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 comparisons 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. 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.

1 The 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.


3 See 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.

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September 17th, 1975
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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

ANR  American Historical Review
BAGB Bulletin de l'Association G. Bude
CPh Classical Philology
CQ Classical Quarterly
G&R Greece and Rome
IS Levin and Short
PhQ Philological Quarterly
PMIA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
REA Revue des Études Anciennes
RPh Revue de Philologie
WC 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

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 comparisons\(^1\) 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.\(^3\)

\(^1\)The 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.


\(^3\)See 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, 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, was probably born about the years A.D. 327-335. 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", 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, 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 Ursicinüs, 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. It would also appear that he might have been threatened with conscription for curial service under Julian. Moreover, the whole tone of his history is middle-class being very much concerned with the economic and social misfortunes of the curiales.

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. 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.

5 Cod. Theod. VI, 24, 3.

6 This 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.

7 Eg. 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.

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

9 Libanius Or. I, 104; 112, 216; XL, 22; XLI, 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. 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. He was therefore given the difficult task of suppressing Silvanus the Frank who had made himself emperor at Cologne. Ammianus accompanied him. 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. After Gaul, Ursicinus was sent back to the East, still accompanied by Ammianus. 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.

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 pretense.


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. 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. This seems unlikely in view of the fact that he took part in Julian's Persian campaign of 363. 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.

With his retirement from the army Ammianus seems to have dedicated himself full-time to intellectual pursuits in preparation for his future historical work. 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

16 Ibid. XIX, 1-9; XX, 2, 5.
17 Eg. Klein, p. 6, and Seek, B-W. I, 1846.
18 A. M. XXIII, 5, 7.
19 See p. 4, n. 2.
work. 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.

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. Moreover, as Rowell points out, 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." It is difficult to determine just exactly when he went to Rome, but a date soon after 378 has been suggested because of the fact that in his last book Ammianus so describes one of the Thracian battle-fields as would seem to suggest that

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

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

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

24 Rowell, p. 27.

25 A.M. XIV, 6, 7-25; XXVIII, 4, 6-34.

26 Thompson, 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. 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. 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. 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, 1457b, 6-9, μεταφορὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὄνοματος ἐλεφθέρου ἐπιφορὰ ἣ ἐπὶ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ ἔλθος ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔλθος ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔλθος ἢ μετὰ τὸ γενέλογον.


³Arist. Rhet. III, 4, 1406b, 20-22, ἡ ἐπιφορὰ γὰρ μεταφορά, διὰ δὲ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔλθος ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔλθος ἢ μετὰ τοῦ γενέλογον. "Metaphor ... of Homer, II.
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." 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."  

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

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

5 Spengel, Rhet. Graec. II, 294. Τρομή είστι τὸ μὲ ἐν ὑποκείμενον προϊστάναι καὶ ἀπαντητικον ἄκοιμα. Θεωρων εἶναι δυνάμεις καὶ τοῦ ὑποκείμενον καὶ τοῦ ἐκβείν ἐμφάνισιν καὶ καθότας καὶ μεταφορά παρὰ τῶν ἀρχηγικῶν  ὅτι ὢσ' ἐκείνοις λεγομένη, τὸ εἰς τῶν καταχθών καὶ τὰ εἰς κατάσκολον καθότας εἰς τὸ ἐπιτρεπτικὸν πολυπρομολουσα μὴ δὲν μὴτε ἐμφάνισε μὴτε ἐκβείν.
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 sequae 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 Nepos 8 writes of this type when he says that "usage has so well established some metaphors that we no

6 Cic. De Orat. III, 38, 155-56, "... quem necessitas genuit inopia coacta et angustilis, post autem iucunditas deloctatioque celebravit .... Ergo hae translationes quasi mutationes sunt, cum quod non habes aliunde sumas, illae paulo audaciares, quae non inopiam indicant, sed orationi splendoris aliquid accessunt ...."

7 Quint. 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. 9

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 define 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 decay 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, 'now, 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

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9 Arist. De dict. 11, 1, 1403 b, 14-16, ... καὶ ἐκ τῆς καθήμενης βασιλέως ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων τῶν ἐν τῷ γένει φύσεως τὴν μετάφρασιν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀπὸ τῶν χειρότερων... Bv. Inst. ad finem, 11, 34, 45; Cic. De urs. Ill, 157-59; Perip. τοῦ Φίλιου, 11, 4-6; Perip. Ἐρμηνείας, 2, 78; Quint. Inst. urs. V, 11, 6, 6.

10 Ibid. Ill, 11, 1412 b, 19-22; ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ πληθύνῃ διὰ μετάφρασιν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προσεγγισμοῦ ἐν γενετικῇ δίδων, ὅτε λέγεται ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐννοεῖται, ἐδέχεται, καὶ ἐσοχει νόημα ἡ ἀκατάστασις τῆς ἀναλογίας καὶ τῆς προφορᾶς. De la victoire. 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.\textsuperscript{11} However, the author of the \textit{Peri \kappaαλος} 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."\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{11}De Orat. III, 39, 159-160.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Peri \kappaαλος}, 32, 4, ... δείκτης δὲ πλάθους καὶ τόλμης μεταφορῶν... τῇ ἐκκρίσει καὶ σφυρακείᾳ πάθη καὶ τὸ γεγονός ὡς εἰκόνισθαι ὑπὲρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἔλεγχων τῆς προθεσίας πέτυχεν ἄποντα τῆς περίποτε καὶ προωθοῦμεν μελίνου δὲ καὶ μὲ ἑπτάκοντα πύτως εἰσπραττόμεν τῇ περιβάλλω, καὶ οὕτω δὲ τὸν ἔρευνταν σεκᾶλεν περὶ τὸν πλάθους ἔλεγχον διὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμεθα τῷ ἀγαπητῷ.
alone from anyone else, rather it is a sign of genius, for the making of good metaphors depends on perceiving the likenesses in things." 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," 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

13 Arist. Po. 22, 1459a, 6-8, μένον γάρ, τούτο εὖ ἐστιν παράγειν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ οὐδὲν όρθως, ἄπο λείπειτο τὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν ἰδεῶν, τὸ γὰρ τὸν μεταφέρειν τῷ τὸν λόγον ἐλεύθερον ἐπι τέκνην.


14 Arist. Rhet. III, 11, 1412a, 11-12, ἄνεμον ἀν ἀντικυρίων...
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

Thus, for a metaphor to be regarded as appropriate, there must 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 exemplary usage, as the author of the Ἐρωτώσεως emphasized:

"Usae, 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, one being used to overcome a scarcity in vocabulary and including

15 Sedrat. III, 40-41, 162-65, "... primum est fugienda similitudine ... Deinde videndum est non longe sit ductum ... Su iunda est omnis turpitudo earum rerum, ad quas seruus animo, qui audient, transt similitudo ... nolo esse aut malius, quam res postulet ... nolo esse verbum angustius id quod translatum sit, quam fuisse illud proprium ac suum ... Atque etiam, si vereare, ne paulo duriorem translatius esse videatur, mollienda est praesposito saepe verbo ..." cf. Rhet. ad Her. IV, 34, 45; Ἐρωτώσεως, 32, 61; Ἐρωτώσεως, 2, 78; 80; 83-85; Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 6, 14-18.

16 Ἐρωτώσεως, 2, 86, Πάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἅλλων ἡ συνθέσει καὶ μάλιστα μεταφορὰν διδόνομεν...
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. 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.

17 The terms for comparison which are discussed in any detail are the Greek, \( \pi \rho \kappa \beta \lambda \gamma \), \( \xi \kappa \nu \gamma \) and \( \zeta \kappa \sigma \chi \), and the Latin, \( \text{similitudo} \) and \( \text{imago} \). For the types of comparisons to which these are applied see Appendix D.

18 For 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 those, 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: quorum 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 similitudines genus ornat orationem, factisque 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."

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 carnis 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

Quint. V, 11, 22, "... quae ducitur citra ullam tulationem mixturationem ex rebus esse paribus: ut qui accipere in campo consueuerit iis candidatis quorum nummos suppressos esse mutat inimiissimi solent esse sic plus medi icies infesti tum reo venarani." 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, 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, 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, 1411a, 2-4, ... ὅπερ Περικλῆς ἔθη τὴν νεότητα τὴν ἀπομείναντα ἐν τῷ πόλεμῷ οὕτως ἐνενιάσας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὁπερ ἐκ τῆς το ἐξρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐννυκτοῦ ἔβελος.
this type of comparison "is accustomed to compare things whose resemblance is far less obvious." 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*:

"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?"

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


27 Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 23, "... quod si e portu solventibus qui iam in portum ex alto inveheuntur praecepere summum studio solent et tempestatum rationem et praedonem et locorum, quod natura adfert ut iis faveamus qui eadem pericula quibus nos perfuncti sumus ingreditur: quo tandem me animo esse Oportet, prope iam ex magna incitazione terram videntem, in hunc, cui video maximas tempestatem 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

28 Rhet. 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."

arguments. 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 raze, 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."

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.

Rhet. ad Her. IV, 49, 62, "... Iste qui cotidie per forum medium tamquam iubatus draco serpit dentibus aduncis, aspectu venenato, spiritu rabido, circum inspectans hoc et illuc si quem reperiat cui aliquid mali faucibus adflaret, ore adtingere, dentibus insecare, linguas 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 sensis 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, 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 εἰκών 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.

32 See pp. 20 and 21.

33 Quint. Inst. Orat. V, 11, 24, "... admonendum est rarius esse in oratione illud genus, quod εἰκών 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. 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."  

*Rhet. ad Her. IV, 47, 60, "Ante oculos ponendi negotii causa sumetur similudio - 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.

*Quint. Inst. Orat. VIII, 3, 80, "... nam ut tempestatas saepe certo aliquo caeli signo commoventur, saepe improviso nulla ex certa ratione obscura aliqua ex causa concitatur: 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.\footnote{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.}

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 \textit{De \textit{Epitome}}, who states
that poetical comparisons are to be used sparingly in prose, and then only in the grand, graceful, and plain styles.

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 "Epp. Epp.

The author of the did realize that this type was useful in prose and should be used in preference to bold metaphors. 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 "Epp. Epp.

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. Aristotle's position on the subject of comparison is very contradictory.


2.90; 3.146; 4.209.

38 Ibid. 2, 80.

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. Moreover, the examples of comparison immediately following his statement concerning the poetic nature of comparison are all prose examples. 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. 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 ποιήματα ἐσχηκόνων

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

41 Arist. Rhet. III, 4, 1406b, 27 - 1407a, 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), Democrats, and Antisthenes.

42 Ibid. III, 10, 1410b, 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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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 intra facile procurras," cf. Plut. "Episcopus" 2, 80.

\textsuperscript{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 ἐκκομός/ἀντελκομός, 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. 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 Ἐρυμνέλευς, 3, 172, Περὶ δὲ σκωμμάτων μὲν, ὅπου εἰκονίζεται τὸς ζωτικός ἐντός ἐν τῷ ἔθελεν εὑρετεῖσθαι. ἐπιστολὴς τῇ τῶν τοιούτων ἐικονίζεται ὡς Ἀἰγυπτίως κληρίας. μᾶκρον καὶ μέλην, καὶ τὸ τῆς Θεολογίας πρόβατον, τὸν μύρων τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.
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. 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. 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

\[\text{Page 17.}\]

\[\text{For more detailed information on the term "barbarian" see Bevan, Jones, and Carlyle, ed. Marvin, pp. 48-113, and Ehrenberg, pp. 173-181.}\]
say that he was translating Greek plays into a barbarian
tongue. 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. Whatev er
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

Plaut. Asin. prol. 11; cf. Trin. prol. 19.
superiority. 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. 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." 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. With the conquests

4For example, Eur. Med. 536-41; 591-92; 1330-43; Andr. 173-76; 243; 261-62; 647-54; 662-57; 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.


6Isoc. Or. XV, 294, ... τῶν κτὴν πρὸς τὴν φρόνησιν κτὲ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἐμελέτων πεπεκληροτέθηκεν τῶν κτήων.

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

8 Bacon, p. 12. For references from Euripides see Andr. 243; 261; Tr. 764; Hec. 326ff.; 1129; 1247ff; Med. 1323ff; Heracl. 131; IT 71; 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."

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 50 B.C., expresses Roman debt to Greece and at the same time gives an indication of the Roman attitude towards barbarians:

9Dion. Hal. XIV, 3, 5-6, ... τὸ γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν οὐκ ἐνόμισε δικαίως τοῦ ἐχθροῦ φέρειν οὐδὲ δικλέγειν χρῆν, ἔνδοξης καὶ ἄριστος ἐπιτηθήματι προσερέσει, μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς θροφορίας φύσιν εἰς ἅμα τοὺς περινόμενα. ὅσας γὰρ οὐκ ἔδωκαν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐπικηκτεῖν ἐν τῷ φύσει τοῦτον ὑμᾶς δένειν ἂν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, ὅσας δὲ πράξεις καὶ ἔτεινες ἐν τοῖς Ἀρώτως δικνοῦσι, τὸ καὶ πρᾶξεις καὶ νὰ Ἑλληνικὸς εἶμι λογικὸς, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ Ἑρμῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ πέρι σοφικῶς τὸ καὶ πιθανοῦ συνάθρως, ἐφισταμένος.
"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, 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, among the very people by whose maxims we have been instructed."  

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:  

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10 Cic. Ad. Q. Fr. I, 1; 27, "Quod si te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis praefecisset, insanius ac barbaris nationibus, tanquam humanitatis tuae consulere eorum commodis et utilitati salutique servire; cum vero ei generi hominum praedictum, 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 pudebi ... nos ea quae consecuti sumus iis studiis et artibus esse adeptos quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinarum tradita. Qua re praeter communem fidem quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere virum, ut quorum praecipitus sumus cruditi apud eos ipso quo 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.\footnote{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.”}

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.
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."\(^{12}\)

\(^{12}\)Caes. B.G. I, 31, 5, "Horum primo circiter milia XV Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari admassent, 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

\(^{13}\)Caes. BG I, 33, 4, "Neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent. An provinciam exirent atque inde in Italian contenderent?"

\(^{14}\)Caes. 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 nostras tela coicerent. Legatum e suis se se 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{ferus}. In the discussion of metaphor and comparison ancient rhetoricians were shown to be aware of the emotional intensity of metaphor,\textsuperscript{16} so that Caesar's choice of the metaphorical \textit{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{15}Caes. B.G. I, 31, 5; 12-13; 36, 7; 44, 1; 47, 2; 53, 7.
\textsuperscript{16}Pages 151, 20-21, 23-28.
sexual mores, there are no similarities to Roman customs.\textsuperscript{17} Sherwin-White points to the series of negative statements which stylistically emphasize the alienation of the two cultures.\textsuperscript{18} The term \textit{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{ferus} as a means of explaining the animal state of these tribes.\textsuperscript{20} It is interesting to note that Caesar hardly ever describes the barbarian Gallic tribes in terms of \textit{feri} (the Nervii are the exception and are to be discussed in the following paragraph). As Sherwin-White points out,\textsuperscript{20} the reason for this would seem to be that Caesar recognized points of contact between the

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

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

\textsuperscript{19}Caes. B.G. IV, 10, 4.

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{21}

In describing the Belgic Nervii as wild animals, Caesar seems to be reasserting 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",\textsuperscript{22} on the other hand, "traders had no means of access to them"\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{21}Caes. B.G. VI, 17, 1-3; 19, 1-5.

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

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

\textsuperscript{24}It 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, ἀρρὺς or ὀφρυστύς, 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 low, 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 the goodwill of the Romans among them, but wherever such sojourners are fewer, the people are more difficult and have more of the wild beast in them."25

In disaccord 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 seacoast 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 satisfying their physical needs and bestial instincts — unless some one thinks these men have regard for

25 Str. III, 8, 8. Το δὲ κυνήγερον καὶ θηριοῦν ὁδὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολεμίου συμβατικὴς μόνον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐκτοπίσµον, καὶ γὰρ δὲ πλείον ἐπὶ κόμῳ μικρῷ καὶ εἰ δυσεῖς κλῆτες — μεταλλάξας ἐπιθετικῆς τῆς θησυκῆς καὶ τοῦ χιλιοῦ κυνήγερον, ὅτεν δὲ εἰς τὸν τόπον τὰς ζῷας, καὶ τὴν ἔρισιν καὶ τὴν τῶν θησαυρῶν ἐπικαθήκην, ὅπως δὲ καὶ τὸν τὸν συμβατικὸν πρὸς τῶν θηριώτερον εἰς τὴν Θηριώτερον. The translations of Strabo are largely due to Jones.

25 Ibid. III, 4, 13, οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς κυρίας φοινίκας πολλῶν ἐπιδήκτης, τοὔτω δὲ τὴν ἀπετατίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐκτοπίσµον καὶ τοῦ κυνήγερον, αὐτῷ σὺν δὲ διὸ καὶ πρόοισ ἑτῶν (ἐκ τῶν κυττάρων πρὸς τὴν ἀπετατίαν ἐπιδήκτης τούτων) οὐσίως κυρίας γὰρ καὶ κατὰ κυρίας οἰκουμένης τοῦ πολλοῦ τῶν Παγκοσμίων καὶ δὲ πολὺς ἑπεράτους καὶ κυρίας, ὅταν πλεονεκρίσα, τὸ τῆς ἑλλάς ἐπὶ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν οἰκουμέν.
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 θηρίου of victory by some captive Cantabrians hailed 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 δικαίωσιν, καὶ μὴ συνεργόν, καὶ δραματικόν ἑτούν, καὶ συνεργόν τόσον, τοῖς δὲ ὁμοίους ἐν δικαίωσιν πολλοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ τοὺς ἰσόντας σφιχτούς καὶ κυρίους καὶ τῆς μυστικῆς κοιμῶν... 28 Ibid. III, 4, 17, ... τῷ πρὸς ὑστήρα καὶ ἐπόνοιαν ἑτούν... 29 Ibid. 30 Ibid. III, 4, 18, τῷ μὲν οὖν τοιούτῳ τῶν ἁλάθων λυριστῆσε τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἐν ἑνω βασιλείᾳ, τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ ἑτούν δὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἀλλ' ἑτούν 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." Strabo speaks of them as
having "more of the wild animal in them" than the Celts.  
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.

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

31 Str. IV, 5, 4, ... ἄγρειτερον τῶν Βρέττανῶν ὑπέρχουσαν
οἱ κατοικούσις κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωποφάγον τινὶ ὡς καὶ
ποιεῖται τοὺς τε μετέρες τελευτησεῖται καταστάσεις ἐν καὶ
πλῆθεσιν καὶ βασιλείας μεγάλες τοῖς τε μικροῖς γυναικῶν καὶ
μητρόποις καὶ φανερῶς οὐσίμεθα τοῖς τε μεγάλοις γυναικῶν καὶ
μητρόποις καὶ φανερῶς οὐσίμεθα τοῖς τε μικροῖς γυναικῶν καὶ
μητρόποις καὶ φανερῶς οὐσίμεθα τοῖς τε μεγάλοις γυναικῶν καὶ

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid. VII, 1, 2, ... τῷ τε πλεονομέ τῆς ἀγρότητος...

34 Ibid. IV, 1, 2, 5; 11, 14; IV, 4, 2.
"numerous wild animal qualities." 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". As for the Dardanians, "they are such terribly wild animals that they dig caves beneath their dung-hills and live there".

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." 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 ἱφθάσητα ... κατούσ τοὺς μίλετα τοιοῦτος.
36Ibid. XI, 8, 7, ... καὶ τετῆς δ’ εἰς τετελείωτος καὶ ἡτή καὶ δ’ ὀρθοτές, βίος, νοθείκιος μὲν, σκιλος δὲ καὶ θρήσκος καὶ πολεμικός ...
37Ibid. VII, 5, 7, ἐνότες διὸντες ὡς Δαρδάνων τελευσάντων, ὡς θ’ ὑπὸ τεῖς κόπους ὀρθήτατες σπάραμεν ἐνταῦθα, διέκειται πολεμικότερο ...
38Ibid VII, 5, 10, τοις θόρυβοι δεδομένωσι προσέρχοντα Ἰλυρική παρακλήσει τεῖς μὲν καὶ κατάφυλλες τῆς κρήτης, τὸ μέντοι πλέον διὰ τῆν ἱφθάσητα τῶν ἄλφαπων καὶ τὸ ιερατικὸν ἔθος.
and with customs totally unacceptable to the civilized man. The animal terms, \( \psi ρος \) and \( \gammaροσ \), 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, 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.

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

39 Pages 12 and 14.

40 For Strabo's comments on the purpose of the Geography see I, 1, 22-23.
This liberal attitude, whilst it has its roots in tradition, is all the more understandable in the rise 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 thus generated between barbarians and Greeks and Romans.

In turning to Velleius Paterculus, one finds certain points of contact between him and Arrianus 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, carus or foritans, and one which employs the term agens.

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.
The outcome of this decision was that Varus was attacked completely unarmed by the Germans, the Roman army was completely surrounded and a man by the very enemy whom it had partially burned, was marred by the enemy in their wild animalism."


The translations of Velius are largely due to Shipton. III, 11, 2. "Ab eo hostis ad interdictam trucidat eos, quin aspera plus poetica."
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", 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." 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 metaphor 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 gravissimum 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."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{49} Moreover, Velleius believed that the Germans were incapable of debarbarization for he ridicules Varus for thinking that they "who were men only in \textit{embrya} and voice and who could not be broken by the sword, could be calmed by the law."\textsuperscript{50} In this respect also, he stands at variance with tradition.\textsuperscript{51} Sherwin-White best sums up

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

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid. II, 118, 2, "... ultra barbarum promptus ingenio ..."

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid. II, 117, 3, "... qui nihil praeter vocem membraque haberent hominum, quique gladiis domari non poterant, posse iure mulcendi."

\textsuperscript{51} This 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."\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{52} Sherwin-White, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{53} Vell. II, 120, 2.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid. 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." 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," and as having pacified the Spanish provinces which were "so extensive, so populous, and so abounding in wild animalism." 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

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

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

57 Ibid. 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: 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 Marcellinus 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*.

58 Vell. II, 90, 1.

59 For 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 Harii

"who in their savagery add to their natural wild
animality 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 horrid appearance and by
the shroud of their bloody array so that no enemy
can enter this strange and infernal-like visage,
for in every battle the eyes are the first to be
despoiled." 3

The semi who dwelt then further north than the Harii,
are described in the following way:

"The wild animals, in the semi, are dreadful,
their savagery terrible: they have no weapons, no
horses, no spears: they live on roots, cloth-
tirely as are, are, and sleep on the ground.
arsens are their only means of support which they
stem 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." 41

60 Tac. Germ. 43, 3, "... truces insita& cepitati arte ac
tempore lencominatur: nixra scuta, tincta corpora; atras
ad proelii noctas lactant ignaque formidines atque ubra
ferris excirritibus terrorere inuerunt, nullo hostium sustinente
novum ac velut in&mum aspectum; nam primi in omnibus
proelior oculi vincuntur."

42 Ibid. 43, 3-5, "Pennis mira foritas, foeda paupertas:
non arma, non equi, non penates: victui herba, vestitutui
pelles, cubile humus: sola in saevis spes, quas inopia
ferris ossibus asperant. idemque venator viros pariter ac
feminae alit: cossim enim comitantur partemque praedae
petunt. nec alius infantibus ferrum imbriunque suffugium
quam ut in aliquo ranorum nexu contenguntur: huc redempt
juventus, hoc semum receptaculum. sed beatius arbitrantur
quam ingenere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque
fortunas spe metuque versari: securi adversus homines,
securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adscuti sunt, ut
ilias ne voto gruidem 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 Lanrobardi 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

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⁶² Tac. Germ. 40, 2-5.
⁶³ Ibid. 46, 1.
⁶⁴ Ibid. 43, 5; see above, p. 59, n. 60.
⁶⁵ Ibid. 46, 3; see above, p. 59, n. 61.
⁶⁶ Ibid. 46, 5; see above, p. 59, n. 61.
from the realms of human kind. The only category left of living creatures known to men is that of animals: the fenini therefore must be of some sort. In fact, the Fenini represent our first contact with reality. Beyond them one moves into the world of the simili suavis, "the Dellicii and the Oxiones, with herds of wild boars, but the bodies of wild animals." 67

The resident Fenini tribes just described kept them from the civilizing influence of the Romans and made them less known to the nations across the horrid stories. With regard to the por cera, the Fenini tribes, Tacitus' attitude is quite different. The ancestors and grown used to these tribes through wars and in fact changes were taken, 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 Cattii 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. 40, 5, "... Hellusios et Oxiones ora hominum vultuque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere ..."

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 Catu on a campaign. 69

Greater familiarity with the more southerly German tribes also led to another appreciation 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 freedmen and freedom, 72 their respect for freedom, 73 the calibre of their leaders, 74 and, most of all, for their fight for liberty. 75

69 Tac. Germ. 30, 2-3; "... non omen mori potest, audire urbes corporis, notitiae ordinem, ulliusque occasiones, dierum inimicitias; discipulorum, voce mater, fortunam inter dupia, virtutis inimicis; cura rerum, quum quaque virum ad regem disciplinar concessum, unus repperit in duce quam in exercitu. 70 Ibid. 19, I, 12; 20, 3.

71 Ibid. 5, 4-5; 27: or. Strato, XII, 3, 7.

72 Ibid. 21.

73 Ibid. 25, 3.


75 For example, Tac. agr. 29, 3-4; 30-32; Hist. IV, 14; 64.
However, all was not admiration. Tacitus considered the Germans to pose 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 Galliaeae, ne Parthi quidem saepius admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum libertas."

77 Ibid. 37, 2: 4-6.

78 Ibid. 33.
Vellingia. This can possibly be attributed to various reasons: there was a resolution from external affairs on the part of Tacitus who was very non-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 instance is found in connection with the Germans. In this instance, the Batavian leader, Civilis, is described by his fellow-chiefants 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 anor of the Batavian chiefants at being drawn.

79Admittedly 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 reliqua germaniam peteret, informem terris, egregium canem, tristem cultu aspectuque nisi si patria sit?").

80Tac. Hist. V, 25, 12, "... Civilis rabie somet in arma truxos ..."
into combat with the Romans by their rebel leader. As Tacitus says, the chiefs spoke "more violently." 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."

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."

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, and the comparison used of the Britons makes its particular appeal to reason through

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

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

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

84 Pages 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. 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.

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

85 The 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 "institute" (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).

86 Agr. 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 Arricola 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.\(^\text{87}\)

\(^{87}\)In view of the fact that of the eighty books written by Dio only about 30 are intact (Books 24-60 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.\(^8\) 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 untameable wild beasts.\(^9\) 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\(^9\) -- 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

\(^8\) For other descriptions of the Germans and Britons see especially LXV, 16-24; LXXI, 3: 11-15 (Britons); LXXVII, 13-15 (Germans); XXXIX, 50-53; LXXVI, 11-13 (Britons). For further references see Cary IX, 564-507, and 528.

\(^9\) Dio Cass. XXXVIII, 35, 2. ... τι τε γενέ θεον κοτων και τι σιν θεόν το το Θεον και τας και φυσιν προεξε ρους ουσίας ἐκπολιθωσεν δούμιν διαθεσθενεν ης και μηδε περικεφαλεσ τυχε προς Θεον ἑθερα και λεπτην προσοχημενον.

\(^9\) Caes. B. G. 1, 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 Θηράς 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 arevincible 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

91 Dio Cass. XXXVIII, 36-46.
92 Ibid. LVI, 18, 2, ... ἐν τοῖς κόσμοις οἱ Βερμίοις μετανοήσαντες καὶ ἡγομένοις διερεῖσαν τὰ τειχεῖα τὴν πολιούχον. 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, 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.  

93 In 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 (Ibn. IV. 7, 2).
through "and since love visitor," 94 however, gives a
history of the new world and of love, accompanied with the
German "since love is not irrational.

With regard to the very world of the pictures, this
seems to be very much related to the context and not a
personal reaction of the writer. As in the case of the interpreter
of the text, we hardly find the issue in his
sources and the idea that the effect in our own description
of the rebellion of Nodion which is very dramatically
told, 95 is just what we were describing the terrible
portents with. The whole is a vast disaster in Britain—
foreign jajos mixed with her blood from the senate-house,
utterances and lamentations from silent theatres, houses under
the water in the latest, blood-red wave at Salamis in the
ocean between, ripples and all. Nodion's harpy-like
terror is great—very tall, with fierce eyes, harsh voice, a mass of yellow hair down to her hips, a blue, cold
necklace, a line of different colours, a thick cloak fastened
with a brooch and a ring. She addresses her subjects with a
speech that is characterized motion, that makes its impact
through a rhetoric of emotions, exclamation and contrast, that
has for its themes freedom and slavery, past and present.

94 Dio Chrys. LXXII, 142... πολλάς καὶ μεγάλοις γίγνεται καὶ
κυνήγιαν...

95 Ibid. LXIII, 14-12; parts of this description are very close
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". 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. 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. The whole description is full of drama and terror, and the imagery seems to be used.

96 Dio Cass. LXII, 5, 6, ἰενεκ’ ἱπτος ὅτι λευχιν καὶ κλώπηκεσ ὄτες κυνῶν καὶ λύκων ἐργαλεῖαν ἐγκυμοσύνην.

97 Ibid. LXII, 7, 2, καὶ ὅτι δὲ ἐνεκτέτον καὶ ἔναλωθέτοτον... 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, ... καὶ ἕκαι ἑν τοῦ ἀργυροῦ ὄψιν... ἐνέπετωκότας. As examples of tortured are given impalement and looking on their entrails cut from their bodies.
to increase these elements, it was possible to do so in the
amphitheater at some executions of men tied to stakes and
defendances, whose limbs would then be torn andender by
animals that were specially trained for the work.99
The metaphorical lines of Dio transform the tribunes
into these very villains who systematically torture their
victims, and make us see a possible image of Dio’s
audience. Tribunes will have been introduced with the scenes
described in the proverbial image of cowardice and calamity
as “horns and fangs” pursued by the fearless, cruel,
redoubtable “serpents” as “doves and wolves”.

The imagery 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 tribunes 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 Friedlander, 17, 72.

100 Whilst one of the images (ix 1, 11, 4) is expressed in the
form of a comparison, it is virtually a metaphor, fitting
into the category of the abbreviated comparisons which are
highly metaphorical in nature (see above, pp. 29-30).


102 Dio Cass. LXXX, 4, 1, ... ἁρπαγμὸς ἁρπαγμὸς
Leadership of the Persians, overthrew the Persian monarchy about 330 B.C. and then proceeded against Armenia, threatening to overrun it and Syria. However, this fear arose not so much from the Persians themselves as from the state of the Roman empire at that time. The implication seems to be that if the Persians had been well-disciplined, the Persians would not have been a source of alarm. It was a rational fear which was confirmed by subsequent events when in 333 the Persians inflicted a severe defeat on the Romans. In spite of this defeat, however, Alexander considered it preferable to divert his armies to the Germans who were causing trouble in Illyria rather than to continue his fight with the Persians. So, 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." An underlying belief in the ultimate superiority

103. Ibid. XXXI, 4, 2.

104. See this defect see Herodian, VI, 5.

105. Ἰππ. Ξ, 7, 1, ὦ νάρ ἔμελον θρόνον τῶν ἐκ Περσῶν κίνδυνον ὁτιο τὸν ἐκ Περσῶν ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνθεμένων καταλαμάτως, μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ πολιτεία διαλεμένον, τὴν Ἡπειρόν κύρια ἡτανηκοῦσα τὸν Ἐλληνικὸν Ἰθαγονμάντα ὁπώ ἐπεκεκλίθη ἐπικεφαλής καὶ Ῥώμεις ἔμεινεν τὴν ὑπὸ Ἐλληνωτῶς ὁμοομοσίᾳ παρά τοσούτως ἀπαντήσας καὶ ἡτανηκοῦσα πολεῖς Περσανοῦς Ἐλληνωτῶς.
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. 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, ἔφρον or Ἐρυθρός, or ferox, 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 import of the present consideration is best seen to
begin with the one of the common retribution of
"mortality," as a species of the general retribution of
"natural death," not of the more limited phrase of
"natural death." The former, as a general and more broad
notion, is unlimited by any such definition as the
"human," or the "natural," or the "minimum," or the "maximum.
The latter is all and nothing, as equally so with the said
"human." As an abstract, as a general concept, which
"natural," or the "natural," or the "human," or the "natural
could no doubt be brought into the same category. But as an audience brought it
up on its own accord, and not in the same categories, as
would the "natural," or the "natural," or the "natural,
which is by the same token, (as by taking knowledge)
imagined to pass on to the same conclusion for ancient
the ancient, or the ancient, or the ancient, or the ancient,
the ancient, or the ancient, or the ancient, or the ancient.
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. 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. Or 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

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. 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.

In Eunapius two animal images were found in descriptions of barbarians, one in the Universal History, the other in the Lives of the Sophists, 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 Mendelsohn, pp. xxxv-xlvii; Ridley, Helikon IX-X (1969-70), 574-592; Pashoud, Zosima, pp. xxxiv-lxiii.

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 supplicant Quadi, the request of Julian for the king's son as hostage, a hostage he already has unasked 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

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

5 For Zosimus' style see Photius, Bibl. cod. 98; Ridley, pp. 583-90; Paschoud; Zosima, pp. lxx-1xxv.

6 Mendelssohn, p. xxxvi.

In comparison, Zosimus gives a very brief, sober description of the episode, omitting all speeches, all drama, and offering very little emotion. 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. The term "Greek" in Eunapius, is described as having only a geographical or religious-political significance. 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

8 Zos. III, 7, 6.


10 For 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{12} Eunapius describes the East as being

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

\textsuperscript{12}For 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.\textsuperscript{13} Nowhere is there the close
identification with the Rōmāns that one finds in Ammianus who
often speaks of them in the first person.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{15} These fleeting references are
also to be compared with the eulogies on Rome found in
Ammianus.\textsuperscript{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 Alāric.\textsuperscript{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",\textsuperscript{18} as "the most awful peril for the city":\textsuperscript{19} no

\textsuperscript{13}Bun. V.S., 487.

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

\textsuperscript{15}Bun. V.S. 456; 490; 492.

\textsuperscript{16}For example, A.M. XIV, 6; 3-5; XVI, 10, 13-17.

\textsuperscript{17}Zos. V, 37-41.

\textsuperscript{18}Ibid. V, 24, 3, ... πάντας ἐπεξεύθενα κίνδυνον...

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid. V, 24, 4, ... ἐν μεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ... κίνδυνοι...
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.  

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. The description relies heavily on contrast for its effect. The

26 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.

Goths are depicted first as being full of arrogance and pride, those traditional attributes of barbarians. 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". 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. 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" 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

\[22\text{See above, p. 43.}
\]

\[23\text{Bun. Hist. p. 47, 10-11, κατά το μίσον πολεμών μὴ τἀκτά ἔχοντα, ἐνθαρρυ νήτος, καὶ ἑπιστ.}
\]

\[24\text{For the notched appearance of insects see Arist. HA 487a, 33-35; cf. 523, 13-15.}
\]

\[25\text{This description is to be compared with the very sketchy ones of Ammianus and Zosimus which deal with events leading up to the war: see A.M. XXVII, 5, 1; Zos. IV, 10, 1-2.}
\]

\[26\text{Bun. V.S. 466, κυριότερός...}
\]
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

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

\textsuperscript{27} Sykes, I, 425.

\textsuperscript{28} Ammianus' 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 ἀγρός for barbarians.

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, Austorians, Iberalenses, Isuflenses, Scots and Picts, and the Saxons.

6.1. The Alamanni.

In absolute terms the Alamanni are qualified by the most images.\(^1\)

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.\(^4\) See Hiestogram in Appendix C."

\(^{2}\) A.M. XV, 8, 7, "... malo ultra adposita iam proserpenti ..."

\(^{3}\) Ibid. "... colla superbarum gentium detumiscent ..."
their barbaric, canine madness,” 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 plunder, forced by hunger, often drove off the booty and sometimes perished before finding anything." Their threats "screched on every side," they "howled wildly and mournfully," until the Romans curtailed their activities by "slaughtering some of them like cattle." Undaunted, they broke out again and "in their barbaric, wild animalism, driven by canine madness, they screamed for battle." Julian considered them possessed by "canine madness." In

4 [...] XVI, 16, "... barbarica furia..." Cf. Rolfe, rabies = fury.
5 [...]. La Rentrée, les esprits malandrins of this thesis, presents Rolfe's translations of Latin, cf. n19, 16, 51, 67, 108, 208, 310, and n1 in this chapter.
6 Ibid. XVI, 5, 17, "utque bestiae custodiam neglegent, a raptu vivere solitiae, ne his quidem remotis, adpositisque fortioribus abscesserat, sed tumescentes inedia, sine respectu salutis, armamenta vel græsis incurrant, ita etiam illi, cunctis quae diripuerunt consumptis, fames urgentem, agebat aliquotiens praedam, interdum antequam contingentem aliud, oppetebat.
7 Ibid. XVI, 11, 1, "... Germanis undique circumfrementibus minis..."
8 Ibid. XVI, 11, 8, "... ferum ululantes et lugubre..."
9 Ibid. XVI, 11, 9, "... trucidabant ut pecudes..."
10 Ibid. XVI, 12, 2, "... barbara feritate certaminum rabiem undique concitante." Cf. Rolfe, rabies = ira, mania.
11 Ibid. XVI, 12, 31, "... rabies..." Cf. Rolfe, rabies = madness,
OF/DE
contrast with the Roman soldiers they were "wild animals".\footnote{11}{A.M. XVI, 12, 47, "... feri ..."} Finally they were subdued and their king, "after committing in his wild animalism every terrible atrocity",\footnote{12}{Ibid. XVI, 12, 61, "... post feros lugubresque terrores ..."} was captured. Thus in his youth was Julian subjected to warfare "with tribes of wild animals."\footnote{13}{Ibid. XXII, 12, 2, "... efferatarum gentium ..."}

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.\footnote{14}{See above, pp. 15-16.} 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, \textit{ferus} and \textit{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 \textit{ferus} or a variant thereof; even Velleius whose references to the Germans were more frequent restricted himself, except in one instance, to the term \textit{feritas}.\footnote{15}{For Velleius' use of animal imagery see pp. 52-58.} In this extended image used of the Alamanni Ammianus draws on other animals besides the
traditional *serus*, 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

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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. Ammianus' rhetorical background was intimated in Chapter One of this thesis 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. 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 προς τα ψωμα that metaphors result from strong and appropriate emotions, is

17 See above, pp. 15; 20-21; 23-28.
18 See above, pp. 51 7-8.
19 For this comparison see pp. 21-23.
20 Προς τα ψωμα, 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

21 A.M. XV, 8, 6, "... nos per disiunotissimas 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.

22 See histogram in Appendix F.

23 Camus, 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 Ensslin 25 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 Lentienenses, 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 hordes of barbarians, except those whom flight had saved from

24 A.M. XIV, 10, 7-8.


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

27 Ibid. XV, 8, 6, "... velut implis eorum manibus Romano sanguine parentantes, perulant barbari Gallias, rupta limitum pace: hac animati fiducia, quod nos per disiunctissimas terras, arduae 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."  

Thompson points out the delight with which Ammianus depicts the slaughter and devastation caused by Julian among the Alamanni. Perhaps this is best exemplified by the description of the battle of Strasburg. Then, through "the gracious will of an appeased deity" 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."

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", 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 barbaras plebas, nisi quos fuga exsperat aucta, alacres cadaverum streps, et perfusi sanie peremptorum."

29 Thompson, p. 5.

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

31 Ibid. XVI, 12, 52, "... nec quisquam vulnerantium sanguine iram explovit, nec satiavit saepe multiplices dexteras ...

32 Ibid. XVI, 12, 58, "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. This slaughter at the river, this "theatrical scene", with the "curtain showing many wonderful sights", brought the battle to its conclusion and thereafter the Alamanni capitulated. The fight was won "by the favour of the supreme deity." 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", were lost in the river.

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.

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

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

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

36 Ibid. XVI, 12, 63, "... inaestimabiles 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.
Paschoud 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. These passages are concerned primarily with "dissensions, taverns, and other similar vulgarities", which Ammianus considers as blots on her magnificence and splendour, as impediments to her ultimate supremacy. 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." She is "the home of empire and of every virtue." Physically, she is "the most majestic abode in the world, the temple of the whole world." Ammianus finds it intolerable that

39 Paschoud, 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.

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

41 Ibid. XIV, 6, 3.

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

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

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

45 Ibid. 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, 44 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" 49
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.\textsuperscript{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 Erectheus\textsuperscript{52} 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."\textsuperscript{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".\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{51}See above, pp. 56-57.

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

\textsuperscript{53}A.M. XVI, 1, 5, "... quae anteferri gestis eius postea multis et miris, hac ratione debent, quod adulissens primaevus, ut Erectheus in secessu Minervae nutritus, ex academias quietis umbraculis, non e militari tabernaculo in pulverem Martium tractus, strata Germania, pacatisque rigentis Rheni meatus, cruenta spirantium regum hic sanguinem fudit, alibi manus catenis adflixit."

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid. 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 primaevo, objectus efferatarum gentium armis ..."

56Ibid. XXXI, 16, 8.
throughout his history. 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 Nerobaudes who were consuls in 366 and 377 respectively. 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." 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. 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.

57 Reference 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).

58 A.M. XXVI, 9, 1; XXXI, 8, 2.

59 Dill, p. 297.

60 Symm. 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 \textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{62} He also describes the activities of the Batavi whose cavalry detachments were an important source of strength to the Roman army.\textsuperscript{63} The Batavi had long been settled on Roman soil and had a history of long and faithful service in the Roman army.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{65} The Laeti, Germans settled on Roman soil, are also described as having endangered the state.

\textsuperscript{61} A.M. XVII, 8, 3-4.

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid. XXXI, 4.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid. XVI, 12, 45; XX, 1, 3, 4; XXVII, 1, 6; 8, 7; XXXI, 13, 9.

\textsuperscript{64} Tac. Hist. I, 59; IV, 12; Ann. II, 8.

\textsuperscript{65} See 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 emoción 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 armies 70 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

66 A.M. XVI, 11, 4.

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

68 See above, pp. 63-64.

69 See above, pp. 70-71.

70 A.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. 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 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.

71 See 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

72 See above, p. 58.
parts, which has already been indicated in the chapter on Eunapius and Zosimus. 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. 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." In spite of the arrival of Julian in Gaul, "the barbarians continued their attack with complete indemnity." 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

74 See above, pp. 82-84.

75 In 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.

76 Zos. III, 1, 1, ... καὶ Φράγκοις μὲν καὶ Ἀλαμαννοῦς καὶ Σάξονας

77 Ibid. III, 2, 3, ... τῶν Βαρβάρων οὕτων ἠττον μετὰ πάσης

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 men 78 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, ἔγγελητον δὲ τῶν κεκακότων ὡς περὶ πάλιν Ἀρείτορα, τὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἱππικοῦς κεκακότων ἡγεμονίαν πλῆθος ἐπηρεμένη καθάρεσιν ήκα τῶν γυναικῶν μετὰ τοῦ συμβιβασθείσος κατὰ στρατοπεδεούσι προσε, ἐμμενένες δὲ τοῖς πολεμοῦσι πῶς ὁπερβιούσι ἐπέκειτα τῷ τροπίκου ἐστηθοῖ, ἐξ μὲν ἐν καθ' τῇ μάκρῃ μνημεία χαρακτηρισμῶν ἐπολομοίων ἑτέρων δὲ τοῖς ἐνδοξοῦσιν ἐκκήρυξιν καθ' τοῦ Ἱππικοῦ καὶ διαθεραίοσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ὧν ὁτι ἐν τέσσερειν αἱ ἡμέρες ἔστησεν Ἀλεξάνδρου μέγα τε κυρία πρὸς διαλειτουργία τῆς ἀκροτηρίου, ὁδὸν ἐν ἐνυρμοῖς οὐκ ἔχει στύλο οἷος ἐλάττωσι.
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 "dors stricken with madness, desperate". 81 Then they become "fire-darts, fleeting birds", 82 gathering to support their chieftains 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 beleagured 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". Then, "like wild animals", they hunted the Romans, whilst their "canine madness" infected other parts of the Empire. At the battle of Hadrianople "the barbarian mob howled wildly and harshly for the fight. Victors in the conflict, "like wild beasts made even more fierce and violent by the provocative taste of blood", they made for Hadrianople, hoping to destroy the city. Wild beasts "stricken with madness", 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 diffreactis caveis bestias, per Thraciarum amplitudines fusius incitati ..."

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

88 Ibid. XXXI, 10, 1, "... rabies ..." Cf. Holt's; rabies = madness.

89 Ibid. XXXI, 12, 11, "... ululante barbarae plebes ferum et triste ...

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

91 Ibid XXXI, 15, 4, "... rabies ..." Cf. Holt's; rabies = drage.
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

92 For this definition of bestiae see IS, p. 234.

93 A.M. XXXI, 4, II; 5, I; 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."\(^9^4\)

"Because of the ruinous negligence" of these men\(^9^5\) the
Goths were deprived of the necessities of life and were
prevented from moving into the interior of Thrace "by an

\(^9^4\) A.M. XXXI, 4, 10, "quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia
malorum omnium fuit. nam (ut alia omittamus, quae memorati
cel carte sinentibus isdem, alii perditis rationibus, in
cumentis peregrinos adhuc inmoxios deliquerunt,) illud
disertur, quod nec apud sui periculi iudices, absolvere uilla
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).

\(^9^5\) Ibid. XXXI, 5, 1, "... dissimulatione perniciosa ..."
abominable kind of traffic". 96 At Marcianopolis 97 "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 mundinandi commerciis."

97 A city of eastern Moesia near the Euxine.

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

99 Ibid. XXXI, 4, 9. "... nostri limitis reseratis obicibus, atque (ut Aetnaeas favillas armatorum agmina diffundente barbaria), cum difficiles necessitatum artificuli correctores rei militaris poscerent aliquos claritudine gestarum rerum notissimos; quasi laevo quodam numine diligente, in unum quaesiti potestatibus praefuerere castrensibly 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". 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", whilst Valens had no training in the art of war. 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.

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 conuota mobilis et incertus ...

101 Ibid. XXXI, 10, 19, "... eo tempore quo stiam si imperium Marcus regeret Antoninus, aegra 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".\textsuperscript{104} This praise for Julius' actions and the fact that the next to the last chapter of the work is devoted to the massacre at the gates, are a strong indication of Ammianus' feelings.\textsuperscript{105} Straub sees Book XXXI as a presentation by Ammianus of the ways of coming to terms with the Goths.\textsuperscript{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 at 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

\textsuperscript{104} A.M. XXXI, 16, 8, "... efficacia Iulii ... salutaris et velox."

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

\textsuperscript{106} Straub, 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. 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

109 For 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, θηρός, τύραννος, τέρας or variants thereof. Cultural prejudice was also seen to be generally the motivating factor in this imagery. 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. 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 and 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

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.

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.\textsuperscript{112} In this passage with its description of Gothic behaviour and the use of the term \textit{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.\textsuperscript{113}

In the case of Ammianus, as previously stated, \textsuperscript{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.

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

\textsuperscript{113} See the analyses of Tacitus and Dio Cassius, pp. 58-75.

\textsuperscript{114} Pp. 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", and "the disasters which had occurred in the East and in Thrace thus came to an end through the shrewdness of the generals." 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, whilst Zosimus intimates that Theodosius has gone too far in his employment of the Goths in his armies. However, he does recognize the value of loyal Goths in the army, such as Fravitta. Eunapius is also enthusiastic about Fravitta. This endorsement of the controlled use of barbarians in the Roman armies is opposed to the attitude of


116Zos. IV, 27, 1, Τῇ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἐξέρχεται τὴν Θράκην καὶ Θρακεικῆς συμπεσόμενα ἐξυπτώσατε τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν πυγμαίνων ἡμῶν τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡμῶν τῆς τελευτῆς. cf. IV, 21, 1; 24, 3.


118Zos. IV, 30; 40, 6-8.


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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{121} See above, pp. 105-107; 83-84.

\textsuperscript{122} Pages 82-84.

\textsuperscript{123} Zos. IV, 26, 1, Τί ἐστιν ἡ | ἐπίθεσιν ὑπάρχουσα ἐν τῇ ἐποχῇ | πόρρων γῆς πολέμων παρελθοντος | ἐπιστολήν... of. 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

124 See histogram in Appendix F.

125 A.M. XXII, 8, 42, "quarum pars exiqua frugibus alitur, residuas omnes palantes per solitudines vastas, nec stivam aliquando nec sementem expertas, sed squalentes et pruinosis, ferarum taetro ritu vescentur ...
north-eastern Scythian tribe, are "wild animals, one-eyed creatures", whilst the Saca 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." The people of the Huns "dwelling beyond the Maeotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean, exceed every degree of wild-animalism". 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". Morally speaking, "like unreasoning animals, they are completely ignorant of the difference between right and wrong". It was the sudden raids "of these tribes of wild animals" that forced the Goths into Thrace. 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 glacialem oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis excedit."

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

130 Ibid. XXXI, 2, 11, "inconsulutorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhostestumve 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". 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." 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 Ἐρμηνεύεις, that customary usage is all important in the use of imagery. One is reminded especially of Strabo and his

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

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, plaustris supersidentes, quae operimtis curvatis corticium per solitudines conferunt, sine fine distinctas. cumque ad graminae venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis, ferino ritu vescuntur..."
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

135 See above, pp. 46-52.
136 A.M. XXXI, 2, 1, "... gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota ..."
137 For this definition of bestia see LS, p. 234.
138 Perhaps 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
origines diversarum, quas Martius furor incendio insolito
miscendo cuncta concivit ...”
of a sudden storm.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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,\textsuperscript{145} which would seem to suggest with regard to Ammianus that his animosity was such that whenever he mentioned

\textsuperscript{144}Ibid. XXXI, 3, 2, "... vi subitae procellae ..."

\textsuperscript{145}For descriptions of the Scythians see, for example, Strabo I, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{147}
Two of the comparisons are used of the Halani and a third
seems to have been prompted by them.\textsuperscript{148} Ammianus states

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{147} For this comparison see above, pp. 29-30.

\textsuperscript{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 taetra ritu vescentur", A.M. XXII, 8, 42)
and "they feed like wild animals" ("ferino ritu vescentur",
A.M. XXXI, 2, 18).
that these were not as savage as the Huns and perhaps
because of this he was able to view them more rationally. 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 their origin
and abodes of the Huns, a topic little known from earlier

\[149\] A.M. XXI, 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.\footnote{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".\footnote{152} He surmises that they are either "royal Scythians",\footnote{153} or, as Herodotus says, snub-nosed and unwarlike men living alongside the Danube,\footnote{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,

\footnote{151}Bun. Hist. p. 75, 12 - p. 76, 12.

\footnote{152}Zos. IV, 20, 3, ... πρώτον μὴν ὁδὴ ἐγνωσμένων ... 

\footnote{153}Ibid. ... Ζωικάκες ... Σιλίκες ... According to Herodotus these were the best and the largest group of Scythians, who considered all other Scythians their slaves (Herod. IV, 20).

\footnote{154}Ibid. ... οὐ μὴν Ἰππότος ὁ ἐν περικλεῖν των Ἰππίων σωμάτων καὶ Ἰσίδων ἱππότων ... 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{155}Ibid. IV, 20, 4-5.

\textsuperscript{156}Zos. IV, 35, 2; 5.26, 4; VI, 3, 1.
and the Halani 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.\footnote{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."\footnote{158} In an ethnographical

\footnote{157}{See histogram in Appendix F.}

\footnote{158}{A.M. XIX, 2, 12, "Ac priusquam lux occiperet, signo per
lituos dato, ad fervorem similium proeliorum excitae undique
inestimables 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". At the battle of Malanzalma they are portrayed as "being covered with plates of iron like a thin layer of feathers", Julian, when trying to urge on his men to fight, calls the Persians "ugly she-goats disfigured with filth". 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."

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

159 A.M. XXIII, 6, 75, "... caprinis oculis torvi ..."
160 A city of Persia stormed and sacked by the Romans.
161 Ibid. XXIV, 4, 15, "... hostem indique lamminis ferreis in modum tenuis plumae contectum ..."
162 Ibid. XXIV, 8, 1, "... deiformes inlueie capellas et taetras ..."
163 Ibid. XXVII, 12, 11, "... ultra hominem offeratus ..."
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" or "the great dread of impending disasters held all in suspense", 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. The districts of Persia generally emerge as agriculturalized and urbanized. 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. 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: they are said to be "wild animals". 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. 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. 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

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

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

171 Ibid. XXIII, 6, 76-79.

172 Hdn. 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, whilst his work also bears testimony to his tremendous attachment to the centre of the Empire. 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.

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 Persians -- but he did not hate them.

173 See pp. 8-9.
174 See above, p. 96-98.
175 A.M. XXX, 7, 4-11; cf. XXVIII, 2, 1-4.
176 Thompson, 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." 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 praetereas quas abunde perdidisset. sub iugum haec natio miserat, ita audax et ad pulvorem Martis erudita, ni bellis civilibus externisque asidue 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, 1, 7, 3; 7; XXVII, 12, 6; 12, 18; XXX, 2, 7.

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

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.

\(^{183}\) See above, pp. 29-30.

\(^{184}\) See above, pp. 30-31.

\(^{185}\) Of course, the anti-thesis 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. 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.

It has been indicated that Ammianus did not consider the Persians as inferior. Presumably, Eunapius felt this way by virtue of his philosophy, 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, this was for rhetorical purposes. Ammianus also describes the Persian ruler as a wild animal for the same reasons. Zosimus does indicate some measure of danger from the Persians. For example, he depicts the

186 See above, pp. 64-66; 68-73.

187 The 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.

188 See above, p. 81-82.

189 See above, p. 85-86.

190 There 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 \textit{Zos. I, 37, 1} ... πάντα μὲν ἢν ἱππᾶτοι τε καὶ ἠβαζομένα ... cf. \textit{I, 39, 1.}

192 \textit{Ibid. III, 30, 5} ... ἐν πάσιν ἑσκαν οἱ ἤμπεριοι καθόντες ... cf. \textit{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, 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, make for the districts near the sea." 196

195 See above, p. 79.

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". In their attempted siege of Seleucia, a city of Cilicia, they are described as "being possessed with wilder canine madness". 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."

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."

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

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

199 Ibid. XIX, 13, 1, "... paulatim reviviscentes, ut solent verno tempore foveis exilire serpentes, saltibus degressi scrupulosi et invisi, confertique in cuneos densos, per furtâ et latrocinia finitimos adflictabant ..."

200 Ibid. XIV, 4, 1, "... ultra 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". Later in his narrative he asserts that "not only this calamity afflicted the Orient with various disasters", and proceeds to describe the inroads of the Isaurians, a plot of the Persians, 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 pernicies orientem diversis cladiibus 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."  

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.

A.M. XIV, 4, 3, "... sed errant semper per spatium longe lateque distenta, sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus: nec idem perferunt diutius caelum, aut tractus unius sol illis umquam placet."
The attacks of the Aestiorniani 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 Aestiorniani 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 procurus audientiores, et crebris caedibus et rapinis intenta, quam rem militaris augebat œcordia, et aliena invadendi cupiditas, maximeque Romani nomine comitis." Cf. Rolfe; rabies = madness.

\[209\] Ibid. XXVIII, 6, 2, "... in discursus semper expediti veloces, vivereque adsueti 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 Auctoriani 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 Auctoriani. 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 Auctoriani 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

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

212 See above, p. 135.

213 A.M. XXIX, 5, 4, "... cuius virtutes (ut impetrabilis) ea tempestate praec oeteris enitebant ..."
Domitius Corbulo and Lusius of old. 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 lubaleni, 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", all make him "a mighty leader, exulting in these and similar glorious actions". As for the Iesalenses, he "so wore them out by frequent contests, that they were falling like cattle". The contrast in treatment between the raids of the Austeriani and the rebellion of Firmus would seem to confirm that the imagery used of the Austeriani 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 duxor ..."

217 Ibid. XXIX, 5, 53, "... crebritate certaminum Iesalenses ita prostri vit, 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 is 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

\(^{218}\) A.M. XX, 1, 1, "... distractus que in sollicitudines varias ..."

\(^{219}\) Ibid. XXX, 7, 8, "... caute ..."
expression in describing the ones as "tribes of wild animals",\textsuperscript{220} the others as "dogs possessed by terrible madness".\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{222} The general confidence appears to be reflected in the small number of images which occur in the books dealing with their reigns.\textsuperscript{22}

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 racialist 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.

\textsuperscript{220}A.M. XX, 1, 1, "... gentium ferarum ..."

\textsuperscript{221}Ibid. XXX, 7, 8, "... conversos ad metuendam rabiem ..." Cf. Rolfe; rables = madness.

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

\textsuperscript{223}See histogram in Appendix E.
Hence his condemnation of the treacherous defeat of the Saxons: "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." As for the imaginative quality of the imagery, it far surpasses that of tradition. In the traditional use, one generally finds the terms, ἔρημος, ὅρμη, 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 towards 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," 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. 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. 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 Austorians 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, ... ἐπερ ἑρματε μεγάλη καὶ
γνώσις...


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
counter 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 Isamalenses 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.

Ammianus' animosity towards the barbarians is thereby very effectively portrayed.

In determining a good image, the ancient rhetoricians looked for similarity, restraint and effectiveness. 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.

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

231 See 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.
2.0 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.

2.1 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

\(^1\) A.M. XXX, 4, 5.

\(^2\) Dautremer, p. 233. My own research revealed almost 300 examples of prosopopoeia.

\(^3\) A.M. XXIV, 6, 14.
antiquity, of Greece and its fabled legends, of the Fortune of Rome. 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."

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 Andricus 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

A.M. XXV, 3, 13.

Ibid. XVIII, 6, 23.

Ibid. XXV, 9, 7.

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?" 

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 torpid nature characteristic of an excellent pupil."  

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 praefecit. haec Adramyttenum Andriscum, in fullonio natum, ad Pseudophilippi nomen exexit, et Persei legitimum filium artem ferrariam ob quae erat notus victum. eadem Mancinum post imperium dedidit Numantis, Samnitium atrocitate Veturium, et Claudium Corsis, substravitque feritati Carthaginis Regulum, istius iniquitas Pompeius, post quae erat amicus Magni ex rerum gestarum amplitudine cognomentum, ad spadonem libidinem in Aegypto trucidatur. et Eunus quidam ergastularius servus, ductavit in Silicia fugitivos, quam multi splendido loco natura eadem rerum domina conivente, Viriath genua sunt amplexi vel Spartaci? quot capita quaerere gentes, funesti carnifices absciderunt?"

9 Dautremer, p. 235, "C'est de l'éloquence d'un bon élève des rhéteurs. 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.
Norden 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." However, he does indicate that the ancient reader would have been delighted by these digressions which we find offensive, digressions such as those on earth quakes, the rainbow, solar and lunar eclipses, falling stars, the palm tree, comets and the leap year.

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; for example, Constantius in his decision to torture the followers of

Norden, II, 647.

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

For 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, BAEB (1969), pp. 426-427.

Norden 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;" signs of coming disturbances within the state are "trumpet-blasts of internal misfortunes;" Palace officials attempting to slander Ursicinus are said to be "chanting the old refrain with a view to our destruction." 

Hagendahl 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."

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14 A.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.

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

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

17 Hagendahl, Eranoes, XXII (1924), 161-216.

18 Gutschmid (ref. Norden, p. 650), "... Wortüberfülle."
Ammianus' style therefore is highly rhetorical and generally draws criticism from scholars because of its lack of restraint. 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' death.

"And when he had been so disemboweled 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."

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

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

20 Eusebius was an orator of Emissa.

21 A.M. XIV, 9, 6, "... qui ita evisceratus ut cruciatibus membra deessent, inplorans caelo iustitiam, torvum renidens, fundato pectore mansit immobili, nec se incusare nec quamquam alium passus, et tandem nec confessus nec confutatus, cum abieicto consorte poenali est morte multatus, et ducebatur intrepidus, temporum iniquitatui insultans, imitatus Zenoem illum veterem Stoioum, qui ut mentiretur quasdam laceratus diutius, avulsam sedibus linguam suam cum oruento sputamine, in oculos interrogantis Cyprii regis impugit."
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, implicator ad loquendum, diu tacitus stetit; paucia tamen interrupta et moribunda voce dicere iam exorsus, quibus stirpis propinquitatem imperatoriae praestendebat, leni paucorum susurro, pretio inlectorum, deinde tumultuaris suclamationibus plebis, imperator appellatus incondite, petit curiam raptim. ubi nullo clarissimorum, sed ignobilium paucitate inventa, palatium pessimo pede, festinatis passibus introit.

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 "turrid". 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

24 To 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 comati 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
prænuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta
essent, demonstrare .... Nam neque alacriores, inquit, ad
res p. defendendum neque segniores ad res perperam faciundam
annales libri commovere quosquam possunt. scribere autem,
bellum inimium quo consule et quo conquiscum sit, et quis
triumphans intuerit ex eo bello, quaque in bello gesta
sint, iterare, id fabulas (non praedicare aut interea quid
senatus decreverit aut quae lex rogatioge lata sit neque
quibus consilii 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 past\(^28\) and which can do so again in the face of the barbarian

\(^{27}\)A.M. XIV, 6, 3-6.

\(^{28}\)Ibid. 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.\footnote{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 inspite of his claim that “nowhere will I depart intentionally from the truth.”\footnote{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

\footnote{29}See Fontaine, BAGB (1969), p. 430.

\footnote{30}A.M. XIV, 6, 2, "... nusquam a veritate sponte propria digressurus."
he has all the elements for understanding the situation.\textsuperscript{31} Paschoud points especially to Book 31, where the rebellion of the Goths only takes place after provocation,\textsuperscript{32} where the Roman army is in a sorry state,\textsuperscript{33} and where the threat of the Goths against Constantinople is only removed by a detachment of Saracens.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{31}Paschoud, pp. 45-46.
\textsuperscript{32}A.M. XXXI, 4, 11; 5, 1-2; 4-7; 6, 2-3.
\textsuperscript{33}Ibid. XXXI, 4, 9-10; 7, 4; 12, 7.
\textsuperscript{34}Ibid. XXXI, 16, 4-7.
\textsuperscript{35}Drexler, Gymnasion, LXI (1954), p. 174.
Gallius 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 paranoid 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 B  CLASSIFICATION OF USE OF ANIMAL IMAGES

NUMBER OF ANIMAL IMAGES FOR EACH SUBJECT

SUBJECTS

BARBARIANS  ROMAN OFFICIALS  EMPERORS  ARMY  OTHER
APPENDIX C

Note 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, McCall\(^1\) 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

\(^1\) McCall, 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. προσφορά — 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 προσελέκτημα (example), one of the two main methods of persuasion, and is nowhere mentioned as having any of the functions of the τιμωρία which was for Aristotle a stylistic comparison; see Rhet. II, 20, 1393⁰, 24-25, and II, 20, 1393a, 28-31.

b) In the author of the Προσφόρα, the term was employed to designate a detailed stylistic comparison which was of limited use in prose; see Προσφόρα, 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. εἰρωνία — 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 προσφορά; 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. καινική — a) This term was employed by the author of the Προσφόρα of an abridged stylistic comparison which was regarded as very suitable for use in prose in contrast to his προσφορά; see Προσφόρα, 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 *Eikon* to describe the same type of comparison in Greek rhetoricians.
APPENDIX E  NUMBER OF ANIMAL IMAGES FOR BARBARIANS IN EACH BOOK

![Bar chart showing the number of animal images in each book from 14 to 31.]
Appendix F

Comparison between number of images applied to major tribes and number of chapters referring to them.
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