain sympathy for the Goths, yet Ammianus feared for the safety of the Empire and this was put into great jeopardy by them for "when the barriers of our frontier were unlocked and columns of armed barbarians spread far and wide like glowing ashes from Aetna, when our difficulties and imminent dangers called for military reformers who were most distinguished for the fame of their exploits, then it was, as if at the will of some adverse deity, that men were gathered together and given command of armies, who had stained reputations"⁹⁹ -- men like Lupicinus and Maximus, men

⁹⁶ A.M. XXXI, 5, 1. "... nefandis nundinandi commerciis."

⁹⁷ A city of eastern Moesia near the Euxine.

⁹⁸ A.M. XXXI, 5, 4, "... aliud accessit atrocius, quod arsuras in commune exitium, faces furiales accendit."

⁹⁹ Ibid. XXXI, 4, 9, "... nostri limitis reseratis obicibus, atque (ut Aetnaeas favillas armatorum agmina diffundente barbaria), cum difficiles necessitatum articuli correctores rei militaris poscerent aliquos claritudine gestarum rerum notissimos: quasi laevo quodam numine diligente, in unum quaesiti potestatibus praefuere castrensibus homines maculosi ..."

like Maurus who replaced Frigeridus as general in Thrace, a man "open to bribes under a pretence of boldness, changeable and unreliable in his conduct".¹⁰⁰ As for the emperors themselves, Gratian involved himself in frivolous pursuits "at a time when, even if Marcus Antoninus had been emperor, he could not without like colleagues and most prudent counsel have mitigated the grievous disasters to our country",¹⁰¹ whilst Valens had no training in the art of war.¹⁰² The sight of his beloved Empire in such terrible straits aroused in Ammianus a hatred of the Goths. This hatred has already been seen in his attitude to their entry into Roman territory.¹⁰³ The next to the last chapter of Book XXXI is especially significant in this regard. There Ammianus describes the slaughter of the Goths at the hands of Julius, commander-in-chief of the troops beyond the Taurus. Julius gave orders that all the Goths who had been admitted into his area and had scattered through the various cities and camps should be summoned into the suburbs on the pretence of receiving pay

¹⁰⁰ A.M. XXXI, 10, 21, "... venalis ferociae specie, et ad cuncta mobilis et incertus ..."

¹⁰¹ Ibid. XXXI, 10, 19, "... eo tempore quo etiam si imperium Marcus regeret Antoninus, aegre sine collegis similibus et magna sobrietate consiliorum linere luctuosos rei publicae poterat casus."

¹⁰² Ibid. XXXI, 14, 5.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 103.

that had been promised to them. Then they were to be slaughtered. In describing this atrocity, Ammianus speaks of the "salutary and swift efficiency of Julius", of his plan as "prudent".¹⁰⁴ This praise for Julius' actions and the fact that the next to the last chapter of the work is devoted to the massacre of the Goths, are a strong indication of Ammianus' feelings.¹⁰⁵ Straub sees Book XXXI as a presentation by Ammianus of the ways of coming to terms with the Goths.¹⁰⁶ There are three possibilities: incorporation into the Empire, repulsion, and annihilation. In the next to the last chapter of Book XXXI Ammianus unequivocally approves of annihilation. Whatever his attempts at fairness in his attitude towards the Goths, his hatred dominates and can only be satisfied by their destruction.

This attitude to the Goths which makes an attempt at fairness but which is ultimately dominated by hatred, is reflected in his imagery. This oscillates between metaphor and comparison. The alternate use of metaphor and comparison might perhaps be interpreted as an effort by Ammianus to keep his emotions under some kind of control, to tone down his reaction to the Goths in view of the fact that they had some

¹⁰⁴A.M. XXXI, 16, 8, "... efficacia Iulii ... salutaris et velox."

¹⁰⁵For the importance of this chapter as an indication of Ammianus' feelings, see Paschoud, p. 44.

¹⁰⁶Straub, pp. 259-262.

justification for their rebellion. This premise rests on the differences between metaphor and comparison, the one being more emotional and synthetic, the other more rational and analytical, differences which seem to have been recognized by ancient rhetoricians and of which Ammianus was probably aware.¹⁰⁷ In one breath he turns the Goths into wild animals, in the next he describes them as only being like wild animals: one gets the impression that he felt that he was going too far in transforming them into animals because of the fact that to some extent the Romans were responsible for their behaviour. It is interesting to compare the imagery used of the Alamanni with that employed of the Goths. In the former, out of thirteen images, only two are comparisons: Ammianus felt no constraints in expressing his hatred of the Alamanni. Admittedly, in the case of the Goths, his attempt to tone down his reaction to them is not very successful, as an analysis of the types of comparisons used indicates. The comparisons are all highly metaphorical in nature, three of them fitting into the category of those used in emotional arguments, one of them being an abridged comparison.¹⁰⁸ It

¹⁰⁷ For these differences between metaphor and comparison see pp. 11-12; 15; 20-21; 23-30; for Ammianus' probable awareness of these differences see pp. 5; 7-8.

¹⁰⁸ For the type used in emotional arguments see pp. 23-25; for the abridged comparison see pp. 29-30. The images fitting into the first category are those of the rabid animals, the escaping beasts, and the beasts excited by blood. The abridged comparison is that of the wild animals.

is interesting to note that three of the comparisons are actually of the type used in arguments. It is almost as if Ammianus feels guilty about his outburst against the Goths and is attempting to rationalize this by drawing on that group of comparisons which are regarded as suitable for arguments. His feelings are such, however, that they prevent him from using the more rational types of this group of comparisons.¹⁰⁹ Ammianus hated the Goths and was unable to look at them in a rational manner. It is significant that the imagery used of them starts and ends with a metaphor. It is also significant that, proportionally speaking from the point of view of chapters referring to the Alamanni and the Goths, the latter are qualified by more animal images than the former. Whatever Ammianus' attempts at curbing his reaction to the Goths, his emotions dominate and present them as an even greater threat to the Empire than the Alamanni. In their danger to the Empire, the two are linked by the like images applied to them, but the imagery used of the Goths depicts a very sudden and violent force and more dangerous to the safety of the Empire than the ever-growing attacks of the Alamanni.

The animal imagery used of the Goths, therefore, describes the sudden and violent nature of their attack against the Empire. It also reflects the internal struggle experienced by Ammianus with regard to them, a struggle between fairness and

¹⁰⁹For the different types of comparisons used in arguments see pp. 20-25.

a deep hatred for them, with the hatred becoming supreme.

In the creation of different pictures for the Alamanni and the Goths Ammianus' originality stands out when he is compared with previous writers. In the study of tradition it was seen that no matter the tribe, the picture was stereotyped by the inevitable use of the terms, *κῆπος*, *βρῦτος*, *ferus* or variants thereof. Cultural prejudice was also seen to be generally the motivating factor in this imagery.¹¹⁰ Certain aspects of the barbarian way of life would be delineated and the animal terms applied which expressed the alienation of the writer from the particular culture.¹¹¹ In Ammianus' treatment of the Goths there is one passage which is very reminiscent of this approach. Describing the ravaging of Thrace at their hands, he speaks of "a most foul confusion of robbery, murder, bloodshed, fires, and shameful violation of the bodies of free men. Then there were to be seen add to lament acts most frightful to see and to describe: women driven along by cracking whips, and stupefied with fear, still heavy with their unborn children, which before coming into the world endured many horrors, and

¹¹⁰ Velleius was of course the exception and his relationship with Ammianus has already been discussed under the analysis of the imagery used of the Alamanni (p. 104). The comments made there are also valid for the Goths.

¹¹¹ See especially Strabo, pp. 46-52 above.

little children clinging to their mothers. Then also could be heard the laments of noble youths and girls whose hands were bound in captivity under wild animals."¹¹² In this passage with its description of Gothic behaviour and the use of the term fera to qualify this, Ammianus to some extent does look to tradition. Tradition, however, allowed for the debarbarization process and this seemed eventually to have its effect in the decrease of animal imagery for barbarians.¹¹³ In the case of Ammianus, as previously stated,¹¹⁴ Book XXXI is seen as an exposition of the way of coming to terms with the Goths and he emerges as being anti-debarbarization and in favour of their annihilation. The above passage, whilst taking its cue from the traditional portrayal of cultural prejudice, is in effect a reflection of the racial hatred of Ammianus. The mad, violent behaviour of the Goths is unchangeable so that the Empire can only be safe with the destruction of the race.

¹¹² A.M. XXXI, 8, 6-7, "... rapinis et caedibus, sanguineque et incendiis et liberorum corporum corruptelis, omnia foedissime permiscentes. tunc erat spectare cum gemitu facta dictu visuque praedira, attonitas metu feminas flagris concrepantibus agitari, fetibus gravidas adhuc immaturis, antequam prodirent in lucem, impia tolerantibus multa: implicatos alios matribus parvulos, et puberum audire lamenta, puellarumque nobilium, quarum stringebat fera captivitas manus;" cf. the description of the Taifali, a tribe of Western Goths (A.M. XXXI, 9, 5).

¹¹³ See the analyses of Tacitus and Dio Cassius, pp. 58-75.

¹¹⁴ Page 114.

In his attitude towards the Goths and his resulting treatment of them, Ammianus bears little relationship to the contemporary writers, Eunapius and Zosimus. These writers do show concern about the attacks of the Goths which resulted from the inroads of the Huns into their territory, but this concern is limited to such statements as "they dared much more terrible and atrocious crimes than they had experienced",¹¹⁵ and "the disasters which had occurred in the East and in Thrace thus came to an end through the shrewdness of the generals."¹¹⁶ This type of comment stands in striking contrast to the outburst of animal imagery from Ammianus. Both Eunapius and Zosimus speak of the treachery of the barbarians,¹¹⁷ whilst Zosimus intimates that Theodosius has gone too far in his employment of the Goths in his armies.¹¹⁸ However, he does recognize the value of loyal Goths in the army, such as Fravitta.¹¹⁹ Eunapius is also enthusiastic about Fravitta.¹²⁰ This endorsement of the controlled use of barbarians in the Roman armies is opposed to the attitude of

¹¹⁵Eun. Hist. p. 51, 9-10, ... πολὺ δεινότερα καὶ τροχικώτερα συνετόλησεν ὢν ἔπικθεν. cf. p. 51, 17-18.

¹¹⁶Zos. IV, 27, 1, Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἑώραν καὶ Θράκην συμπεσόντα ἐλαττώματα τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγχινοῦς ταύτην εὐχέτην τελευτήν. cf. IV, 21, 1; 24, 3.

¹¹⁷Eun. Hist. p. 50, 11-12; p. 51, 14-15; Zos. IV, 20, 7.

¹¹⁸Zos. IV, 30; 40, 6-8.

¹¹⁹Ibid. V, 20, 1-2.

¹²⁰Eun. Hist. pp. 53-54.

Ammianus who wanted a completely Roman army. The reactions of Eunapius and Zosimus to the Gothic attacks which followed the inroads of the Huns, do show some apprehension and vary somewhat from their reactions to the attacks of the Alamanni, and from Zosimus' reaction to the sack of Rome at the hands of the Goths.¹²¹ This difference in attitude perhaps stems from the fact that the Gothic attacks also affected the East. As was indicated in the discussion of Eunapius and Zosimus, both lived in the East and had little interest in the West.¹²² Zosimus, when describing the dangers imminent from the Goths scattered in the East once they had heard of the defeat of their fellow-countrymen in Thrace, says that "the situation in the East was not far removed from total loss."¹²³ In this quotation perhaps lies the explanation for Zosimus' and Eunapius' fears concerning the Goths. In this respect Ammianus is also at variance with Eunapius and Zosimus since he responded violently, with outbursts of imagery, to attacks on the Empire from both the Alamanni and the Goths who presented serious threats to its safety. Ammianus was anxious about the whole Empire, Eunapius and Zosimus only about the East.

¹²¹ See above, pp. 105-107; 83-84.

¹²² Pages 82-84.

¹²³ Zos. IV, 26, 1, Ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑξῆς ἐν πόρει γέγονε παντελὴς ἀνωλετρία...
cf. IV, 27, 1; see above, p. 119.

Ammianus, therefore, in his attitude towards, and treatment of the Goths, differs widely from Eunapius and Zosimus. Whilst the latter do show some emotion in the face of the Gothic attacks, this is mild in comparison with that of Ammianus and only serves to emphasize the difference between them, being an emotion motivated purely by consideration for the East.

6.3 The Scythians

Of the barbarian tribes described in animal terms, the Scythians, in absolute terms, are qualified by the most animal images after the Alamanni and the Goths, although, proportionally speaking, they have the largest number of animal images used of them.¹²⁴

Speaking of the Scythians in general, Ammianus says that "of these, only a small part live on the fruits of the earth, whilst all the rest roam over desert wastes, which never knew plough nor seeds, but are rough from neglect and subject to frosts, and they feed in the foul manner of wild animals."¹²⁵ Describing specific tribes, he states that the Arimaspi, a

¹²⁴See histogram in Appendix F.

¹²⁵A.M. XXII, 8, 42, "quarum pars exigua frugibus alitur, residuae omnes palantes per solitudines vastas, nec stivam aliquando nec sementem expertas, sed squalentes et pruinosas, ferarum taetro ritu vescuntur ...

north-eastern Scythian tribe, are "wild animals, one-eyed creatures",¹²⁶ whilst the Sacae living a little to the south of them, are "a tribe of wild animals, inhabiting a rough country productive only for cattle and hence not made civilized by cities."¹²⁷ The people of the Huns "dwelling beyond the Maeotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean, exceed every degree of wild-animalism".¹²⁸ Physically, they are "so monstrously ugly and malformed that one might think them two-legged wild-beasts or the stumps, roughly-hewn into images, that are used in putting sides to bridges".¹²⁹ Morally speaking, "like unreasoning animals, they are completely ignorant of the difference between right and wrong".¹³⁰ It was the sudden raids "of these tribes of wild animals" that forced the Goths into Thrace.¹³¹ As for the Vidini and Geloni,

¹²⁶ A.M. XXIII, 6, 13, "... luscis et feris."

¹²⁷ Ibid. XXIII, 6, 60, "... natio fera, squalentia incolens loca, solum pecori fructuosa, ideo nec civitatibus culta."

¹²⁸ Ibid. XXXI, 2, 1, "... ultra paludes Maeoticas glaciale oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis excedit."

¹²⁹ Ibid. XXXI, 2, 2, "... prodigiöse deformes et pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias, vel quales in conmarginandis pontibus effigiati stipites dolantur incompte."

¹³⁰ Ibid. XXXI, 2, 11, "inconsulorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhonestumve sit, penitus ignorantes ..."

¹³¹ Ibid. XXXI, 12, 8, "... ferarum gentium ..."

tribes of north-western Scythia, they are "terribly wild animals: they strip the skins from their slain enemies and make clothing for themselves and coverings for their horses in war".¹³² Finally, there are the Halani of north-eastern Scythia who "live like wild animals For they have no huts and care nothing for using the ploughshare, but they subsist on flesh and an abundance of milk, and dwell in wagons which they cover with rounded canopies of bark and drive over the boundless wastes. When they come to grassy areas, they place their carts in a circle and feed like wild animals."¹³³

This imagery used of the Scythian tribes is quite different from that employed of the Alamanni and the Goths. It is very much linked with descriptions of their life-style and therefore has very close connections with the traditional use of animal imagery of barbarians. Ammianus appears to be adhering to the maxim put forward by the author of the Περὶ Ἑμπνεύσεως, that customary usage is all important in the use of imagery.¹³⁴ - One is reminded especially of Strabo and his

¹³² A.M. XXXI, 2, 14, "... perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hostium cutibus, indumenta sibi equisque tegmina conficiunt bellatoriis."

¹³³ Ibid. XXXI, 2, 17-18, "... modum efferatum vivendi ... nec enim ulla sunt illis vel tuguria, aut versandi vomeris cura, sed carne et copia victitant lactis, plaustriis supersidentes, quae operimentis curvatis corticum per solitudines conferunt, sine fine distentas. cumque ad graminae venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis, ferino ritu vescuntur..."

¹³⁴ Περὶ Ἑμπνεύσεως, 2, 86; see above, p. 17.

ethnographical descriptions of the Scythians and other northern tribes.¹³⁵

As a result of this strong influence of tradition, there is a sameness about the imagery which characterized the traditional use: for the most part the Scythians are qualified by the term ferus or a derivative. Only in the case of the Huns who, according to Ammianus, are "little known from ancient records",¹³⁶ is there a change in imagery, is there a spark of the originality which marked that used of the Alamanni and the Goths. The description of the Huns as both two-legged, wild beasts and the stunted, roughly-carved images found on bridges, creates a monstrous picture of an ill-defined creature, half-man, half-beast with two wooden stumps for legs and the rest of the body having the appearance of a lion or tiger or such like beast.¹³⁷ With little to consult in the way of previous records, Ammianus produced an image quite dissimilar to the others.¹³⁸

¹³⁵See above, pp. 46-52.

¹³⁶A.M. XXXI, 2, 1, "... gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota ..."

¹³⁷For this definition of bestia see LS, p. 234.

¹³⁸Perhaps the originality of the imagery used of the Alamanni and the Goths also stems in part from the fact that there seems to have been little specifically written about them by previous authors.

The imagery therefore, in its appearance in ethnological digressions and in its lack of variety, closely resembles that of customary usage. However, in one respect, Ammianus' imagery does deviate from this pattern. That used by earlier writers was generally employed to emphasize the cultural alienation of the various barbarian tribes from the Greeks and Romans. It sprang from a prejudice which seemed to be mitigated by the debarbarization process and greater familiarity with barbarians.¹³⁹ In the case of Ammianus, it has already been seen that barbarians were unacceptable to him even when they had been subjected to the effects of civilization.¹⁴⁰ How much more abhorrent were the Scythians, a nomadic, totally uncivilized group of tribes.¹⁴¹ Ammianus' imagery would seem to reflect his hatred for the Scythians in general and the Huns in particular, who through their nomadic existence set the Goths in motion. The Huns were "the seed and origin of all the ruin and various disasters which the wrath of Mars aroused by putting in turmoil all places with unwonted fires".¹⁴² They came "with the violence

¹³⁹Velleius' imagery was of course the exception. For the relationship between his imagery and that of Ammianus see see above, p. 104.

¹⁴⁰See above, pp. 102-104.

¹⁴¹For the detailed description of their life-style, see A.M. XXXI, 2.

¹⁴²A.M. XXXI, 2, '1, "Totius autem sementem exitii, et cladum originem diversarum, quas Martius furor incendio insolito miscendo cuncta concivit ..."

of a sudden storm".¹⁴⁴ It would seem significant that, proportionally speaking, the Scythians are qualified by the most animal images. This perhaps stems from the fact that it was one of the Scythian tribes that set the Goths in motion and that was therefore ultimately responsible for the devastation caused to the Empire by the Gothic attack. The relationship between the Scythians and the Goths and the threat they presented seems to be strengthened by the fact that, proportionally speaking, the Scythians and then the Goths are qualified by the greatest number of images. The link between the Huns in particular and the Goths is forged in the use of the term bestia of both: for Ammianus both are representative of the most savage types of animals which symbolize tremendous danger. One should also note that in previous descriptions of the Scythians the animal imagery is not applied to any specific tribe, but is used of them as a whole,¹⁴⁵ which would seem to suggest with regard to Ammianus that his animosity was such that whenever he mentioned

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. XXXI, 3, 2, "... vi subitae procellae ..."

¹⁴⁵ For descriptions of the Scythians see, for example, Strabo 1, 2, 10; VII, 3, 7-9; XI, 6, 2; XI, 8; Pliny. N.H. VI, 50, 53; VII, 10; Mela, II, 1, 10-14; Solinus 15, 3; 20; 23; 49, 6-7.

an individual tribe he generally could not refrain from qualifying them with animal imagery because of what the Huns did to his beloved Empire.¹⁴⁶

Ammianus' imagery therefore reflects his hatred of the Scythians and in this respect is to be likened to that used of the Alamanni and the Goths. As an expression of emotion, the imagery takes its form either in metaphors or in highly metaphorical comparisons. The type of comparison used is in all instances the abridged comparison which was regarded by ancient rhetoricians as being very close to metaphor because of the intermingling of the two parts of the comparison.¹⁴⁷ Two of the comparisons are used of the Halani and a third seems to have been prompted by them.¹⁴⁸ Ammianus states

¹⁴⁶ Admittedly, in view of the fact that the ethnographical digressions do not belong to the main body of the historical work but are inserted for the delight and entertainment of the listener, one must exercise caution in interpreting the imagery that is found in them for it may not be a reflection of Ammianus' attitudes towards events. However, the evidence offered above to support the contention that the imagery used of the Scythians is a personal reaction to them in terms of their effect on the Empire, seems plausible.

¹⁴⁷ For this comparison see above, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴⁸ The mention of the Halani in the immediate context, and the similarity of the image to one used later of the Halani suggest this; cf. "they feed in the foul manner of wild animals" ("ferarum taetro ritu vescuntur", A.M. XXII, 8, 42) and "they feed like wild animals" ("ferino ritu vescuntur", A.M. XXXI, 2, 18).

that these were not as savage as the Huns¹⁴⁹ and perhaps because of this he was able to view them more rationally.¹⁵⁰ The Huns in contrast are for the most part described by metaphors so that the hint of rationality introduced by the use of a comparison to describe them is lost in the overall emotional effect.

The animal imagery used of the Scythians, therefore, seems to be motivated by racial antagonism. It expresses Ammianus' hatred of a people who, by their nomadic way of life, drove the Goths into exile and thereby put the Empire into great jeopardy. In this respect it is to be likened to that used of the Alamanni and the Goths. However, it looks more closely to tradition than that employed of these tribes in its use in ethnographical descriptions and in its sameness.

With regard to the contemporary historians and their treatment of the Scythian tribes, only direct evidence is available for Zosimus. Unfortunately, in the case of Eunapius, those parts of his history dealing with the Huns, the only Scythian tribe mentioned in the fragments of Eunapius, are lost. He does indicate that his history dealt with them, stating that in a previous edition he treated of the origin and abodes of the Huns, a topic little known from earlier

149 A.M. XXXI, 2, 21.

150 For the more rational nature of comparison, see pp. 20-21; 26-29.

sources, and that he will describe them again in the present edition in the light of new information which he has gleaned about them.¹⁵¹ However, in view of his Neo-Platonic philosophy and of his treatment of the Alamanni and Goths, perhaps one is justified in assuming that his reaction would have been similar to that found with those tribes. If there had been imagery used of the Huns, it most probably would have been employed for rhetorical effect, as in the cases of Sapor and the Goths, and would have had no prejudice or anxiety attached to it.

Zosimus, like Ammianus and Eunapius, speaks of the Huns as a nation "hitherto unknown".¹⁵² He surmises that they are either "royal Scythians",¹⁵³ or, as Herodotus says, snub-nosed and unwarlike men living alongside the Danube,¹⁵⁴ or migrants from Asia into Europe. Whatever their origin, they set out with their families and belongings and moved in upon the Goths living above the Danube. They were a tribe that lived and slept on horseback. They attacked the Goths,

¹⁵¹Eun. Hist. p. 75, 12 - p. 76, 12.

¹⁵²Zos. IV, 20, 3, ... πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἐγνωσμένον...

¹⁵³Ibid. ... βασιλείους ... Σκύθας ... According to Herodotus these were the best and the largest group of Scythians, who considered all other Scythians their slaves (Herod. IV, 20).

¹⁵⁴Ibid. ... οὗς Ἡρόδοτος φησὶ περιέχειν τὸν "Ἰστρον σιμαὸς καὶ ἰσθμὸς ἐν ὁρίωνibus ... This description, allegedly from Herodotus, bears little resemblance to the original; cf. Herod. V, 9.

causing untold slaughter and forcing them to abandon their homes and to cross the Danube.¹⁵⁵ This cursory glance at the Huns expresses little concern about them. It would seem that Zosimus is only aroused when a specific tribe directly affects the Eastern part of the Empire: hence his reaction to the Goths. Ammianus, in contrast, in his preoccupation with the safety of the Empire is apparently aroused to animosity against any tribe that indirectly threatens this. Thus, the Huns appear to excite his hatred, and not only the Huns, but any tribe that has racial ties with them. In this respect, one must compare his treatment of the Halani who were in fact forced by the Huns to participate in the attack against the Goths, with that of Zosimus. The latter makes no mention of them in connection with the attack against the Goths, whilst his references to them elsewhere are very fleeting and non-committal.¹⁵⁶ Ammianus, as in the case of the Huns, gives a detailed description of them, punctuated with hostile animal imagery.

Thus, the respective treatments of the Scythians by Zosimus and Ammianus have little in common. With regard to the Huns, both give ethnographical descriptions, but the comparison ends there. Zosimus' references both to the Huns

¹⁵⁵Ibid. IV, 20, 4-5.

¹⁵⁶Zos. IV, 35, 2; 5.26, 4; VI, 3, 1.

and the Malani are cursory and neutral, Ammianus' detailed and hostile, especially in the use of animal imagery. This difference in approach seems to stem from the different attitudes both had to the Empire: Zosimus was only concerned with what directly affected the East, whilst Ammianus was obsessed with whatever directly or indirectly affected the safety of the Empire, particularly in the West.

6.4 The Persians.

Of the major barbarians described by Ammianus, proportionally speaking, the Persians have the least number of animal images used of them.¹⁵⁷

Describing the siege of Amida by the Persians, Ammianus states that "before the break of day the signal was given on the trumpets and the countless forces were aroused from all sides to battles of equal heat and rushed to the fight like carrion birds; and the plains and dales as far and as wide as the eye could see revealed nothing except the flashing arms of tribes of wild animals."¹⁵⁸ In an ethnographical

¹⁵⁷ See histogram in Appendix F.

¹⁵⁸ A.M. XIX, 2, 12, "Ac priusquam lux occiperet, signo per lituos dato, ad fervorem similium proeliorum excitae undique inestimabiles copiae in modum alituum ferebantur, unde longe et late prospici poterat, campis et convallibus nihil praeter arma micantia ferarum gentium demonstrantibus."

description of the Persians, he speaks of them as being "grim with the eyes of goats".¹⁵⁹ At the battle of Maiozamalcha¹⁶⁰ they are portrayed as "being covered with plates of iron like a thin layer of feathers",¹⁶¹ Julian, when trying to urge on his men to fight, calls the Persians "ugly she-goats disfigured with filth".¹⁶² Finally, Sapor, the king of the Persians, on hearing that Papa, the son of Arsaces, the monarch of Armenia slain by Sapor, had been sent to rule Armenia by the Romans, reacted in a manner "beyond what was human, became a wild animal."¹⁶³

The spasmodic appearance of these few images in the many chapters devoted to the Persians suggests that Ammianus viewed them somewhat differently from the Alamanni, Goths, and Scythians, who within a few chapters are frequently branded as wild animals because of Ammianus' hatred of them. One might have expected him to have reacted in the same manner towards the Persians, particularly since the Romans suffered a heavy defeat at their hands in the siege of Amida at which

¹⁵⁹A.M. XXIII, 6, 75, "... caprinis oculis torvi ..."

¹⁶⁰A city of Persia stormed and sacked by the Romans.

¹⁶¹Ibid. XXIV, 4, 15, "... hostem indique lamminis ferreis in modum tenuis plumae contextum ..."

¹⁶²Ibid. XXIV, 8, 1, "... deformes inluvie capellas et taetras ..."

¹⁶³Ibid. XXVII, 12, 11, "... ultra hominem efferatus ..."

time Ammianus almost lost his life, particularly since Julian was killed by them, and particularly since an ignominious peace was made with them after the death of Julian. In fact, Ammianus constantly reiterates the danger presented by the Persians in their conflict with Constantius in remarks such as "the fortune of the Orient kept sounding the dreadful trumpets of danger"¹⁶⁴ or "the great dread of impending disasters held all in suspense",¹⁶⁵ yet there is no outburst of animal imagery as a result of this threat, which was the case with the Alamanni, Goths, and Scythians. How is one to account for this difference in treatment?

In the first instance, one must look at Ammianus' ethnological digression on Persia and the Persians.¹⁶⁶ The districts of Persia generally emerge as agriculturalized and urbanized.¹⁶⁷ As was seen in the chapter on tradition, agriculturalization and urbanization were important criteria in determining whether a tribe was on the path to civilization or not.¹⁶⁸ In this respect, it is interesting to compare

¹⁶⁴ A.M. XVIII, 4, 1, "... orientis fortuna periculorum terribilis tubas reflabat."

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. XVIII, 4, 2, "... omnesque suspensos adventantium calamitatum complicaret magna formido ..." cf. XVIII, 6, 17; 7, 7; XIX, 1, 4; 2, 4; 10, 1; XX, 11, 32.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. XXIII, 6.

¹⁶⁷ For example, Assyria (XXIII, 6, 23); Media (XXIII, 6, 29; 31); Old Persia (XXIII, 6, 41-42); Greater Carmania (XXIII, 6, 48).

¹⁶⁸ See especially Strabo, pp. 46-52 above.

Ammianus' reaction, in the same description, to the Parthians who lived in the north of Persia "in lands abounding in snow and frost."¹⁶⁹ they are said to be "wild animals".¹⁷⁰ In striking contrast also are the ethnographical descriptions of the Huns and the Halani, nomadic, stock-keeping tribes. As for certain customs of the Persians, Ammianus appears to consider them with favour, for example, their lack of luxurious feasting and excessive drinking, their moderation and caution, their avoidance of certain unseemly behaviour.¹⁷¹ Perhaps Ammianus did not regard the Persians as inferior, as he did the Alamanni, Goths and Scythians. This would in part account for the lack of imagery in connection with them.

In the second place, one must bear in mind Herodian's words to the effect that the Persian threat was not considered similar to the German one because of the remoteness of Persia from Italy.¹⁷² For Ammianus the West, with Rome as the centre of the Empire, was certainly of the utmost importance to him. As indicated in the chapter on Ammianus' background, he, a Greek, went to live in Rome and to write his history there in

¹⁶⁹A.M. XXIII, 6, 43, "... nivales terras et pruinosas ..."

¹⁷⁰Ibid. XXIII, 6, 44, "feri ..." cf. the use of ferus of the allies of the Persians (XVIII, 4, 1).

¹⁷¹Ibid. XXIII, 6, 76-79.

¹⁷²Hdn. VI, 7, 4; see above, p. 74. In the fourth and fifth centuries one might also point to the relative quietness of the Persians in comparison to the activity of the western barbarians.

Latin,¹⁷³ whilst his work also bears testimony to his tremendous attachment to the centre of the Empire.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps this devotion to Rome as the focal point of the Empire, accounts for the difference in treatment of the barbarians in the West and of the Persians. Any threat to the centre of the Empire in the West was more formidable than a threat in the East. Whatever Ammianus' personal danger, whatever the Persian responsibility for Julian's death, however ignominious the peace, the safety of the western half of the Empire was not placed in jeopardy by the Persians. At the time of severe hostilities during the reign of Constantius, Julian was in control in the West, whilst at the time of Julian's death, the situation there was reasonably peaceful and within a short period Valentinian became emperor whom Ammianus equates with Julian in the protection he afforded the Empire.¹⁷⁵

Hence, the fact that Ammianus did not apparently regard the Persians as inferior, and the fact that they did not present such a threat to the safety of the Empire as did the barbarians of the West, probably account for the scarcity of imagery for the Persians. As Thompson states, he disliked the Persians¹⁷⁶ -- but he did not hate them.

¹⁷³See pp. 8-9.

¹⁷⁴See above, p. 96-98.

¹⁷⁵A.M. XXX, 7, 4-11; cf. XXVIII, 2, 1-4.

¹⁷⁶Thompson, p. 13.

Against this background, the few images used of the Persians seem to be employed only for the purposes of vivid description in the various passages where they appear.

In the description of the first two days of the siege of Amida, one is confronted by a city crammed with people with no place to bury the dead, so that "slaughter was piled upon slaughter."¹⁷⁷ The picture of the unburied dead seems to have suggested to him the image of the Persians as being "like carrion birds" ready to swoop upon Amida and to tear their booty to pieces in their savagery which is emphasized by the use of the term ferus. The plight of Amida is thereby very effectively described. The armour of the Persians was possibly also a contributing factor in producing the image as the portrayal of the Persians at Maiozamalcha, "covered with plates of iron like a thin layer of feathers" would seem to suggest. This particular image has the effect of explaining clearly the nature of the Persian armour.

In the case of the goat images, one is concerned merely with depicting the physical appearance of the Persians, whilst the other plays on their goat-like appearance and is used in a speech given by Julian as a device to arouse scorn in the Roman soldiers. It is unlikely that Ammianus felt in this derogatory way about the Persians: as he states, "this nation so bold and so well trained for the dust of Mars, would

¹⁷⁷ A.M. XIX, 2, 10, "... strages stragibus implicatas ..."
cf. XIX, 4, 1.

have brought many other peoples under the yoke in addition to those whom they fully subdued, if they were not constantly plagued by domestic and foreign wars."¹⁷⁸

As regards the image applied to Sapor which shows him turning into a wild animal, this is apparently employed to illustrate Sapor's tremendous anger at the progress of events in Armenia. Perhaps in the use of this image Ammianus was influenced by the tradition that depicted Persian rulers as cruel tyrants.¹⁷⁹ Certainly, whenever Sapor appears in Ammianus' narrative, he is almost always described as a cruel, raging despot,¹⁸⁰ and yet there is little evidence offered in the work to substantiate this.¹⁸¹ The portrait gives the impression of being stereotyped. One therefore should probably not attach any personal significance to the image used of Sapor, particularly as it is the only one found of him.

In the chapter on imagery, it was seen that metaphor was regarded by the ancient rhetoricians as the most effective means of clarification.¹⁸² In the preceding imagery, Ammianus

¹⁷⁸ A.M. XXIII, 6, 83, "et gentes plurimas praeter eas quas abunde perdomuit, sub iugum haec natio miserat, ita audax et ad pulveres Martibus erudita, ni bellis civilibus externisque adsidue vexarentur."

¹⁷⁹ This has also been suggested as an explanation of Eunapius' image of Sapor; see above, p. 86.

¹⁸⁰ A.M. XVIII, 10, 2; 4; XIX, 1, 6; XX, 6, 1; 7, 3; 7, 7; XXVII, 12, 6; 12, 18; XXX, 2, 7.

¹⁸¹ For illustration of his cruelty see A.M. XXVII, 12, 3.

¹⁸² See above, pp. 14-15.

appears to have had this principle in mind since it is highly metaphorical. Three of the images are metaphors, whilst the other three are highly metaphorical comparisons, two being of the abridged type which was regarded as a very effective means of clarification because of its almost synthetic force,¹⁸³ the third being of the type used in nicknames, which in fact had the form of a metaphor but was considered by the ancients as a comparison.¹⁸⁴

The imagery therefore used of the Persians is very much related to the context, being used solely for the purposes of effective description. It is very metaphorical, thereby apparently following the principle of the ancient rhetoricians which recommended the use of metaphor for vivid presentation.

In not using animal imagery of the Persians to denote inferiority, Ammianus stands in line with tradition,¹⁸⁵ whilst the use of imagery of barbarians for purely descriptive purposes calls to mind the same use by Tacitus of Civilis,

¹⁸³See above, pp. 29-30.

¹⁸⁴See above, pp. 30-31.

¹⁸⁵Of course, the antithesis Greek (and later Roman) -- barbarian with its implication of cultural inferiority originated in the fifth century B.C. with the confrontation of the Greeks and Persians, but as a result of Alexander's conquests this antithesis with regard to the Persians gradually disappeared (see above, pp. 35-37), which was seen to have happened in the study of tradition with other barbarians, as they became debarbarized and a more familiar concept to Greeks and Romans.

the Batavian leader, and of the Britons, and by Dio Cassius of the Germans and Britons.¹⁸⁶ In the case of the Persians, therefore, Ammianus' links with tradition are much stronger than in the cases of the Alamanni, Goths, and Scythians.

In turning to his contemporaries, Eunapius and Zosimus, one sees to some extent the same attitude towards the Persians.¹⁸⁷

It has been indicated that Ammianus did not consider the Persians as inferior. Presumably, Eunapius felt this way by virtue of his philosophy,¹⁸⁸ whilst there is nothing in Zosimus to indicate that he regarded them as inferior.

Eunapius does speak of Sapor as a wild animal, but as shown previously,¹⁸⁹ this was for rhetorical purposes: Ammianus also describes the Persian ruler as a wild animal for the same reasons. Zosimus¹⁹⁰ does indicate some measure of danger from the Persians. For example, he depicts the

¹⁸⁶See above, pp. 64-66; 68-73.

¹⁸⁷The direct evidence for Eunapius is lacking, since the work of Eunapius that has come down to us concerning the Persians, which is very limited, offers little insight into the subject. However, indirectly through evidence of the treatment of other barbarian tribes, the above statement appears valid.

¹⁸⁸See above, p. 81-82.

¹⁸⁹See above, p. 85-86.

¹⁹⁰There is also one reference in Eunapius to the danger the Persians presented in the time of Constantius; see V.S. 465.

situation in the East on the death of Valerian as "all confused and defenceless",¹⁹¹ whilst on the death of Julian he states that the Romans were "in constant danger".¹⁹² However, the general feeling is that he felt fairly safe. As Jones indicated, the eastern part of the Empire was on the whole secure,¹⁹³ and Zosimus would seem to confirm this in his response to the Persians. As previously illustrated,¹⁹⁴ he (and Eunapius) showed little interest in the West and were only moved by events in the East. This relatively mild reaction to the Persians would seem to reflect the general state of security in the East.

Whilst all three writers seem to have assessed the danger from the Persians in much the same way, their assessments were based on different criteria. Ammianus' assessment was based on the safety of the Empire, Eunapius' and Zosimus' on their own safety as inhabitants of the East. Even though scholars postulate the theory of the interdependence of sources with regard to these writers, especially of Julian's

¹⁹¹ Zos. I, 37, 1, ... πάντα μὲν ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ τε καὶ ἐβόηθητε ...
of. I, 39, 1.

¹⁹² Ibid. III, 30, 5. ... ἐν πᾶσι ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κινδύνοισι ...
cf. III, 16, 2.

¹⁹³ For Jones' assessment of the situation in the East see above, p. 82.

¹⁹⁴ See above, pp. 82-84; 105-107; 119-121; 128-131.

Persian expedition,¹⁹⁵ there appears to have been no influence by Eunapius on Ammianus, or by Ammianus on the other two as far as their attitudes towards the Empire are concerned. Whatever their feelings about the Persians in other respects, in this they remain distinct.

6.5 The minor barbarians.

The remaining imagery used of barbarian tribes appears to follow for the most part the same pattern as that found with the majority of the barbarians previously discussed: it seems to denote racial inferiority and a hatred of the various tribes because of their prejudicial effect on the Empire.

6.5.1 The Isaurians and the Saracens.

Of the Isaurians, a brigand people dwelling in the mountains of Pisidia in southern Asia Minor, Ammianus states that "just as wild beasts, when warned by hunger, generally return to the place where they once fed, so they all, swooping like a whirlwind down from their steep and rugged mountains, made for the districts near the sea."¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ See above, p. 79 .

¹⁹⁶ A.M. XIV, 2, 2, "... ut etiam bestiae fame monitae plerumque ad eum locum ubi aliquando pastae sunt revertuntur, ita omnes instar turbinis degressi montibus impeditis et arduis, loca petivere mari confinia ..." cf. Cicero, Pro Cluentio, 25, 67.

In battles with the Romans on level ground, the Isaurians "were not allowed to stretch out their arms or poise their weapons, of which each carried two or three, but were slaughtered like inert cattle".¹⁹⁷ In their attempted siege of Seleucia, a city of Cilicia, they are described as "being possessed with wilder canine madness".¹⁹⁸ Finally, in the last image used of them, Ammianus says that "just as snakes are accustomed to dart forth from their holes in the spring time, they gradually came to life again and sallied forth from their rocky and inaccessible mountain strongholds, when massed together in dense bands, they harassed their neighbours with theft and brigandage."¹⁹⁹

The Saracens, a nomadic tribe of Arabia Felix, are described as follows:

"They rushed this way and that and in a short space of time laid waste whatever they could find, like rapacious kites which, whenever they have caught sight of any prey on high, seize it with a swift dive and, directly they have seized it, make off."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ A.M. XIV, 2, 7, "... nec exertare lacertos nec crispare permissi tela quae vehunt bina vel terna, pecudum ritu inertium trucidantur."

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. XIV, 2, 14, "... concepta rabie saeviore ..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = fury.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. XIX, 13, 1, "... paulatim reviviscentes, ut solent verno tempore foveis exillire serpentes, saltibus degressi scrupulosis et inviis, confertique in cuneos densos, per furta et latrocinia finitimos adflictabant ..."

²⁰⁰ Ibid. XIV, 4, 1, "... ultro citroque discursantes, quicquid inveniri poterat momento temporis parvi vastabant, milvorum rapacium similes, qui si praedam dispexerint celsius, volatu rapiunt celeri, ac si impetraverint, non inmorantur."

Comments of Ammianus would seem to relate the imagery used of these tribes to the problems which beset the Empire during the period 353-357. At the opening of Book XIV, he states that "the gusts of raging Fortune brought new storms upon the commonwealth through the many, notorious crimes of Gallus Caesar".²⁰¹ Later in his narrative he asserts that "not only this calamity afflicted the Orient with various disasters",²⁰² and proceeds to describe the inroads of the Isaurians, a plot of the Persians,²⁰³ and the raids of the Saracens. This was the situation in the East. Ammianus' reaction to the problems of the West has already been seen in the discussion of the imagery used of the Alamanni. In his retrospective look at the Empire of this period Ammianus appears afflicted by its problems, and the imagery used of the Isaurians and Saracens, and of course of the Alamanni, would seem to reflect this. In this respect, it is interesting to note that there is a large number of animal images in Books XIV - XVI to describe barbarians, but thereafter the imagery declines until Book XXXI when it bursts forth once

²⁰¹ A.M. XIV, 1, 1, "... fortunae saevientis procellae tempestates alias rebus infudere communibus, per multa illa et dira facinora Caesaris Galli ..."

²⁰² Ibid. XIV, 2, 1, "Nec sane haec sola perniciēs orientem diversis cladibus adfligebat."

²⁰³ Ibid. XIV, 3, it is to be noted that there is no animal imagery of the Persians.

more in the narrative of the Gothic attack.²⁰⁴ There would seem to be a definite link between the periods of greatest danger to the Empire and Ammianus' use of animal imagery of barbarians.

Whilst Ammianus apparently connects the Isaurians and Saracens with the Alamanni in jeopardizing the Empire, the type of imagery used of them differentiates them from the Alamanni in terms of the actual danger they presented. The imagery used of the Alamanni consists for the most part of metaphors, whilst that used of the Isaurians and Saracens is made up on the whole of comparisons. This difference in imagery types would seem to indicate that Ammianus viewed the Alamanni in a more emotional manner than he did the Isaurians and the Saracens,²⁰⁵ presumably because they afforded the greatest threat to the Empire. Admittedly, two of the comparisons fit into the category of those used for emotional arguments,²⁰⁶ but the general impression conveyed by the overall use of comparisons is that he was able to view the Isaurians and Saracens more rationally.

²⁰⁴ See histogram in Appendix E.

²⁰⁵ For the differing emotional qualities of metaphor and comparison see above pp. 15; 20-21; 23-28.

²⁰⁶ The cattle image and the kite one. The other comparisons are of the common type used in arguments.

In his choice of imagery for the Isaurians and Saracens Ammianus very effectively portrays the predatory nature of these mountain brigands and nomads. With regard to the Isaurians, this is very vividly illustrated by the mixed image of wild beasts and whirlwind which calls to mind mountain lions leaping from their rocks with fleeting speed to attack their prey, whilst the snake image emphasizes the cunning of the Isaurians as it conjures up the picture of them creeping stealthily down the mountains about to pounce on their prey. In comparing the Saracens to kites ever in flight for prey, Ammianus very adroitly portrays a people that "roam continually over wide and extensive areas without a home, without fixed abodes or laws, that cannot long endure the same sky nor be content with the sun of one district."²⁰⁷

The imagery used of the Isaurians and Saracens therefore would seem to reflect Ammianus' hatred of these brigands and nomads who increased the threat to the Empire at a time when it was beset by many problems and especially by the raids of the Alamanni in the West. However, consisting for the most part of comparisons, it shows a less emotional reaction to these tribes than that seen in the case of the Alamanni, thereby suggesting that they offered less danger to the Empire. In terms of effectiveness, the imagery very vividly portrays the nature of these tribes.

²⁰⁷ A.M. XIV, 4, 3, "... sed errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta, sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus: nec idem perferunt diutius caelum, aut tractus unius sol illis unquam placet."

6.5.2 The Austoriani, Iesalenses, and Isafilenses.

The attacks of the Austoriani occurred at a time when the Empire was in a weakened state in Africa. According to Ammianus,

"from the very beginning of Valentinian's reign the barbarians in their canine madness devastated Africa, as they made daring forays and were intent on wholesale bloodshed and robbery. The slackness of the army increased this evil as well as its greed for seizing the property of others, but the greed of the governor, Romanus by name, especially aggravated the situation."²⁰⁸

These problems in Africa would seem to have motivated the imagery.

Like the Isaurians and Saracens, the Austoriani were "always ready for sudden raids and accustomed to live by murder and plunder."²⁰⁹ Hence, "like wild animals aroused by canine madness, they sallied forth from their homes",²¹⁰ made their attack on Lepcis and returned with a vast amount of plunder. They attacked again. On both occasions no opposition was offered. Hence, "made insolent by two successive raids, they flew to the spot like birds of prey, made more wild by the

²⁰⁸ A.M. XXVII, 9, 1, "Africam vero, iam inde ab exordio Valentiniani imperii, exurebat barbarica rabies, per procursus audientiores, et crebris caedibus et rapinis intenta. quam rem militaris augebat socordia, et aliena invadendi cupiditas, maximeque Romani nomine comitis." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = madness.

²⁰⁹ Ibid XXVIII, 6, 2, "... in discursus semper expediti veloces, vivereque adsueta rapinis et caedibus ..."

²¹⁰ Ibid. XXVIII, 6, 4, "... ferarum similes rabie concitarum..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = madness.

incitement of blood, and after slaying all those who did not escape danger by flight, they carried off the booty which they had previously left behind."²¹¹ This particular image, though coming from the same sphere as the kite image used of the Saracens and the carrion bird one employed of the Persians, emphasizes a different aspect, namely that of the bird that has already drawn the blood of its prey and is eager for more: a very effective image for the Austoriani in their repeated slaughter and plundering of the people of Lepcis.

As in the case of the Isaurians and Saracens, the images are for the most part comparisons and perhaps thereby a measure of the danger presented by the Austoriani. At the time of their attack Valentinian was emperor and, as indicated previously,²¹² Ammianus likened him to Julian with regard to the protection of the Empire. It is interesting to compare Ammianus' narration of the attacks of the Austoriani with that of the rebellion of Firmus. At that time, Theodosius was commander in Africa. Ammianus speaks of him as an individual "whose merits (as a man efficient in accomplishing his ends) surpassed all others of his time"²¹³ and compares him with

²¹¹A.M. XXVIII, 6, 13, "... successu gemino insolentes, ut rapaces alites advolarunt, inritamento sanguinis atrocius efferatae: cunctisque (nisi quos fuga discriminibus eximeret) interemptis, praedas quas antehac reliquerant, avexerunt ..."

²¹²See above, p. 135.

²¹³A.M. XXIX, 5, 4, "... cuius virtutes (ut inpetrabilis) ea tempestate prae ceteris enitebant ..."

Domitius Corbulo and Lusius of old.²¹⁴ The description of Firmus' rebellion reflects a feeling of security in this competence. There are two animal images in the narrative, but these appear to be used to illustrate the ability of Theodosius. His courageous march against the Iubaleni, the tribe of Firmus' father, his slaughter of many of them, his actual penetration of the mountains, the surrender of the Iesalenses, "a tribe of wild animals",²¹⁵ all make him "a mighty leader, exulting in these and similar glorious actions".²¹⁶ As for the Isafenses, he "so wore them out by frequent contests, that they were falling like cattle".²¹⁷ The contrast in treatment between the raids of the Austoriani and the rebellion of Firmus would seem to confirm that the imagery used of the Austoriani resulted from the danger to Empire as a result of the problems caused by an ineffective governor and army.

²¹⁴ A.M. Domitius Corbulo was a distinguished general in the time of Claudius and Nero; Lusius Quietus was an officer in the Dacian wars of Trajan, and in the East.

²¹⁵ Ibid. XXIX, 5, 44, "... gens fera ..."

²¹⁶ Ibid. XXIX, 5, 45, "His et eius modi gloriosis actibus exultans amplissimus ductor ..."

²¹⁷ Ibid. XXIX, 5, 53, "... crebritate certaminum Isafenses ita protrivit, ut isdem labentibus pecudum ritu ..."

Hence the imagery used of the Austoriani is to be compared with that found of the Isaurians and Saracens in that it apparently illustrates Ammianus' animosity towards the Austoriani, a predatory tribe who attacked at a time of weakness, in that it consists of comparisons for the most part, thereby intimating less concern on Ammianus' part, and in that it effectively portrays the predatory nature of the tribe.

6.5.3 The Scots and Picts, and the Saxons.

These tribes chose to attack when Julian and Valentinian were occupied with invading the territory of the Alamanni. Ammianus speaks of Julian at the time of the Scottish activity as being "distracted by many cares"²¹⁸ in his plans to invade certain districts of the Alamanni that were still hostile to him in spite of the decisive battle of Strasburg. Valentinian is said to have been approaching the Alamanni "cautiously"²¹⁹ when the Saxons invaded the maritime districts. In relating the simultaneous activities of the Scottish tribes and the Alamanni and of the Saxons and Alamanni, Ammianus appears to have been overcome by a sudden burst of emotion which takes

²¹⁸A.M. XX, 1, 1, "... distractus que in sollicitudines varias ..."

²¹⁹Ibid. XXX, 7, 8, "... caute ..."

expression in describing the ones as "tribes of wild animals",²²⁰ the others as "dogs possessed by terrible madness".²²¹ Whilst he felt generally confident about the safety of the Empire under the leadership of Julian and Valentinian, occasionally he shudders at the threats to which the Empire was subjected by the barbarians.²²² The general confidence appears to be reflected in the small number of images which occurs in the books dealing with their reigns.²²³

6.5.4 A comparison with tradition and contemporary writers.

In comparing Ammianus' treatment of all the aforementioned tribes with the customary treatment of barbarians, one sees again that Ammianus is for the most part at variance with this. The imagery reflects hatred for these tribes because of the harmful effects their actions had on the Empire. It is racist in tone since Ammianus who rejected even civilized barbarians, would want no part of these brigands. As far as Ammianus is concerned, the only good barbarian is a dead one.

²²⁰A.M. XX, 1, 1, "... gentium ferarum ..."

²²¹Ibid. XXX, 7, 8, "... conversos ad metuendam rabiem ..." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = madness.

²²²It is interesting to note that in the detailed description of the raids of the Saxons (XXVIII, 5.1-7), there is no animal imagery.

²²³See histogram in Appendix E.

Hence his condonation of the treacherous defeat of the Saxons.²²⁴ "although some just judge will condemn this act as treacherous and hateful, yet on careful consideration of the matter he will not think it improper that a destructive band of brigands was destroyed when the opportunity was at last given."²²⁵ As for the imaginative quality of the imagery, it far surpasses that of tradition. In the traditional use, one generally finds the terms, ὕπτιος, Θηρεύτης, or ferus, or related terms to describe all and every barbarian tribe. In Ammianus, the imagery seems to have been chosen to describe the particular character and activity of each tribe. The imagery is also an indication of the measure of danger from them.

A comparison of Ammianus with Eunapius and Zosimus as regards these tribes reiterates the difference in attitudes to the Empire which has emerged consistently in the preceding pages.

The Isaurians arouse most concern in Eunapius and Zosimus. Describing their activities in the time of Valentinian,

²²⁴ The Romans, after making a truce with the Saxons and allowing them to depart, ambushed them on their way home and slaughtered them.

²²⁵ A.M. XXVIII, 5, 7, "ac licet iustus quidam arbiter rerum, factum incusabit perfidum et deforme, pensato tamen negotio, non feret indigne, manum latronum exitialem tandem copia data consumptam."

the one regards these as being "like a great and atrocious drama,"²²⁶ the other seems particularly anxious about their activity when the Imperial Court in the East was distracted by the problem of the restoration of Constantinople after the fire there, and when the commander sent to deal with them was not as efficacious as he might have been because of his preoccupation with wantonness.²²⁷ It is interesting to compare Zosimus' reaction to these raids with Ammianus' to those which occurred when the Empire was especially beset by the problem of the Alamanni.²²⁸ The former is concerned because of problems on the home-front in the East; the latter's anxiety springs primarily from problems in the West, the heart of the Empire. The difference in attitudes to the Empire are thereby clearly stated.

With regard to the minor barbarians of the West, neither the Austoriani nor the Scottish tribes appear in the pages of Eunapius or Zosimus. It could be that Eunapius described them in a lost part of his work, although the lack of mention of them in Zosimus who used him as the main source, could mean

²²⁶ Eun. Hist. p. 77, 8, ... ὅσοις ἐρίμωτο μεγάλην καὶ τραχὺν ...

²²⁷ Zos. V, 25.

²²⁸ Nothing is said of these raids either by Eunapius or Zosimus. Perhaps they are described in the lost parts of Eunapius' history or perhaps he never dealt with them, which might account for Zosimus' silence since Eunapius was his main source.

also that he omitted to include these tribes in his history. Perhaps both of them considered their activity unimportant. As for the Saxons, Zosimus' treatment of them is very cursory: they are merely mentioned in conjunction with the Franks and Alamanni.²²⁹ This lack of interest in minor barbarians of the West is to be compared with Ammianus' reaction. Minor though they may have been, they were prejudicial to the Empire and he expresses his hatred in the animal imagery used of them.

Thus, the differing treatments of the minor barbarians by Ammianus on the one hand and Eunapius and Zosimus on the other, serve to emphasize their different approaches to the Empire.

6.6 General conclusions on the use of animal imagery of barbarians in Ammianus Marcellinus.

Of the barbarians qualified by animal imagery in Ammianus' work, those who draw most images are the Scythians, Goths and Alamanni, whilst the Persians who loom large in the history are described by only a few. Although absolutely the Alamanni are qualified by most images, proportionally speaking the Scythians attract the largest number.

The dominating theme of the imagery appears to be hatred for the barbarian tribes who jeopardized the Roman Empire to

²²⁹ Zos. III, 1, 1.

which Ammianus was dedicated. This animosity was such that he was against any debarbarization. The appearance of the term rabies in most of the imagery would seem to pin-point the quality which he considered dangerous. His hatred is most evident when the Empire was in a particularly weak position. Hence, there is a preponderance of imagery in the description of events up to and including the battle of Strasburg and in the narration of the migration of the Huns and the Gothic attack. The fact that, proportionally speaking, the Scythians are qualified by the largest number of images, perhaps stems from the fact that it was one of their tribes that set the Goths in motion.

Hatred, however, does not seem to be the source of the imagery used of the Persians. He does not appear to have considered these such a great danger to the Empire, perhaps because of their civilization which, though different, was not inferior (note the absence of the term rabies in connection with these), and perhaps because of their geographical position. The imagery employed of the Persians seems to be used solely for the purposes of vivid description.

That used of the Alamanni, as well as indicating hatred, also has the effect of embellishing Julian. This is likewise the function of the imagery found of the Isalenses and Isafenses in that it glorifies Theodosius.

The imagery consists for the most part of metaphors, whilst the comparisons employed are generally those which are

very close to metaphor.²³⁰ Ammianus' animosity towards the barbarians is thereby very effectively portrayed.

In determining a good image, the ancient rhetoricians looked for similarity, restraint and effectiveness.²³¹ Ammianus' audience could certainly make the connection between man and beast and had been accustomed to do so from traditional usage; his feelings definitely demanded the imagery used, and most certainly this is very effective. It very imaginatively and vividly portrays the different barbarians and although often using the same terms produces generally a different picture in each instance. The Alamanni are an ever-evolving danger, the Goths a sudden horror, the Isaurians, Saracens and Austoriani predators. The imagery also shows Ammianus' differing attitudes to the various barbarians. In the case of the Alamanni and the Huns he unleashes his hatred in images which are for the most part metaphors. In the case of the Goths he appears to feel guilty about his feelings, hence the oscillation between metaphor and comparison. The Isaurians, Saracens and Austoriani did not present such a threat to the Empire, hence the preponderance of comparisons.

²³⁰For the proportion of metaphors and comparisons see Appendix F.

²³¹See above, pp. 16-17.

In his use of animal imagery of barbarians, Ammianus differs for the most part from tradition. In his predecessors there was little imagery employed of these: there is an abundance in Ammianus. Cultural prejudice for the most part motivated what imagery there was, not racial hatred. There was a sameness about the imagery which made no distinction between barbarians, not an imaginative quality which illustrated differences. Occasionally Ammianus does look back to tradition in his use of imagery in ethnographical descriptions, in his imagery of the Persians which is employed solely for the purposes of effective description, and in those instances where the imagery has an embellishing function as in the instances of Julian and the Alamanni, and Theodosius and the African tribes. He also reminds one of Velleius to a small extent in that the latter's imagery of the Germans indicates racial hatred. However, he differs from Velleius since his imagery is dominated by concern for the Empire, since it embraces more tribes than the Germans, and since its imaginative quality surpasses by far anything in Velleius.

With regard to his contemporaries, Eunapius and Zosimus, fellow-easterners, he is also at variance. No imagery was found in the one, whilst in the other there were only two examples. This is to be contrasted with the situation in Ammianus. Although Eunapius' philosophy was not conducive to the use of animal imagery of barbarians except for purely descriptive purposes, and imagery was alien to Zosimus' style,

a lack of interest in the West where the Empire was beset by many problems, and a concern only for the East where the situation was relatively quiet, might be considered as contributing factors in the lack of imagery in their works. Their indifference to the West, which is reflected in their treatment of the barbarians there, marks them apart from Ammianus who was primarily concerned about the western half of the Empire and whose imagery for the most part qualifies western barbarians. One can see only two similarities between Ammianus and his contemporaries. One is their attitude to the Persians and the Goths, and even then these attitudes are based on different criteria: for Ammianus the West is the determining factor, for Eunapius and Zosimus the East. Of course, Ammianus' reaction to the Goths is violent in comparison to that of his contemporaries. The other similarity is the use of an animal image by both Ammianus and Eunapius of Sapor. In both instances it is used for effectiveness of description. Whatever the attempts of scholars to connect Eunapius and Zosimus to Ammianus, they stand at opposite poles in their attitude to and treatment of barbarians.

These conclusions resulting from the detailed analysis of Ammianus' use of animal imagery of barbarians, would seem to show him as a unique spirit in his treatment of barbarians, certainly within his genre.

7.0 AN EXAMINATION OF AMMIANUS' ANIMAL IMAGERY IN RELATION
TO THE GENERAL STYLE AND HISTORICAL FUNCTIONS OF HIS
WORK

Having analysed Ammianus' animal imagery of barbarians in detail, I now propose in this final chapter to examine this from the point of view of the general style and historical functions of his work.

7.1 The style.

It is generally accepted that Ammianus' style is rhetorical. He himself indicates that he favoured the oratorical style,¹ whilst scholars have provided detailed evidence of the rhetorical nature of his work, some of which will be offered in the following paragraphs.

Dautremer speaks of his style as abounding in striking rhetorical figures, exclamation, apostrophe, prosopopoeia and antithesis.² As examples of the first three, he points to Ammianus' address of the poets of old,³ of grandiloquent

¹A.M. XXX, 4, 5.

²Dautremer, p. 233. My own research revealed almost 300 examples of prosopopoeia.

³A.M. XXIV, 6, 14.

antiquity,⁴ of Greece and its fabled legends,⁵ of the Fortune of Rome.⁶ He indicates Ammianus' love for painting contrasts in fortune and singles out especially the antithesis which is used in describing the death of Gallus:

"His hands were therefore bound, as though he were some guilty robber, and he was beheaded. Then his face and head were mutilated and the man who a little while before had been a terror to cities and provinces, was left a disfigured corpse."⁷

But this one contrast was not sufficient for Ammianus. The following chapters narrate the fickle deeds of Fortune with Book XIV ending in this burst of antitheses taken from historical examples:

"It was this changeable and fickle Fortune that changed the Silician Agathocles from a potter to a king, and Dionysius, once the terror of nations, to the head of an elementary school at Corinth. She also raised Andriscus of Andramyttium who was born in a fullery, to the title of the Pseudo-Philip, and taught the legitimate son of Perseus the blacksmith's trade as a means of livelihood. She, too, delivered Mancinus, after his supreme command, to the Numantians, Veturius to the cruelty of the Samnites, and Claudius to the Corsicans, and she

⁴A.M.. XXV, 3, 13.

⁵Ibid. XVIII, 6, 23.

⁶Ibid. XXV, 9, 7.

⁷Ibid. XIV, 11, 23, "... conligatis manibus in modum noxii cuiusdam latronis, cervicē abscisa, ereptaque vultus et capitis dignitate, cadaver est relictum informe, paulo ante urbibus et provinciis formidatum." cf. Virgil, Aen. II, 557-58.

subjected Regulus to the wild animalism of Carthage. Through her injustice Pompey, after gaining the surname Great because of his glorious deeds, was butchered in Egypt to give the eunuchs pleasure. Eunus, too, a workhouse slave, commanded an army of runaways in Sicily. How many men of illustrious birth with the connivance of that same arbiter of events embraced the knees of a Viriathus or a Spartacus? How many heads dreaded by nations have the fatal executioners lopped off?"⁸

Dautremer describes this burst of antitheses as "the eloquence of a good student of the rhetoricians", but lacking in "masterly skill" and having "the naive and turgid nature characteristic of an excellent pupil."⁹

⁸ A.M. XIV, 11, 30-34, "haec fortuna mutabilis et inconstans, fecit Agathoclen Siculum ex figulo regem, et Dionysium gentium quondam terrorem, Corinthi litterario ludo praeefecit. haec Adramytenum Andriscum, in fullonio natum, ad Pseudophilippi nomen evexit, et Persei legitimum filium artem ferrariam ob quaerendum docuit victum. eadem Mancinum post imperium dedit Numantis, Samnitum atrocitati Veturium, et Claudium Corsis, substravitque feritati Carthaginis Regulum, istius iniquitate Pompeius, post quaesitum Magni ex rerum gestarum amplitudine cognomentum, ad spadonum libidinem in Aegypto trucidatur. et Eunus quidam ergastularius servus, ductavit in Sicilia fugitivos. quam multi splendido loco natura eadem rerum domina convivente, Viriathi genua sunt amplexi vel Spartaci? quot capita quae horruere gentes, funesti carnifices absciderunt?"

⁹ Dautremer, p. 235, "C'est de l'éloquence d'un bon élève des rheteurs. Mais ce qui manque le plus à Ammien, malgré ses grandes qualités, n'est-ce pas la maîtrise, et ne conserve-t-il pas, quoi qu'il écrive, je ne sais quel air assez naïf et lourd d'excellent écolier?" From the point of view of style one must concur with this opinion. However, this passage in which Ammianus appears to have been overcome by rhetoric, does indicate his concept of historical causation.

Norden¹⁰ speaks of the digressions of Ammianus as being used in the traditional, rhetorical manner for the delight and enlightenment of his listener. He describes them as being introduced at random and thinks that, apart from the geographical and ethnographical digressions, they seem to the modern reader "unspeakably banal and nauseating in their pompous display of all kinds of things learned, unusual, and dilettante."¹¹ However, he does indicate that the ancient reader would have been delighted by these digressions which we find offensive, digressions such as those on earthquakes, the rainbow, solar and lunar eclipses, falling stars, the palm tree, comets and the leap year.¹²

Norden also points to the bold metaphors used by Ammianus, which are said to make his style terribly turgid in their striving for a rhetorical effect;¹³ for example, Constantius in his decision to torture the followers of

¹⁰Norden, II, 647.

¹¹Norden, p. 647, "... unsäglich banal und in ihrer gespreizten Schaustellung von allerlei gelehrten oder dilettantenhaftem Raritätenkram widerlich ..."

¹²For Ammianus' descriptions of these see XVII, 7, 9-14; XX, 11, 26-30; 3, 2-12; XXV, 2, 5-6; XXIV, 3, 12-13; XXV, 10, 3; XXVI, 1, 8-14; for a somewhat similar appraisal to Norden's see Canter, PhQ (1929), 243-247; for a more favourable reaction see Fontaine, BASB (1969), pp. 426-427.

¹³Norden pp. 647-648. Certainly the histogram in Appendix A of this thesis indicates a style abounding in images.

Magnentius is described as "weighting the scales more heavily on the side of his arrogance;"¹⁴ signs of coming disturbances within the state are "trumpet-blasts of internal misfortunes;"¹⁵ Palace officials attempting to slander Ursicinus are said to be "chanting the old refrain with a view to our destruction."¹⁶

Hagendahl¹⁷ attributes the fulness of Ammianus' style to a desire for rhetorical effect. His paper gives a detailed survey of the ways in which Ammianus achieves this fulness. He points to the juxtaposition of every type of synonym, be it noun, verb, adjective or adverb. He points to the use of figures of speech such as anaphora and to the use of the genitive of definition. He points to the juxtaposition of word and phrase. All of these are described as being used by Ammianus for the sake of oratorical ornament. Gutschmid views this fulness of speech in a less kindly manner, describing it as an "overabundance of words."¹⁸

¹⁴A.M. XIV, 5, 1, "... insolentiae pondera gravius librans ..." Magnentius in 350 had assumed the rank of an Augustus in the West, but in 351 he was defeated by Constantius. His followers then abandoned him and he committed suicide. Thereafter his supporters were punished.

¹⁵Ibid. XVI, 8, 11, "... has malorum civilium bucinas ..." cf. XV, 2, 1; XVIII, 4, 1.

¹⁶Ibid. XVIII, 5, 4, "... palinodiam in exitium concinens nostrum ..."

¹⁷Hagendahl, *Eranos*, XXII (1924), 161-216.

¹⁸Gutschmid (ref. Norden, p. 650), "... Wortüberfülle."

Ammianus' style therefore is highly rhetorical and generally draws criticism from scholars because of its lack of restraint.¹⁹ Certainly sometimes in its striving for effect it borders on melodrama. A most striking example of this is to be found in the portrayal of Eusebius'²⁰ death:

"And when he had been so disembowelled that he had no parts left to torture, calling on Heaven for justice and smiling sardonically, he remained unshaken, with a firm heart, neither deigning to accuse himself nor anyone else; and at last, without having admitted his guilt or been convicted, he was condemned to death with his abject associate. And he was led off to execution unafraid, railing at the wickedness of the times and imitating the ancient stoic Zeno who, after being tortured for a long time to induce him to give false testimony, tore his tongue from its roots and hurled it with its blood and spittle into the eyes of the king of Cyprus who was questioning him."²¹

This illustration of the type of cruelty perpetrated by Gallus loses its impact somewhat because of the exaggerated nature of the description. However, Ammianus can produce descriptions with an artist's hand. Such a masterpiece is

¹⁹For a more sympathetic treatment of Ammianus' style see Auerbach (pp. 43-66) who considers its highly rhetorical descriptions as extremely pictorial and sensory.

²⁰Eusebius was an orator of Emissa.

²¹A.M. XIV, 9, 6, "... qui ita evisceratus ut cruciatibus membra deessent, inplorans caelo iustitiam, torvum renidens, fundato pectore mansit immobilis, nec se incusare nec quemquam alium passus, et tandem nec confessus nec confutatus, cum abiecto consorte poenali est morte multatus. et ducebatur intrepidus, temporum iniquitati insultans, imitatus Zenonem illum veterem Stoicum, qui ut mentiretur quaedam laceratus diutius, avulsam sedibus linguam suam cum cruento sputamine, in oculos interrogantis Cyprii regis iniegit."

the account of Procopius' attempt to become emperor, a realistic portrayal of a human situation. He was a prisoner rather than an emperor; because of his clothes he looked like a page; he was boosted to confidence by his escort of soldiers, yet when he attempted to address the people,

"since a trembling which pervaded all his limbs hindered his speaking, he stood for a long time without saying a word. Finally he began with broken and dying utterance to say a little, justifying his action by his relationship with the imperial family; then at first by the low whispers of a few, who had been hired for the purpose, later by the tumultuous acclamations of the people, he was hailed as emperor in a disorderly fashion, and hastily went to the Senate House. Finding none of the distinguished senators there, but only a few persons of low rank, with rapid steps he hurried to the palace and entered it with ill-omened step."²²

Dautremer who is generally critical of Ammianus' style, speaks of this piece as "removing us far from bad rhetoric", as "being distinguished in fact by those precious qualities which this type of rhetoric has always ignored, realism and life."²³

²² A.M. XXVI, 6, 18, "... per artus tempore diffuso, implicatio ad loquendum, diu tacitus stetit; pauca tamen interrupta et moribunda voce dicere iam exorsus, quibus stirpis propinquitatem imperatoriae praetendebat, leni paucorum susurro, pretio inlectorum, deinde tumultuariis succlamationibus plebis, imperator appellatus incondite, petit curiam raptim. ubi nullo clarissimorum, sed ignobilium paucitate inventa, palatium pessimo pede, festinatis passibus introiit."

²³ Dautremer, p. 244, "Combien ce court récit nous éloigne de la mauvaise rhétorique! Il se distingue en effet par de précieuses qualités que cette rhétorique a toujours ignorées, le réalisme et la vie."

The detailed analysis of Ammianus' animal imagery used of barbarians revealed for the most part a master's hand in its descriptive power. The imagery is certainly not to be dismissed as "the eloquence of a good student", as "banal and nauseating", as "turgid". Perhaps the reason for its effectiveness rests in the fact that it was generally motivated by a deep emotion on Ammianus' part which has nothing to do with a striving for effect. Through his animal images Ammianus wishes to portray the terrible danger to the Empire from the barbarians and to express his strong opposition to the philanthropic approach adopted towards them. Whilst the modern reader might balk at the general nature of Ammianus' style, he can identify with certain of the details such as the above-mentioned description of Procopius' attempt to become emperor. I would like to suggest that in general the animal imagery used of barbarians would also provoke a sympathetic response. There is a timeless quality attached to this imagery so that it would make its appeal no matter the age, representing as it does a very human cry of fear for the safety of one's country, in this instance, the Roman Empire.

In the previous description of Ammianus' style comment was made on his love of antithesis. Perhaps the animal imagery itself might be interpreted as one vast antithesis in that there is an abundance of imagery of the dangerous barbarians, little of the others. However, this antithesis transcends by far a mere rhetorical figure since it seems to be used by

Ammianus as a means of conveying the relative danger of the various barbarians to the Empire.

The digressions were seen to be described as being used in the traditional, rhetorical manner for the delight and enlightenment of the listener. The animal imagery used in the ethnographical digressions of the Scythian tribes would appear to extend the scope of these digressions by virtue of its being representative of Ammianus' political thought. The digressions thereby become specifically linked with this and hence a more integral part of the whole.²⁴

The animal imagery used of the barbarians therefore would seem to mitigate somewhat the general criticism of Ammianus' style. Whilst having its roots in the rhetorical tradition it escapes the dangers inherent in this and generally reveals an artist's hand. The secret of its success would seem to spring from the fact that Ammianus is not concerned only with effect, but is attempting to show the barbarians as one of the greatest dangers to the Empire to which he was so devoted. With regard to the ethnographical digressions of the Scythians, the imagery ties these specifically to Ammianus' political thought so that they thereby become an important part of his work and

²⁴To some extent Fontaine reaches the same conclusion about the scope of these digressions, relating them to a feeling of anxiety that pervades his whole work, although he makes no mention of the imagery in this respect, which in its emotional expression would seem particularly to link these with Ammianus' feeling of anxiety; see Fontaine, *BAGB* (1969), pp. 426-27.

not simply means for delighting and increasing the knowledge of his readers.

For the conclusion of this discussion, the following words of Dautremer are especially appropriate:

"Once the book is closed, there is a feeling of weariness resulting from somewhat hard work. It seems that the journey has been long, that one has had to climb rugged mountains in full sun, to cross shifting bogs. However, in spite of all this, there is the recollection of some easy walks over smooth ground, of some agreeable stops in refreshing shade; and eventually this memory persists as the difficulties undergone gradually fade into forgetfulness."²⁵

Ammianus' use of the animal imagery of barbarians must surely be such a memory.

7.2 The historical functions.

Gellius has the following to say on the function of the historian as demonstrated by Sempronius Asellio:

"The essential difference between those who wished to leave behind yearly record-books and those who attempted to present the history of the Romans is the following. The yearly record books only show what happened every year in much the same way as people write diaries ... I, however, am convinced that it is not sufficient to write only what happened, but

²⁵ Dautremer, p. 245, "Le livre fermé, on ressent une lassitude un peu pénible. Il semble bien que le voyage a été long, que l'on a eu à gravir de rudes montées sous le soleil, à traverser de mouvantes fondrières. On garde, malgré tout le souvenir de quelques marches faciles sur un sol uni, de quelques bonnes haltes sous une ombre fraîche; et en définitive, ce souvenir persiste, dans l'oubli progressif des peines endurées."

that one must also show with what intention and for what reason it happened... For annals can make no one eager to defend the "respublica" or slow to do it harm. Only to relate under which consul a war was begun, under which it ended, who was triumphant in the war, and what was achieved therein, but not to report what the Senate had decided in the meantime, which laws had been proposed and why, that is the narration of children's stories, not history."²⁶

History therefore is not only concerned with facts, but also with causes and effects. History must also have a moral function, stimulating patriotism and forwarding the recognition of good and bad. Finally, history must not be predominantly concerned with foreign policy but must lay equal emphasis on internal politics. What effect does Ammianus' use of animal imagery have on his portrayal of the barbarians in the light of these functions?

Half of Ammianus' work is taken up with descriptions of conflicts with barbarians. Two of the reasons for these conflicts seem to have been, according to him, the wild, marauding nature of most of the barbarians and the inadequacies

²⁶Cell. 5, 18, 7,..."Verum inter eos, inquit, qui annales relinquere voluissent, et eos qui res gestas a Romanis perscribere conati essent, omnium rerum hoc interfuit: annales libri tantum modo quod factum quoque anno gestum sit, ea demonstrabant, id est quasi qui diarium scribunt ... nobis non modo satis esse video, quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent, demonstrare Nam neque alacriores, inquit, ad rem p. defendundam neque segniores ad rem perperam faciundam annales libri commovere quosquam possunt. scribere autem, bellum initum quo consule et quo confectum sit, et quis triumphans introierit ex eo bello, quaeque in bello gesta sint, iterare, id fabulas (non praedicare aut interea quid senatus decreverit aut quae lex rogatione lata sit neque quibus consiliis ea gesta sint iterare) id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere" (Fr. Peter, I, 179-180).

of the Roman army. The imagery very vividly depicts the mad, predatory nature of the barbarians and, because of the presence of barbarians within the army, suggests wherein lies one weakness of the military force. The result of the barbarian attacks is of course extreme danger for the Empire. As seen in the detailed analysis of the imagery used of the barbarians, the motivating force behind the imagery was Ammianus' fear for the Empire, and the varied pictures presented in this imagery illustrate very clearly the peril to the Empire from the barbarians. The imagery therefore helps to illuminate the causes and effects of the barbarian attacks.

In its portrayal of barbarians as wild animals threatening the Empire, the imagery obviously takes on the moral purpose of arousing in Ammianus' audience strong feelings of patriotism, to make them realize that the Empire with Rome as its oecumenical centre, the symbol of everything valuable, is being endangered by barbarians who are wild predators, the antithesis of all that the Empire stands for. Through his imagery of the barbarians Ammianus seems intent on arousing in his audience that virtus which allowed Rome to dominate the world,²⁷ which saw her through difficult times in the past²⁸ and which can do so again in the face of the barbarian

²⁷A.M. XIV, 6, 3-6.

²⁸Ibid. XXXI, 5, 11-17.

threat. This appeal is also directed towards the Emperor Theodosius who through his philanthropic approach to the barbarians seemed to Ammianus to be threatening the Empire. Numismatically the Emperor was depicted as trampling on a barbarian and sometimes on a serpent instead of a man.²⁹ The animal imagery used of the barbarians in Ammianus would seem to be an appeal to the Emperor to fulfill his function as protector of the Empire in the guise of the trampler of the serpent.

In pursuit of his moral purpose Ammianus shows no respect for objectivity in spite of his claim that "nowhere will I depart intentionally from the truth."³⁰ Whatever his protestations in this regard, his work is definitely biased against the barbarians. Nowhere is this bias more obvious than in the animal imagery which Ammianus uses to express his violent hatred of them. In spite of the fact that the debarbarization process had long been established, in spite of the fact that he gives evidence of this process, he rails against the barbarians as savage animals. The Romans relied heavily on barbarian troops, yet he wanted the removal of such treacherous animals from the Roman army. As Paschoud says, Ammianus lacked realism in his attitude to the barbarians, yet

²⁹See Fontaine, BAGB (1969), p. 430.

³⁰A.M. XIV, 6, 2, "... nusquam a veritate sponte propria digressurus."

he has all the elements for understanding the situation.³¹ Paschoud points especially to Book 31, where the rebellion of the Goths only takes place after provocation,³² where the Roman army is in a sorry state,³³ and where the threat of the Goths against Constantinople is only removed by a detachment of Saracens.³⁴ The philanthropic approach of Theodosius was much more realistic, but as Drexler states, there is no hint of realist politics in Roman historians: events are judged purely from the point of view of the greatness of Rome.³⁵ Hence one finds Ammianus' reaction to the barbarians.

In terms of the moral function of his history, the animal imagery used by Ammianus seems intended to arouse his audience to a defence of the Empire in the face of the barbarian threat. In spite of the bias which the imagery shows and which a modern reader finds objectional in its subjectivity, yet it remains true to the moral function of the history in that it is conceived in terms of the greatness of the Empire.

³¹Paschoud, pp. 45-46.

³²A.M. XXXI, 4, 11; 5, 1-2; 4-7; 6, 2-3.

³³Ibid. XXXI, 4, 9-10; 7, 4; 12, 7.

³⁴Ibid. XXXI, 16, 4-7.

³⁵Drexler, *Gymnasium*, LXI (1954), p. 174.

Gellius also demanded that equal importance should be attached to both external and internal politics. Ammianus appears to adhere to this principle in his general coverage of both these areas. The animal imagery used of the barbarians expresses Ammianus' anxiety about the barbarian menace. A detailed analysis of the imagery used of the actors on the stage of internal affairs would probably reveal the same concern about internal politics.

The animal imagery used of the barbarians by Ammianus is thus employed to make his history effective in terms of causes and effects, in terms of its moral purpose and in terms of the importance of the problem. The modern reader objects to the imagery because of the bias it shows, but then the canons of ancient and modern historiography differ and one must not forget that Ammianus is an ancient historian.

8.0 CONCLUSION

Ammianus' use of animal imagery of barbarians seems to be unique among ancient historians in its paranoic hatred of barbarians. The imagery also appears to be unique in its imaginative value, which makes an impact even on the modern reader who tends to be somewhat put off by the lack of creativity found in the use of animal imagery by other writers. Because of its emotion and imaginative quality the imagery found in Ammianus transcends the generally rhetorical nature of his work, which modern criticism for the most part terms tedious and heavy in its effect. However, in terms of historical functions, its use is rooted firmly in the past.

APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION OF IMAGES

APPENDIX B

CLASSIFICATION OF USE OF ANIMAL IMAGES

APPENDIX CNote to De Oratore, III, 39, 157

The authenticity of this passage has been questioned because of its Latinity, because of the sudden definition of metaphor in terms of comparison, and because of the technical use of similitudo as a figure of comparison in a discussion where it is employed in the more general sense of "similarity". However, McCall¹ convincingly argues that the passage is authentic. For comparisons of Latinity in the case of brevitas, agnoscere, repudiare, and quod ... positum one should turn respectively to De Oratore I, 5, 17, Brutus 10, 41, De Oratore III, 48, 185, and 49, 192 and De Oratore, III, 38, 153, 155 and 41, 165. Moreover, the harshness of the transition could be overcome by accepting either Lambinus' emendation, translatio omnis similitudinis, or Schütz's, est autem translatio similitudinis. As for the sudden definition of metaphor in terms of comparison, McCall thinks that this is not inappropriate, for Cicero, having considered metaphor as a means of embellishing style, is now considering it from another angle, in terms of its connection with another rhetorical figure. Furthermore, the sudden appearance of similitudo as a rhetorical figure is not out of keeping with

¹McCall, pp. 107-111.

Cicero's lack of consistency in his use of technical vocabulary. Finally the De Oratore is not an interpolated work. There are no grounds therefore for considering the passage as an interpolation, whilst Quintilian who uses Cicero as his model in his discussion of metaphor has a similar definition at VIII, 6, 8-9.

APPENDIX D

Terms used for comparisons by ancient rhetoricians

1. παράβολή -- a) In Aristotle this term was used to designate a comparison used for arguments. This type of comparison was purely one of the subdivisions of παραδειγμα (example), one of the two main methods of persuasion, and is nowhere mentioned as having any of the functions of the εἰκὼν which was for Aristotle a stylistic comparison; see Rhet. II, 20, 1393^a, 24-25, and II, 20, 1393^a, 28-31.
- b) In the author of the Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας the term was employed to designate a detailed stylistic comparison which was of limited use in prose; see Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 2.90; 3.146; 4.209.
- c) In Quintilian one finds this term applied to what he considered as the common comparison used in arguments; see Inst. Orat. V, 11, 23.
2. εἰκὼν -- a) In Aristotle this term was used of a stylistic comparison which had the same functions as metaphor. As stated above, this type of comparison was quite distinct from his παράβολή; see Rhet. III, 4, 1406b, 20-26.
- b) Later writers used the term to describe that particular kind of comparison used in arguments which described personal characteristics; see Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 24.
3. εἰκασίς -- a) This term was employed by the author of the Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας of an abridged stylistic comparison which was regarded as very suitable for use in prose in contrast to his παράβολή; see Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, 2, 80.

4. similitudo -- a) This term was used of both comparisons used for argument and stylistic comparisons except for one type of the first category; see Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 3, 72.
5. Imago -- This term was used of the comparison found in arguments which described personal characteristics; see Cic. Inv. I, 30, 49; cf. the use of εἰκὼν to describe the same type of comparison in Greek rhetoricians.

APPENDIX E NUMBER OF ANIMAL IMAGES FOR BARBARIANS IN EACH BOOK

APPENDIX F COMPARISON BETWEEN NUMBER OF IMAGES APPLIED TO MAJOR TRIBES AND NUMBER OF CHAPTERS REFERRING TO THEM

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