PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. XXVI

MARKING THE NORTH. THE GREEK TRADITION AND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

edited by
Antti Lampinen

HELSINKI 2025

VERTAISARVIOITU
KOLLEGIALT GRANSKAD
PEER-REVIEWED
www.tsv.fi/tunnus

ISSN 1237-2684
ISBN 978-952-65899-0-9 (print)
ISBN 978-952-65899-1-6 (PDF)

Printed in Finland by Grano Oy

Cover: Karin Eremia

Layout: Vesa Vahtikari

Contents

Introduction:
Marking the North in the Greek Tradition

Antti Lampinen

Out of the four cardinal directions, the ancient ideas regarding the East have undoubtedly received the greatest amount of research. This is understandable, to a degree, since the Greek and Roman experience of the societies of Anatolia, Egypt and the Near East was a longstanding feature in the development of their identities. Yet the peoples north of the Mediterranean basin – Thracians, Scythians, Celts, and others – also played a major role in Greco-Roman thinking about cultural difference, civilisation, and the relationship between humans, nature, and the divine. There are clear heuristic gains, then, in thinking through the northern lens. Moreover, Greco-Roman ways of imagining the North are also important for reception studies, since many elements passed into the Latin and Greek Middle Ages and shaped later representations of northern societies.

This volume explores the variety of ways in which the Greeks – and in their footsteps, the Romans – 'marked' the North and its peoples, rendering them intelligible, distinct, and bounded. Particular attention is given to how the ethnographical tradition operated through knowledge-creation processes, *topoi*, and established stereotypical beliefs and commonplace imagery.[1] What emerges is the outline of a tradition of 'writing the North into being'. Thus, the reader will find both 'North' and 'north' used throughout this book: the upper-case form indicates the cultural construction of values, images and commonplaces that constituted the imagined collectivity of northern lands and peoples; the lower-case form indicates the cardinal direction and its semantic derivatives. The general arrangement of the chapters within the volume is associative, but more or less chronological on the basis of the main preponderance of their sources; diachronic chapters are placed where they help to summarise thematic developments or bridge regional or chronological contexts. This rather lengthy introductory chapter sketches out themes and motifs that recur throughout the volume, reviews previous scholarship, and offers definitions for approaching the subject. Though longer than is nowadays common, it has many precedents,[2] and its methodical survey of how antiquity generated knowledge about the North – and of the constituent elements of the 'boreal imagination' – is meant to enhance the volume's coherence and scope.

It is worth suggesting that if we can detect a consistent ancient tradition of writing about the North – and this volume argues that this is the case – then this tradition could perhaps be called 'septentriography'. In a way, such septentriography would be a literary manifestation of the ideological and cultural pool of imagery that Christopher Krebs has termed 'Borealism': a shared pool of imagery repeatedly invoked to lend authority

---

[1] On the historical study of images, see. e.g. Oktaş 2001; Arndt & al. (eds.) 2004; Beller & Leerssen (eds.) 2007; Ratz 2007; Fält 2008; Zacharasiewicz 2010; Leerssen 2016; Edtstadler & al. (eds.) 2022. On stereotypes and stereotyping, see e.g. Brigham 1971; Hagendoorn 1993; Pelling 1997; Schneider 2004; Pümpel-Mader 2010; O'Bryhim 2020; Dueck 2021; Durrheim 2022, Greenland 2022; Thiele 2022.

[2] I have been inspired – as well as, hopefully, vindicated – by the lengthy but rich, indeed indispensable, introduction by Altay Coşkun to his 2022 edited volume on Galatia and Galatians (Coşkun 2022).

to entrenched prejudices.[3] Such motifs and commonplaces were especially powerful when the geographical, physical, cultural and moral 'markers of northernness' were framed through the prestigious explanatory models of antiquity, such as climatic theory, astrological causation, or physiognomics.[4] In his recent, nuanced philological exploration of the idea of the Hyperboreans, Renaud Gagné has written about the 'Greek boreal imagination', which 'endlessly rework[ed] the same terms of reference into new shapes of meaning.'[5]

A good dozen or so previous studies of the 'North' and northerners in the Greek tradition deserve mention as predecessors and inspiration for this volume. Among the first was Lutz Käppel's 2001 article in a diachronic volume edited by Annelore Engel-Braunschmidt, Gerhard Fouquet, Wiebke von Hinden and Inken Schmidt. Käppel focused on the earliest Greek accounts, with the fragments of Pytheas forming a kind of coda.[6] Similar focus on the early evidence also guided Sven Rausch's important *Bilder des Nordens* (2013), which systematically examined Archaic and Classical Greek perceptions. Rausch stressed the ideological dimension of Greek representations, showing how the North was imagined as a zone of alterity: liminal both symbolically and anthropologically. He also proposed a typology of pre-Hellenistic descriptions of the north into three categories – 'near', 'far' and 'mythical' North. I would certainly agree to the first two of them, but the third one is a much hazier notion, and may prove to be anachronistic upon closer examination. These studies already reveal that the North was conceptualised in antiquity as a place of both fascination and fear, idealisation and critique.

Several diachronic volumes have examined traditions of imagining the North. Two belong to the publisher Peter Lang's *Imaginatio Borealis* series: *Imagologie des Nordens* (2004), edited by Astrid Arndt, Andreas Blödorn, David Fraesdorff and Annette Weisner, and *Norden und Nördlichkeit. Darstellungen vom Eigenen und Fremden* (2010), edited by Dennis Hormuth and Maike Schmidt.[7] A mention should also be made of the *Images of the North. Histories – Identities – Ideas* (2009), edited by Sverrir Jakobsson. These volumes trace the persistence and transformation of northern stereotypes over time, with their essays showing how Greco-Roman traditions shaped later conceptions of the North as exotic, fearsome, or holy. A tighter focus on the premodern period characterises Dolly Jørgensen's and Virginia Langum's very useful edited volume *Visions of North in Premodern Europe* (2018), which explores the medieval and early modern reinterpretation of classical northern representations, adapted to emerging political and religious ideologies. Our present volume aims to combine this diachronic attention to the vagaries of the ancient tradition with a stricter focus on the Greek – and to a lesser extent

---

[3] Krebs 2011. Kaldellis 2013, too, makes a terminological difference between thinking and writing about barbarians. Cf. also the 'Nordvölkerbild' of Trzaska-Richter 1991.

[4] On physiognomics, Evans 1969; Armstrong 1958; Barton 1994; Sassi 2001; Isaac 2004, 149–162; Swain (ed.) 2007; within ethnography, Lampinen 2019b. On climatic explanations, Dicks 1956; Johnson 1960; Chiasson 2001; again Sassi 2001; Romm 2010; Livingstone 2011; and the contributions in Kennedy & Jones-Lewis (eds.) 2016, particularly Goldman 2016; Irby 2016; also Popa 2024. For the knowledge regime of ancient astrological theories, Barton 1994. Generally, see Kaufman 2022. All these interacted with the pool of 'common sense' representations of the world: Thiering 2014, 267–290.

[5] Gagné 2021, 69; cf. 266.

[6] Käppel 2001.

[7] Arndt & al. (eds.) 2004; Hormuth & Schmidt (eds.) 2010.

Roman – sources ranging from Herodotus to Late Antiquity. There is much more yet to be said about the very Late-Antique and Medieval reception of the Greek 'markers of northernness', but this will have to wait until another volume.[8]

Among the individual groups encountered and imagined by Greeks and Romans, the Scythians and Thracians have received sustained attention.[9] The image of the North in antiquity was also deeply influenced by the depiction of the Celts. Kurt Tomaschitz's *Die Wanderungen der Kelten* (2002) explores the literary depictions of Celtic migrations and their manipulation by ancient authors in order to align with Hellenistic political goals, and later to justify Roman expansionism towards the north. Erich Kistler's *Funktionalisierte Keltenbilder* (2009) examines how Hellenistic literature and political discourse used Celtic representations to propagate norms and values, reinforcing Greek notions of superiority and cohesion.[10] He shows how these Celtic images served both to reflect and reinforce social and political ideologies, portraying the Celts as both noble savages and threats to established order. Even before Tomaschitz and Kistler, David Rankin's classic volume *Celts and the Classical World* (1987) had paid attention to the role of Celtic representations in the broader classical world, emphasising how the Celts were both feared and admired by Mediterranean societies. In terms of northern groups encountered due to the expansion of the Roman Empire – especially the Germans and the Britons – several studies have covered the ethnographical perspectives of Greek writers.[11] Occasionally, groups in the inland and mountainous areas of Iberian peninsula, too, were described through elements that are otherwise met more regularly with northerners.[12] Such examples point to a broad set of ideas about civilisational and ethnic qualities, often modulated by ancient theories of environmental determinism.

Beyond the heuristic challenges posed by the shifting ways in which antiquity applied ethnographic and geographic markers to northern lands and peoples, it is important to acknowledge the very evident limitations of studying the ancient ethnographical register more generally.[13] One striking feature of modern scholarship on the North – especially when compared with work on the Orient – is how often northern Europeans themselves

---

[8] Some useful studies on the later stages of the tradition include Thompson 1963; Terras 1965; Alonso-Núñez 1987b; Heather 1988 and 1999; Goldenberg 1998; Majeska 1999; Fraesdorff 2005; Chekin 2006; Valtonen 2008 and 2009; Gillett 2009; Humphries 2010; Janson 2011; Mund-Dopchie 2012; Kaldellis 2013; Berg 2013; Rix 2015; Berzon 2016; Greisiger 2016; Kominko 2016; Gandila 2018; Retsö 2018; Sarantis 2018; Szabo 2018; Zimonyi 2019; Denisov 2019; Ford 2020; Schreiner 2020; Podossinov 2021; Destephen 2022; Barnes 2023; Young 2025, 44–59.

[9] Boyancé 1934; Bowra 1956; Aalto & Pekkanen 1975-80; Coman 1981; Shaw 1982; Shapiro 1983; Gandeva 1984; Harmatta 1990; Archibald 1994, 1998 and 1999; Wilkes 1996; Ivantchik 1999b; Tsiafaki 2000 and 2016; Irimia 2001; Chiasson 2001; Braund (ed.) 2005; Batty 2007; Christesen 2010; Ash 2010; Marazov 2011; Gerschkovych & Romashko 2013; Braund 2015; Dan 2015; Gerstacker & al. (eds.) 2015; Bravo 2018; Häussler 2018; Chiai 2021; Speich 2022; Asirvatham 2024; Hart 2024.

[10] On 'Celts' of different kinds, see also Zwicker 1934; Tierney 1960; Fischer 1972; Nash 1976; Nachtergael 1977; Hatt 1984; Coppola 1991; Berger 1992; Hannestad 1993; Kremer 1994; Freeman 1996 and 2002; Barlow 1998; Marco Simón 2000; Cain & Rieckhoff (eds.) 2002; Cain 2006; Verger 2006; Coşkun 2013; Sims-Williams 2017; Fless 2022; Collis 2003; Dallara 2005; Nelson 2022.

[11] Saddington 1961; Lund 1991; Stewart 1995; Günnewig 1998; Pagán 1999; Clarke 1999 on the overall dynamics; Cunliffe 2001; Wilkes 2007; Bianchetti 2014 and 2015; Allen-Hornblower 2014; Damtoft Poulsen 2017; Johnston 2019; Smith 2022.

[12] See e.g. García Moreno 2005; Cowan 2006; Keyser 2011; Woolf 2011, 24–31; also Johnston 2017.

[13] On the applicability of modern ideas of 'ethnography' to the ancient context, see Gieseke in this volume, 195 fn. 17, as well as Woolf 2011, 12–17.

have been active in the field. This reflects intrinsic power imbalances in the still-all-too Eurocentric field of Ancient Studies. Whereas European and American scholars from non-minority backgrounds have often perpetuated colonialist knowledge regimes in their studies of ancient Orientalism, the history of scholarship on the North points towards a different kind of prejudice. What I mean is the alignment of modern research according to the ancient ethnonyms whenever a link to present identities could be drawn. References to ancient Germani have tended to catch the attention of contemporary (or early modern) German scholars, while references to Celts (Κελτοί) or *Galli* appealed to figures from societies that construed a 'Celtic' heritage as central to modern identity, and so forth.[14] Editing a volume like the present one, I cannot exempt myself from this pattern. Yet in inviting contributors and shaping themes I have sought both to broaden representation beyond Northern Europe and to encourage northern European scholars to pursue self-reflective analysis of their own positionality in researching ancient depictions of regions which, in some cases, they have grown up in. Only through such reflexivity can we begin to avoid reproducing the essentialising tendencies of earlier traditions of 'marking' the North.

1. The 'North' and 'northernness' in ancient Greek thinking – what, where, who?

Before turning to the typologies and epistemic anchors of northern imagery, we should first ask whether Greek thought recognised a distinct category of 'northernness' – a unifying concept that linked the characteristics of the regions and peoples of the 'North'. The very existence of this volume arguably suggests an affirmative answer. Previous scholarship has fairly often employed 'North' and 'northernness' as framing concepts, though with widely varying emphases. When the 'northern imaginaire' is approached as a culturally shared and transmissible construct – an assemblage of ideas – historical studies provide many compelling examples of the value of tracing the contours of the North.[15] Overall, however, the 'idea of North' has been more actively studied in the medieval and early modern contexts so far. The studies most relevant to antiquity have been reviewed in the preceding section. Much still remains to be done on the cultural dynamics at play, and further questions can be asked in order to distinguish the ways in which northern lands and peoples were marked. Where did this non-Greek 'North' begin? How did it differ from 'non-North'? Who were its inhabitants, and what were they like? How and why were peoples assigned different affinities and degrees of alterity within the broader continuum of 'northernness'?

Greek conceptions of northern space and geography can already be traced in early epic and mythography. These processes did not necessarily require sustained contacts

---

[14] Especially on the Germanic side, see e.g. Goffart 2006, esp. 1–11, 20, 40–55; Wiwjorra 2006; Zernack 2018; the example of 'Celts', see e.g. Collis 2003 and 2017; Cassibry 2017; and the contributions in Kaminski-Jones & Kaminski-Jones (eds.) 2020. Generally on scholars' own nationalities directing their interests, see Bohak 2005, 207–208.

[15] Already Sherwin-White 1967, 1–32; Chevallier 1984; Dilke 1984; Todd 1987; Trzaska-Richter 1991; Günnewig 2000; Molina Moreno 2001; Davidson 2005; Valtonen 2009; Krebs 2011; Verger 2013; Maiuri 2013; Chiai 2015; Chiai 2018; Avdagic 2018; Dan 2018; Gagné 2020; Steinacher 2021; Ferris 2021; Brunner 2022; Gieseke 2024. For a rather diachronic treatment in Latin, see Pekkanen 2014.

with distant regions. As in many other respects, no continuity can be postulated between the Mycenaean-era amber trade from the north and the Classical period.[16] Yet a few natural features and phenomena of the Aegean macro-region, such as the reliably occurring northerly and north-easterly winds, helped conceptualise the northerly direction through such figures as Boreas, the personified North Wind, who assumed both mythological and genealogical guises. Boreas was imagined as dwelling in the Haemus mountains of Thrace, but became particularly important in Athens during the Classical period, where political and ideological developments may well have underpinned his popularity. Herodotus recounts the story of Boreas wrecking the invading Persian fleet near Cape Sepias, while Athenian economical and colonial interests along the Thracian seacoast would have made reverence to Boreas all the more relevant.[17] This link was solidified through references to Boreas' abduction of Oreithyia, daughter of king Erechtheus, which made the god of the North Wind a kind of brother-in-law to the Athenians – precisely what the Delphic oracle called him, according to Herodotus' anecdote.[18] Diodoros Siculus describes Boreas 'the best of winds', since it permeates to every corner of the inhabited world while still remaining cold.[19] In Mediterranean summer its freshness was a welcome boon.

In terms of concrete enquiry and horizons off knowledge-creation, both the northern lands and their peoples became objects of the Greek gaze due through sustained Greek engagement with, and exploration towards, the northerly direction. The Thracian coast and the Pontic area were colonised and explored early on by a range of Greek groups.[20] While early Greeks believed Boreas' breezes blew down from the Thracian Haemus, the subsequent expansion of Greek horizons gradually pushed the localisation of Boreas' home ever northwards. This evolved into the idea of the Rhipaean Mountains separating Scythia from the land of the Hyperboreans.[21] The rest of the geography of northern Eurasia – as well as the delineation of the border between the two continents – remained relatively indistinct and a matter of ongoing debate.[22] If any specific natural features marked 'the North' at this stage, besides the Rhipaean Mountains, they were the vast rivers of Scythia and the hypothetical ring of the Ocean encircling the world. Some information may have even filtered in from further afield in the Eurasian steppe zone.[23]

---

[16] See below p. 27.

[17] On Boreas' home at the Haemus: Callim. *Hymn.* 4.63; the Herodotean story Hdt. 7.189 (cf. 6.44).; other references include Pherec. *BNJ* 3 F 145 *ap. Schol. L ad Ap. Rhod.* 1.211c; Acus. *BNJ* 2 F 30 *ap. Schol. in Od.* 14.533, F 31 *ap.* [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.199; Hereas Megar. *BNJ* 486 F 3 *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 1.211; Pl. *Phdr.* 229c-d. See Podossinov 2019, 1–2; Rausch 2013, 8–10.

[18] See Agard 1966, 246; also Burns 1981 and Finkelberg 2014 on vase depictions.

[19] Diod. Sic. 3.48.5 (possibly to be counted as Agatharch. *De m. rubr.* F 2.108, as suggested in *GAGW* 15, Burstein & Shipley 2024, 438). From Timosthenes of Rhodes we have an early wind rose, which relocates Boreas to our north-north-east: Timosth. *BNJ* 354 (*GAGW* 10) F 18 *ap.* Agathem. 2.6–7.

[20] See e.g. Archibald 1998, 94–102; Batty 2007; Marazov 2011; Dan 2014a; *ead.* 2015; Braund 2015; Porucznik 2017a; Lancini 2019; Harland 2021; Müller 2024.

[21] E.g. in Pind. *Pyth.* 10.29 one cannot get to Hyperborea either by land or sea. On the Rhipaean Mountains, see below p. 12–13. West (M.) 2007, 349–350 points to the possibility that the motif of a northern 'land of the blessed' is Proto-Indo-European.

[22] On the delineation of the continents, see Sordi & al. 1999; Janni 2008; Romm 2010.

[23] Scythian rivers: Hdt. 4.47–58, probably taken from Hecataeus (Jacoby *FGrH* 1a *Kommentar*, 349–351); see the schematic map in Shaw 1982, 10. Regarding the Northern Ocean: Romm 1992, 12–26, 33–34, 176–182; Van Nuffelen 2019. On the possible information about Central Asia, cf. Bolton 1962, 104–118; Schulz 2024, 83–124; also Malinowski 2024.

Greek engagement with the Thracian and Pontic areas provided a continuous epistemic impetus for the development of the iconosphere of northern lands and peoples, as well as the concrete everyday 'middle grounds' in which Greeks and locals swapped stories, rehabilitated each other's traditions, and sought to understand different cultural modes and knowledge frames.[24] By the Classical era, the early Homeric references to the furthest north, with its twin peoples of 'lordly milk-drinking Mare-milkers' and 'Abioi, the most just of men', had already been diversified into two main strains of imagery.[25] These are frequently denoted as 'hard' and 'soft' primitivism: the Hyperboreans embodied the idealising, 'soft' vision of a pious and blessed life, while most – though not all – authors cast 'Scythians' and related groups in the 'hard' primitive mode.[26]

Several of the chapters in this volume are attentive to the Greek image of Hyperboreans and its manifestations in the later literary tradition.[27] The Hyperboreans, who participated in the imagery that was commonly attributed to otherworldly groups in all cardinal directions (especially the Aethiopians of the South and Indians of the East), do not appear to have attracted explanations based on the developing iconosphere of 'northernness' – except for the predictable fact that they were always located in the north.[28] Imagined to live long, blessed lives in a land of plenty, favoured by the gods, they were a distant mirror to the Greeks themselves: a far-off utopia curiously similar to the Hellenes and thus affirming the Greeks' ethnocentric assumptions of normativity.[29]

In contrast with the Hyperboreans, who affirmed Grecocentric feelings of exceptionality, the reverse holds true with the Scythians, who epitomised the 'septentriographic' repertoire of northern traits. Illyrians, along the Adriatic northwards from modern Albania, were similarly known from early on.[30] From Scythians, Thracians, and Illyrians, elements were readily transposed to other European groups. The relative featurelessness of the continental European expanse made it easier to transfer elements

---

[24] An example is the mention by Timosthenes of Rhodes about how 'three hundred *ethne*' were represented among the traders at Dioscurias (mod. Sukhumi) in Georgia: Timosth. *BNJ* 354 (*GAGW* 10) F 14 *ap.* Plin. *HN* 6.5.15. Some studies into the early exchange of stories, myths and interpretations along the Pontic shores include Hind 1984; Ivantchik 1999a, 2001, 2011 and 2013; Braund 2003, 2007, 2008 and 2011; Rusyaeva 2007 and 2010; Guldager Bilde 2008; Hinge 2008; Lincoln 2014; Porucznik 2017b, 2021; Bravo 2018; Rabadjiev 2018; Donnellan 2021; Chiai 2021; and the contributions in Braund (ed.) 2005. Parmenter 2024 locates the Athenian creation of racialised 'whiteness' and the roster of northern somatic characteristics within the 'Greek hunger for human bodies' from the Pontic region: 172–174, 181–185, 191–204.

[25] *Il.* 13.5–6: ἀγαυῶν ἱππημολγῶν γλακτοφάγων Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων. Cf. [Hes.] *Cat.* F 150 *ap. POxy*. XI 1358 fr. 2 col. 1, l. 22 (M-W) on 'well-horsed' Hyperboreans; also F 151 *ap.* Str. 7.3.9 (M-W) on Galactophagi (also considered Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 42). See Dion 1976; Lévy 1981, 59; Ivantchik 1999b; Chiasson 2001, 36 n. 8; Skinner 2012, 68–69, 166, 184.

[26] 'Hard' and 'soft' primitivism was already proposed by Lovejoy & Boas 1935; on idealisation, see Romm 1996; Gonzales & Schettino (eds.) 2014; also Gagné 2021, 320–367. The exception of 'just Scythians', especially in Ephorus, is discussed by Motta 1999; Christesen 2010; Harland 2024.

[27] See esp. the chapters of Lampinen, 87–91, 94, 98, 106, 107–108, 135, 163–165; on the idealisation of Hyperboreans and Ethiopians, Romm 1992, 45–66.

[28] Cf. Bondzhev 2023. We may also note the involution of the classical Hyperboreans into the Gadarontan islanders in *Cosm. Aeth.* 35. Despite the different name, it has been noted (Herren 2011, 90 *ad loc*.) that in terms of their substance, these northern islanders are very similar to the classical Hyperboreans in the quality of their music (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 10.30–46; Hecat. Abd. *BNJ* 264 F 7*ap.* Diod. Sic. 2.47; cf. F 12 *ap.* Ael. *NA* 11.1).

[29] Cf. Romm 1992, 63.

[30] On Illyrians, see Hammond 1992; Wilkes 1992; Matijašić 2011; Lippert & Matzinger 2022; Gieseke 2023; also Ehrhardt 2002; Landucci Gattinoni 2024.

from one group to the next. Indeed, the northern direction served as one of the earliest bases for attributing common traits to barbarian groups, a pattern visible both in Herodotus and especially the Hippocratic *On Airs, Waters, Places*. Environmental determinism envisioned a world divided into climatic zones, with northern bodies affected by the northern climate, from which a predictable set of somewhat pathologised and innate bodily and mental characteristics ensue.[31] Occasionally, the climatic explanation model approaches a kind of 'continental' determinism, and cultural or 'nomic' (from *nomos*, νόμος) explanation models frequently interfere in accounts of northern character.[32] This is, in fact, to be expected, since these theories always took the existing pool of stereotypes ('iconosphere') as their starting point, and primarily sought to accommodate and explain them rather than being fully 'theory-driven'.

In the following centuries, further elaborations of the climatological template helped to reify the perceived similarities among the macrogroup of northerners. The 'northernness' of the European barbarians appears as a plausible epistemic base for their perception as a broad but hazy commonality. The fourth-century BCE Atthidographer Androtion said that 'all barbarians living in Europe consider it dishonourable to set things in writing'.[33] The geographical dimension was used to explain the northerners' perceived similarities; by the Roman era, this had become commonplace and is used by many authors without explanations.[34] In the Imperial context, the collective characteristics of northern peoples could be explained by combining traditional climatic essentialism with fashionable astrological theories, as in Claudius Ptolemy (*fl. ca*. 150).

Ptolemy is by far the most influential representative of Imperial-era writers who married astrological and other forms of environmental determinism. An astronomer-astrologer (the two fields were not yet distinct), mathematician, and geographer, Ptolemy sought in his *Apotelesmatika* (*Tetrabiblos*) to explain comprehensively how astral bodies affect the sublunar world.[35] In so doing, he produced an impressive if sometimes idiosyncratic synthesis of the astro-climatological reasoning of his day.[36] Ptolemy's account of human diversity has been called 'astrological ethnography' by Maria Michela Sassi.[37] It does, however, also involve climate, even if Ptolemy never exactly articulates whether the stars influence both climates and peoples, or whether astral influences are channelled onto human constitutions by the climatological template. Ptolemy's purpose in the *Apotelesmatika* was to demonstrate the validity of astrological climatology as a predictive *tekhne* (τέχνη). Just as the sun's position accompanies different seasons of

---

[31] [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 12–24; Arist. *Pol.* 1327b; [*Phgn.*] 806b 15; Eratosth. *Herm.* F 16 *ap. Comm. in Arat.* 3 (*Coll. Alex.* 62–63); Vitr. *De arch.* 6.1.3–11; Manil. 4.710–720; Sen. *Ira* 2.15; Ascl. Bith. *ap.* [Plut.] *Plac. philosoph.* 5.30 (911c). See Backhaus 1976; Chiasson 2001; Livingstone 2011; Goldman 2016; Langum 2018; Bosak-Schroeder 2020; Popa 2024; also Sassi 2001; Romm 2010; Irby 2016.

[32] This has been particularly noted on the Pseudo-Hippocratic *Airs* by Chiasson 2001, 55; cf. already Sordi & al. 1999, 13.

[33] Androt. *BNJ* 324 F 54a *ap.* Ael. *VH* 8.6. The same motif is attributed to Gauls by Caes. *BGall.* 6.14; but also cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 275a-b in an Egyptian context.

[34] Hdn. 1.25; Flor. 1.37. Cf. especially with Strabo's view of Europe as a cultural sphere unified by many characteristics: Str. 1.1.13, 2.1.13, 7.1.3, 11.6.2; cf. 3.4.17 (Iberians, Celts, Thracians and Scythians: seen as Pos. F 58a in *BNJ*, but not counted as a fragment in E-K). See Sordi & al. 1999.

[35] As noted by Komorowska 2016, 353, also *ead.* 2011.

[36] Barton 1994, 120 'by far the most complicated schema'; Isaac 2004, 101 on other astrologers rejecting environmental determinism.

[37] Sassi 2001, 172–177.

the year and the productivity of animals, so other astral bodies 'signify' meteorological conditions on earth.[38] This is, for him, the basic model of how heavenly bodies shape the bodies – and minds – of the world's populations.

The value of the *Apotelesmatika* lies in how often it draws on accepted stereotypes – 'doxic knowledge' – about the peoples of the Roman world to support its explanatory model.[39] Describing Europe – the north-west of the inhabited world, synonymously called 'Celtogalatia' – Ptolemy highlights its dominant constellations Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius, ruled by Jupiter and Mars.[40] This renders north-western peoples 'warlike, freedom-loving, and magnanimous'; all were, at the time, already well-established parts of the northern iconosphere. Yet Leo under the rulership of Jupiter distinguishes the benevolent, co-operative peoples of Italy from the wild, stubborn, beastly Britons, Gauls, Germans and Bastarnians under Aries and Mars.[41] The great explanatory advantage of astro-climatological determinism, in comparison with the purely zonal climatological models – with their strong emphasis on the east-west parallel 'belts' – was its ability to differentiate peoples at the same latitude, thus explaining for instance, the superior moral character of Italians compared to their western neighbours on roughly the same clime (*klima*, κλίμα).

The strength of customs and other essentialisingly portrayed qualities is, in Ptolemy, influenced by whether a given area lies near the world's centre (and hence deriving some influence from its opposing heavenly quarter), or at its edges.[42] Generally, the central areas – which in the different quarters conveniently include Italy, Greece, and Ptolemy's own home of Alexandria – are more civilised, harmonious, and normative. The stars also influence the sexuality of entire peoples: the occidental Jupiter and Mars governing the north-western triangle are considered to be of a feminine nature, thus accounting for the by-now long-standing *topos* of the northerners' homosexual preferences (though this is said 'not to diminish their manliness'), love of kinsmen, and helpfulness.[43] Tyrrhenia, Celtica, and Hispania derive their independence, simplicity, and cleanliness from the influence of Sagittarius and Jupiter. In the north-eastern quarter, the most northerly regions mentioned are those of Sarmatia (or Sauromatica), Oxiana and Sogdiana, which fall under Aquarius and Saturn, producing savagery and grimness in their inhabitants.[44]

Thus, the perceived 'northern' characteristics of many Eurasian societies in Greek and Roman perceptions were, despite appearing to us like obvious stereotypes, reified and seemingly proven by influential and sometimes elaborately argued theoretical models. Partly, the perceived commonality of many northern groups may also reflect the Greco-Roman encounter with certain observable similarities in material culture and social organisation among Iron Age Europeans.[45] Yet, as noted in the first section of this

---

[38] Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.1–2.

[39] Isaac 2011, 497; Barton 1994, 119 ; also Maas 2025, 132–135.

[40] *Tetr.* 2.3.60; cf. Marc. Her. *Peripl.* 19 (see Altomare 2015). Another common name for the continental whole was *Keltike*, used e.g. by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.1. On the structure of Book 2 of *Tetrabiblos*, Komorowska 2011; on Ptolemy's approach to ethnographical knowledge-generation, see Marcotte 2017 and 2021.

[41] *Tetr.* 2.3.62. On the stereotypical matches of planetary rulers and peoples (Mars for warlike nations, Mercury for learning, etc.): Komorowska 2016, 356.

[42] *Tetr.* 2.3.61. On this particular feature of Ptolemy's, see Komorowska 2016, 354.

[43] *Tetr.* 2.3.62. The proverbially pale northern complexion may have helped their association with notions of femininity. On the longstanding *topos* of Κελτοί preferring male-male relations, see below p. 22–24, 40, 94, 182.

[44] *Tetr.* 2.3.68.

[45] On La Tène culture and Iron Age European societies: Collis 2003, 187–190; also Dowden 2000 and the

introduction – and as Gideon Bohak has observed – scholarship on ancient ethnography has often been directed and delimited by modern national categories and ideas of descent.[46] Hence the tendency to discuss societies under the rubrics of 'Germanic', 'Celtic', or 'Thraco-Getic', while any possible similarities between the ancient sources' depictions of these groups and others have been left unexamined from the point of view of ancient Greek and Roman in-group communication. The question of why (and under what generic, literary and ideological constraints) did the Greeks and Romans spoke among themselves about these groups in the way they did has been relatively seldom posed.

It seems that 'the North' as a broad and interlinked matrix of cultural and ethnographical perceptions, should, by the virtue of its very breadth and its genuine existence in antiquity, be able to counteract modern national-ethnic foci. We should never forget that ancient sources were not written with modern historians in mind, but for their ancient audiences. Informed and delimited by culturally shared perceptions, septentriographic writing lent, in turn, authority to already-existing prejudices. The value of northerners for political and triumphalist posturing, as well as doctrinal polemics, becomes clear in several of this volume's chapters, and especially those focusing on Late Antique sources: Maia Kotrosits casts an eye on the fascinating role of 'Scythianism' in heresiological polemics, while Maijastina Kahlos and Cédrik Michel's chapters look at the political, symbolic and ideological uses of northerners in a number of Late Antique sources.

2. Distinguishing features of the North and the northerners in the Greek tradition

As the discussion above has hopefully established, there certainly existed a Greek tradition about the 'North', which had a strong influence on the nascent Roman 'boreal imagination'. These two pools of ideas later merged into a broadly unified and intertwined literary and ideological chain of utterances in both Greek and Latin, which ultimately wielded a huge influence on portrayals of northern groups throughout classical reception, even into our era. This tradition consistently attributed certain characteristics to northern nature and populations, so much so that some became clichés or *topoi*. But what were the distinguishing features of the North and of northernness in Greek thinking? Many chapters in this volume focus on distinct themes or motifs that formed important parts of the whole. Despoina Tsiafaki's chapter looks at tattoos as ethnic markers of Thracians in the Greek imagination. Cédrik Michel applies the angle of material markers into the Late Antique context, examining how the Theodosian dynasty used torque necklaces, long associated with northern groups, as an ethnic marker. In terms of social characteristics, Joanna Porucznik's chapter discusses the persistent Greco-Roman way of imagining northern women as strong and independent.

In addition to these theme-specific chapters, and the wealth of pertinent observations in most others, it may be useful to sketch a rough typology of the main elements that appear whenever Greeks and Romans imagined the northern regions and their inhabitants. That is what the rest of this introduction will attempt. The selection of texts is, naturally, non-exhaustive, but aims for representativeness within the volume's context. First, we

---

contributions in Bonfante (ed.) 2011.

[46] Bohak 2005, 207–208; cf. O'Gorman 2012; Drinkwater 1996; Goffart 2006, esp. 1–11.

examine perceptions about northern environments, landforms and climates, as well as the way in which northern natural wonders and anthropological marvels intertwine. Then we summarise the main themes through which northerners' lifeways and social institutions were perceived. Lastly, we discuss the recurring motifs about their mental, physical and social characteristics. There will be some overlap, since in practice many of these typologies were reinforced by other aspects of the image complex. As noted in the previous section, northerners' characteristics were frequently conceived as having a deep, essentialist, and almost metonymical relationship with northern nature.[47]

2.I Northern nature, climate(s) and environments

The observable phenomenon that at northern latitudes daylight varies dramatically by season was understandably striking to Mediterranean peoples, who were used to milder variation. The tradition begins with the Cimmerians of the *Odyssey*'s 'Nekyia' and its reference to the Laestrygonian land where 'the paths of the night and day are close'.[48] Following Circe's orders, Odysseus sails until the deep-flowing Oceanus, where stand the homeland and city of the Cimmerians, 'wrapped in mist and cold'.[49] The sun never shines there, and they dwell in constant darkness. A place, then, that sounds both 'northern' and fittingly otherworldly. As so often with Homeric influence, this motif occasionally reappears later. It is not always tied to northernness, but the Ocean forms a vital component: in Quintus Curtius, Alexander's soldiers fear that sailing the Indian Ocean will take them to 'gloom, darkness and perpetual night', beyond the courses of stars and sun.[50] In this case, the fear of the darkness at the edges of the world was connected to the southern stretch of the Ocean, but the West could just as well be the stage for the same idea. In Avienus' Late-Antique *Ora Maritima*, in this instance possibly rewriting material from the Carthaginian explorer Himilco, darkness is described as shrouding the air and the face of the deep like a cloak, remaining for the whole darkened day.[51]

The more specific motif of certain northerners living in perpetual night may also stem from Homer's Cimmerians. A fragment attributed to Eudoxus of Rhodes, a probably third-century BCE wonder-writing historian – who may even be an alter ego for, or duplication of, Eudoxus of Cnidus, the better-known geographical author of the *Periodos* – offers a glimpse into the way middle-Hellenistic audiences engaged with the idea. Apollonius' *Historiae Mirabiles* quotes Eudoxus for a Celtic *ethnos* (ἔθνος) which 'sees not by day(light) but looks upon night'.[52] Homer's Cimmerians may well have been the inspiration for this strange group of Κελτοί. The entry on 'Germara' in Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica*, referring to *On Marvels* attributed to Aristotle, may be related, too: it refers to 'a Celtic *ethnos* that does not see (by) daylight'. Santo Mazzarino thought

---

47 Descola 2018, 411, while largely concerned with much-later forms of anthropological comparatism, nonetheless offers pertinent observations about the universal features of the relevant cognitive processes (especially 'analogism').

48 *Od.* 11.14–19 on Cimmerians; 10.80.86 on Laestrygonians.

49 See Von der Mühll 1959; for later interpretations for instance by Crates of Mallos, see Bilić 2012, 300 and fn. 22.

50 Curt. Ruf. 9.4.18.

51 Avien. *Ora* 386–389; see Romm 1992, 21.

52 Eudox. Rhod. *BNJ* 79 F 2 *ap.* Apoll. *Mir.* 24 (*FGrH Cont.* 1672): ὃ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ βλέπειν, τὴν δὲ νύκτα ὁρᾶν.

this piece of pseudo-Aristotelian paradoxography was connected to a current of thought linking Homeric peoples with contemporary northern groups.[53] Perhaps this group was meant to be only able to see in the darkness of the night, in a classic paradoxographical *topos* of inverted normality.

Ephorus of Cyme had rationalised the darkness-dwelling Homeric Cimmerians already in the Late Classical period as the underground guardians of the Cumaean oracle, relocating them to his homeland.[54] The region was conceptually well-incorporated to the Greek worldview, but nonetheless afforded more interpretational leeway by not being wholly populated by long-standing Greek mythonarratives. Ephorus' reference seems to have been intended also as an etymology: Κύμη or Κύμαι could plausibly enough be linked with the ethnonym Κιμμέριοι. Since both *Odyssey* and Ephorus mentioned a Cimmerian city, the city of Cimmeris cited by Strabo from Hecataeus (probably of Abdera) in association with the furthest north, is clearly part of this tradition.[55] That a name tied to the Black Sea region and seventh-century BCE invaders of Asia Minor should be moved northward is not unusual – mythogeographical referents were highly mobile – but it shows the enduring power of Homer's darkness motif and its rationalisation.[56] Far-off lands and geographical features were often involved in exoticising textual operations, and provided apt fringes onto which later writers could push mythical episodes that had originally been conceived as taking place closer to Greece. This latter process had Hellenistic roots, and was denoted by Strabo with the term *exoceanismus* (ἐξωκεανισμός) – literally '[moving] out towards the Ocean'.[57]

The motif of an abnormal day-night cycle was later put to use by the first- or second-century CE author Antonius Diogenes in his paradoxographic novel *Incredible Things Beyond Thule* (Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα), known through a synopsis in Photius' *Bibliotheca* and some papyrus fragments.[58] Photius' summary still refers to certain elements that may have seemed apt in a northern context. Among these is a spell – cast by an evil Egyptian sorcerer – afflicting Dercyllis, the love interest of the protagonist Deinias, causing her to come alive only at night. Another version of the motif occurs when, after meeting an immortal being called Astraeus and hearing his insights on Pythagoras, Dercyllis arrives in an Iberian town whose inhabitants can see at night but are blind by day.[59] The Iberian context recalls the nocturnal dances among the Celtiberians, which Strabo mentions.[60] It seems that Antonius Diogenes may have gotten this element

---

[53] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γέρμαρα: Κελτικῆς ἔθνος which τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ βλέπει; Mazzarino 1957, 78–79. Marco Simón 2007, 174–175 suggests a connection with the importance of night-time in Celtic ritual life. Night-time rituals were also an alienating motif in ancient rhetoric: Kahlos 2013.

[54] Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 134a *ap.* Str. 5.4.5.

[55] Hecat. Abd. *BNJ* 264 F 8 *ap.* Str. 7.3.6; cf. the cave of Cimmeros Eudox. Cnid. (*GAGW 6*) F 6 *ap.* Antig. Car. *Hist. mir.* 123.

[56] Hdt. 1.6.16, 4.11–12. On the Cimmerian (Assyrian *Gi-mir-ra-a*) activities in Western Asia, see Ivantchik 2010; Adali 2017. Place names around the Black Sea continued to have Cimmerian associations even in Str. 1.1.10, 1.2.9, 3.2.12, 7.4.3, 11.2.5. See Cozzoli 1968, 67; Schmedt 2020, 147–148.

[57] Str. 1.2.10.

[58] On the work of Antonius Diogenes generally, Morgan 1985; Romm 1992, 205–210; Araújo 2013; Schmedt 2020. Discussions of its genre: Ruiz-Montero 1996, 40–41, pointing to the *Apista* as the high point of paradoxographic novel; also Stephens 1996, 674–680; Ní Mheallaigh 2008, 415–419 and *ead.* 2014, 150–170.

[59] Ant. Diog. 2.11.5 (Schmedt) *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 166.110b, 109b. See Schmedt 2020, 160, 524–526.

[60] Str. 3.4.16; regarding which see Blazquez 1983, 238, 275. Also connected may be Plin. *HN* 7.12, citing Isigonus of Nicaea (F 16 Giannini) on certain Albanians (of Caucasus) being born grey-eyed, grey-haired (on

from either Ephorus or Apollonius the Paradoxographer – both sources would point to his desire to include marvels in his racy narrative. Photius even scolds Antonius for appealing to earlier authorities in presenting his marvels: in an impressive display of pseudo-documentarism, every book began with a list of earlier writers.[61]

The great northern mountain range, most often known as the Rhipaean (or Riphaean) Mountains, held a significant place in Greek mental maps, as it was commonly imagined as separating the blessed, sun-filled land of the Hyperboreans from the rest of the world. From early on, the range was known as the place from which Boreas blows, leaving the lands to the north of it unaffected by the cold breeze. The earliest Archaic-era localisation of the Rhipaeans was probably in Thrace.[62] In a fragment of Alcman, the Rhipē is linked with night, and the Ionian thinkers likewise supposed that a northern mountain chain simply obscured the sun during nighttime.[63]

Perhaps the most hotly debated literary testimony to this early stage of Greek engagement with continental Eurasia consists of the fragments of Aristeas of Proconnesus, who may have written sometime between *ca*. 600 and 550 BCE.[64] His epic poem *Arimaspea* had combined complex mystical and visionary techniques of authority-building with a significant amount of ethnographically framed content. Aristeas conjured up a teeming, fascinating northern expanse by combining pre-existing elements such as the Hyperboreans and the Rhipaean Mountains with names and details he encountered through Black Sea routes – much used by the Proconnesians – and perhaps his own travels. In an important 1962 study, James Bolton argued that the *Arimaspea* and traditions surrounding Aristeas should not be approached primarily through the lens of Eurasian shamanistic traditions, as some previous scholars had done, but through the dual lens of Greek literary tradition and real enquiries into inland Eurasia.[65]

By the fifth century BCE, when Herodotus and Damastes of Sigeum were writing, it had become common to locate Scythians and Arimaspians south of the Rhipaeans, in a land where 'snow never abandons them'. The Hyperboreans lived beyond them – though Herodotus expresses doubt about their existence.[66] The wintry climate was sometimes portrayed as 'thick mist' and at other times as falling feathers.[67] Many Eurasian rivers were at some point said to rise in the Rhipaeans – including the Ister and the Tanaïs – and, as Bolton noted, the mountain range was frequently confused with the Caucasus mountains: whether the actual range or its rather more freely localised mythogeographical

---

this detail, Diod. Sic. 5.32.2 regarding Gauls), and better able to see at night than at daytime (cf. Gell. *NA* 9.4). Isid. *Etym.* 14.3.34 transmitted the detail even to *Cosm. Aeth.* 63.

[61] Phot. *Bibl.* 166.111a.

[62] Arist. *Mete.* 350b 6-7 and [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 19 make a clear connection between 'the bear stars' and the Rhipaean mountains; also Arist. [*Pr.*] 942b 4. See Romm 1992, 65; Podossinov 2019, 1–2.

[63] Alcm. F 90 (P-D) *ap. Schol. in Soph. O.C.* 1248; on the Ionian philosophers' opinion, Anaximen. (D-K 3) A 7.6; cf. Arist. *Mete.* 354a; Soph. F 956 *TrGF ap.* Str. 7.3.1. This idea was picked up in Late Antiquity by Cosm. Ind. *TC* 88c–89c, 185c–199d. See Podossinov 2019, 3; also Bolton 1962, 40–44 on Alcman; and Bilić 2020, 580 on Pytheas.

[64] See Dowden in *BNJ* 'Aristeas (35)', Biographical Essay 1, favouring a date closer to 600 than 550.

[65] Bolton 1962; see also Dowden 1980, 486–487; Alemany i Vilamajó 1999; Bremmer 2002, 36–39; West 2004; Zhmud' 2016; Schulz 2024, 83–124.

[66] Damast. Sig. *BNJ* 5 *De gent.* F 1 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὑπερβόρεοι; Hdt. 4.13, 28–31. On the remaining evidence for Damastes, see González Ponce 2008.

[67] Hdt. 4.7, 28, 31; [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 19; cf. Callim. *Hymn* 4.171–176; even as late as Solin. 15.20–21, from which *Cosm. Aeth.* 34 lifted the detail. See Bolton 1962, 40 on these elements possibly deriving from Aristeas.

echo.[68] Another mountain chain into which the mythical Rhipaeans could be euhemerised was the Alps, as Posidonius of Apamea seems to have done in the early first century BCE.[69] In the Roman era geographers were divided: some, such as Strabo, dismissed the Rhipaeans as myth, while others, such as Pomponius Mela, repeated the traditional information, including their link with the Hyperboreans.[70] What seems clearer is that in this period, their position appears to have been increasingly fixed in the northeast of Europe, as Alexander Podossinov has pointed out.[71]

Apart from darkness, snow, and mountains, another natural feature that was central to Greek perceptions of the northern world was the notion of *parokeanitis* (παρωκεανῖτις): the lands along the great world-encircling Ocean's northern stretch.[72] The maritime topography of the northern shores of Eurasia remained for a long time almost entirely mysterious to the ancients, allowing space for imaginative localisations, flexible topographies, and wandering myths. Any successors to such little-known figures as Colaeus of Samos, Euthymenes of Massalia, and Midacritus would have been seriously hindered by Carthaginian dominance around the Pillars of Hercules (Strait of Gibraltar).[73] Much better known than the actual dimensions and shorelines of the northern stretches of Oceanus were its tides – a phenomenon both deeply puzzling and distinctly frightening to those used to navigating the Mediterranean. Did the tides signify the breathing of some unutterably vast and ancient being? Was it impious even to consider sailing on such waves?

In more concrete terms, the idea that certain groups living on the shores of the Ocean suffered from inundations or encroachments by seawater had a Classical-era pedigree, though it is somewhat unclear whether Ephorus or Aristotle was behind the motif.[74] Ephorus, the older of the two contemporaries, is cited by Strabo for a description of how the Celts show their fearlessness by allowing the sea to destroy their homes and then rebuilding them, suffering more losses from flooding than from warfare.[75] Aristotle's *Eudemian Ethics* speaks of the false bravery of the Celts, which stems from sheer ignorance and leads them to take up arms against the waves; the *Nicomachean Ethics* likewise uses this group as an example of how those who do not fear either the earth's movements or the waves are like madmen.[76] The reports are clearly connected, but both

---

[68] On Ister, Aesch. *PS* F 197 (*TrGF*) *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 4.284; on Tanaïs, Mela 1.115; Plin. *HN* 4.78 (see Zehnacker 2004); Luc. 3.272; also see [Plut.] *De fluv.* 5.3; Eustath. *Comm. in Dionys. Per.* 663–665; a connection is there also in Plin. *HN* 6.5.15. On the confusion with Caucasus, see Bolton 1962, 52–53.

[69] See p. 91 below; also Podossinov 2019, 2.

[70] Str. 7.3.1; Mela 3.5. On Pliny's Rhipaean mountains, see Podestà 2016. Later on, in *Cosm. Aeth.* 19, the Rhipaean mountains have been morphed into *insolae Rifaricae*, known for their savage wind, cold climate and plentiful snow.

[71] Podossinov 2019, 3.

[72] For the term, Str. 7.3.1 while critiquing information attributed to Pytheas about the northern seacoasts.

[73] Roller 2006, xvii, 1–21; *id.* 2015, 43–44; Bianchetti 1998, 47–52; Nesselrath 2005; Cole 2010; McPhail 2014, 249 fn. 11.

[74] Marco Simón 2007, 165 conjectured that Aristotle obtained the 'mytheme' from his rough contemporary Ephorus, while Freeman 2006, 28–29 thought that Ephorus took the motif from Aristotle. Parmeggiani 2023 is cautions about arguing a dependency either way, though cf. 198 fn. 175, 352 fn. 42 remain open to Aristotle being able to consult Ephorus' *Histories*.

[75] Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 132 *ap.* Str. 7.2.1. Ephorus is quite likely behind the comparative information in Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 109 *ap.* Ael. *VH* 12.23 and Stob. *Flor.* 3.7.39–40.

[76] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1115b, *Eth. Eud.* 1229b.

Ephorus and Aristotle may, in fact, have drawn on a common source or widely known proverbial knowledge of the time. The Celts were at this stage merely a far-off group of barbarians bordering the Ocean and only recently coming into direct Greek awareness through mercenaries sent by Dionysius I of Syracuse to aid the Spartans in 369 BCE.[77]

Strabo's reason for citing Ephorus and others on Oceanic floods was his criticism of earlier theories on the causes of northern migrations. In Book 7, Strabo discusses the connections between the Cimbri, who had shocked the Romans by their warlike wanderings just before 100 BCE, and the mythohistorical Cimmerians of old. In some ways, Roman exploration of the North Sea, which had led to increased knowledge by Strabo's own time of writing under Tiberius' early principate, allowed him to critique his Hellenistic predecessors, whose information about the Northern Ocean had not seen as extensive changes as, for instance, the expansion of Greek horizons towards the East. To give an example, the late-fourth-century Alexander-historian Cleitarchus of Alexandria thought of the Caspian Sea as an inlet of the 'Scythian Ocean', connected to it by 'a narrow mouth of considerable length'. He also underestimated the distance between the Euxine and the Caspian, and located on this isthmus the already-existing trope of periodic Oceanic inundations.[78] Strabo even cites Cleitarchus' story of fast-galloping horsemen barely escaping the inflow of the sea.[79] It remains unclear whether these riders were local barbarians or Alexander's scouts, since Strabo, following Posidonius, is more concerned with dismissing the tale as a misrepresentation of ordinary tides.

Repurposing the old idea of Oceanic inundations to explain the Cimbric wanderings was not Strabo's invention but probably came from either Posidonius or Artemidorus of Ephesus, close contemporaries writing around or soon after 100 BCE. Artemidorus, interested in the Oceanic littoral and a frequent source for Strabo, was suggested by Eduard Norden as Strabo's source for the inundation motif.[80] The alternative is that Posidonius, while criticising Cleitarchus, reapplied his predecessor's details to a new group of recently notable northerners, the Cimbri – it would be highly surprising if already Cleitarchus had used the term *Kimbroi*.[81] They, too, seemed to originate beside the Northern Ocean, where the similarly named Cimmerians had been located since the *Odyssey*. Identifying the Cimbri as the Cimmerians of old was thus easy.[82] The origin of their destructive wanderings around Europe was a topic that Posidonius' Roman patrons would have been keenly interested in. Regardless of whether Artemidorus or Posidonius

---

77 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.20. Before this, Celts were generally only one among the very furthest-away barbarians of Europe, as in Hdt. 2.33, 4.49. See Fischer 1972; Freeman 1996, 14–20. The theme of the *Keltoi* as the westernmost folk also underlies the ludicrous image of the Middle Comedy poet Ephippus of Athens (fourth century BCE), where a huge fish spanning the whole of the Mediterranean is cooked by a team of chefs from all peoples surrounding the sea; a Celt is told to lower the flames in his part so as not to overcook the fish (Ephipp. *Geryones* F 5.21 *ap.* Ath. 8.346f–347e). See Papachrysostomou 2021, 44, dating Ephippus' play based on Xenophon's report of 'the Celts' first contact with the Greeks'.

78 Clitarch. Alex. *BNJ* 137 F 12 *ap.* Plin. *HN* 6.36, 38; F 13 *ap.* Str. 11.1.5 (cf. 11.7.4). Cf. Podossinov 2014b, 141–142.

79 Clitarch. Alex. *BNJ* 137 F 26 *ap.* Str. 7.2.1–2. It does not seem necessary to connect Cleitarchus' fragment with Nearchus' report on the tides at the mouth of the Indus (*BNJ* 133 F 33 *ap.* Arr. *Anab.* 6.18.2–21.2), since we know that Cleitarchus had already discussed Oceanic inundations in the context of Scythia.

80 Norden 1922, 468.

81 It has been noted by Prandi 1996, 20–22 that Strabo probably did not consult Cleitarchus directly, but only through Posidonius.

82 On the Cimmerians, see above p. 10–11; Pos. F 272 (E-K) *ap.* Str. 7.2.1–2.

invented the theory, Strabo did not accept it uncritically. Without naming the originator, he criticises those who envisioned a flooding sea driving the Cimbri from their homeland. Since the motif of northern barbarians either fighting or fleeing Oceanic waves recurs in many authors, it was clearly influential enough to warrant the lengthy critique Strabo devoted to it.[83]

Regarding Greek exploration of the Ocean, no figure is more hotly debated than Pytheas of Massalia, who marks a fascinating – though fragmentary – stage in northern geographical and natural inquiry. After exploring Britain and the North Sea coasts in the second half of the fourth century BCE, Pytheas published his findings in *On the Ocean*. As Serena Bianchetti argues in her chapter, Pytheas' observations had a strong empirical component, making him valuable to mathematical geographers such as Eratosthenes and his great critic Hipparchus of Nicaea. On the other hand, this made Pytheas' type of septentriography unfashionable in the Roman era, with Strabo, in particular, channelling rather harsh criticism of him from Polybius and others.[84] Pliny, by contrast, was happy to use Pytheas. Bianchetti also proposes a very welcome, minimalistic reconstruction of Pytheas' likeliest route, which likely did not extend into the Baltic, contrary to some suggestions.[85] Among his northern observations, Pytheas recorded the short summer nights, as well as the congealing and thawing of the sea into a sludge that allowed neither walking nor sailing.[86] Significantly, he may have been the first to associate the tidal movements of the Atlantic with the phases of the Moon.[87] He also recorded, though perhaps without visiting, an island called Thule north of Britain. Much ink has been spilled in attempts to localise Thule – whether Shetlands, Faroes, Iceland, or even a Baltic island.[88]

After Pytheas, we must wait until the turn of the second and first centuries BCE for significant Greek engagement with the Atlantic, in the works of Artemidorus and Posidonius – already discussed above. Of the two, Artemidorus' importance has frequently been underestimated, while Posidonius' has tended to be overestimated at least in northern ethnography.[89] It cannot be contested, however, that both in terms of Oceanic hydrology

---

[83] Much of Strabo's criticism stems directly from Posidonius: Kidd 1988, II 929–932. Later, the motif of Oceanic inundations causing European population movements is found e.g. in Flor. 1.38.1; Amm. Marc. 15.9.4 (probably based on Timagenes); cf. Diod. Sic. 14.113 on the Senones (see Amat Séguin 1987).

[84] Though Str. 1.4.4 and 2.1.12–13 also preserved Hipparchus of Nicaea's reliance on Pytheas regarding the latitudes of Britain: Hipp. Nic. F 35 and F 36 (*GAGW* 16), respectively; and cf. F 40 *ap.* Str. 2.5.43.

[85] See Bianchetti 1998 and 2015; as well as below p. 44–54.

[86] Pyth. F 13a Bianchetti (= F 9a Mette) *ap.* Gemin. *Elem. Astron.* 6.9, 70.24–72.2 on the sun and daylight (cf. Hipp. Nic. F 37 *ap.* Str. 2.1.18, F 40 *ap.* Str. 2.5.42); F 8d Bianchetti (= F 7a Mette) *ap.* Str. 2.4.1 on the 'sea lung'. The Carthaginian Himilco observed the same phenomenon *ca*. 500 BCE: Avien. *Ora* 117–129. See Roller 2006, 27–28.

[87] Pyth. F 2a Bianchetti (= F 2 Mette) *ap.* Aët. *De placit.* 3.17.3. Cf. [Plut.] *Comp. de An. Pr. in Tim.* 3.17; Dicaearch. F 127 (Mirhady) *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 1.38.2–3 (though perhaps better attributed to Euenius of Messene, as in *FGrH Cont.* IV B.9, 34).

[88] See e.g. Mund-Dopchie 1990; Bianchetti 1998, 63–64; Roller 2006, 57–91; Dueck 2012, 56; McPhail 2014; Breeze & Wilkins 2018; Scott 2022; Shipley (ed.) 2024 (*GAGW* 8), 235 esp. fn. 24. Generally on Pytheas, in addition to the ones mentioned, Cunliffe 2001; Bilić 2012 and 2020; Schmedt 2020, 519–521; Herbaux 2024, 13–100, as well as a fascinating section on Pytheas' modern reception 103–134.

[89] On Artemidorus' relative modern underappreciation and the almost equal importance of him and Posidonius for Strabo, see Shipley 2024b, 502. Examples of modern admiration for Posidonius as an 'anthropologist': Momigliano 1975, 67–73; Dobesch 1995, 60–61; Sassi 2001, 128; Freeman 2006, 4, 148; Martin 2011, 23–34, 49, 68–69. Nash 1976, 111 called for a reassessment; cf. Marcone 2022 with a look back at the previous scholarship.

and the ethnography of continental European groups, Posidonius became a benchmark for his successors. His *On the Ocean* – pointedly sharing Pytheas' title – discussed tides based on personal observations at Gadeira (Cádiz).[90] His ethnographic material on Celts, in particular, was transmitted by post-Caesarian writers such as Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, making it difficult to gauge how much they depended solely on him.[91]

2.II Wonders of the northern nature and humanity

The strange and miraculous aspects of northern nature offered intriguing elements for Greek and Roman wonder-writers, as Ekaterina Ilyushechkina's chapter on the later stage of the tradition in Solinus' collection demonstrates. In many stories the wonders of the natural world jostled with anthropological or ethnographical curiosities. Recently, Clara Bosak-Schroeder has explored the environmental entanglements of Greek ethnographical thinking in a particularly insightful way.[92] We can see this clearly in the Greek accounts of the British Isles. After Pytheas, the next period of heightened interest in the Atlantic – and especially the British Isles – came immediately after Caesar's two invasions: the quotations from Posidonius and Artemidorus in Diodorus Siculus and Strabo attest to this. This interest carried into the Julio-Claudian period, as Julian Gieseke shows in his chapter.[93] We may even detect an imperially sponsored attempt to explore the Scottish coasts under Domitian, near-contemporary with Agricola's campaign, if Ian Gordon Smith is right about Demetrius of Tarsus' mission.[94] Unlike Roman elites – Agricola's ambitions were famously thwarted by Domitian's jealousy – Greek agents were perhaps felt safer for marginal areas where triumphalist conquest, in Caesar's footsteps, might have encouraged usurpation. Such ambitions became rather common in Late Antiquity.[95]

Examples of the Julio-Claudian 'pivot to north' can be found in Diodorus', Strabo's and Pomponius Mela's attention to the Atlantic seaboard of Gaul and the British Isles.[96] Within Strabo's Book 4 Caesar is an equally important source on Britain as he is on Gallic matters.[97] But the little-known island of Ireland was a different matter. To claim Caesar's two brief British campaigns brought 'un réel progrès de la connaissance' about Ireland by Strabo's time is untenable.[98] On the contrary, Caesar had expressly admitted that he was unable to verify almost anything about Ireland.[99] Merchants and other informal sources no doubt carried tales, but elitist geographers discounted them – Pytheas had been criticised for his low birth. Strabo accordingly recycled generalised 'hard-primitive' *topoi*: he reports that the inhabitants of Ierne eat their dead fathers and have sex with their

---

[90] Pos. F 214–217, 220–221 (E-K = 33–38 *GAGW*) *ap.* Str. 1.1.7–9, 1.3.9–12, 3.3.3–4; F 219 (E-K = 46 *GAGW*) *ap.* Prisc. Lyd. *Sol. ad Chosr.* 6. See Nicolai 2022.

[91] See Lampinen 2014a.

[92] Bosak-Schroeder 2020.

[93] Gieseke in this volume, see esp. pp. 201–205.

[94] For this fascinating, though sparsely documented chapter in the Greek exploration of the British Isles, see Smith 2022.

[95] Cf. *Pan. Lat.* 6(7).7.2, 9.5; cf. 8(5).11; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.50. Also Jer. *Ep.* 133.9.4.

[96] Cf. Drinkwater 1983, 35–36, 140 on Gaul.

[97] Although Roller 2018, 200–201 notes how Strabo's Britain seems to be an amalgamation of pre-Caesarian material from Pytheas to Posidonius.

[98] Roman 1983, 265 posits an accumulation of information.

[99] Caes. *BGall.* 5.13.3–4.

female relatives.[100] These traits are reported without any attempt of interpretation or any outright moral judgement, reinforcing their paradoxographic effect. This has been used as an example of Strabo's gullibility about marvels, despite his professed scepticism.[101] Both Ireland and Britain, as fringes of the earth 'beyond the Ocean', proved useful for discussing the limits of Roman imperialism. Ireland, being further away, was more often drawn into reflections on human morality itself.[102] It exemplifies a typical case of 'edge-of-the-world' hard primitivism and inversion of supposedly universal norms – treatment of the dead and family relations.

Even before Strabo, Diodorus Siculus had briefly mentioned Irish funerary cannibalism, noting that 'the most savage peoples dwelling under the Bear stars and bordering Scythia' and the Britons of Iris are cannibals.[103] Strabo's localisation of cannibalism in Britain recalls Diodorus, though the fact that we are dealing with endocannibalism (eating one's dead relatives) binds Strabo closer to the Herodotean tradition.[104] Strabo's Irish also resemble the Issedones of Herodotus (or in fact Aristeas) in the sense that their death-ritual seems to be gendered, pertaining only to fathers. Yet another similarity is the lack of any attempt to explain the funerary cannibalism through beliefs about the afterlife. What is omitted in the pursuit of the image of a truly hard-primitive custom is the Herodotean detail of gilding the skulls of the dead.[105] Strabo, with his universalist outlook, sought parallels in anthropophagy: Scythians practiced this custom, while many peoples, such as Celts and Iberians, resorted to it under siege.[106] It may be that Strabo's Irish are presented as an intentional western parallel to the Herodotus' Indians, as James F. Killeen suggested, but it is also worth remembering that Strabo's depiction of Ierne casts it as 'a bastard cousin' of Britain.[107] Accusations of cannibalism attached easily to northerners who were perceived as nomadic or subsisting on meat as a cultural preference. Yet the key framework for Strabo's Irish was his climatic theory of habitability.[108] Northern environments themselves attracted images of hard-primitive customs.

Natural marvels were not only confined to the furthest north. The Pseudo-Plutarchan *On rivers* (*De fluviis*), a text eagerly embracing pseudo-documentarism, contains a puzzling piece of mythography located in Gaul. The interpretation of the story is not made any easier by the passage's wilful obfuscation or fabrication of its sources. It is attributed to Book 13 of the *Galatica* of a 'Callisthenes of Sybaris', supposedly

---

[100] Str. 4.5.4; cf. Mela 3.53; Solin. 22.2.

[101] French 1994, 135.

[102] Woolf 2007, 137 on the usefulness of Britain; see also Moore 2019.

[103] Diod. Sic. 5.32.2–4.

[104] Hdt. 4.26; cf. Mela 2.9. See Killeen 1976, 210–212.

[105] Cf. the Scordisci in the later tradition: Fest. *Brev.* 9.1; Amm. Marc. 27.4.4; Oros. 5.23.18. Cf. the discussion in Gandeva 1984.

[106] Str. 4.5.4. Strabo may have been thinking of such examples as Thuc. 2.70; Caes. *BGall.* 7.77, and the Roman traditions about the defence of Numantia (e.g. Val. Max. 7.6). For the motif, see Rankin 1969, 384; on Strabo's historiographical tendencies, Malinowski 2017.

[107] Killeen 1976, 212; Merrills 2005, 94.

[108] Thollard 1987, 15–19. Bianchetti 2002, 301–304 investigates the possibility that Strabo's idea of Ireland as the *oikoumene*'s northern limit came from Pytheas (cf. Clarke 2001, 97; see also Gieseke in this volume, 199–202), though she dismisses Pytheas as the source to Strabo's 'hard-primitive' image (305). On the epistemic base of cannibalism accusations, Shaw 1982; Isaac 2004, 207–208; Fink & al. (eds.) 2017.

transmitted via 'Timagenes the Syrian', likely an invented author based on Timagenes of Alexandria.[109] It is an origin tale for the name of the river Arar (modern Saône). Formerly Brigoulos, it was renamed after Arar, who, mourning his brother Keltibēros who had been torn apart by beasts, wounded himself and leapt in. The (pseudo-)fragment then reports a paradoxographical phenomenon involving colour-changing fish in the river, which also bear a stone in their heads that cures quartan fever.[110] The whole passage is introduced in connection Arar-Rhodanus confluence, an important site for Roman Gaul with its Altar of the Three Gauls.[111] It is not unlikely that such an important religious site in Imperial Gaul would have attracted mythologising constructions around its topography. What we read in *De fluviis* is undoubtedly one example of such stories, although the author is eager to indicate its origin in the earlier *Galatica*-tradition.

Above, we saw how Antonius Diogenes used the old idea of darkness and an abnormal day-night balance in his novel *Incredible Things beyond Thule*. In another episode preserved by Photius' synopsis, when the immortal Pythagorean character Astraeus saves the Iberian town from its enemies by playing a flute, the adventurers are set upon by Celts, from whom they flee on colour-changing horses.[112] Antonius Diogenes characterised the Celts as 'cruel and senseless people' (τοῖς Κελτοῖς, ἔθνει ὠμῷ καὶ ἠλιθίῳ), echoing an ethnic jibe included in Lucian's *Alexander the False Prophet*.[113] Even if Photius was wrong in claiming Lucian's *True Story* parodied Diogenes – the majority opinion in current scholarship – the shared stereotype of 'senseless Celts' suggests a common *topos* in the High Empire.[114] The references in the *Apista* are not exactly ethnographical, but it was clearly possible to imagine astrological deities and Pythagorean doctrines as being located at the north-western fringes of the world. The theme of colour change is shared with the Pseudo-Plutarchan *On rivers*, and may thus have emerged as a minor theme in miracle-writing related to the day-night cycle in the Atlantic or western regions.[115] Another interesting detail is flute-playing as a means of saving a town from Celts: Pausanias, a rough contemporary of Antonius Diogenes and Lucian, attributed the same feat to Marsyas when the town of Celaenae faced a Galatian invasion.[116]

The *Incredible Things beyond Thule* is particularly interesting here for the way in which it represents a vanished geographical dimension for paradoxographical episodes within the tradition of Greco-Roman lighter literature. Diogenes' fascination with fringes and liminality has often been noted.[117] Some well-worn areas were also included, as seen in an episode where Astraeus meets Zalmoxis among the Getae in what is clearly a Herodotean reference.[118] It has been suggested that Pythagoreanism could have been a

---

[109] [Plut.] *De fluv.* 6.1–3, regarded in the *BNJ* as Timagenes (88) F 13, though with justified scepticism. On the pseudo-documentarism of both *De fluviis* and *Parallela Minora*, see Cameron 2004, 127–134; cf. Jacoby 1940.

[110] Cf. Lyd. *Mens.* 3.11 on the same fish.

[111] *CIL* 13.1541, 1719, 2940.

[112] Ant. Diog. 2.11.5 (Schmedt) *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 166.109b. For commentary, Schmedt 2020, 153–155, cf. 529.

[113] Cf. Lucian *Alex*. 27: ὁ ἠλίθιος ἐκεῖνος Κελτὸς.

[114] On Antonius Diogenes and Lucian, Morgan 1985; Ní Mheallaigh 2014, 150–170; Schmedt 2020, 448–459.

[115] [Plut.] *De fluv.* 6.1–3.

[116] Paus. 10.30.9.

[117] Ní Mheallaigh 2014, 151; see also Schmedt 2020, 515–539.

[118] Ant. Diog. 2.11.5 (Schmedt) *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 166.110a. See Bowersock 1994, 100–101; Araújo 2013, 171; Schmedt 2020, 159–160.

device meant to impart a measure of respectability to the *Apista*.[119] Similarly, the presence of both Celts and Getae could serve this purpose in a tangential way, considering that both peoples were famous for their belief in life after death, a theme prominently explored in Diogenes' book. The Pythagorean – and Thracian – associations with Orpheus and otherworldly journeys provided a fertile assemblage of imagery, in which figures such as Abaris, Zalmoxis, and the Hyperboreans helped to anchor the stories of many ancient eras in a northerly direction.[120] In the past, some scholars took the literary connections between Pythagoras and the northern groups of Thracians and Celts as evidence for actual ideological transfers; this led them to speculate about the possible direction of influence – whether from Pythagoreans to barbarians, or vice versa – and about potential transmission of such ideas between barbarian groups.[121] Such speculation is unnecessary. Even within the literary accounts, the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis and the ideas about the afterlife attributed to the barbarians are clearly distinct. The ancient sources were also divided on the direction of the influence.

2.III The remarkable lifeways of the northerners

In every cardinal direction and on each continent, the Greco-Roman ethnographical gaze encountered peoples whose customs were defined by what they lacked in comparison with the 'civilised' inhabitants of regions the Mediterranean societies regarded as central. Their simple, rudimentary or tough ways of life made for fascinating anecdotes, and when a detail or story entered the literary tradition, there were strong formal, generic, and heuristic pressures encouraging its reuse. In Imperial-era literature, pre-Roman practices remained part of the ethnographical register precisely because they were the most distinctive and shocking. Ken Dowden has referred to this tendency as 'saving the phenomena'.[122]

The northern peoples' ways of life or *bioi* (βίοι) formed another theme within which the miraculous aspects of northern nature and anthropological marvels intertwined.[123] These aspects were not only intimately perceived as illustrating the northern groups' mental and physical characteristics, but in many ways they also depended on these characteristics. Once again, these linkages point to the mutual reinforcement among the different assemblages of ideas under the broader umbrella of the 'boreal imagination' or the literary tradition of 'septentriography'. Many of the elements discussed in this subsection should therefore be kept in mind when the essentialisingly perceived characteristics of northerners are examined, in the next.

A. Cruel rites

Whenever northerners' ritual practices and religious behaviour were imagined, a set of common and culturally highly transmissible motifs was likely to be activated among the Greeks and Romans. As Antti Lampinen explains in his chapter on the development of Greek ways of imagining 'northern religion', the roots of this imagery are often found in early conceptions of Thracian and Scythian religious behaviour. A prominent theme

---

[119] Stephens & Winkler 1995, 112–114, with some credible parallels.

[120] Cf. Zhmud' 2016; Gagné 2021, 289, 292, 313, 341–346; also Macurdy 1920; Sandin 2014.

[121] E.g. Eliade & Trask 1972, 292; Aldhouse-Green 2010, 172.

[122] Dowden in 'Aristeas' *BNJ* 35 *ad* F 3b *ap.* Plin. *HN* 7.9–12.

[123] On *bios*, see e.g. Bosak-Schroeder 2020, 23–28; also Shaw 1982, 17–19.

was the cruelty of northern rites, at once horrifying, titillating, and memorable. Human sacrifice frequently appears, while religious structures were imagined as humble or barely existent.[124] Some of the earliest expressions of such religious alterity are found in mythography and drama, where the Thracian tendency to treat Greek gods disrespectfully and violently became a recurring motif. Similarly – in a puzzling and multi-layered claim – the Herodotean Getae are said to deny the existence of any other gods except their own and to try to attack thunder with their weapons.[125] Their aggressively defended belief in their own subterranean god Zalmoxis is presented by Herodotus as an ambiguous cultural addition: despite its massive societal and cultural influence (such as the Getic belief in immortality and their consequent bravery) it is nonetheless portrayed as based on a ruse by the historical Zalmoxis that could not have succeeded in a more developed society.[126] It seems, indeed, that northerners' beliefs and rituals were often used as a shorthand illustration of what made each given society among them distinctive, strange, or deficient. Another long-living topos was the ritualised killing (or suicide) of Thracian widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands.[127]

The idea of human sacrifice began to be attached to the Celts during the Late Hellenistic era. Although Caesar's influence on further elaborations of this theme was particularly significant – including on authors typically regarded as transmitting Posidonian material, such as Strabo and Diodorus – the motif itself predated him. Greek literary precedents are also possible. Caesar's most memorable scene, the wicker man filled with victims and set alight, may have been inspired by Herodotus' description of Scythian punishment of false diviners, a parallel a learned reader could detect.[128] Caesar's influence, in any case, ensured that the general idea of Gallic human sacrifice, as well as some of the most dramatic methods of conducting it, remained popular in the subsequent tradition. The theme crops up in depictions of many groups of northerners, as well as continuing to feature prominently in accounts of the Scythians and various groups in the Balkans.

The gods demanding such cruel rites are sometimes given local names in our sources (such as Zalmoxis), but at least as often they undergo *interpretatio*, a process whereby Greek or Roman narrators sought to convey something about their nature by calling them by a Greco-Roman divine name. As for the divinities who demanded (or accepted) northern human sacrifices, the Greek tradition was influenced by Herodotus' and Euripides' *interpretatio* of the bloodthirsty Taurian goddess as their own Artemis. Jan Bremmer has noted that in Greek myths, the divinities receiving human sacrifice are often left vague.[129] This is far less the case in the ethnographical register. References to

---

[124] On ritual killings of humans, see Rives 1995; Aldhouse-Green 2001; Hughes 2003; Bremmer 2007 and 2013; Schorn 2009; Tonkova 2009; Bonnechere & Gagné (eds.) 2013; Alfaye & Marco Simón 2016; Innemée 2022; Ter Keurs 2022; Gazzano 2024. See also the chapter of Lampinen, 160–163, 167, 178–179, 181.

[125] Hdt. 4.94. See Xydopoulos 2007.

[126] On Zalmoxis, see below 97–98; also Rabadjiev 2015, 444. Another instance of giving a Getic (and Dacian) positive characteristic (in this case equality, *isonomia*) a negative slant thanks to their primitiveness is Dicaearch. F 46b Mirhady *ap.* Philodem. *Hist. Acad.* (*PHerc.* 1021, col. Y.1-41, l. 30; Gaiser p. 153), though the passage could rather stem from Philip of Opus (Mirhady 2017, 53 n. 1).

[127] E.g. Hdt. 5.5; Hegesipp. *BNJ* 391 F 2 *ap.* Parth. *Narr.* 6; Mela 2.19–20; the widows' suicides are applied to Slavs in Maur. *Strat.* 11.4; the transmitting author may well be Procop. *Bell.* 6.14.6–7 on the Herulian widow-suicides, in close connection with funeral-pyres constructed as a form of euthanasia for the elderly. See Kotova 2017.

[128] For the possible Herodotean inspiration, see Lampinen's chapter (pp. 160, 176).

[129] Bremmer 2007, 5; also see *id.* 2013. On the Taurian Artemis, see Hdt. 4.103; Eur. *IT* 39–40, 52–54, 334.

northern sacrifices are usually generalised and suspiciously similar, but they confirm that Greeks and Romans thought northerners still considered humans valid sacrificial victims. This was yet another aspect in which northern lifeways seemed archaic and even close to the mythical (or mythistorical) past. The older generation of supernatural beings – whether the monstrous Cyclopes, Laestrygonians, or the often interchangeable Giants and Titans – was sometimes evoked as a hybristic and cruel mythical antecedent that was used to explain metaphorically and genealogically the northerners' propensity for bloody rituals.[130] Several chapters in this volume refer to the role of the Titans and Giants as analogies to northerners from different perspectives.[131] Cronus, for his part, was frequently localised onto an Atlantic island.[132] Again, aspects of the imagery reinforce each other.

The sources thus present a broad array of implausibly dramatic, moralising rituals. What, then, is the role of ethnographical knowledge-generation in all this? The ritual killings of humans in northern societies undoubtedly belonged to the roster of 'barbarian customs' that were repeated and widely recognised in Greek, Latin, and even Syriac literature in the Imperial Era.[133] What everyone 'knew' was that human sacrifices either had happened or still occurred; what remained vague were the actual methods. The references to Taurian, Thracian, and Scythian ritual killings remained a fixed element of the tradition, needing no reinforcement from actual contemporary sacrifices.[134] Ekaterina Ilyushechkina's chapter in this volume studies the later reception of Greek ideas of Scythian marvels and customs from Mela to Solinus.

B. Strong northern women and other types of gender-bending

Another distinct theme in Greco-Roman depictions of northerners' lifeways concerned gender relations, sexualities, and sexualised bodies, often imagined as deviating from ingroup norms. The tendency to imagine atypical (i.e. non-Greek) gender roles, relations or sexual practices holding sway among barbarian peoples was not limited to northern or European groups, but we can detect a handful of motifs that recur frequently. As

---

130 Ancient exemplars include *Od.* 7.59, 7.206, 10.119; Pl. *Leg.* 701b-c; Agatharch. *De m. rubr.* F 1.7 (*GAGW* 15, Burstein & Shipley 2024, 382) *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 250.444a 32–42 on Darkness, the personification of a quality often associated with the North and the West, engendering the Titans; Callim. *Hymn* 4.171; Plin. *HN* 7.9; Plut. *De superst.* 13 (171d); Gell. *NA* 15.21.1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 13.26. Called 'titanism' by Dauge 1981, 33; on the Laestrygonian example for northern imagery, Killeen 1976, 208. On blood, see Dowden 2000, 168–169.

131 Especially see Maijastina Kahlos' chapter, exploring the Late Antique permutations of the Gigantomachy theme.

132 Already in Hes. *Op.* 173a-e; Pind. *Ol.* 2.68–70, on the basis of which it was easy to elaborate: Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.38.1–2 on the human sacrifices that Cronus demanded of ancient Italians, a custom continued by his contemporary Celts; cf. Diod. Sic. 3.61.3. See Plut. *De def. or.* 18 (420a) on Cronus asleep on an island near Britain, guarded by Briareus (see Plácido 1993, 67–68; Bos 2004); in *De fac*. 26 (940f–941b, 942a-b) on Cronus on the mainland encircling the far side of the Ocean. Ptol. *Geog.* 2.6.73 'Isles of the Gods'. See Killeen 1976, 209; Freeman 2001, 29–30; also Nesselrath 2005, 164 on North Atlantic as a conduit to otherworldly wisdom in Plutarch (cf. Smith 2022).

133 On the Syriac reflections of the Greco-Roman tradition, see Lampinen in this volume.

134 Taurians (besides Herodotus and Euripides, for whom see fn. 129 above) in Cic. *Rep.* 3.9.15; Diod. Sic. 4.44.5–6; Ov. *Tr.* 4.4.61–64, *Pont.* 3.2.45–58; Str. 7.4.2; Mela 2.11; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.27; Paus. 3.16; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 3.36–37. Cf. the Pontic Achaeans in App. *Mithr.* 102 (cf. Str. 11.2.12; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.89.4), who were descended from the Greeks returning from the Trojan War, but had become Scythicised both through interactions with their neighbours and through their grudge after having been rebuffed by their Hellenic relatives: their human sacrifices are specifically directed at Greeks and motivated by hate: see also Zizza 2014, 127. On Thracians: Diod. Sic. 33.14; Amm. Marc. 27.4.2; on Scythians: Str. 7.3.6; Mela 2.12–13; Lucian *Tox.* 2; *Sacr.* 13; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 1.4.

with other themes, outcasting and idealisation are both visible in our sources: while northerners' sexual mores and gender relations were often deemed aberrant, the ingroup's own morally upright past could also be located among them, as Tacitus does with his pure, chaste, but fertile *Germani*. As Rhiannon Evans has recently noted, the Germanic model of masculinity appeared 'both attractively tough and shockingly brutish' to the Imperial-era observers.[135]

Just as German chasteness and fertility were explained through climate, so too the cold and humid north could be imagined producing bodies that were inherently flabby and emasculated.[136] The proverbially pale northern complexion may have helped associate them with notions of femininity. Herodotus' contemporaries used a tale of divine punishment against invading Scythians to explain certain forms of androgynous social roles observed in steppe societies. These *Enarees* or *Anarieis* appear in Herodotus' *Histories* and the broadly coeval Hippocratic *On Airs, Waters, Places*.[137] While Herodotus provided a largely supernatural explanation for their condition, the Hippocratic author applies his climate-based framework to it, but without discounting cultural/nomic explanations, either. According to him, Scythian nobles suffer from emasculating health condition due to a combination of climatic conditions, constant horseback riding, misguided cures for resulting hip ailments, as well as their wearing of trousers, which prevents them from handling their genitals as freely as Greek men were accustomed to do under their loose-fitting garments.[138]

Another recurring motif is attributed to a range of northern groups, principally Thracians and Celts – namely, that of homosexual preferences in sexual relations, or the disdaining of women. The figure of Orpheus may have been one of the origins of this stereotype: he was well connected to Thrace and often imagined having been killed by the Maenads. These, in their turn, were sometimes thought to have been spurred to their frenzied attack by Orpheus' deliberate ignoring of them in his grief over the loss of Eurydice.[139] Later, Strabo describes Thracian 'Founders' who avoided women as a religious duty.[140]

Celts are mentioned as notable for their preference for male-male relationships in Aristotle's *Politics*, where the philosopher comments that in states where women are allowed too much liberty, or where society even becomes 'ruled by women' (*gynaikokratoumenoi*, γυναικοκρατούμενοι), too much emphasis begins to be placed on acquiring wealth. This, according to Aristotle, is true of many warlike peoples, except those who – like the Celts – prefer homosexual love. The Aristotelian comment was very likely behind the reference in *Paradoxographus Vaticanus*, which states that the

---

135 Tac. *Germ.* 19, 30; see Evans 2023; on ethnographic *topoi* in *Germania*, also Bringmann 1989.

136 [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 19–22; Vitr. *De arch.* 6.1.3; Tac. *Germ.* 4; Sen. *Ira* 2.19, 4.15; Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.2.

137 Hdt. 1.105; 4.67; [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 22. See Ballabriga 1986; Gardiner-Garden 1988; Chiasson 2001; Lieber 2003; Papathomas & Tsitsianopoulou 2022.

138 [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 22: καὶ ὅτι ἀναξυρίδας ἔχουσιν αἰεὶ καί εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου, ὥστε μήτε χειρὶ ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ αἰδοίου ('and due to always wearing breeches and being on horseback for most of the time, so that they cannot touch their privates with their hands').

139 Orpheus' killing by Thracian women (Maenads), e.g. Phanocl. F 1 (*Coll. Alex.*) *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.20b.47; Isoc. *Bus.* 39; Pl. *Symp.* 179d; Conon *BNJ* 26 *Narr.* F1.45 *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 186.140a-b; Aesch. *Bass.* F 83a (Mette) *ap.* [Eratosth.] *Cat.* 24; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.7.1, 3; Paus. 9.30.5; for the variants, see Heath 1994. See also Tsiafaki' chapter, esp. 61, 67–68, 71.

140 Str. 7.3.3.

Celts regard women as the source of all evils.[141] Diodorus Siculus later repeats the motif: although Gallic women were beautiful, their men disdained them, 'raging with lust for male embraces', sleeping on animal skins with youths at either side, and showing no shame in the practice.[142] This may partly reflect his aim of addressing a Roman audience: Bernhard Kremer has noted the absence of the motif of Celtic homosexuality from Roman sources.[143] After Diodorus, some Imperial-era Greek writers did, however, continue to refer to this *topos*.[144]

In contrast, other northern groups were thought to practise communal sexual access to women – a sort of collective polygyny, often confused in the sources with polygamy or consensual promiscuity. This custom tends to be located at the furthest edges of the known world, where such a radically different approach to relationships, alien to both Greek and Roman sensibilities, could most plausibly be imagined. This tendency partly stems from a perception of women as a natural resource, and the custom can be framed either through the 'hard primitive' template of utter animality, or through 'soft primitive' ideas about utopian societies, as Clara Bosak-Schroeder has pointed out.[145] We already saw above how Strabo ascribes promiscuity to the Irish, echoing Caesar's account of polygyny among the remote Britons living outside Gallic influence.[146] The roots of this motif are in fact much older, going back at least to the Massagetae and Agathyrsi of Herodotus.[147] The same historian also attributed communal promiscuity to Thracians in general.[148] The overall tenor of Caesar's few 'ethnographic' remarks on Britain is unmistakably Herodotean, with the motif of polygyny, in particular, a possible borrowing from the *Skythikos logos*.[149] Soon after Caesar, Nicolaus of Damascus attributed sexual communitarianism to the Illyrian Liburni and the Scythian Galactophagi; he also applied the *gynaikokratoumenoi* motif to the Sauromatae.[150] Later, Cassius Dio evoked nomadism and communally shared women among the Caledonians, while Solinus pushed the motif even further away to the edges of the world, locating it on the *Ebudes insulae* (Hebrides).[151] Overall, the idea appears particularly persistent about the British.

---

[141] Arist. *Pol.* 1269b; *Par. Vat.* 24. The Cantabrian gynaecocracy in Str. 3.4.18 may be related. On the theme, see Porucznik in this volume.

[142] Diod. Sic. 5.32.7; cf. Bard. Ed. *BNJ* 719 F 3 *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 6.10.27 on Gauls (Syriac version mentions Germans), with an emphasis much like in Diodorus about the lack of social censure.

[143] Kremer 1994, 272 fn. 4.

[144] Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.3.62; [Plut.] *De fluv.* 14.1 about Tanaïs, the eponym of the river; Ath. 13.603a; and Bardaiṣan/Bardesanes (see p. 182–183 and fn. 146).

[145] Bosak-Schroeder 2020, 73.

[146] Str. 4.5.4, cf. Caes. *BGall.* 5.14. Günnewig 1998, 277 on the *topos* of polygyny. British polygyny is also circulated in the Syriac tradition by Bard. Ed. *BNJ* 719 F 3 *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 6.10.28. Like Bardaiṣan, Georgius Monachus ('Hamartolus') moves from the British polygyny to Amazons: Georg. Mon. *Chron.* 4.38.

[147] Hdt. 1.216, 4.104. The difference between the two is that among the Massagetae each man has one wife, despite the freedom in sexual relations (cf. Eudox. Cnid. F 12 *ap.* Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* 1.152, and F 15 *ap.* Diog. Laert. 9.11.83). See Bosak-Schroeder 2020, 73–74. Caes. *BGall.* 5.14 resembles Hdt. 4.104 in emphasising the notions of brotherhood associated with the polygyny.

[148] Hdt. 5.5–6, including both polygyny and the free sexual relations being allowed to unmarried women.

[149] Thomas 1982, 51–55 demonstrates Herodotus' enduring influence via examples.

[150] Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 103d *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.2.25; F 103f *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.2.25 (cf. Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 160a *ap.* [Arr.] *Eux.* 74); F 104 *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 3.1.200.

[151] Cass. Dio 77.12.2–4 *ap.* Xiph. 321.24–322.12. On Dio's use of 'generic all-purpose barbarian 'attributes'' about the *Caledonii*: Bédoyère 2003, 98. Solin. 22.12–15; also cf. Jer. *Ep.* 69 *ad Ocean.* 3 on *Scoti* and *Atticotti*.

Alongside these motifs, which relied on gendered angles to conceptualise northern societies – and through them, the Greek and Roman ingroups – lay the widespread theme of strong women. Northern women were frequently perceived as headstrong, independent, and active – indeed, in some ways as 'masculine' according to the Greco-Roman expectations of gender roles. Joanna Porucznik's chapter delves deeper into the dynamics and realities reflected in this gendered gaze. Like the themes above, this *topos* depended on contrast with ingroup norms. From the perspective of the Greek and Roman elite males who produced the vast majority of our sources, there was something deeply fascinating, albeit also worrying, about the indomitable northern women. Nicolaus of Damascus, Aelian, and others depict them as equal to men in warfare.[152] Here, the hugely influential imagery about Amazons was particularly important.[153] The Amazons also serve as a telling example of the complex ways in which the cultural and societal realities of the Eurasian societies interacted with the Greco-Roman pool of cultural expectations, assumptions, stereotypes, and identity-construction processes. Amazons functioned simultaneously as mythical adversaries, aetiological founders, eroticised objects and ethnographically described curiosities.

But the Amazons were not the only independent northern women to excite the Greek imagination. From the time of the Galatian Wars against Rome in the early second century BCE, two heroic and brave Galatian women entered the tradition: Chiomara and Camma. Both demonstrate great resolve, initiative, and *virtus*/*andreia* (ἀνδρεία) when confronting threats of sexual violence (in the case of Chiomara) or forced marriage (in the case of Camma).[154] Another brave and commanding Celtic woman is Onomaris, who appears in the anonymous *De mulieribus claris in bello* as a leader who guides the Galatians during their migration after a famine forces them to move.[155] When none of the Galatian men is willing to take up the task, Onomaris orders all of her people's property to be pooled into a common stockpile and leads the numerous settlers to new lands.[156] At some point, she crosses the Danube and subdues the natives, ruling the country as its queen.[157] Diodorus Siculus, in addition to describing the homosexual inclinations of Gallic men, emphasises how equally strapping in physique and brave in comportment Gallic women are.[158] Such stories had particular Augustan resonance, when tales of active Gallic princesses circulated widely.[159]

Through the Roman conquest and the establishment of provincial administration, the attention of Greek writers also turned to the specifics of pre-conquest Gallic society.

---

[152] Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 104 *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 3.1.200; Ael. *VH* 12.38 (on Sacae); cf. already [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 17 on Sauromatae.

[153] On Amazons, see Shapiro 1983; Hardwick 1990; Blok 1995; Paradiso 1995; Veness 2002; Castriota 2005; Ivantchik 2013 (as well as the other contributions in the same edited volume); Mayor 2014; Penrose 2016; Liccardo 2018; Braund 2021 and 2025.

[154] Chiomara: Polyb. 21 F 38 *ap.* Plut. *De mul. vir.* 22 (258e-f); Livy 38.24.2–11; Val. Max. 6.1.2. Camma: Plut. *De mul. vir.* 20 (257e–258c); Polyaen. *Strat.* 8.39. On the 'Greek/barbarian' dichotomy, partially collapsed by these virtuous barbarian women, see Nikolaidis 1986; Schmidt 2002; Delattre 2021.

[155] The text in Gera 1997, 10.

[156] Koch & Carey 2003, 42. See also Clavel-Lévêque 1996.

[157] The conquering of natives in an area in the Balkans recalls vividly Just. 24.4.3; as does the reason of the migration: 24.4.1.

[158] Diod. Sic. 5.32.2.

[159] See below p. 99–100, 103, 105, 108, 175.

Women frequently serve as focalisers in ancient ethnographical texts – just as they do in conquest narratives.[160] This suggests that they were used to indicate the supposed essential and immutable characteristics of barbarian societies, and thus often appeared in combination with other striking features of a given foreign group. One example of this is the way in which the late *Historia Augusta* mentions 'Druidesses' in Gaul – likely 'ethnic' embellishments in moralising tales of imperial ascents and downfalls. Arnaldo Momigliano may well have been close to the mark in judging these as 'late fantasies', though his implication of their consequent low value is unfortunate. Neither 'lateness' nor 'fantasy' are valid reasons today for avoiding engagement with a text, and neither implies that broader Roman ideas about women's substantial power within northern religious systems had not shaped these stories.[161] Similarly late is Ammianus Marcellinus' humorous yet eroticised vignette of a strong and white-skinned Gallic wife joining her weaker husband in a fistfight against a larger group of foreigners.[162]

In Cassius Dio, too, powerful northern women are projected onto northern Britain, newly significant after Septimius Severus' campaigns. Dio describes a light conversation between Julia Domna and the wife of the Caledonian chief Argentocoxus at a signing of a treaty.[163] Though almost certainly fictional and moralising, the episode provides another rhetorical counterpoise between Roman views and (imagined) northern realities. Julia Domna jestingly confronts the Caledonian lady about the free sexual relations ascribed to the Britons, but receives an unflappable response: unlike Roman women debasing themselves secretly with the vilest of men, Caledonian women fulfil their natural demands by consorting openly with the best.[164] The scene combines familiar motifs: northern women's prominence, Gallic wit, idealised sexual mores, and meritocratic leadership. The critique recalls that voiced by Boudica against Nero in Tacitus and Cassius Dio's earlier books.[165]

C. Northern materialities and foodways

Did the Greeks recognise certain materials or objects as particularly northern? A recurring set of substances and products does seem to cluster around northern environments and populations, suggesting a 'material North'. Some products were destined to remain mysterious, such as the 'Hyperborean gifts' imagined by Herodotus and others as reaching Delos from the farthest north, via Dodona, wrapped in straw.[166] Yet other materials were both coveted and increasingly familiar. Northern foodways – always a mainstay of ethnographic writing – also drew frequent comment, and sometimes came to imply distinctive markers that to us are largely hidden, such as smells. Very occasionally, the intended effect still comes across from some references, such as when Sidonius Apollinaris complains about the barbarian Burgundians billeted at his household, treating their long hair with rancid butter and smelling of garlic and onion; out of these, butter

---

160 Cf. Saavedra 1999; also Bosak-Schroeder 2020, 57–83.

161 SHA *Alex. Sev.* 60.6, *Aurel.* 43.3–4, *Car. Carin. Num.* 14. See Momigliano 1975, 72; cf. Hofeneder 2009.

162 Amm. Marc. 15.12.1, despite its vividness possibly stemming from Timagenes of Alexandria (*BNJ* 88 F 15), and thus Augustan. See Porucznik's chapter, p. 121.

163 Cass. Dio 77.16.5 *ap.* Xiph. 325. See Gieseke's chapter later in this volume, p. 206–207 fn. 128.

164 Briefly analysed by Fraser 2009, 27.

165 Cass. Dio 62.6.3–5; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.35. See, below, Porucznik pp. 119–122 and Gieseke p. 208.

166 Hdt. 4.32–35; Callim. *Hymn* 4.278–299 mentioning them as first-fruits from the Arimaspeans dwelling 'beyond Boreas'; [Plut.] *De mus.* 14; Paus. 1.31.2. See Sale 1961, 85, 88–89.

was a clearly 'northern' foodstuff, deployed in a way that emphasised the disgustingness of Sidonius' situation.[167]

Gold was not unique to the northern lands, but Greco-Roman tradition persistently associated it with the northerners. From the Archaic period onwards, the mines of the Thracian Mount Pangaeum were the most significant source of gold for the Greeks. Beyond them, imagination pictured even greater riches. In the Archaic Greek imagination since at least Aristeas' *Arimaspea*, it was the one-eyed Arimaspians, somewhere in the depths of the Eurasian continent, who were the principal northerners obsessed with gold.[168] Their battles with griffins, who unearthed the metal, circulated in both literary and pictorial form. In *Prometheus Bound*, sharp-beaked griffins and an army of Arimaspian horsemen alike menace Io on her cursed wanderings.[169] Herodotus expresses scepticism about the existence of the Arimaspi due to their supposed one-eyedness, but the materiality of precious metals and the wonder of extraordinary bodies combine in the story in such a way that they were too memorable to drop from the tradition.[170] Another Herodotean group of northerners with a love of golden ornaments are the Agathyrsi.[171] The emphasis on gold-hoarding in references to Iron Age Europeans was no doubt partly influenced by the very genuine importance of golden prestige objects among Thracian, Scythian, Halstatt, La Tène, and other continental societies. The best-known examples of Iron Age toreutics among the Mediterranean observers were the Celtic torque necklaces, which in many ways became emblematic of northern barbarian identity, as Cédrik Michel explains in his chapter focusing on Late Imperial evidence.

Despite the genuine prestige of gold objects in many European societies, the cultural and literary portrayals of the northern barbarian groups' supposed obsession with gold was most of the time narrated from a staunchly Greek viewpoint, following the broader pattern in which the fringes of the world, in all cardinal directions, were imagined to hold vast riches of gold.[172] Yet among these far-off regions, for Herodotus at least, the Eurasian north boasted the greatest abundance of gold anywhere, as he explicitly notes in reference to the Arimaspians.[173] In the later tradition, depictions of northerners tended to converge on a specific angle that emphasised their greed, immoderation, and a readiness to accumulate the precious metal by any means available.[174]

Among the warlike northerners, other metals could also be imagined as being valued as highly as gold. Herodian, for instance, depicts the Britons wearing iron as

---

167 Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 12.7–15.

168 See Schulz 2024, 90–92.

169 [Aesch.] *PV* 801–808 (counted at *BNJ* 35 as Aristeas F 5). On battling griffins in art, see *LIMC* 8, Suppl. s.v. 'Arimaspoi', s.v. 'Gryps'. See also Finkelberg 1998; D'Ercole 2009.

170 Hdt. 3.116. On the Arimaspi, see Dowden 1980; Bowra 1956; Bolton 1962 *passim*; Pirart 1998; Alemany i Vilamajó 1999; Pinault 2008; Pérez Aguayo 2015; Podestà 2016; Gagné 2020; Malinowski 2024.

171 Hdt. 4.104.

172 Keyser 2011, 42–44.

173 Hdt. 3.116; cf. 3.106. See Schlosser 2020, 47.

174 See e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 372–374; Pos. F 272 (E-K) *ap.* Str. 7.2.2, F 273 *ap.* Str. 4.1.13, F 274 *ap.* Str. 4.4.4 (inverted; also behind Diod. Sic. 5.29.5, while 5.27.1–4 refers to the lack of silver and wealth of gold in Gaul), and F 240a *ap.* Ath. 6.234b (cf. F 284b.4 *ap.* Sen. *Ep.* 90.11–13); Parth. *Narr.* 8 (introduced as an exception that confirms the rule); Livy 23.24.11 (combined decapitation/ritual killing); Just. 24.6.5, 32.3.9–10; Plut. *Vit. Pyrrh.* 26.11–12; inverted also in Tac. *Germ.* 5, 15.

their only ornament besides tattoos, valuing it as others valued gold.[175] Tin was a very significant product of the Atlantic north, as Serena Bianchetti notes in her chapter. An even more prized northern resource was the mysterious amber. Greeks had been sourcing this fossilised resin through trade routes to the northern European coasts along the Baltic and the North Sea already in the Mycenaean era.[176] Later, amber played a minor role in mythical geography, and the amber route that reached the Adriatic at its northern end seems to have led to associations of the river Po with the story of Phaethon's demise – a tale repurposed as an origin-story for the valuable droplets.[177] Pytheas' exploratory voyage was probably driven in part by his Massalian patrons' interest in such products; amber is explicitly attested among his fragments.[178] Other typical northern exports likely included furs and pelts, often imagined as the locals' main clothing and bedding along with animal skins.[179] This imagery has certainly been very influential, persisting even in our contemporary popular *imaginaire* of 'northern barbarians' in comics, movies, video games and other media.[180] From the Classical to the Roman eras, northern bodies themselves (see below) were likewise highly prized, obtained through slave trading and warfare, and in the Roman Empire, specifically, blonde hair from Germanic captives was a much-fetishised commodity.[181] In both classical Athens and Imperial Rome, northerners were deployed as an ostensibly neutral force: in the former case as a sort of publicly owned police force, and in the latter case as imperial bodyguards (as Cédrik Michel explains in his chapter).[182] Behind both of these ways of using the northern muscle may have been the assumption that the naïve, unintellectual northerners were a blunt weapon, to be manipulated safely and without overt danger to the state.

Foodways – that is, the northerners' eating and drinking habits – also played an active role in marking the North. This aligns with the Greek tradition of ethnographic thinking, in which foreign diets and table manners were objects of fascination.[183] Among northerners, a clear set of stereotypes emerges. While 'soft primitive' groups – especially the Hyperboreans – were sometimes imagined as living on a wholly plant-based diet, much like in the mythical 'Golden Age', most 'hard primitive' northerners offered a stark

---

175 Hdn. 3.14.7. Northerners as inventors of iron: [Aesch.] *PV* 714–716. Cf. Evans 2008, 150–153.

176 For this stage, see Hughes-Brock 1985; Czebreszuk 2013; Janko 2015; Harding & Hughes-Brock 2017.

177 Hdt. 3.115 on the mysterious origins of both tin and amber; on the latter, [Arist.] *Mir. ausc.* 81–82; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.611–618; Diod. Sic. 5.23–24; Ov. *Met.* 1.750–2.380; Dionys. Per. 292–293; Quint. Smyrn. 5.625–630; Nonn. *Dion.* 23.89–97; 38.97–102. See Ahl 1982; Mastrocinque 1991; Smělý 2017; for later amber-routes in antiquity, see Braemer 1986; Teichner 2013; Braund 2014; somewhat connected is also Grane 2017.

178 Pyth. F 15 Bianchetti (= F 11a Mette) *ap.* Plin. *HN* 37.35–36.

179 Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.19, 5.7.49, 5.10.32; Diod. Sic. 5.28.4; Tac. *Germ.* 46 (see Pekkanen 1983 and 1985); Amm. Marc. 30.2.5–6; Claud. *IV Cons. Hon.* 466, *De bello Get.* 481; *In Ruf.* 2.82; Prisc. F 15.4 (Blockley) *ap. Exc. de legat. Rom.* 5 (Attila gifts horses and animal skins to the Romans); *Cosm. Aeth.* 65; Paul. Diac. *HL* 1.5. See e.g. Rummel 2007, 143–157, 163–168, 181–183, 199–206; also Gergel 1994.

180 See e.g. Coert 2018; also the contributions in Prida (ed.) 2012.

181 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.14.45–46; Mart. *Epigr.* 5.68, 14.26; Juv. 6.120; Auson. *Biss.* 3.10; SHA *Gall.* 21.3; Beda *Hist eccl.* 2.1.82. On northern slaves in Athens, see Braund 2011, 123 and *passim*; Scheidel 2011, 295–296, 303. See Huisman & Olthof 2024 on the 'Batavian froth' hairstyle; the Oceanic location of this coastal group of Germanic northerners may have inspired the idea of a *spuma*.

182 On the Scythian police force in Athens: Bäbler 2005, 114–122; Braund 2006; on the imperial bodyguards, Michel in this volume, 239–240, 244–248.

183 See Shaw 1982, 29–30; Karttunen 1989; Braund 1999; Raga 2019; Bosak-Schroeder 2020, especially 84–105.

contrast.[184] It is no accident that Brent D. Shaw's seminal 1982 article on the Greco-Roman image of pastoral nomads was titled 'Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk'. Because some (though not all) steppe groups genuinely relied on cattle-raising, milk-drinking – especially mare's milk – became an early marker of northern diets.[185]

The Hippocratic *On Airs, Waters, Places* lists roasted meat, mare's milk, and cheese made from it as the Scythians' main sustenance.[186] As noted earlier, at least since Ephorus of Cyme there was an intermittent tendency to emphasise 'Scythian justice', modelled on the Homeric motif of finding the 'most just of men' among northern nomads.[187] Nicolaus of Damascus drew an explicit causal link between diet and character when he blended Homeric and Herodotean elements in his account of the Scythian Galactophagi ('Milk-drinkers'). Carrying mare's-milk cheese everywhere as their food supply, they were hard to defeat, Nicolaus argued, as shown by Darius' failure against them.[188] He added that the Galactophagi held all possessions in common, including their women, who were equally brave and martially skilled as men – traits that recur across descriptions of northern groups.[189] The ostensibly peaceful milk diet could also be combined with other, harsher culinary features. Dionysius Periegetes, for instance, describes the Massagetae beyond the Araxes as hostile to strangers, consuming neither grains nor wine, and mixing milk with horse blood.[190]

Grains, a key dietary marker of 'true' civilisation for Greeks and Romans, were not always found among northern peoples, as Dionysius' example shows.[191] It is true that the idealised, 'soft-primitive' northerners were sometimes seen as foragers subsisting on vegetarian diets.[192] Yet more often than not, northerners were stereotypically perceived

---

184 The binary between 'soft' and 'hard' primitivism – useful, but hardly uniform – is that of Lovejoy & Boas 1935.

185 Shaw 1982, 9 (cf. 11) notes how Herodotus carefully categorises each Scythian group as either agricultural or nomadic; cf. Valtonen 2008, 436; Bosak-Schroeder 2020, 26; also 94–99. Cf. the 'horse-eating races of barbarians' in [Arr.] *Eux.* 51.

186 [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 18; cf. e.g. Str. 7.3.17.

187 *Il.* 13.5–6; Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 42 *ap.* Str. 7.3.9. In some ways, also Herod. Pont. *BNJ* 31 F 30 *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 2.1248 on a euhemerised Prometheus, king of the Scythians, being punished for letting his subjects down.

188 Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 104 *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 3.1.200. The crux of Darius' campaign is in Hdt. 4.126. Like Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 42 *ap.* Str. 7.3.9, Nicolaus understood the Homeric *galaktophagoi* as an ethnonym, not merely a descriptive adjective. Cf. Schlosser 2020, 50–51 on Herodotus' idea of nomadism as the root of Scythian freedom. Later on, the very health of the Scythians could be connected with their nomadic ways, with urbanism causing them to fall sick, in a twist of the old climatological-nomic essentialism: Alex. Pelopl. *ap.* Philostr. *VS* 572–573; we see the 'Scythian' criticism of urban sedentism still being used in Petr. Patr. F 187 (Banchich) *ap. Exc. de sent.* 170. Cf. Tac. *Germ.* 16.

189 Justice and milky diet are repeated e.g. in [Arr.] *Eux.* 78 about the Limnaioi of Maeotis, perhaps deriving from the *Iambic Periodos to King Nikomedes* (see *GAGW* 17 F 17); connected is also the positive assessment in Philo *De v. contempl.* 17.

190 Dionys. Per. 741–745; cf. even as late as *Cosm. Aeth.* 33 on the 'Turks'.

191 On the civilisational value invested in agriculture: Shaw 1982, 19–23. Some of the most primitive northerners, like the Fenni in Tac. *Germ.* 46, Huns in Priscus F 1 *ap.* Jord. *Get.* 24.123 and the Scrithiphinoi/Scritobini in Procop. *Bell.* 6.15.16–23 and Paul. Diac. *HL* 1.5 live only by hunting; cf. Rav. Anon. 4.12. Diod. Sic. 5.39.3 uses the theme about the mountain-dwelling Ligurians. Hdt. 5.6 describes the Thracian opinion that to live by war and plunder is the best, while agriculture is dishonourable.

192 Hdt. 4.23 on the Argippaei, eating fruit and milk, and thought holy by their neighbours; cf. Mela 3.19, 37; Plin. *HN* 4.89–90, 6.19, 6.34–35; Solin. 26; Mart. Cap. 6.664–665. Hdt. 4.109 imagines the blue-eyed and pale Budinoi subsisting on pine cones (see Gruen 2020, 46); an extraordinarily late reference to the Herodotean Budinoi may be seen in the 'forest of Frosbodina' (possibly from πρὸς Βουδῖναν) in *Cosm. Aeth.* 63: see Herren 2011, 235 *ad loc.*

as prodigious meat-eaters. The Celts, for instance, were associated with archaic-sounding communal feasts where the choicest meat cuts became the cause of quarrels or duels.[193] In general, northern banquets were imagined as scenes of violent competition: Posidonius noted this about the Celts, and Seleucus of Alexandria about the Thracians.[194] For Classical Greeks – city-dwellers who consumed modest amounts of meat, mainly at religious festivals – northern meat-feasting likely carried bestial associations. Indeed, some northerners were imagined to consume their meat raw.[195] In the 6th century, a Constantinopolitan doctor called Anthimus, who had been sent as an ambassador to the Merovingian court of Theuderic I, had to tread a fine line between flattery and professional probity when engaging with the Frankish habit of eating raw bacon. Sounding somewhat sceptical despite the surface politeness, Anthimus rather unctuously praises this foodstuff as the miraculous cure-it-all for his host society, but frames this health effect as something that only works for the Franks.[196]

Eating raw meat seemed simply bestial to the Greeks, no matter what part of the tradition we are examining. We may note in passing other human-animal blurrings, such as Herodotus' skin-changing Neuri in Scythia, or the half-human, half-animal Hellusii and Oxiones with which Tacitus concludes his *Germania*.[197] From here it was only a short step to associating human sacrifice with cannibalism – paralleling the Greek consumption of sacrificial animals. This is part of the rationale behind the *topos* of northern anthropophagy.[198] Capturing victims for sacrifice (and perhaps consumption, with their blood drunk) was also a predatory act that was easy to imagine in a society that was thought to have many opportunities for hunting animals and humans alike. The analogy between these two is sometimes spelled out.[199]

In Diodorus Siculus' vibrant description of Gallic feasts, the Greek gaze dwells at length on Celtic foodways. The transition from describing the Celts' bodies and facial hair to their feasting customs is an apt demonstration of the mixture of fascination and disgust evoked by foreign banqueting practices in a Greek audience. Diodorus first describes how most Celts allow their moustache to grow very long. When they eat, the food inevitably gets tangled in their whiskers, and when they drink, the moustache acts as a kind of

---

193 E.g. in Diod. Sic. 5.28.4–5 on Celts (cf: Str. 4.4.3 on Celtic diet as based on meat and milk); Amm. Marc. 27.4.9 on the Thracian Odrysae.

194 Pos. F 68 (E-K) *ap.* Ath. 4.154a-c; Sel. Al. *BNJ* 341 F 4 *ap.* Ath. 4.155e.

195 On meat as a cultural signifier, Fiddes 1991, esp. 94–118. On Greek ritual meals and meat consumption, Burkert 1966, 102–109; Broekart & Zuiderhoek 2014, 42, 45; associations with religious ritual when thinking about human ritual killing and cannibalism: Hughes 2003, 99–100, 187; Schorn 2009, 19–29; Nagy 2009, 15–16, 29–31, 144–145; Frankfurter 2021, 197–205; also cf. Fiddes 1991, 121–131. On eating raw meat among the nomadic Huns: Amm. Marc. 31.2.3; Anth. *De obs. cib.* praef.; but already in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1148b about some of the Pontic peoples.

196 Anth. *De obs. cib.* 14: […] *miror satis quis illis ostendit talem medicinam ut non opus habeant alia medicina* [...] *quod illis melius est, per istum cibum saniores aliis sunt.*

197 Hdt. 4.105 on the Neuri, who can assume the shape of a wolf once a year; Tac. *Germ.* 46 (see Pekkanen 1983; Lightfoot 2020).

198 E.g. Hdt. 4.106 on the literal Androphagi (Man-Eaters); 4.26 on the Issedonian funerary cannibalism; 4.64–66 on Scythians generally (followed by *Par. Vat.* 47); Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1148b; [Scymn.] *Nik. Per.* (*GAGW* 17) F 17 *ap.* [Arr.] *Eux.* 78; Diod. Sic. 5.32.3; Str. 4.5.4; Juv. 15.13; Plin. *HN* 7.9, 30.13; Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 5 (328c-e); Paus. 10.22.7 on Celtic cannibalism during the sack of Kallion; also Tert. *Scorp.* 7.6; Jer. *Adv. Iov.* 2.7; Porph. *Abst.* 2.9, 3.17, 4.21 (as opposed to Mac. Magn. *Apocr.* 3.15); and *Cosm. Aeth.* 67d on the Assyrian king Ninus teaching Scythians to drink human blood. See Shaw 1982, 12–13; Lindenbaum 2004; Isaac 2004, 207–208.

199 E.g. Diod. Sic. 5.29.4 on the Celtic headhunting. See also below p. 67, 161, 169 fn. 71, 174, 181.

strainer. What follows is a memorable vignette of a Celtic communal feast, rich in material details and Homeric references.[200] Diodorus' Gauls are also described as 'making a drink out of barley which they call *zythos*', or beer, as well as honey mead.[201] This is explained through the cold local climate, which supposedly prevents vine-growing. As a result, whenever the Gauls obtain much-coveted wine from merchants, they drink it unmixed and suffer its effects in the most extreme fashion.[202]

Though later both Celts and Germans were thought to display their greed for wine by drinking it undiluted or immoderately, this theme was originally strongly attached to Thracians, Illyrians and Scythians. The verbs *skythizo* (σκυθίζω) and *episkythizo* (ἐπισκυθίζω) capture it, denoting either reckless drinking 'in the Scythian manner' or plying someone with alcohol until they are completely inebriated.[203] Drinking also lay at the heart of another well-worn theme: exuberant feasting. A fragment from the Hellenistic historian Phylarchus, cited in Athenaeus' characteristically banquet-oriented *Deipnosophists*, describes the sumptuous annual feasts – heavy on meat, wine and grain – hosted by the Galatian noble Ariamnes, for which not only locals but all passing strangers were invited.[204] Celtic hospitability was a fairly well-known stereotype in Late Hellenistic literature, and was later extended to Germans by Tacitus.[205] Athenaeus goes on to quote Posidonius on the table manners of Celts, who are said to eat 'cleanly enough, but voraciously like lions by taking entire joints into their hands and biting into them'.[206] Two further fragments from Posidonius deal with northern banquets. Eustathius of Thessalonica quotes him on the Germanic feasting on roasted joints of meat for breakfast or lunch, washed down with unmixed wine.[207] This reference is probably accessed through Athenaeus' very similar quote, but Eustathius chose to omit the previous compiler's mention of milk-drinking as an alternative to drinking wine.[208]

---

[200] Diod. Sic. 5.28.3–5; cf. Tac. *Germ.* 21–23 on Germans. For the Iron Age European dynamics, see Arnold 1999.

[201] Other references to beer or mead include Archil. F 42 *ap.* Ath. 10.447b; Glauc. *Exp. part. sinistr. Pont. BNJ* 806 F 1 *ap. POxy*. XV 1802 fr. 3, col. ii ll. 8–14 on the Scythian honey-drink *melygeion*/*meligyon* and their millet beer (cf. *EtMag s.v.* μελύγειον; Zonar. *Lex.* μελίγυον); Pos. F 67 (E-K) *ap.* Ath. 4.151b–152f, giving the stuff the Celtic gloss of *korma*; also Timag. *BNJ* 88 F 15 *ap.* Amm. Marc. 15.12.4; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 3.2 (648b-c), 4.6 (672b). See Nelson 2005.

[202] Diod. Sic. 5.26.2–3. Cf. Just. 24.7.6, 8.1.

[203] LSJ, *s.v*. σκυθίζω. On hard-drinking northerners, see e.g. Hdt. 1.207–212, 6.84; Theopomp. *BNJ* 115 F 39 *ap.* Ath. 10.443a-b on Illyrians; F 31 *ap.* Ath. 12.531e–531a on the Thracian king Kotys; F 288 *ap.* Nep. *Alc.* 7.11.4 on Thracians generally; Tac. *Germ.* 23; Plin. *HN* 14.29; Ael. *VH* 2.41 (even the wise Anacharsis drinks copiously, and drinking undiluted wine is a Scythian habit), 3.15 (on Thracians and Illyrians); Paus. 10.23.12 (cf. Diod. Sic. 22.9.2 *ap. Eclog. legat. Hoesch.* 495–497); Julian. *Epigr.* 1 (insulting the beverage for its 'goat-smell' and explaining its existence by the Gallic lack of grapes); Amm. Marc. 15.12.4. See Shaw 1982, 12; Hartog 1988, 169–170.

[204] Phyl. *BNJ* 81 F 2 *ap.* Ath. 4.150d-f. See Motta 1985; on Phylarchus more broadly, Hau 2025, 68–110.

[205] Cic. *Deiot.* 18; Parth. *Narr.* 8; Diod. Sic. 5.22.1, 5.28.5, 5.34.1; *Comm. anon. in Prudent.* (168 Burnam p. 168) *C. Symm. ad* 2.688; cf. Tac. *Germ.* 21.

[206] Pos. F 67 (E-K) *ap.* Ath. 4.151b–152f.

[207] Pos. F 277b (E-K) *ap.* Eustath. *Comm. in Il.* 13.6.

[208] Pos. F 73 (E-K) *ap.* Ath. 4.153e. The passage is more commonly discussed as the possible first mention of the name of the Germani in the literary tradition; the different possibilities are well outlined in Kidd 1988, I 323–326. See also Pekkanen 1974; Lampinen 2014a.

2.IV ‘Savage! Furious! Thrilling!’ The physical and mental characteristics of the northerners

Above, we discussed the theoretical bases for Greco-Roman perceptions of northern groups’ indelible characteristics, ranging from environmental and cultural (*nomos*-based) determinism to astro-climatological templates. It may now be useful to take a more sustained look at the stereotypes most often used in the Greek tradition to explain northerners’ behaviour and institutions. The immense influence of the Greek (and Greco-Roman) boreal imagination on later Western cultural perceptions of outgroups ensured that the most-often repeated characteristics evolved into a compelling, self-affirming pool of ideas, still visible in literature, popular culture, memes, media depictions, games, and similar forms of representation.[209] In the previous section on northern nature, we began by examining the physical topography and geography of the North; in this section, we first turn to the physical characteristics of northerners, before focusing on their supposed mental and behavioural traits.

A. Northern bodies

The physical characteristics of northerners constituted some of the most enduring elements of the septentriographic tradition.[210] From early on, Thracians were frequently described as red-haired and blue-eyed, as seen in the writings of Xenophanes of Colophon. Similarly, Herodotus refers to the blue-eyed Budinoi of Scythia.[211] The fair hair of many northern groups remained an often-commented physical characteristic. Strabo reinforces Caesar’s earlier distinction between Celts and Germans along the Rhine by noting that the Germans differ only little from the Celts, but are wilder, taller, and blonder.[212] It is worth recalling that the earlier Greek categorisation of European barbarians was essentially limited to the two macrogroups of Celts and Scythians.[213] Caesar’s introduction of the Germani as a separate category between these two groups did not gain immediate acceptance, especially among Greek writers. Authors of the immediate post-Caesarian period, such as Diodorus, still adhered to the twofold model, and even writers of the High Empire, such as Appian and Cassius Dio, hesitated to elevate the *Germanoi* into a fully-fledged macrogroup alongside Celts and Scythians.[214]

Later on, hair and eye colour remained two of the most frequently referenced markers of northerners; these traits were often linked to descriptions of their tall and muscular build and pale skin.[215] Tacitus, for instance, observes that while the Germani

---

[209] Figures such as Robert E. Howard’s Conan the Barbarian and the Pictish Bran Mak Morn are important for transmitting the hard-primitivist imagery to contemporary popular culture: on Conan, see e.g. Shanks 2013. The caption ‘Savage! Furious! Thrilling!’ in this section’s title is from a cover blurb for a 1969 Dell edition of Howard’s *Bran Mak Morn*: see Maldonado 2017. For the theme more broadly see also Geroulanos 2024, 31–42.

[210] Günnewig 1998, 172; Skinner 2012, 85.

[211] Xenophan. *Silli* (D-K 21) F 16 *ap*. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7.4.22.1 (cf. Hipponax F 72 *ap. POxy.* XVIII 2174 fr. 3); Hdt. 4.108; Getae are mentioned as blonde as late as in Isid. *Etym.* 19.23.7.

[212] Str. 7.1.2, reinforcing this with a Latin-based etymology about Germans being ‘genuine’ Celts: see Johnston 2019, 59.

[213] Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 30a *ap.* Str. 1.2.28, F 30b *ap.* Cosm. Ind. *TC* 148, F 30c *ap.* [Scymn.] *Nik. Per.* 167–182; see Freeman 1996, 34–37.

[214] See Johnston 2019, 56–60.

[215] For the blonde or reddish hair, grey, green, or generally ‘piercing’ eyes, tall and muscular stature, and pale skin – often described in a combination of all three – see e.g. Diod. Sic. 5.24.2–3, 5.28.1–3; Livy 7.9.3–11;

are numerous, they all share a similar physique – a reiteration, within a more restricted ethnographical context, of the same generic northern iconosphere. They have piercing blue eyes and ruddy hair; they also possess large bodies suited to sudden action, though they are reluctant to endure sustained exertion.[216] What is crucial here is that the 'whiteness' of northerners was not, unlike in later 'Western' racialised frameworks, a positive or even an 'ingroup' quality. The modern notion of Nordic 'whiteness' is a relatively recent construct, tied to modern racialised thought and racism.[217] Ideas about the characteristics of 'northern' groups often reached later European iconosphere – especially from the Early Modern period to our contemporary perceptions – in a shape that was crucially shaped by the Roman adaptation of often originally Greek elements. Worryingly, we have in the recent decades seen a surging interest within ethno-nationalist and 'alt-right' circles in using racialising and essentialising rhetoric about supposed 'white' or 'European' qualities that in fact directly stem from the Roman clichés about northerners, though almost always presented in an unambiguously positive, valorised way and with occasional gestures towards climatic determinism.[218]

The later nativist, white-supremacist and eugenicist registers of rhetoric in the Euro-American discourse have, then, been able to bring about – or rather, to build upon – the curious bifurcation of inherited 'hard-primitive' imagery, making their own imagined non-Roman ancestors a sort of genuine, admirable and purifying barbarian factor, while at the same time seeking metaphors and comparisons for their own bugbears and panicky imaginings about the 'fall of the West' from the ancient 'hard-primitive' barbarians of supposedly 'non-white' kind. But what is crucial to emphasise is that neither the ancient Greeks nor the Romans considered themselves 'white' in this sense. According to ancient theories of human variation (as discussed above), to be white meant to exhibit the set of qualities associated with northern peoples – qualities that were usually far from flattering.[219] Instead, the Greek and Roman ingroup was defined by *eukrasis* (εὐκρᾶσις), the 'perfect mixture' of balanced qualities attributed to those living in the world's middle climes, which uniquely suited them to rationality and rulership.[220]

It seems undeniable, then, that as the ancient Greeks and Romans directed their gaze at northern bodies, they engaged in an embodied kind of 'racecraft'.[221] Archives can serve as topographies for procedure, but far more often they have constituted a thoroughly imperialist form of ordering knowledge; both can be said to be true about culturally

---

Vitr. *De arch.* 6.1.3; Manil. 5.692, 715–716; Tac. *Germ.* 4; Plin. *HN* 2.189; Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 11.3; Clem. Al. *Paed.* 3.3.24.2; *Pan. Lat.* 8(5).16.4; Amm. Marc. 15.12.1 (Gauls), 30.2.21 (Alans); Polemo *ap.* Anon. Lat. *De physiogn.* 14, Adamant. *Phgn.* 2.31, 37; Maur. *Strat.* 11.3. The piercing gaze is given a paradoxographic slant in the case of Triballi and Illyrians by Isig. Nic. F 19 (Giannini) *ap.* Plin. *HN* 7.16.

216 Tac. *Germ.* 4.

217 See Lundström & Teitelbaum 2017; Rastas 2019; cf. on historical 'whiteness' more generally and with great clarity, Dee 2004; McCoskey 2022, 10–18. On the Early Modern history of antiquarianism and national narratives in Scandinavia, see Roling & Schirg (eds.) 2019.

218 On these, see Slobodian 2025, 61, 63 on the 'boreal' iconosphere's significance to the 'alt-right' racism; cf. Geroulanos 2024, 156–158, 189–228; for background, see Chatterjee 2021. See also fn. 209 above.

219 See e.g. Sassi 2001, xii–xiii, 1–8, 19–26, 50–52, 58, 73–74, 94; on the creation of 'white people' well postdating antiquity, Dee 2004. Also Isaac 2009; McCoskey 2012, 2–9, 23–24, 140–148, 177–184; McCoskey 2022, 4; Derbew 2022, 32–36, 51; Skinner 2022; Parmenter 2024, 171–205.

220 [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 12; Arist. *Pol.* 1327b; Polyb. 6.52.9–11; Vitr. *De arch.* 6.1.10–11; Str. 17.3.24; Sen. *Ira* 2.15; Plin. *HN* 2.80; Mela 1.4; Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.2. On *eukrasis*/*eukrasia*, see e.g. Bos 2009; Korobili 2023.

221 On 'racecraft' in an earlier context, see Murray 2022; also Harrison 2025.

shared mental archives of ethnographically framed knowledge.[222] The characteristics of these northern bodies were debated, assessed, admired, and mocked. Like those of other barbarian groups, they were often treated as readily available for scrutiny – a perception stemming partly from the assumption that materially 'primitive' societies were scantily dressed.[223] Nakedness itself had long been part of northern imagery, both in connection with warfare and in references to northerners bathing in rivers to harden their bodies.[224]

The supposedly naked or scantily clad bodies of northerners allowed the Greek and Roman imagination to dwell on two related motifs: tattooing and body-painting. Initially associated with Thracians – famed for their tattoos and studied in this volume by Despoina Tsiafaki – these motifs were later freely applied to a wide range of northern barbarians.[225] As in other respects, Herodotus framed Thracians as cultural inversions of Greeks: among them, tattoos conferred nobility rather than low status.[226] The mainstream Greek association of tattoos with criminality or slavery within their own Hellenic ingroup,[227] or with an outgroup perceived through a lens of negative stereotypes – in the case of Thracians, injustice, impiety, greed and violence – meant that tattooing could be used to communicate any of these associated characteristics on a symbolic level. We have, for instance, a Late-Archaic Attic red-figure neck amphora, where an axe-wielding *Dike*, or the personification of Justice, strikes down *Adikia*, or Injustice.[228] What is interesting is that apart from being depicted in clearly more grotesque fashion than *Dike*, *Adikia* also has her skin decorated with round patterns that are very probably intended to evoke Thracian tattoos.[229] Two possible dimensions of punishment come to mind: the everyday violence inflicted on Thracian slaves in Athenian households, and the more abstract chastisement of Thracians for their *hybris* in the mythistorical register.[230]

The essentially Herodotean detail regarding the social stratification of tattooing was later occasionally transferred to other peoples, as in Pomponius Mela when he writes the same thing about the Agathyrsi of Scythia.[231] Interestingly, Clearchus of Soli blamed the Scythians for initiating the well-known custom of tattooing among Thracian

---

[222] On archive as a 'topography for procedures', Bhagat & Mogel 2007; see also Assmann 2010.

[223] E.g. Sall. *Hist.* 3 F 88 (McGushin = 104 Maurenbrecher) *ap.* Isid. *Etym.* 19.23.4 on the Germans.

[224] About warfare, mostly that of the Celts: Polyb. 2.28.8; Diod. Sic. 5.30; Livy 22.46, 38.21; Tac. *Germ.* 6. The motif of bathing in freezing rivers: Arist. *Pol.* 1336a; Caes. *BGall.* 4.1.10, 6.21; cf. variants of this in *Par. Vat.* 18; *Anth. Gr.* 9.125; Gal. *San. tu.* 1.10: see Lampinen 2014b.

[225] See Tsiafaki in this volume; also Dinter & Khoo 2020; Rees 2020. For the Thracian tradition, see Zidarov 2017.

[226] Hdt. 5.6; cf. *Diss. Log.* 2.13 noting this particularly about Thracian girls; gendered angle is also there in Phanocl. F 1.25–29 (*Coll. Alex.*) *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.20b.47 (see Stern 1979; Jones 1987, 145), as well as Plut. *De sera* 12 (557d), where Thracians are said to tattoo their women in punishment to their primordial murder of Orpheus. In Solin. 15.3, the social stratification still exists, but the Agathyrsi are said to colour both their hair and bodies blue. Cf. also Mart. *Epigr.* 2.29 on a pretentious freedman using wraps to cover his tattoos.

[227] Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* 3.202. On the contrasting evaluation of tattoos in antiquity, see Jones 1987; duBois 2012, 57–71; Dinter & Khoo 2020, 86–89; Rees 2020, esp. 280–283.

[228] Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 3722 (BAPD 200050), from *ca*. 520–500 BCE; cf. Basel HC 826 (BAPD 28963). On the repertoire of barbarian depictions in the vase-paintings of this period, see Vlassopoulos 2024.

[229] See Frel 1963; Shapiro 1993, 39–40; Smith 2011, 15.

[230] Cf. Tsiafaki 2015, 96–98, 108–113; also Parmenter 2024, 172–182. Some Thracian slaves are portrayed as taking pride in their toughness and its consequent punishment: Men. *Asp.* 240–245.

[231] Mela 2.10. Amm. Marc. 30.2.14 echoes the details about Agathyrsi and Geloni.

women.[232] This is one more example of the haziness and interchangeability that was such a source for enrichment and generic involution in the northern ethnographic sphere. A further example of this vagueness is the uncertainty among ancient writers as to whether a given group practiced tattooing or body-painting – yet this distinction seemed to matter little to their audiences. The noteworthiness of the custom did not hinge on such details. The British Isles became later on a frequent location for the motif of tattooing or body-painting, with the Picti, in particular, becoming proverbially associated with the idea.[233] Here, northern material culture sometimes enters the discussion. In Book 22, while speaking about tattooing and body-painting practices, Pliny tells of a plant similar to plantago – glossed through its Gallic name *glastum* – which is used by British women of all ages to colour their entire naked bodies while participating in 'certain sacred rites'.[234] The plant itself and the vaguely identified rituals are mere side notes in a vignette that is much more interested in the image of the barbarian female body. The scenario of a white northern body turning into a deeply coloured one was, it seems, easy to sexualise. Indeed, Pliny goes on immediately afterwards to compare the British women to another subaltern group, the proverbially dark-hued Aethiopians – another good example of the transferability of ethnic evidence by way of analogies that are coordinated by the imperial knowledge regime.[235]

B. Anger, greed, hybris*: the mental and social characteristics of the northerners*

The northerners' mental qualities were thought to arise from the same explanatory templates as their physical appearance and were, in turn, believed to shape their behaviour and social life. The clearest statement of this underlying logic appears in Seneca's *De Ira*. According to the Stoic, the northern peoples' anger and violence stem from their inner heat (*calor*), necessitated by the cold climate in which they live. If, however, warlike activity is absent from their lives, the abundant moisture of their bodies renders them soft and flabby.[236] Northerners were seen as naturally adapted to their own climate but especially prone to weakness in Mediterranean heat.[237] Sometimes, a 'nomic' type of explanation for the supposed ferocity of northerners was sought in their beliefs about the afterlife. From Thracians to Celts, many were thought to imagine death as a passage to a happier life in another world.[238] Antti Lampinen's chapter on the supposed belief-worlds of the northerners looks at these elements in greater detail.

Such commonly held ideas among Greco-Roman audiences, reinforced and reified by broader explanatory models – particularly climatology – help explain the longevity

---

[232] Clearch. Sol. F 44 (Dorandi & White = 46 Wehrli) *ap.* Ath. 12.524c. For the fragments of Clearchus, it is now advisable to consult Dorandi & White 2022, published as part of Mayhew & Mirhady (eds.) 2022.

[233] Caes. *BGall.* 5.14; Hdn. 3.14.7; Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 2.249–260 about the personification of Britain with *ferro picta genas*; Isid. *Etym.* 9.2.103; 19.23.7 (separately attributed to Britons and Picts).

[234] Plin. *HN* 22.2.

[235] A 'simulacrum of blackness', from wherever in the world of *gentes*, could thus trigger another part of ethnicised knowledge – in this case the sexualisation of black skin. The transfer of the motif of 'strong women' from the East to the North, investigated by Joanna Porucznik in her chapter (111–122, 128) is another good example of this transferability.

[236] Sen. *Ira* 2.19, 4.15. See also above 22, 34. On anger as an ethnographic trope, see Ford 2022.

[237] Suited for cold climate: Ael. *VH* 7.6; still in *Cosm. Aeth.* 29 on *Germani*. Suffering in warm climate: [Hippoc.] *Aer.* 20; Livy 5.48.3, 10.28.2–4, 34.47.5; Tac. *Germ.* 4; App. *Celt.* 4; Veg. *Mil.* 1.2; Agath. *Hist.* 1.19.2; *Cosm. Aeth.* 29.

[238] See pp. 97, 161–162, 173, 177, 188 below, in the chapters of Lampinen.

and tenacity of the septentriographic set of stereotypes. At the same time, the 'prestige of formal elements' – i.e. literary use of *topoi* – also played a role.[239] For Greeks and Romans of the Long Hellenistic Age, knowing foreign peoples was partly a way to ensure they would never be surprised by them – or rather, never again, after the traumatic experiences of the Galatian attacks and the Cimbric wars. It was the stock stereotypes of ancient thinking, and the concomitant *topoi* of literature, that ensured barbarians rarely defied expectations. Although the North itself occasionally delivered unpleasant surprises, truly 'new' barbarians could hardly exist.[240]

The fiercest groups were typically located at the world's edges. Strabo states this explicitly, noting that the strongest Gauls live 'towards the north and next to the Ocean', effectively reiterating Caesar's characterisation of the Belgae.[241] The Oceanic setting continued to shape perceptions of the surrounding population groups, reinforcing ideas of their archaic character and remoteness. As seen earlier, the movements of northern peoples were often explained through a natural prodigy – the inundation of the Ocean. The notion that northern groups were constantly jostling for space among each other, triggering concatenated migrations of peoples, already appears in Herodotean vision of the continental expanse of Scythia. The Greek desire to explain the seemingly sudden and large-scale population movements of the steppe world resulted in narratives such as Aristeas' image of Scythian pressure against the Cimmerians, which Herodotus cites. With the exception of the blessed Hyperboreans, every group presses upon its neighbours: Arimaspians push Issedonians to move, who in turn cause Scythians to migrate, who in turn attack the Cimmerians and drive them out.[242]

From these early perceptions of the northern Eurasian landmass teeming with warlike peoples poised to migrate in search of new territory, the subsequent tradition inherited the *topos* of 'people on the move.' In due course, it fed into the concepts of *Völkerwanderung* and the 'Migration Age', rightly criticised for essentialist and teleological assumptions.[243] But what is less often acknowledged is that the roots of these scholarly constructs are connected with ancient Greek and Roman ways of explaining the supposed mobility – and the perceived threat – of northern groups. Northerners' aggression was often explained through their greed for gold and material goods, as well as their indifference towards any normal forms of reverence owed to the deities.[244] By

---

[239] On the literary aspects, see Zerjadtke 2020 and the entire edited volume Zerjadtke (ed.) 2020; also Zasterova 1985. Cf. the 'prestige of formal elements' in sculptural media, analogous to the literary considerations: von den Hoff 2004, 121.

[240] The 'impossibility of new barbarians' is an apt formulation for this by Wolfram 1997, 37 (but cf. the nuances of Clark 1999). Amm. Marc. 31.2 on the Huns is a relatively rare statement, even if the contents of the excursus resemble Herodotus' more primitive types of Scythians; see Burgersdijk 2016; also Wiedemann 1986.

[241] Str. 4.4.2; cf. Caes. *BGall.* 1.1, 2.4.

[242] Aristeas *BNJ* 35 F 2 *ap.* Hdt. 4.13. As Romm 1992, 66 notes, only the climatically blessed Hyperboreans are exempt from this competition that is partly motivated by the harsh northern climate. The old Aristean-Herodotean image is still active in Evagr. Schol. *Hist. eccl.* 5.196 on Turks setting off the migration of the 'Scythian race' of wagon-dwelling Avars: see Pohl 2018, 21–68.

[243] Especially Goffart 2006, dismantling the notion with great panache; see also Kulikowski 2018; Donecker 2018.

[244] E.g. Just. 24.6.5, 8.1–2 and Paus. 10.19.8 on Brennus's Celts aiming to loot Delphi; Her. Dex. *Scyth.* 2 *Cod. Vind. hist. gr.* 73, ff. 192^{v}–193^{r}, Mallan & Davenport 2015, 206) on the 'Scythians' (i.e. Goths) in the early 260s CE planning to lay waste to Achaea (as they did, if Syncellus' *Chron.* 466.1–7 M is correct). On Dexippus' image of Goths, Potter 2020.

Late Antiquity, as Maia Kotrosits and Maijastina Kahlos explain in their chapters, the 'Scythian' paradigm could be put into many symbolically and ideologically rich uses in the heresiological and polemical registers. The Scythians could be seen as typifying a specific kind of ancestral religious error, from which further impieties were thought to stem. Applied to the contemporary groups, especially as a Classicising label for the Goths, this paradigm cast them as mobile, possibly useful but basically untrustworthy 'foreigners' within the imperial body politic. They were not only bearers of 'wrong religiosity' but also carried an inherent, symbolic Titanism, making them the eternal antagonists of the forces of order, re-enacting the best-known cosmic battle of the past.[245]

The Cimmerians and Scythians were the original 'peoples on the move', but the migrations of Celtic groups and the Cimbri in the Hellenistic period further reinforced this motif. The predatory nature of northerners was sometimes paired with explanations portraying them as seeking new lands to settle.[246] A concern with the land-grabbing tendencies of the Galatae is evident in a *post eventum* prophecy attributed to the Epirote seeress Phaennis in Zosimus' early-sixth-century history.[247] The motifs of disturbing the ingroup's sacred treasures and taking hold of new lands emerge as two prominent Hellenistic themes amidst the unease generated by the barbarian enemy. The barbarian invaders are also characterised as migratory (as opposed to the peaceful Greek farmers) in the Delphic Hymn by Limenius.[248] This was the aspect that Middle Republican Roman writers found particularly compelling when applying the motif of the 'Gallic invasion' to Italian history.[249]

Subsequent barbarian 'invasions' from the north reinforced the image of a vast continental expanse of predatory peoples all poised to descend on the cities of the Mediterranean world. This perception was further strengthened in Late Antiquity and eventually developed into a scholarly trope that has been difficult to dismantle. To the contemporaries of the fourth and fifth centuries CE, there was something deeply unsettling in the idea of the populous North. Sometimes the fear it generated led to magical thinking. Photius recorded a passage he found in Olympiodorus of Thebes' *History*:

> The historian says that he heard from a certain Valerius, a man of high rank, about silver statues which had been consecrated to ward off barbarians. He says that during the reign of Constantius the Emperor, when Valerius was governor of Thrace, it was reported that a treasure had been found. Valerius visited the site and learned from the locals that it was sacred and that statues had been consecrated there according to an ancient rite. [...] When the spot was excavated, three solid silver statues were found deposited there, of barbarous style, with long hair and inclining towards the North, that is towards the land of the barbarians. As soon as the statues were removed, a few days later the whole Gothic nation poured over Thrace and

---

245 See the chapters of Kotrosits and Kahlos in this volume.

246 The idea of Celts as a *fugax gens* (the term of Nenci 1990, 316) is Hellenistic; also see Tomaschitz 2002.

247 Zos. 2.37.1 (see Parke 1982). The northerners continued in the subsequent centuries to be perceived as primarily yearning to occupy Roman lands, and ready to betray and backstab in pursuing this: cf. the Goths in Eunap. F 42 (Blockley) *ap. Exc. de legat. gent.* 6 and F 59 (Blockley) *ap. Exc. de legat. gent.* 7; the Gepids and Avars in Men. Prot. F 12.6 (Blockley) *ap. Exc. de legat. Rom.* 9, F 12.7 *ap. Exc. de legat. gent.* 15; F 15.1 *ap. Exc. de legat. gent.* 17.

248 Limen. *II Delph. Paean* ll. 31–33. Fantuzzi 2010, 193.

249 Williams 2001, 100–140, 207–212 on the dissociating potential of the ancient claims about Gallic 'externality' to Italy. On the Italian Gauls, see also Häussler 2018.

> shortly afterwards the Huns and the Sarmatians were to invade Illyricum and Thrace also. For the site of the consecration lay between Thrace and Illyricum, and to judge from the number of statues they had been consecrated against the whole of barbary.[250]

Already the Hellenistic kings had endeavoured not only to contain the Galatian raids, but also to stabilise their presence. Part of this was achieved by epistemic means: another instance of knowledge-ordering in the service of royal domination employing ethnicised writing. An etymology for *Gaizetai* (Γαιζήται), which the *Etymologicum Magnum* takes as a synonym of *Galatai* (Γαλάται) – based on the polymath Euphorion of Chalcis who wrote at the court of Antiochus III (222–187 BCE) – may relate not only to the perceived Galatian interest in finding a land to settle, but also to a less clearly recognised, perhaps even subconscious, desire among the inhabitants of Asia Minor for the marauders to settle down.[251] This largely came to pass after the Seleucid victory at the so-called 'Elephant Battle', which probably consolidated the future Galatia as the invaders' permanent territory.[252] Whether Euphorion's etymology was primarily a learned allusion or part of a celebratory composition, it is not impossible to imagine that a celebration of the Seleucid achievement against the roaming barbarians might have included an etymologically masked reference to a settlement that even the barbarians themselves, on some level, were perceived as desiring.

As with so many other aspects of his depiction of the Gauls, Germans and Britons, Caesar's description of the migration of the Helvetii drew heavily on pre-existing tradition. In justifying his own intervention in Gaul, Caesar leveraged the inherent fear factor of the *topos* of migrating northerners. This reflected aspects of earlier ideas about 'northerners on the move', but rather than invoking the aforementioned inundation stories, he presented two essentialising motivations: the excessive fecundity of northerners, leading to unchecked population growth, and their inherent willingness to uproot themselves in search of new lands to conquer.[253] Caesar's contemporaries reacted to such scenarios emotionally and viscerally. The existential threat from the proverbial ferocity and inhumanity of the northerners was not only imagined through their conquests and raids, but also through their rituals of human sacrifice, headhunting, decapitation, scalping, and other customs perpetrated in their own lands. Here, too, Classical ideas about Taurians and Scythians were foundational, though later developments gave them many new expressions – often as justifications for hostilities against 'insolent', 'impious', 'hybristic' or 'savage' northern communities.[254]

---

[250] Olymp. Theb. F 27 (Blockley) *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 80.177. Transl. Blockley. Three statues imply the three continents, and thus metonymically the whole of *barbaricum*.

[251] Euph. Chalc. *Polych.* F 34 (Meineke) *ap. EtMag s.v.* Γαιζήται (see Barbantani 2001, 184–185); cf. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάζα; Zonar. *Lex. s.v.* Γαιζήται; Eustath. *Comm. in Il.* 2.140. Also *Tract. de mul.* 14 (Gera 1997, 10–11); Memnon *BNJ* 434 F 1.8.8 *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 224.227b; Heges. Alex. *BNJ* 45 F 3 *ap.* Str. 13.1.27; Just. 24.4.1; Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 15.

[252] The Galatian settlement in Anatolia: Moraux 1957; Nachtergael 1977; Mitchell 1993, 13–26; Darbyshire & al. 2009, 122–131. See also Oreshko & Alagöz 2023.

[253] Caes. *BGall.* 1.2–29; on Gallic fecundity, see also Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.646; Simyl. *De Tarpeia* 724 *SH ap.* Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 17.7; Cic. *Prov. cons.* 33; Diod. Sic. 14.113; Livy 38.16; Str. 4.4.3; Just. 24.4.1, 25.2.8.

[254] On the headhunting of Herodotus' Scythians, see Hartog 1988, 157–192; also Jouanna 1981, 9–12; Isaac 2004, 205–209. In addition to the many cases cited in this introduction, we add just a few additional examples of the ancient sources, e.g. Pos. F 274 (E-K) *ap.* Str. 4.4.5 on the Celtic headhunting (cf. Diod. Sic. 5.29); Diod. Sic. 31.13 *ap. Exc. de virt. et vit.* 2.1 p. 281.25–27; Just. 24.6.5 on Galatian's sacrilegious greed (see Moreno 2021);

Conclusions

The aim of this volume is to show that 'the North' in Greco-Roman thought was conceptualised in a myriad of ways, which, despite the broad range of motifs, gravitated towards a very distinctive set of ideas that persisted through antiquity and went on to influence later European perceptions of northern societies. Northern regions and populations were not solely seen as a 'heartland of inexplicable hostility'.[255] On the contrary, ancient sources present a kaleidoscope of impressions and images, ranging from fear and bafflement to admiration and lust. Thinking through the prism of 'the North' helped Greeks and Romans to conceptualise both positive and negative aspects of the human condition, while the northern lands themselves offered both material and conceptual stimuli to excite the imagination. The North was not just 'out there', but also a presence that touched the everyday lives and senses of Greeks and Romans in tangible ways. The chapters in this volume will explore the ways in which the North and its inhabitants were distinguished, marked, and marketed in a long tradition stretching from Homer to Late Antiquity.

The concept of 'northern barbarian' appears frequently in this volume, but not uncritically. Recent scholarship has revisited 'barbarian' as a valuable and genuinely ancient term, frequently employed as an analytical category whenever Greeks and Romans debated human nature, the essence of culture and civilisation, and the moral character of individuals and groups. But what is important to remember is that, contrary to what its contemporary usage would imply, 'barbarian' did not in antiquity imply 'barbarity'. Instead, it had started off and largely remained a term constructed in opposition to the ingroup of Greeks and Romans. Calling somebody a 'barbarian' did not necessarily invoke the idea of savagery, but simply denoted the person or group as non-Greek or, later, non-Roman, even if they lived within the empire.[256] The sort of ideas about simple mode of life, primitive culture and savage behaviour that 'barbarian' now conjures up were not an intrinsic part of what the word *barbaros* meant, in itself. It is true that the image of northern barbarians did partially conform with these ideas, but there was an equally long-lived tradition about holy, wise or just northerners living at ease in utopian lands.

Should we wish to summarise the central motifs outlined in this chapter, we might categorise them into elements defining northern nature and geography, and those pertaining to northern populations. These categories often overlapped, with the former frequently serving both as an explanatory framework and, at times, as a metonym for the latter. The ethnographically oriented details of 'boreal imagination' can also be broadly

---

Stat. Crito *BNJ* 200 F 11 *ap. Suda s.v.* ἐξυβρίζοντα on Dacian *hybris*; Cass. Dio 62.7.2 on cruelly celebrating, hybristic Britons. *Hybris* features prominently in the Celtic characterisation of Polybius: Berger 1992, 120. Later, too, e.g. in Eunap. *Chron.* F 37 (Blockley) *ap. Exc. de legat. gent.* 5; Men. Prot. F 21 (Blockley) *ap. Exc. de legat. Rom.* 15 (both Slavs and Avars); Maur. *Strat.* 11.2.16–20; Theoph. Sim. *Hist.* 1.3.1.

255 Merrills 2005, 56.

256 On the discursive, cultural concept of the 'barbarian', mainly in antiquity, see e.g. Dauge 1981; Chauvot 1984; Hall 1989 (but cf. Kim 2013); Podossinov 1996; Ferris 2000; Dubuisson 2001; Rowan 2004; Dallara 2005; Almagor 2005; Ndiaye 2005; Brenk 2005; Feld 2005; Barbero 2007; Mitchell 2007; Hodot & Jouin 2008; Todorov 2010; Liebeschuetz 2012; Błażejewski 2014; Boletsi & Moser (eds.) 2015, especially Hartog 2015; Bârcă (ed.) 2016; Kulatunga 2016; Bjornlie 2018; Antonova 2019; Rubel 2020; Marcone 2021; Kulawiak-Cyrankowska 2022.

divided into those evoking the 'soft primitivism' of peacefulness, justice, and plenty, and those contributing to the 'hard primitive' image of bestial, warlike, and cruel barbarians. It is also worth noting that many elements were neutral or could be interpreted in different ways depending on the needs and aims of any given author.

Some of the earliest features of Greek mental geography of the North included the Rhipaean Mountains, from which the North Wind (Boreas) was believed to blow and beyond which the sun was thought to hide at night. Right beyond this mountain chain, northern snow and frost were imagined giving way to a land of plenty and warmth, inhabited by the pious Hyperboreans. More broadly, the rhythm of darkness and daylight was understood to differ in the northern regions compared to the Mediterranean. Vast rivers provided structure to the Eurasian expanse. The encircling Ocean was known from an early stage, while its tides and inundations became a subject of intense speculation from the Late Classical period onwards. Materials and resources particularly associated with the North included amber, tin, gold, animal furs, horses, honey and slaves.

Apart from the blessed Hyperboreans, with their affinity to music and a particularly strong connection to Apollo, other northern groups were also at times ascribed certain positive, 'soft primitive' attributes. Their relationship with nature was thought to be characterised by the sort of Golden Age simplicity that the Greeks had lost long ago. Nature provided for these northerners their food without the need for agriculture, and sometimes they were imagined simply as plucking their nourishment straight from the trees. Either entire peoples were imagined 'holy', or they had holy men and sages of their own. Hospitality was another theme that appears even in the Roman era in descriptions of some European groups. Lastly, the Scythians attracted comments about their simple and just way of life, although the majority opinion saw them as representing the 'hard' kind of primitivism that nomadic societies exhibited.

On balance, it is these 'hard primitive' elements that dominate Greek septentriography. Despite the occasional 'northern wise men', northerners were commonly thought averse to letters and learning, sometimes explained through climatic theories portraying them as hotheaded, aggressive, and lacking in intellect. Even in their own rituals, they were seen as misunderstanding correct religiosity, not to mention that they often lacked respect for gods and sanctuaries of other peoples, sometimes suffering divine punishment as a result. Yet the northern greed for riches and possessions was seen as enduring. Their vast and destructive migrations were sometimes attributed to population growth, wars among themselves, the encroaching of the Ocean's waters or other natural disasters, or simple predatory greed. Northern cruelty was proverbial, and perhaps one of the first and most widely shared themes that any ancient audience would have 'known' about them. Equally proverbial was their inability to drink wine in a civilised manner: either by neglecting to dilute it or through overindulgence. In battle, they showed daunting recklessness and foolhardiness, but their attacks could be endured through patience, rationality, and piety towards the ingroup's own gods. Loss against such northern adversaries did not bear thinking about: Greek and Roman audiences were convinced that an archaic, frightening world of headhunting, human sacrifice, and ritual killings either still existed – or had vanished only recently and reversibly – among northern groups. Closely linked to human sacrifice was the idea of cannibalism: stories from the far edges of the North spoke of incestuous practices and feasts of human flesh.

Many ostensibly neutral elements were also 'known' about northern groups. Like most of the previously mentioned ideas, these were very easily transferred from one group

to another and appear in various contexts linked to different ethnonyms. The stereotypical physical appearance of northerners was not necessarily either negative or positive, even though ancient physiognomical theory tended to interpret it as a sign of undesirable traits. Their bodies were almost always imagined as paler than those of Mediterranean peoples; often they were also thought to be tall and muscular, with blonde or reddish hair and eyes that were striking either due to their colour or their 'harsh' expression. Their bodies were frequently decorated with tattoos or paint, which, since Greeks associated such markings with slavery, made their pride in them appear strange.

In terms of social relations ascribed to northern peoples, their oft-mentioned strong women were not exactly neutral in the eyes of the patriarchal writers, but the theme could be given either a 'soft' or 'hard' primitive slant. Besides the active, brave, and often somehow 'masculine' women, non-typical gender roles were often projected onto northern societies. Ideas about 'eunuchs', cross-dressing, and other nonconforming practices appear occasionally, as well as notions of communal marriage or polyamorous sexual relations. The idea of a cultural preference for homosexual relations among men was extended from the Thracian Orpheus to the Celts, as was the idea of a northern belief in an afterlife. Occasionally, this afterlife was imagined as a never-ending feast, and communal feasts were, in fact, frequently mentioned as a feature of some northern societies. Mixed with features such as skull-cups, these ideas acquired a more 'hard primitive' tone. Dietary habits were part of the stereotype: meat, cheese, and milk were typical, linked to pastoral and hunting economies. Northerners were also imagined as highly fertile and populous, a disquieting complement to their other traits.

The Greco-Roman antiquity operated with a meaningful, culturally shared set of ideas about northern qualities, customs, and environments. Diachronic changes within this assemblage of images did occur, especially in response to expanding knowledge and encounters, but striking continuities are also evident. This set of images may have been comforting in its predictability, but it was not an accurate tool for analysing real-life events or responding to them. However conventional, tendentious, and dictated by tradition, the ethnographically presented stereotypes of ancient literature constituted a primary source of information for a large section of the educated elite. The macroscopic theoretical structures of the Imperial era – particularly the climatological and astrological models – were instrumental in explaining how human difference was generated and maintained in the world. Combined with cultural stereotypes, these theoretical structures gave support to a set of moralising arguments about the essential qualities of human groups. The practice of collecting and listing 'ethnic customs', in turn, reified cultural multiplicity in a different but equally rhetorical way, while usually relying on the audience's already-established knowledge about different northern groups' rituals, cults, or practices.

Shaped by such material, the ancient Greek and Roman elites looked at northern societies – whether provincial subalterns or the 'free' groups beyond the borders – through heavily tinted lenses. In many cases, they were more likely to believe their own education than any contrary information from the field. At the same time, although most of the Roman elite was not well-equipped to form an accurate or sympathetic view of northerners' motivations, aims or habits, the very literariness of their received ideas could, one suspects, have in practice led to a kind of permissive ignorance. This would have been even more glaring if, as seems likely, the Roman administration 'in the field' in the northern provinces adhered slightly less rigidly to the age-old imagery from the Greek tradition, at least when compared with the highly literary classes at the urban centres of

the empire. But when circumstances led to an even temporary intensification of these received images in the elite's perspective – as happened in times of northern uprisings or threats – the rhetorical and tradition-bound elements could occasionally influence not only propaganda, but also active policies of suppression, retaliation, or discrimination. The northerners were a resource both in terms of their bodies and produce, but also as material for propagandistic and politicised speech. Even in Late Antiquity, with plenty of interactions with individuals and groups judged to be somehow 'northern', at least our written sources constantly lead to an impression that despite centuries of coexistence and enquiry, the Greeks and Romans often struggled to see past their own markers of northernness.

Bibliography

Aalto & Pekkanen 1975-1980 = P. Aalto & T. Pekkanen, *Latin Sources on North-Eastern Eurasia*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1975-1980.

Acosta-Hughes 2010 = B. Acosta-Hughes, *Arion's Lyre: Archaic Lyric into Hellenistic Poetry*, Princeton 2010.

Adali 2017 = S.F. Adali, 'Cimmerians and the Scythians: the Impact of Nomadic Powers on the Assyrian Empire and the Ancient Near East', in H.J. Kim, F.J. Vervaet & S.F. Adali (eds.), Cambridge *Eurasian Empires in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Contact and Exchange between the Graeco-Roman World, Inner Asia and China*, Cambridge 2017, 60–81.

Adler 2008 = E. Adler, 'Boudica's Speeches in Tacitus and Dio', *CW* 101 (2008) 173–195.

Agard 1966 = W.A. Agard, 1966, 'Boreas at Athens', *CJ* 61 (2018) 241–246.

Ahl 1982 = F.M. Ahl, 'Amber, Avallon, and Apollo's Singing Swan', *AJPhil*. 103 (1982) 373–411.

Aldhouse-Green 1992 = M.J. Aldhouse-Green, *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*, London 1992.

Aldhouse-Green 2001 = M.J. Aldhouse-Green, *Dying for the Gods. Human Sacrifice in Iron Age and Roman Europe*, Stroud 2001.

Aldhouse-Green 2006 = M.J. Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia: Rebel, War-Leader and Queen*, Abingdon 2006.

Aldhouse-Green 2010 = M.J. Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids. Story of an Ancient Priesthood*, New Haven & London 2010.

Alemany 2024 = A. Alemany, 'Beyond the Wall: Eurasian Steppe Nomads in the Gog and Magog Motif', in G. Tamer, A. Mein & L. Greisiger (eds.), *Gog and Magog: Contributions toward a World History of an Apocalyptic Motif*, Berlin 2024, 23–53.

Alemany i Vilamajó 1999 = A. Alemany i Vilamajó, 'Els 'Cants arimaspeus' d'Arísteas de Proconnès i la caiguda dels Zhou Occidentals', *Faventia* 21 (1999) 45–55.

Alfayé & Marco Simón 2016 = S. Alfayé & F. Marco Simón, 'New Victims for Old Gods. Human Sacrifice of Conquerors in Colonial Contexts', *SMSR* 82 (2016) 593–606.

Algra 1991 = K. Algra, 'Review: *Posidonius, the Fragments*', *CR* 41 (1991) 316–319.

Allen-Hornblower 2014 = E. Allen-Hornblower, 'Beasts and Barbarians in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* 6.21-8', *CQ* 64 (2014) 682–693.

Almagor 2005 = E. Almagor, 'Who is a Barbarian? The Barbarians in the Ethnological and Cultural Taxonomies of Strabo', in D. Dueck, H. Lindsay & S. Pothecary (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of Kolossourgia*, Cambridge 2005, 42–54.

Almagor & Skinner 2013 = E. Almagor & J.E. Skinner, 'Introduction', in E. Almagor & J.E. Skinner (eds.), *Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches*, London & New York 2013, 1–22.

Almagor & Skinner (eds.) 2013 = E. Almagor & J.E. Skinner (eds.), *Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches*, London & New York 2013.

Alonso-Núñez 1987a = J.M. Alonso-Núñez, 'An Augustan World History: the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus', *G&R* 34 (1987) 56–72.

Alonso-Núñez 1987b = J.M. Alonso-Núñez, 'Jordanes and Procopius on Northern Europe', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31 (1987) 1–16.

Alonso-Núñez 2002 = J.M. Alonso-Núñez, *The idea of universal history in Greece: from Herodotus to the age of Augustus*, Amsterdam 2002.

Altomare 2015 = B.M. Altomare, 'Périples dans le *Périple*: notes sur la structure du *Périple de la Mer extérieure* de Marcien d'Héraclée et sur sa tradition indirecte', *Revue des études tardo-antiques* 4 (2015) 35–53.

Ambaglio 1995 = D. Ambaglio, *La Biblioteca storica di Diodoro Siculo: problemi e metodo*, Como 1995.

Ambaglio 2008= D. Ambaglio, 'Un archivo di utope di seconda mano: il caso di Diodoro Siculo', in C. Carsana & M.T. Schettino (eds.), *Utopia e utopie nel pensiero storico antico*, Rome 2008, 169–176.

Amat Séguin 1987 = B. Amat Séguin, 'Diodore XIV, 113: une catastrophe climatique à l'origine des pérégrinations sénones en Italie péninsulaire', *MÉFRA* 99 (1987) 823–846.

Amdur 1996 = E. Amdur, 'The Role of the Arms-Bearing Women in Japanese History', *Journal of Asian Martial Arts* 5 (1996) 10–35.

Anderson 1993 = G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic. A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*, Abingdon & London 1993.

Andrade 2020 = N.J. Andrade, 'Bardaisan's Disciples and Ethnographic Knowledge in the Roman Empire', in A. König, R. Langlands & J. Uden (eds.), *Literature and Culture in the Roman Empire, 96-235*, Cambridge 2020, 291–308.

Ando 2005 = C. Ando, '*Interpretatio Romana*', *CPhil.* 100 (2005) 41–51.

Ando 2012 = C. Ando, 'Die Riten der Anderen', in G.F. Chiai, R. Häussler & C. Kunst (eds.), *Interpretatio romana / graeca / indigena: religiöse Kommunikation zwischen Globalisierung und Partikularisierung*; *Mediterraneo Antico* 15 (2012) 31–50.

André 1966 = G. André, *Byzantium: From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, transl. S. Gilbert & J. Emmons, Paris 1966.

Anello 1984 = P. Anello, 'Polifemo e Galatea', *Seia* 1 (1984) 11–51.

Antonova 2019 = S.E. Antonova, *Barbarian or Greek? The Charge of Barbarism and Early Christian Apologetics*, Leiden & Boston 2019.

Anzinger 2015 = S. Anzinger, '*Post Oceanum nihil*? Albinovanus Pedo und die Suche nach einer anderen Welt', *Rh. Mus.*158 (2015) 326–407.

Apps 2014 = A. Apps, 'Source Citation and Authority in Solinus', in K. Brodersen (ed.), *Solinus, New Studies*, Heidelberg 2014, 32–42.

Araújo 2013 = J.C. Araújo, 'Utopia, paradoxografia e tradição literária nos *Incredibilia de Thule Insula* de António Diógenes', in M.C. Pimentel & P.F. Alberto (eds.), *Vir Bonus Peritissimus Aeque. Estudos de Homenagem a Arnaldo do Espírito Santo*, Lisbon 2013, 165–173.

Arce Martínez 2000 = J. Arce Martínez, 'El missorium de Teodosio I: problemas históricos y de iconografía', in M. Almagro Gorbea (ed.), *El disco de Teodosio*, Madrid 2000, 281–288.

Archibald 1994 = Z.H. Archibald, 'Thracians and Scythians', in D.M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower & M. Ostwald (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, VI: The Fourth Century B.C.*, Cambridge 1994, 444–475.

Archibald 1998 = Z.H. Archibald, *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked*, Oxford 1998.

Archibald 1999 = Z.H. Archibald, 'Thracian Cult – from Practice to Belief', in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks West and East*, Leiden 1999, 427–467.

Archibald 2024 = Z.H. Archibald, 'Thracians in Homer and other literary sources', in J. Spier, T. Potts, S.E. Cole & M. Damyanov (eds.), *Ancient Thrace and the Classical World: Treasures from Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece*, Los Angeles 2024, 11–13.

Armit 2012 = I. Armit, *Headhunting and the Body in Iron Age Europe*, Cambridge 2012.

Armit 2017 = I. Armit, 'Les demoiselles d'Entremont: Violence, gender and headhunting in Iron Age Europe', in U. Matić & B. Jensen (eds.), *Archaeologies of gender and violence*, Oxford & Philadelphia 2017, 122–132.

Armstrong 1948 = A.M. Armstrong, 'Anacharsis the Scythian', *G&R* 17 (1948) 18–23.

Armstrong 1958 = A.M. Armstrong, 'The Methods of the Greek Physiognomists', *G&R* 5 n.s. (1958) 52–56.

Arndt & al. (eds.) 2004 = A. Arndt, A. Blödorn, D. Fraesdorff & A.Weisner (eds.), *Imagologie des Nordens. Kulturelle Konstruktionen von Nördlichkeit in interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, Frankfurt-am-Main 2004.

Arnold 1999 = B. Arnold, 'Drinking the Feast: Alcohol and the Legitimation of Power in Celtic Europe', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9 (1999) 71–93.

Ash 2010 = R. Ash, 'Rhoxolani Blues (Tacitus, *Histories* 1.79): Virgil's Scythian Ethnography Revisited', in J.F. Miller & A.J. Woodman (eds.), *Latin Historiography and Poetry in the Early Empire: Generic Interactions*, Leiden & Boston 2010, 141–154.

Asirvatham 2024 = S.R. Asirvatham, 'Alexander the Lynkestian and the Thracians at Thebes: A Note on the Tale of Timokleia', in E.D. Carney, S. Müller & B. Antela-Bernárdez (eds.), *Karanos Supplement I: Know Thy Neighbor. Macedonia and its Environment*, Barcelona 2024, 185–193.

Assmann 2010 = A. Assmann, 'Canon and Archive', in A. Erll & A. Nünning (eds.), *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, Berlin 2010, 97–110.

Ast 2023 = R. Ast, 'A Sarmatian Family of Mediocre *Prytaneis*', in M. Kanellou & C. Carey (eds.), *Palladas and the Yale Papyrus Codex (*P. CtYBR *inv. 4000)*, Leiden & Boston 2023, 66–73.

Aujac 1966 = G. Aujac, *Strabon et la science de son temps*, Paris 1966.

Aujac 1969 = G. Aujac, *Strabon, Géographie, texte établi, traduit et commenté, I, 2 (livre II)*, Paris 1969.

Aujac 2001 = G. Aujac, *Eratosthène de Cyrène, le pionnier de la géographie. Sa mesure de la circonférence terrestre*, Paris 2001.

Ausbüttel 2025 = F.M. Ausbüttel, *Der Senat von Rom: Politische Kontinuität und Wandel in der Zeit von 235 bis 757,* Berlin 2025.

Avdagic 2018 = M. Avdagic, 'The North in Antiquity: between Maps and Myths', in D. Jørgensen and V. Langum (eds.), *Visions of North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout 2018, 59–80.

Avramidou & Tsiafaki 2015 = A. Avramidou & D. Tsiafaki, *Αττική Κεραμική. Συμβολή στις Επαφές Αθήνας και Θράκης*, Thessaloniki 2015.

Bäbler 1998 = B. Bäbler, *Fleissige Thrakerinnen und wehrhafte Skythen. Nichtgriechen im klassischen Athen und ihre archäologische Hinterlassenschaft*, Stuttgart 1998.

Bäbler 2002 = B. Bäbler, ''Long-haired Greeks in Trousers': Olbia and Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 'Borysthenitic')', *ACSS* 8 (2002) 311–327.

Bäbler 2005 = B. Bäbler, 'Bobbies or Boobies? The Scythian Police Force in Classical Athens', in D. Braund (ed.), *Scythians and Greeks. Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire*, Exeter 2005, 114–122.

Backhaus 1976 = W. Backhaus, 'Der Hellenen-Barbaren-Gegensatz und die Hippokratische Schrift Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων', *Historia* 25 (1976) 170–185.
Baier & Brodersen 2014 = T. Baier & K. Brodersen, *Solinus. Wunder der Welt. Collectanea rerum mirabilium*, Darmstadt 2014.
Ballabriga 1986 = A. Ballabriga, 'Les eunuques Scythes et leurs femmes. Stérilité des femmes et impuissance des hommes en Scythie selon le traité hippocratique *des airs*', *Mètis. Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens* 1 (1986) 121–138.
Baratte 1975 = F. Baratte, 'Les ateliers d'argenterie au Bas-Empire', *Journ. Sav.* 3 (1975) 193–212.
Barbantani 2001 = S. Barbantani, *Φάτις νικηφόρος: frammenti di elegia encomiastica nell'età delle guerre galatiche: Supplementum Hellenisticum 958 e 969*, Milan 2001.
Barbantani 2011 = S. Barbantani, 'Callimachus on Kings and Kingship', in B. Acosta-Hughes, L. Lehnus & S. Stephens (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*, Leiden & Boston 2011, 178–200.
Barbero 2007 = A. Barbero, *Barbari. Immigrati, profughi, deportati nell'impero romano*, Bari & Rome 2007.
Bârcă (ed.) 2016 = V. Bârcă (ed.), *Orbis Romanus and Barbaricum. The Barbarians around the Province of Dacia and their Relations with the Roman Empire*, Cluj-Napoca 2016.
Bar-Kochva 1976 = B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army. Organisation and Tactics in the great campaigns*, Cambridge 1976.
Barlow 1998 = J. Barlow, 'Noble Gauls and their Other in Caesar's Propaganda', in K. Welch & A. Powell (eds.), *Julius Caesar as an Artful Reporter: The War Commentaries as Political Instruments*, Swansea 1998, 139–170.
Barnes 2023 = C. Barnes, 'Attila and the Sword of Ares', *Journal of Late Antique, Islamic and Byzantine Studies* 2 (2023) 1–11.
Baron 2013 = C.A. Baron, *Timaeus of Tauromenium and Hellenistic Historiography*, Cambridge 2013.
Barringer 2004 = J.M. Barringer, 'Skythian Hunters on Attic Vases', in C. Marconi (ed.), *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts, and Controversies*, Leiden & Boston 2004, 13–25.
Barruol 1996 = G. Barruol, 'La statue du guerrier de Vachères (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence)', *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise* 29 (1996) 1–12.
Bartlett 2014 = B. Bartlett, 'Justin's *Epitome*: The Unlikely Adaptation of Trogus' World History', *Histos* 8 (2014) 246–283.
Bartman 2011 = E. Bartman, 'Ethnicity in Roman Portraiture', in E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Los Angeles 2011, 222–254.
Barton 1994 = T. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics, and Medicine under the Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor 1994.
Barton & Boyarin 2016 = C. Barton & D. Boyarin, *Imagine no Religion. How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities*, New York 2016.
Bassett 2006 = S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge 2006.
Batty 2007 = R. Batty, *Rome and the Nomads: The Pontic-Danubian Realm in Antiquity*, Oxford 2007.
Bednarek 2021 = B. Bednarek, *The Myth of Lycurgus in Aeschylus, Naevius, and beyond*, Leiden 2021.

Bedon 2004 = R. Bedon, 'Un des aspects des *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* de Solin: l'inventaire des ressources de l'oikoumène en prodoctions remarquables', in E. Hermon (ed.), *Actes du Colloque international 'Espaces intégrés et gestion des ressources naturelles dans l'empire romain'*, Besançon 2004, 59–73.

Bédoyère 1998 = G. de la Bédoyère, 'Carausius and the Marks RSR and I.N.P.C.D.A.', *The Numismatic Chronicle* 158 (1998) 79–88.

Bédoyère 2003 = G. de la Bédoyère, *Defying Rome: the rebels of Roman Britain*, Stroud 2003.

Bédoyère 2017 = G. de la Bédoyère*, Praetorian: The Rise and Fall of Rome's Imperial Bodyguard*, New Haven 2017.

Beeson 2022 = A. Beeson, *Mosaics in Roman Britain*, Stroud 2022.

Belanger 2023 = C.E. Belanger, 'Marvellous, Exotic, and Strange: Zoological Knowledge in Solinus' *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*', in O. Hellmann & A. Zucker (eds.), *On the Diffusion of Zoological Knowledge in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period*, Trier 2023, 59–82.

Beller & Leerssen (eds.) 2007 = M. Beller & J. Leerssen (eds.), *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*, Amsterdam 2007.

Belov 2019 = A. Belov, *Ship 17. A* baris *from Thonis-Heracleion*, Oxford 2019.

Beltrão 2024 = C. Beltrão, 'Cicero on Foreign Religious Images and Practices', in J.L. Brandão, C. Teixeira & A. Rodrigues (eds.), *Confronting Identities in the Roman Empire. Assumptions about the Other in Literary Evidence*, London 2024, 53–74.

Berg 2013 = J.R. Berg, ''Breasts of the North' and Other Apocalyptic Imagery in the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister', in V. Wieser, C. Zolles, C. Feik, M. Zolles & L. Schlondorff (eds.), *Abendländische Apokalyptik. Kompendium zur Genealogie der Endzeit*, Berlin 2013, 563–576.

Berger 1992 = P. Berger, 'Le portrait des Celtes dans les *Histoires* de Polybe', *Anc. Soc.* 23 (1992) 105–126.

Berseneva 2008 = N. Berseneva, 'Women and Children in the Sagat Culture', in K. Linduff & K.S. Rubinson (eds.), *Are All Warriors Male?: Gender Roles on the Ancient Eurasian Steppe*, Lanham MD 2008, 131–151.

Bertelli 1982 = L. Bertelli, 'L'utopia greca', in L. Firpo (ed.), *Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali*, Turin 1982, I 507–520.

Berzon 2016 = T.S. Berzon, *Classifying Christians. Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 2016.

Bessell 1858 = W. Bessell, *Über Pytheas von Massilien und dessen Einfluss auf die Kenntnis der Alten vom Norden Europa's insbesondere Deutschlands*, Göttingen 1858.

Best 1969 = J.G.P. Best, *Thracian Peltasts and Their Influence on Greek Warfare*, Groningen 1969.

Bhabha 1994 = H.K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Abingdon 1994.

Bhagat & Mogel 2007 = A. Bhagat & L. Mogel, 'Introduction', in A. Bhagat & L. Mogel (eds.), *An Atlas of Radical Cartography*, Los Angeles 2007. http://www.an-atlas.com/contents/contents_intro.html

Bianchetti 1996 = S. Bianchetti, 'Plinio e la descrizione dell'Oceano settentrionale in Pitea di Marsiglia', *OT* 2 (1996) 73–84.

Bianchetti 1998= S. Bianchetti, *Pitea di Massalia. L'Oceano. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento*, Pisa & Rome 1998.

Bianchetti 2002 = S. Bianchetti, 'Cannibali in Irlanda? Letture Straboniane', *Anc. Soc.* 32 (2002) 295–314.

Bianchetti 2004a = S. Bianchetti, 'Da Gades al Tanais: l'Europa di Pitea', *Sileno* 30 (2004) 1–10.

Bianchetti 2004b = S. Bianchetti, 'La carta e il potere: dalla scienza di Eratostene all'organizzazione dello spazio di Augusto', in H.D. Heimann, S. Knippschild & V. Mínguez (eds.), *Cerimoniales, Ritos y Representación del Poder*, *III Coloquio Internacional del Grupo Europeo de Investigación Historica 'Religion, Poder y Monarquía' (Castelló de la Plana-Vinaròs 2003)*, Castelló de la Plana 2004, 247–270.

Bianchetti 2005 = S. Bianchetti, 'Diodoro V e l' 'isolario' dei Greci', Convegno di studio su 'Epitomati ed epitomatori: il crocevia di Diodoro Siculo', in D. Ambaglio (ed.), *Syngraphè. Materiali e appunti per lo studio della storia e della letteratura antica,* Como 2005, 13–31.

Bianchetti 2007-2008 = S. Bianchetti, 'La carta di Eratostene e la sua fortuna nella tradizione antica e tardo-antica', *Geographia Antiqua* 16-17 (2007-2008) 25–39.

Bianchetti 2014 = S. Bianchetti, 'Ancient Perceptions and Representations of the Island Britannia', in K. Geus & M. Thiering (eds.), *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*, Zurich, Münster & Vienna 2014, 115–130.

Bianchetti 2015 = S. Bianchetti, 'Il 'Grande Nord' tra scienza e letteratura fantastica: da Pitea a Antonio Diogene', *OT* 13 (2015) 11–31.

Bianchetti 2016 = S. Bianchetti, 'The 'Invention' of Geography: Eratosthenes of Cyrene', in S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella & H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography*, Leiden 2016, 132–149.

Bianchetti 2018 = S. Bianchetti, 'Ethno-Geography as a Key to Interpreting Historical Leaders and their Expansionist Policies in Diodoros', in L.I. Hau, A. Meus & B. Sheridan (eds.), *Diodoros of Sicily: Historiographical Theory and Practice in the Bibliotheke*, Leuven 2018, 407–427.

Bianchetti 2023 = S. Bianchetti, 'Pitea (2215)', in H.-J. Gehrke & F. Maier (eds.), *Jacoby Online. Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued, Part V*, Leiden 2023. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1873-5363_jcv_a2215

Bianchetti & al. (eds.) 2016 = S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella & H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography: The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, Leiden 2016.

Bianchi & al. 1971 = U. Bianchi, R. Horewitz & K.S. Girardot, 'Dualistic Aspects of Thracian Religion', *HR* 10 (1971) 228–233.

Bilić 2012 = T. Bilić, 'Crates of Mallos and Pytheas of Massalia: Examples of Homeric Exegesis in Terms of Mathematical Geography', *TAPA* 142 (2012) 295–328.

Bilić 2020 = T. Bilić, 'Pytheas and Hecataeus: visions of the north in the late fourth century BC', *GRBS* 60 (2020) 574–593.

Bilić 2021 = T. Bilić, *The Land of the Solstices. Myth, geography and astronomy in ancient Greece*, Oxford 2021.

Bing 2008 = P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets*, 2nd ed., Michigan 2008.

Bingham 2012 = S. Bingham, *The Praetorian Guard: A History of Rome's Elite Special Forces*, London 2012.

Biraschi 1998 = A.M. Biraschi, 'Una geografia per l'impero', in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia, cultura, società,* Turin 1998, II.3 1079–1097.

Biraschi 2005 = A.M. Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer: a chapter in cultural history', in D. Dueck, H. Lindsay & S. Pothecary (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of a Kolossourgia,* Cambridge 2005, 73–85.

Birkhan 1997 = H. Birkhan, *Kelten: Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung ihrer Kultur*, Vienna 1997.

Birkhan 2009 = H. Birkhan, *Nachantike Keltenrezeption: Projektionen keltischer Kultur,* Vienna 2009.

Birley 1999 = A. Birley, *Tacitus. Agricola and Germany*, Oxford 1999.

Bishop & Coulston 2006 = M.C. Bishop & J.C. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, 2nd ed, Oxford 2006.

Bjornlie 2018 = S. Bjornlie, 'Romans, barbarians and provincials in the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus', in W. Pohl, C. Gantner, C. Grifoni & M. Pollheimer-Mohaupt (eds.), *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, Berlin 2018, 71–90.

Błażejewski 2014 = A. Błażejewski, 'Barbarians and the Black Sea in the Roman Period. A Brief History', *Papers of the American Research Center in Sofia* 1 (2014) 33–40.

Blazquez 1983 = J.M. Blazquez, *Primitivas Religiones Ibericas, vol. II: Religiones Prerromanas*, Madrid 1983.

Bleckmann 2006 = B. Bleckmann, 'Sources for the History of Constantine', in N.E. Lenski (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, Cambridge 2006, 13–31.

Blockley 1980 = R.C. Blockley, 'The Date of the 'Barbarian Conspiracy', *Britannia* 11 (1980) 223–225.

de Blois 2017 = L. de Blois, 'Invasions, Deportations, and Repopulation: Mobility and Migration in Thrace, Moesia Inferior, and Dacia in the Third Quarter of the Third Century AD', in E. Lo Cascio, L.E. Tacoma & M.J. Groen-Vallinga (eds.), *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire*, Leiden 2017, 42–54.

Blok 1995 = J.H. Blok, *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden & New York 1995.

Bohak 2005 = G. Bohak, 'Ethnic Portraits in Greco-Roman Literature', in E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, Stuttgart 2005, 207–237.

Boletsi & Moser (eds.) 2015 = M. Boletsi & C. Moser (eds.), *Barbarism Revisited: New Perspectives on an Old Concept*, Leiden 2015.

Bollansée 2008 = J. Bollansée, 'Clearchus' treatise *On modes of life* and the theme of *tryphè*', *Ktèma* 33 (2008) 403–411.

Bolton 1962 = J.D. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, Oxford 1962.

Bondzhev 2023 = A. Bondzhev, 'Hyperborea on Maps – Always to the North', *Open Journal for Studies in History* 6 (2023) 33–46.

Bonfante 2011 = L. Bonfante, 'Classical and Barbarian', in L. Bonfante (ed.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe. Realities and Interactions*, Cambridge 2011, 1–36.

Bonfante (ed.) 2011 = L. Bonfante (ed.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe. Realities and Interactions*, Cambridge 2011.

Bonnechere & Gagné (eds.) 2013 = P. Bonnechere & R. Gagné (eds.), *Sacrifices humains. Perspectives croisées et représentations / Human Sacrifice. Cross-cultural perspectives and représentations*, Liège 2013.

Bonnet & Jourdain-Annequin (eds.) 1992 = C. Bonnet & C. Jourdain-Annequin (eds.), *Héraclès: d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranée: bilan et perspectives*, Brussels 1992.

Bonnet & Jourdain-Annequin (eds.) 1996 = C. Bonnet & C. Jourdain-Annequin (eds.), *Héraclès, les femmes et le féminin. II^e Rencontre héracléenne*, Brussels 1996.

Bonnet & al. (eds.) 1998 = C. Bonnet, C. Jourdain-Annequin & V. Pirenne-Delforge (eds.), *Le Bestiaire d'Héraclès. III^e Rencontre héracléenne*, Liège 1998.

Borgna 2018 = A. Borgna, *Ripensare la storia universale. Giustino e l'Epitome delle Storie Filippiche di Pompeo Trogo*, Hildesheim 2018.

Bos 2004 = A.P. Bos, 'The Dreaming Kronos as World Archon in Plutarch's *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*', in L. de Blois, J. Bons ton Kessels & D.M. Schenkeveld (eds.), *The Statesman in Plutarch's Works, vol. 1*, Leiden 2004, 175–187.

Bos 2009 = J. Bos, 'The rise and decline of character: humoral psychology in ancient and early modern medical theory', *History of the Human Sciences* 22 (2009) 29–50.

Bosak-Schroeder 2020 = C. Bosak-Schroeder, *Other Natures. Environmental Encounters with Ancient Greek Ethnography*, Berkeley 2020.

Boube-Piccot 1996 = C. Boube-Piccot, 'Trophée damasquiné sur une statue impériale de Volubilis', *BAMaroc* 6 (1966) 189–278.

le Boulluec 1985 = A. le Boulluec, *La notion d'hérésie dans la littérature grecque Ile-Ille siécles*, 2 vols, Paris 1985.

Bosworth 2003 = A.B. Bosworth, 'Plus ça change… Ancient Historians and Their Sources', *Cl. Ant.* 22 (2003) 167–197.

Boteva 2010 = D. Boteva, 'The Ancient Historians on the Celtic Kingdom in South-Eastern Thrace', in L.F. Vagalinski (ed.), *In Search of Celtic Tylis in Thrace (III c. BC)*, Sofia 2010, 33–50.

Bouchot 1891 = H. Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins executes pour Roger de Gaignières et conserves aux départements des estampes et des manuscrits*, Paris 1891.

Bouzek 2015 = J. Bouzek, 'Celts in the Black Sea Area', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A. Avram and J. Hargrave (eds.), *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7^th century BCE – 10^th century AD)*, Oxford 2015, 159–168.

Bouzek & Graninger 2015 = J. Bouzek & D. Graninger, 'Geography', in J. Valeva, E. Nankov & D. Graninger (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace,* Malden MA & Oxford 2015, 12–21.

Bowden 2012 = H. Bowden, 'Rome, Pessinous and Battakes: Religious Encounters with the East', in C. Smith & M. Yarrow (eds.), *Imperialism, Cultural Politics, and Polybius*, Oxford 2012, 252–262.

Bowersock 1965 = G.W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford 1965.

Bowersock 1994 = G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History. Nero to Julian*, Berkeley & London 1994.

Bowersock 2005 = G.W. Bowersock, 'The East-West Orientation of Mediterranean Studies and the Meaning of North and South in Antiquity', in W.V. Harris (ed.), *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Oxford 2005, 167–178.

Bowie 1970 = E.L. Bowie, 'Greeks and Their Past in the Second Sophistic', *P&P* 46 (1970) 3–41.

Bowie 2004 = E.L. Bowie, 'The geography of the Second Sophistic: Cultural variations', in B.E. Borg (ed.), *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*, Berlin 2004, 66–75.

Bowra 1956 = C.M. Bowra, 'A Fragment of the *Arimaspea*', *CQ* 6 (1956) 1–10.

Boyancé 1934 = P. Boyancé, 'Sur l'*Abaris* d'Héraclide de Pontique', *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 36 (1934) 321–351.

Boyarin 2006 = D. Boyarin, 'Apartheid Comparative Religion in the Second Century: Some Theory and a Case Study', *JMEMS* 36 (2006) 3–24.

Braccesi 1991a = L. Braccesi, '*Diomedes cum Gallis*', *Hesperìa: studi sulla grecità di occidente* 2 (1991) 89–102.

Braccesi 1991b = L. Braccesi, *Alessandro e la Germania. Riflessioni sulla geografia romana di conquista*, Rome 1991.

Braccesi 1996 = L. Braccesi, 'Le fidanzate di Eracle', in C. Bonnet & C. Jourdain-Annequin (eds.), *Héraclès, les femmes et le féminin*, Brussels & Rome 1996, 187–194.

Braemer 1986 = F. Braemer, 'L'ambre à l'époque romaine: problèmes d'origine, de commerce par terre et par mer, et des lieux de façonage des objects, notamment figurés', in F. Braemer & D. Deicha (éds.), *Colloque international sur les resources minérales et l'histoire de leur exploitation*, *Grenoble 1983*, Paris 1986, 361–381.

Braund 1980 = D.C. Braund, 'The Aedui, Troy, and the *Apocolocyntosis'*, *CQ* 30 (1980) 420–425.

Braund 1996 = D.C. Braund, *Ruling Roman Britain: Kings, Queens, Governors and Emperors from Julius Caesar to Agricola*, London & New York 1996.

Braund 1999 = D.C. Braund, 'Greeks, Scythians and *Hippake*, or 'Reading Mares's-Cheese'', in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks East and West*, Leiden 1999, 521–530.

Braund 2002 = D.C. Braund, 'Steppe and sea: the Hellenistic north in the Black Sea region before the first century BC', in D. Ogden (ed.), *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, Swansea 2002, 199–220.

Braund 2003 = D.C. Braund, 'The Bosporan Kings and Classical Athens: Imagined Breaches in a Cordial Relationship (Aisch. 3.171–172; [Dem.] 34.36)', in P. Guldager Bilde, J. Munk Højte & V.F. Stolba (eds.), *The Cauldron of Ariantas. Studies Presented to A. N. Sceglov on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Aarhus 2003, 197–208.

Braund 2004 = D.C. Braund, 'Scythians in the Cerameicus: Lucian's *Toxaris*', in C. Tuplin (ed.), *Pontus and the Outside World*, Leiden 2004, 17–24.

Braund (ed.) 2005 = D.C. Braund (ed.), *Scythians and Greeks. Cultural interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (sixth century BC – first century AD)*, Exeter 2005.

Braund 2006 = D.C. Braund, 'In Search of the Creator of Athens' Scythian Archer-Police: Speusis and the 'Eurymedon Vase'', *ZPE* 156 (2006) 109–113.

Braund 2007 = D.C. Braund, 'Greater Olbia: Ethnic, Religious, Economic, and Political Interactions in the Region of Olbia, c. 600–100 BC', in D.C. Braund & S. D. Kryzhitskiy (eds.), *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World. From the Sixth Century BC to the Second Century AD*, London & Oxford 2007, 37–77.

Braund 2008 = D.C. Braund, 'Scythian Laughter: Conversations in the Northern Black Sea Region in the 5th Century BC', in P. Guldager Bilde & J.H. Petersen (eds.), *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence*, Aarhus 2008, 347–367.

Braund 2010 = D.C. Braund, 'Teutaros, the Scythian Teacher of Heracles', in R.W.V. Catling & F. Marchand (eds.), *Onomatologos: Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews*, Oxford 2010, 381–389.

Braund 2011a = D.C. Braund, 'Heracles the Scythian: Herodotus, Herodorus and Colonial Cultures', in E. Papuci-Wladika (ed.), *PONTIKA 2008: Recent Research on the Northern and Eastern Black Sea in Ancient Times*, Oxford 2011, 15–19.

Braund 2011b = D.C. Braund, 'The Slave Supply in Classical Greece', in K. Bradley & P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, 1: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2011, 112–133.

Braund 2014 = D.C. Braund, 'Nero's amber-expedition in context: connectivity between the Baltic, Black Sea, Adriatic and India from Herodotus to the Roman Empire', in V. Cojocaru, A. Coşkun & M. Dana (eds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman periods*, Cluj-Napoca 2014, 435–456.

Braund 2015 = D.C. Braund, 'Thracians and Scythians: Tensions, Interactions, and Osmosis', in J. Valeva, E. Nankov & D. Graninger (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, Malden MA & Oxford 2015, 352–365.

Braund 2016 = D.C. Braund, 'Wagons, wallies and wisdom: Scythians, Bosporans and Greeks in Herodotus, Diodorus and Isocrates', in V. Cojocaru & A. Rubel (eds.), *Mobility in Research on the Black Sea Region*, Cluj-Napoca 2016, 119–142.

Braund 2021 = D.C. Braund, 'In what sense was the Black Sea Thracian? Reflections on Ethnic Traditions from Thrace to Colchis and the Amazons', in V. Cojocaru and A.-I. Pázsint (eds.), *Migration and Identity in Eurasia: From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages*, Cluj-Napoca 2021, 21–41.

Braund 2025 = D.C. Braund, *Amazons. The History Behind the Legend*, Cambridge 2025.

Braunert 1965 = H. Braunert, 'Die heilige Insel des Euhemeros in der Diodor-Überlieferung', *Rh. Mus.* 108 (1965) 255–268.

Bravo 2009 = B. Bravo, *La Chronique d'Apollodore et le Pseudo-Skymnos: érudition antiquaire et litterature géographique dans la seconde moitié du II^e^ siècle av. J.-C.*, Leuven 2009.

Bravo 2018 = B. Bravo, *Erodoto sulla Scizia e il lontano Nord-Est. Contributo al cosiddetto logos scitico*, Rome 2018.

Breeze & Wilkins 2018 D.J. Breeze & A. Wilkins, 'Pytheas, Tacitus and Thule', *Britannia* 49 (2018) 303–333.

Bremmer 1984 = J.N. Bremmer, 'Greek Maenadism Reconsidered', *ZPE* 55 (1984) 267–286.

Bremmer 2002 = J.N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*, London 2002.

Bremmer 2007 = J.N. Bremmer, 'Human Sacrifice: A Brief Introduction', in J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*, Leuven 2007, 1–8.

Bremmer 2013 = J.N. Bremmer, 'Human Sacrifice in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*: Greek and Barbarian', in P. Bonnechere & R. Gagné (eds.), *Sacrifices humains. Human sacrifice*, Liège 2013, 87–100.

Bremmer 2015 = J.N. Bremmer, 'Stigmata: From Tattoos to Saints' Marks', in D. Boschung, A. Shapiro & F. Waschek (eds.), *Bodies in Transition: Dissolving the Boundaries of Embodied Knowledge*, Paderborn 2015, 137–151.

Brenk 1979 = F.E. Brenk, 'Tarpeia among the Celts: Watery Romance, from Simylos to Propertius', *Latomus* 164 (1979) 166–174.

Brenk 2005 = F.E. Brenk, 'The barbarian within: Gallic and Galatian heroines in Plutarch's *Erotikos'*, in A. Pérez Jiménez & F.B. Titchener (eds.), *Historical and Biographical Values of Plutarch's Works*, Malaga 2005, 93–106.

Brennan 1998 = P.M. Brennan, 'The Last of the Romans: Roman Identity and the Roman Army in the Late Roman Near East', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11 (1998) 191–203.

Brennecke 2014 = H.C. Brennecke, 'Deconstruction of the So-called Germanic Arianism', in G.M. Berndt & R. Steinacher (eds), *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, Farnham 2014, 117–130.

Bridgman 2005 = T.P. Bridgman, *Hyperboreans: myth and history in Celtic-Hellenic contacts*, New York 2005.

Brigham 1971 = J.C. Brigham, 'Ethnic Stereotypes', *Psychological Bulletin* 76 (1971) 15–38.

Bringmann 1989 = K. Bringmann, '*Topoi* in der taciteischen *Germania*', in H. Jahnkuhn & D. Timpe (eds.), *Beiträge zum Verständnis der* Germania *des Tacitus*, Göttingen 1989, 59–78.

Brodersen 1994 = K. Brodersen, *Pomponius Mela: Kreuzfahrt durch die alte Welt*, Darmstadt 1994.

Brodersen 2013 = K. Brodersen, 'Vom Periplus zum Karte: die Leistung des Gaius Julius Solinus', in K. Geus & M. Rathmann (eds.), *Die Vermessung der Oikumene*, Berlin & Boston 2013, 185–202.

Brodersen 2014 = K. Brodersen, *Gaius Iulius Solinus. Wunder der Welt*, Darmstadt 2014.

Brodersen (ed.) 2014 = K. Brodersen (ed.), *Solinus, New Studies*, Heidelberg 2014.

Brodersen 2016 = K. Brodersen, 'The Geographies of Pliny and his 'Ape' Solinus', in S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella & H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography. The Inhabited World in the Greek and Roman Tradition*, Leiden 2016, 298–310.

Brodka 1999 = D. Brodka, 'Prokopios von Kaisareia und Justinians Idee der Reconquista', *Eos* 86 (1999) 243–255.

Broekart & Zuiderhoek 2014 = W. Broekart & A. Zuiderhoek, 'Food Systems in Classical Antiquity', in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Cultural History of Food in Antiquity*, London 2014, 41–56.

Broun 2001 = D. Broun, 'Dál Riata, Kingdom of', in M. Lynch (ed.), *Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, Oxford 2001, 161–162.

Brown 2011 = A. Brown, 'Banditry or catastrophe? History, archaeology, and the barbarian raids on Roman Greece', in R.W. Mathisen & D. Shanzer (eds.), *Romans, Barbarians, and the Transformation of the Roman World*, Farnham 2011, 79–96.

Brown & Herren 2002 = S.A. Brown & M.W. Herren, *Christ in Celtic Christianity. Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*, Woodbridge 2002.

Brunaux 2006 = J.-L. Brunaux, *Les Druides: des philosophes chez les Barbares*, Paris 2006.

Brunner 2022 = B. Brunner, *Extreme North: A Cultural History*, New York 2022.

Buck 1979 = R.J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, Edmonton 1979.

Bulst 1961 = C.M. Bulst, 'The Revolt of Queen Boudicca in A.D. 60', *Historia* 10 (1961) 496–509.

Bunbury 1883 = E.H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, 2 vols., London 1883 (repr. with introd. by W.H. Stahl, New York 1959).

Burgersdijk 2016 = D. Burgersdijk, 'Creating the Enemy: Ammianus Marcellinus' Double Digression on Huns and Alans (*Res Gestae* 31.2)', *BICS* 59 (2016) 111–132.
Burges Watson 2014 = S. Burges Watson, 'Orpheus' Erotic Mysteries: Plato, Pederasty, and the Zagreus Myth in Phanocles F 1', *BICS* 57 (2014) 47–71.
Burkert 1966 = W. Burkert, 'Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual', *GRBS* 7 (1966) 87–121.
Burnam 1910 = J.M. Burnam, *Commentaire anonyme sur Prudence d'après le manuscrit 413 de Valenciennes*, Paris 1910.
Burns 1981 = M. Burns, 'Boreas and Oreithyia in Greek Vase Painting', *Živa Antika* 31 (1981) 215–232.
Burrus 1995 = V. Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy*, Berkeley 1995.
Burstein 1976 = S.M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, Berkeley 1976.
Burstein 2008 = S.M. Burstein, 'Greek identity in the Hellenistic period', in K. Zacharia (ed.), *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, London & New York 2008, 59–77.
Burstein & Shipley 2024 = S.M. Burstein & D.G.J. Shipley, 'Agatharchides of Knidos, *On the Erythraian Sea*', D.G.J. Shipley (ed.), *Geographers of the Ancient World*, Cambridge 2024, I 373–444.
Buxton 2017 = R. Buxton, 'Landscapes of the Cyclopes', in G. Hawes (ed.), *Myths on the Map. The Storied Landscapes of Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2017, 52–64.
Cahen 1930 = È. Cahen, *Les Hymnes de Callimaque; commentaire explicatif et critique*, Paris 1930.
Cain 2002 = H.-U. Cain, 'Kelten als Schänder der Heiligtümer – Feinde der Zivilisation. Zu den kulturellen Wurseln eines antiken Barbarenklischees', in H.-U. Cain & S. Rieckhoff (eds.), *Fromm, fremd, barbarisch: die Religion der Kelten*, Mainz 2002, 48–58.
Cain 2006 = H.-U. Cain, 'Das Bild der Kelten und Gallier in der archäologischen Forschung', in S. Rieckhoff (eds.), *Celtes et Gaulois, l'Archéologie face à l'Histoire, 1: Celtes et Gaulois dans l'histoire, l'historiographie et idéologie moderne*, Glux-en-Glenne 2006, 75–96.
Cain & Rieckhoff (eds.) 2002 = H.-U. Cain & S. Rieckhoff (eds.), *Fromm, fremd, barbarisch: die Religion der Kelten*, Leipzig 2002.
Cameron 1970 = A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*, Oxford 1970.
Cameron 1995 = A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his critics*, Princeton 1995.
Cameron 2003 = A. Cameron, 'How to Read Heresiology', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003) 471–492.
Cameron 2004 = A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, Oxford 2004.
Cameron 2015 = A. Cameron, 'City Personifications and Consular Diptychs', *JRS* 105 (2015) 250–287.
Cameron & Long 1993 = A. Cameron & J. Long (with a contribution by L. Sherry), *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius*, Berkeley 1993.
Canali 2005 = L. Canali, *Aurelio Prudenzio: Le corone*, Florence 2005.
Caplan (ed.) 2000 = J. Caplan (ed.), *Written on the Body. The Tattoo in European and American History*, Princeton 2000.

Capponi 2018 = L. Capponi, 'A Disillusioned Intellectual: Timagenes of Alexandria', in P.R. Bosman (ed.), *Intellectual and Empire in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, London 2018, 43–62.

Capuis 1993 = L. Capuis, *I Veneti: Società e cultura di un popolo dell'Italia preromana*, Milan 1993.

Carlà-Uhink 2017 = F. Carlà-Uhink, *The 'Birth' of Italy. The Institutionalization of Italy as a Region, 3rd-1st Century BCE*, Berlin 2017.

Cartledge 1993 = P. Cartledge, *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, Oxford 1993.

Casadesús Bordoy 2016 = F. Casadesús Bordoy, 'The Appropriation of the Figure of Orpheus and Orphic Doctrines: An Example of Pythagoras' Artful Knavery (*kakotechnie*)?', in A.-B. Renger & A. Stavru (eds.), *Pythagorean Knowledge from the Ancient to the Modern World: Askesis, Religion Science*, Wiesbaden 2016, 31–44.

Casey 2005 = P.J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus. The British Usurpers*, London 2005.

Cassibry 2017 = K. Cassibry, 'The Tyranny of the Dying Gaul: Confronting an Ethnic Stereotype in Ancient Art', *The Art Bulletin* 99 (2017) 6–40.

Cassidy & al. 2025 = L.M. Cassidy, M. Russell, M. Smith, G. Delbarre, P. Cheetham, H. Manley, V. Mattiangeli, E.M. Breslin, I. Jackson, M. McCann, H. Little, C.G. O'Connor, B. Heaslip, D. Lawson, P. Endicott & D.G. Bradley, 'Continental influx and pervasive matrilocality in Iron Age Britain', *Nature* 637 (2025), 1136–1142.

Casson 1926 = S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: their relation to Greece from the earliest times down to the time of Philip, son of Amyntas*, Oxford 1926.

Castleden 2002 = R. Castleden, *The Stonehenge People. An Exploration of Life in Neolithic Britain 4700–2000 BC*, London & New York 2002.

Castriota 2005 = D. Castriota, 'Feminizing the Barbarian and Barbarizing the Feminine: Amazons, Trojans and Persians in the Stoa Poikile', in J.M. Barringer & J.M. Hurwit (eds.), *Periklean Athens and its Legacy*, Austin 2005, 89–102.

Castiglioni 2014 = M.P. Castiglioni, 'La discendenza di Polifemo e la politica di Dionigi di Siracusa', in T. Alfieri Tonini & S. Struffolino (eds.), *Dinamiche culturali ed etniche nella Sicilia Orientale*, Trento 2014, 25–34.

Ceauşescu 1991 = G. Ceauşescu, 'Un topos de la littérature antique: l'éternelle guerre entre l'Europe et l'Asie', *Latomus* 50 (1991) 327–341.

Chadwick 1966 = N.K. Chadwick, *The Druids*, Cardiff 1966.

Chamoux 1988 = F. Chamoux, 'Pergame et les Galates', *RÉC* 101 (1988) 492–500.

Champion 1995 = C.B. Champion, The *Soteria* at Delphi: Aetolian Propaganda in the Epigraphical Record', *AJPhil.* 116 (1995) 213–220.

Champion 2004 = C.B. Champion, *Cultural Politics in Polybius' Histories*, Berkeley & London 2004.

Chaniotis 2018 = A. Chaniotis, *Age of Conquests. The Greek World from Alexander to Hadrian, 336 BC – AD 138*, London 2018.

Chapman 1992 = M. Chapman, *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth*, Basingstoke 1992.

Chappuis Sandoz 2008 = L. Chappuis Sandoz, 'La survie des monstres: ethnographie fantastique et handicap à Rome, la force de l'imagination', *Latomus* 68 (2008) 21–36.

Chatterjee 2021 = I. Chatterjee, *Alt-Right Movement. Dissecting Racism, Patriarchy and Anti-Immigrant Xenophobia*, Thousand Oaks, CA 2021.

Chauvot 1984 = A. Chauvot, 'Représentations du *Barbaricum* chez les Barbares au service de l'Empire au IV^e^ siècle après J.C.', *Ktèma* 9 (1984) 145–157.
Chauvot 1998 = A. Chauvot, *Opinions romains face aux barbares au IV^e^ siècle ap. J.-C,* Paris 1998.
Chekin 2006 = L.S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography. Inventory, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Brepols 2006.
Chevallier 1984 = R. Chevallier, 'The Greco-Roman Conception of the North from Pytheas to Tacitus', *Arctic* 37 (1984) 341–346.
Chiai 2015 = G.F. Chiai, 'Jenseits der Oikoumene: Literarische Darstellungen des Nordens von der archaischen bis zur frühen Kaiserzeit', *OT* 13 (2015) 42–70.
Chiai 2018 = G.F. Chiai, 'Il Nord e la fisiognomica nella riflessione antica', ὅρμος - *Ricerche di Storia Antica* 10 (2018) 132–161.
Chiai 2021 = G.F. Chiai, 'Perception of Diversity and Exploration of the Environment: Greeks and Scythians in the Archaic Period', in D.C. Braund, V.F. Stolba & U. Peter (eds.), *Environment and Habitation around the Ancient Black Sea*, Berlin 2021, 195–212.
Chiasson 2001 = C. Chiasson, 'Scythian Androgyny and Environmental Determinism in Herodotus and the Hippocratic περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων', *Syll. Class.* 12 (2001) 33–73.
Chidester 1996 = D. Chidester, *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa*, Charlottesville 1996.
Christensen 2002 = A.S. Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration myth*, Copenhagen 2002.
Christesen 2010 = P. Christesen, 'Spartans and Scythians, a Meeting of Mirages: The Portrayal of the Lycurgan *Politeia* in Ephorus' *Histories*', in A. Powell & S. Hodkinson (eds.), *Sparta: the Body Politic*, Swansea 2010, 211–263.
Chrysanthou 2022 = C.S. Chrysanthou, *Reconfiguring the Imperial Past. Narrative Patterns and Historical Interpretation in Herodian's History of Empire*, Leiden 2022.
Clark 2014 = E.A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy, The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*, Princeton 2014.
Clark 1999 = G. Clark, 'Translate into Greek: Porphyry of Tyre on the new barbarians', in R. Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, London 1999, 112–132.
Clarke 1999 = K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman world*, Oxford 1999.
Clarke 2001 = K. Clarke, 'An Island Nation. Re-reading Tacitus' *Agricola*', *JRS* 91 (2001) 94–112.
Clavel-Lévêque 1974 = M. Clavel-Lévêque, 'Les Gaules et les Gaulois: pour une analyse du fonctionnement de la géographie de Strabon', *DHA* 1 (1974) 75–93.
Clavel-Lévêque 1996 = M. Clavel-Lévêque, 'Codage, norme, marginalité, exclusion. Le guerrier, la pleureuse et la forte femme dans la barbarie gauloise', *DHA* 22 (1996) 223–251.
Coarelli 2017 = F. Coarelli, 'Il 'Grande Altare' di Pergamo: cronologia e contesto', in F.-H. Massa-Pairault & C. Pouzadoux (eds.), *Géants et gigantomachies entre orient et occident*, Naples 2017, 193–202.
Coert 2018 = J.M. Coert, 'Der digitale Furor Teutonicus. Zur Rezeption von Germanenbildern im Videospiel am Beispiel von *Total War Rome II*', *Thersites* 7 (2018) 58–106.

Cohen (ed.) 2000 = B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden & Boston 2000.

Cole 2010 = S.G. Cole, ''I Know the Number of the Sand and the Measure of the Sea': Geography and Difference in the Early Greek World', in K.A. Raaflaub & R.J.A. Talbert (eds.), *Geography and Ethnography. Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, Chichester 2010, 197–214.

Collis 2003 = J.R. Collis, *The Celts: origins, myths & inventions*, Stroud 2003.

Collis 2017 = J.R. Collis, 'Celts Ancient and Modern: Recent Controversies in Celtic Studies', *Studia Celtica Fennica* 14 (2017) 58–71.

Coman 1981 = I.G. Coman, 'L'immortalité chez les Thraco-Géto-Daces', *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 198 (1981) 243–278.

Compatangelo-Soussignan 2012 = R. Compatangelo-Soussignan, 'Apollon en Cisalpine: philosophie, religion et idéologie des élites romaines au II^{e} siècle av. n.è.', *MÉFRA* 124 (2012) https://doi.org/10.4000/mefra.152

Coombe 2018 = C. Coombe, *Claudian the Poet*, Cambridge 2018.

Coppola 1991 = A. Coppola, 'Ancora su celti, iperborei e propaganda dionigiana', *Hesperia: studi sulla grecità di occidente* 2 (1991) 103–110.

Corso 2016 = A. Corso, 'Observations Concerning the Theodosian Silver Dish at Madrid and a Few Sasanian Comparanda', *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche: Quaderni Ticinesi* 45 (2016) 239–255.

Coşkun 2013 = A. Coşkun, 'Belonging and Isolation in Central Anatolia: The Galatians in the Graeco-Roman World', in S.L. Ager & R.A. Faber (eds.), *Belonging and Isolation in the Hellenistic World*, Toronto 2013, 73–95.

Coşkun 2020 = A. Coşkun, '(Re-)locating Greek and Roman Cities along the Northern Coast of Kolchis. Part I. Identifying Dioskourias in the Recess of the Black Sea', *Вестник древней истории – Journal of Ancient History* 80 (2020) 354–376.

Coşkun 2022 = A. Coşkun, 'A Survey of Recent Research on Ancient Galatia (1993–2019)', in A. Coşkun (ed.), *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods*, Leuven 2022, 3-96.

Coulston 2000 = J.C.N. Coulston, ''Armed and Belted Men': The Soldiery in Imperial Rome', in J.C.N. Coulston & H. Dodge (eds.), *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, Oxford 2000, 76–118.

Coulston 2003 = J.C.N. Coulston, 'Overcoming the Barbarian. Depictions of Rome's Enemies in Trajanic Monumental Art', in P. Erdkamp, O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn, S.T.A.M. Mols & L. De Blois (eds.), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, Leiden 2003, 389–424.

Coulston 2013 = J.C.N. Coulston, 'Late Roman Military Equipment Culture', in L. Lavan & A. Sarantis (eds.), *The Archaeology of War in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2013, 463–492.

Courtieu 2011 = G. Courtieu, 'L'unique galatomachie découverte à Pergame', *DHA* 37 (2011) 9–17.

Cowan 2006 = R. Cowan, 'Absurdly Scythian Spaniards: Silius, Horace and the Concani', *Mnemosyne* 59 (2006) 260–267.

Cozzoli 1968 = Y. Cozzoli, *I Cimmeri*, Rome 1968.

Cracco Ruggini 1987 = L. Cracco Ruggini, 'Intolerance: Equal and Less Equal in the Roman World', *CPh* 82 (1987) 187–205.

Creer 2019 = T. Creer, 'Ethnography in Caesar's *Gallic War* and its implications for composition', *CQ* 69 (2019) 246–263.
Creer 2023 = T. Creer, 'The suppression of Druids in Caesar's *Gallic War'*, *CQ* 73 (2023) 169–183.
Creighton 2006 = J. Creighton, *Britannia. The creation of a Roman province*, London & New York 2006.
Crow 2004 = J. Crow, 'The Northern Frontier of Britain from Trajan to Antoninus Pius: Roman Builders and Native Britons', in M. Todd (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*, Malden MA 2004, 114–135.
Cuchet 2015 = V.S. Cuchet, 'The Warrior Queens of Caria (Fifth to Fourth Centuries BCE): Archeology, History, and Historiography', in J. Fabre-Serris & A. Keith (ed.), *Women & War in Antiquity*, Baltimore 2015, 228–246.
Cunliffe 2001 = B. Cunliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*, London 2001.
Cunliffe 2011 = B. Cunliffe, 'In the Fabulous Celtic Twilight', in L. Bonfante (ed.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe. Realities and Interactions*, Cambridge 2011, 190–210.
Cunliffe 2019 = B. Cunliffe, *The Scythians. Nomad Warriors of the Steppe*, Oxford 2019.
Cureton 1855 = W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London 1855.
Curnis 2006 = M. Curnis, 'Frammenti di storia etnografica: Nicolao Damasceno e la *Ethôn synagogé*', *Sileno* 32 (2006) 41–74.
Czebreszuk 2013 = J. Czebreszuk, 'Mysterious Raw Material from the Far North: Amber in Mycenaean Culture', in S. Bergerbrant & S. Sabatini (eds.), *Counterpoints: Essays in Archaeology and Heritage Studies in Honour of Professor Kristian Kristiansen*, Oxford 2013, 557–563.
Dagron 1968 = G. Dagron, *L'empire Romain d'Orient au IV^e siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme*, Paris 1968.
Dallara 2005 = G. Dallara, 'L'immagine dei barbari del nord negli autori greci: il caso dei Celti', in M.G. Angeli Bertinelli & A. Donati (eds.), *Il cittadino, lo straniero, il barbaro, fra integrazione ed emarginazione nell'antichità. Atti del I incontro internazionale di storia antica (Genova 22-24 maggio 2003)*, Rome 2005, 347–360.
Daly 1972 = L.J. Daly, 'The Mandarin and the Barbarian: The Response of Themistius to the Gothic Challenge', *Historia* 21 (1972) 351–379.
Damtoft Poulsen 2017 = A. Damtoft Poulsen, *Accounts of Northern Barbarians in Tacitus'* Annales, PhD thesis, Lund 2017.
Dan 2014a = A. Dan, 'Mythic Geography, Barbarian Identities: The Pygmies in Thrace', *ACSS* 20 (2014) 39–66.
Dan 2014b = A. Dan, 'What is Common Sense Geography? Some Preliminary Thoughts from a Historical Perspective', in K. Geus & M. Thiering (eds.), *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*, Zurich, Münster & Vienna 2014, 17–38.
Dan 2015 = A. Dan, 'Between the Euxine and the Adriatic Seas: ancient representations of the Ister (Danube) and the Haemus (Balkan mountains) as frames of modern South-Eastern Europe', in G.R. Tsetkhladze, A. Avram & J. Hargrave (eds.), *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7^th Century BC – 10^th Century AD)*, Oxford 2015, 133–151.

Dan 2018 = A. Dan, 'Le Nord-Est avant la Sibérie. Utopies et dystopies occidentales à longue durée et grande distance', in P. Alexeiev, E. Dmitrieva & M. Espagne (eds.), *Transferts culturels en Sibérie. De l'Altaï à la Iakoutie*, Paris 2018, 25–87.

Dan & al. 2014 = A. Dan, K. Geus & K. Guckelsberger, 'What is Common Sense Geography? Some Preliminary Thoughts from a Historical Perspective', in K. Geus & M. Thiering (eds.), *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*, Zurich, Münster & Vienna 2014, 17–38.

Dana 2008 = D. Dana, *Zalmoxis, de la Herodot la Mircea Eliade: istorii despre un zeu al pretextului*, Iaşi 2008.

Darbyshire & al. 2000 = G. Darbyshire, S. Mitchell & L. Vardar, 'The Galatian Settlement in Asia Minor', *AS* 50 (2000) 75–97.

Dauge 1981 = Y.A. Dauge, *Le Barbare: Recherches sur la Conception Romaine de la Barbarie et de la Civilisation*, Brussels 1981.

Davidson 2005 = P. Davidson, *The Idea of North*, London 2005.

Davies 2019 = G. Davies, 'Cultural Representations', in M. Harlow (ed.), *A Cultural History of Hair in Antiquity*, London 2019, 145–161.

Davies 2004 = J.P. Davies, *Rome's religious history: Livy, Tacitus and Ammianus on their gods*, Cambridge 2004.

Davis-Kimball 1997a = J. Davis-Kimball, 'Sauro-Sarmatian Nomadic Women: New Gender Identities', *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 25 (1997) 327–343.

Davis-Kimball 1997b = J. Davis-Kimball, 'Warrior Women of the Eurasian Steppes', *Archaeology* 50 (1997) 44–48.

Davis-Kimball & Behan 2002 = J. Davis-Kimball & M. Behan, *Warrior Women: An Archaeologist's Search for History's Hidden Heroines,* New York 2002.

De Angelis (ed.) 2020 = F. De Angelis (ed.), *A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World*, Hoboken NJ 2020.

De Bernardo Stempel 2023 = P. De Bernardo Stempel, 'Types of *interpretatio* and their users in the Keltiké: *explicationes* and *translationes* vs. *identificationes* and *adaptationes*', in R. Häussler, A. King, F. Marco Simón & G. Schörner (eds.), *Religious individualisation: archaeological, iconographic and epigraphic case studies from the Roman World*, Oxford 2023, 264–293.

De Castro 2024 = R.H. De Castro, 'Self-Perception in the Construction of the Other: Case Study of Roman Portrayal of Viriathus, Boudica and Arminius', in J.L. Brandão, C. Teixeira & A. Rodrigues (eds.), *Confronting Identities in the Roman Empire. Assumptions about the Other in Literary Evidence*, London 2024, 273–296.

Dee 2004 = J. Dee, 'Black Odysseus, White Caesar: When Did 'White People' Become 'White'?', *CJ* 99 (2004) 157–167.

Delattre 2017 = C. Delattre, 'Islands of Knowledge: Space and Names in Imperial Mythography', in G. Hawes (ed.), *Myths on the Map. The Storied Landscapes of Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2017, 261–280.

Delattre 2021 = C. Delattre, 'Exemplary Gallic Wives in the *Erotikos* and *Mulierum Virtutes* of Plutarch: Stereotypes and Comparisons', in J. Fabre-Serris, A. Keith & F. Klein (eds.), *Identities, Ethnicities and Gender in Antiquity*, Berlin 2021, 235–250.

Delbrück 1978 = R. Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts: von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs*, Berlin 1978.

Delev 2014 = P. Delev, *A History of the Tribes of South-Western Thrace in the First Millennium B.C.*, Sofia 2014.

Della Casa & Witt (eds.) 2013 = P. Della Casa & C. Witt (eds.), *Tattoos and Body Modifications in Antiquity. Proceedings of the Sessions at the EAA Annual Meetings in The Hague and Oslo, 2010/11*, Zurich 2013.

Demandt 2013 = B. Demandt, *Die Wohltaten der Götter. König Eumenes II. und die Figuren am großen Fries des Pergamonaltars*, Darmstadt & Mainz 2013.

Demetriou 2012 = D. Demetriou, *Negotiating Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Cambridge 2012.

Dench 2017 = E. Dench, 'Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity', in D.S. Richer & W.A. Johnson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic*, Oxford 2017, 99–114.

Dench 2010 = E. Dench, 'Ethnography and History', in J. Marincola (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, London 2010, 493–503.

Den Dulk 2020 = M. Den Dulk, 'Origen of Alexandria and the History of Racism as a Theological Problem', *JTS* 71 (2020) 164–195.

Den Dulk & Langford 2014 = M. Den Dulk & A. Langford, 'Polycarp and Polemo: Christianity at the Center of the Second Sophistic', in T.R. Blanton, R.M. Calhoun & C.K. Rothschild (eds.), *The History of Religions School Today: Essays on the New Testament and Related Ancient Mediterranean Texts*, Tübingen 2014, 211–240.

Denisov 2019 = A. Denisov, 'Scythia as the Image of a Nomadic Land on Medieval Maps', in C. Hao (ed.), *Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours*, Szeged 2019, 73–84.

Denzey 2005 = N. Denzey, 'Bardaisan of Edessa', in A. Marjanen & P. Luomanen (eds.), *A Companion to Second-Century Christian 'Heretics'*, Leiden 2005, 159–184.

Derbew 2022 = S. Derbew, *Untangling Blackness in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge 2022.

D'Ercole 2009 = M.C. D'Ercole, 'Arimaspes et griffons: de la Mer Noire à l'Adriatique via Athènes', *Métis* 7 (2009) 203–225.

Desbals 1997 = M.-A. Desbals, *La Thrace et les Thraces dans l'imaginaire grec aux époques archaïque et classique: Littérature et iconographie*, PhD thesis, Nanterre 1997.

Descola 2018 = P. Descola, 'Anthropological Comparatisms: Generalisation, Symmetrisation, Bifurcation', in R. Gagné, S. Goldhill & G.E.R. Lloyd (eds.), *Regimes of Comparatism: Frameworks of Comparison in History, Religion and Anthropology*, Leiden 2018, 402–417.

Desideri 2024 = P. Desideri, 'Dio of Prusa's Γετικά in the Context of Ethnographic Production of His Age', in J.L. Brandão, C. Teixeira & A. Rodrigues (eds.), *Confronting Identities in the Roman Empire. Assumptions about the Other in Literary Evidence*, London 2024, 191–212.

Destephen 2022 = S. Destephen, 'Nothing and No One? Stephanus of Byzantium on Northern Europe', *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 8 (2022) 173–196.

Deter-Wolf & al. 2016 = A. Deter-Wolf, B. Robitaille, L. Krutak & S. Galliot, 'The World's Oldest Tattoos', *Journal of Archaeological Science*: *Reports* 5 (2016) 19–24.

Dewar 1996 = M. Dewar, *Claudianus, Panegyricus de sexto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, Oxford 1996.

De Wet 2012 = C.L. De Wet, 'John Chrysostom and the mission to the Goths: Rhetorical and ethical perspectives', *HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies* 68 (2012) http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v68i1.1220

Dewitt 1941 = N.J. Dewitt, 'Rome and the 'Road of Hercules'', *TAPA* 72 (1941) 59–69.

Dicks 1955 = D.R. Dicks, 'The ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑ in Greek Geography', *CQ* 2 (1955) 248–255.

Dicks 1956 = D.R. Dicks, 'Strabo and the ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑ', *CQ* 6 (1956) 243–247.

Dilke 1984 = O.A.W. Dilke, 'Geographical Perceptions of the North in Pomponius Mela and Ptolemy', *Arctic* 37 (1984) 347–351.

Dilke 1988 = O.A.W. Dilke, 'Rome's Contribution to Cartography', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Geografia e storiografia nel mondo classico*, Milan 1988, 194–201.

Dillery 1998 = J. Dillery, 'Hecataeus of Abdera: Hyperboreans, Egypt and the *Interpretatio Graeca*', *Historia* 47 (1998) 255–275.

Dimitrov 2010 = K. Dimitrov, 'Celts, Greeks and Thracians in Thrace during the Third Century BC. Interactions in History and Culture', in L.F. Vagalinski (ed.), *In Search of Celtic Tylis in Thrace (III c. BC): Proceedings of the interdisciplinary colloquium, Sofia 8 May 2010*, Sofia 2010, 51–66.

Dinan 1911 = W. Dinan, *Monumenta Historica Celtica*, London 1911.

Dinkler 2020 = M.B. Dinkler, 'What Is a Genre? Contemporary Genre Theory and the Gospels', in R.M. Calhoun, D.P. Moessner & T. Nicklas (eds.), *Modern and Ancient Literary Criticism of the Gospels: Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)*, Tübingen 2020, 77–96.

Dinter and Khoo 2020 = M.T. Dinter and A. Khoo, ''If Skin Were Parchment...': Tattoos in Antiquity', in S.T. Kloß (ed.), *Tattoo Histories. Transcultural Perspectives on the Narratives, Practices, and Representations of Tattooing*, New York 2020, 85–102.

Dion 1976 = R. Dion, 'La notion d'Hyperboréens: ses vicissitudes au cours de l'antiquité', *Bulletin de l'association G. Budé* (ser. 4) 2 (1976) 143–157.

Dobesch 1995 = G. Dobesch, *Das europäische 'Barbaricum' und die Zone der Mediterrankultur: Ihre historische Wechselwirkung und das Geschichtsbild des Poseidonios*, Vienna 1995.

Dodds 1973 = E.R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress and other Essays on Greek Literature and Belief*, Oxford 1973.

Domaradzka & Velkov 1994 = L. Domaradzka & V. Velkov, 'Kotys I (383/2-359 av. J.-C.) et l'*emporion* Pistiros de Thrace', *BCH* 118 (1994) 1–15.

Donecker 2018 = S. Donecker, 'The *Vagina nationum* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Envisioning the North as a Repository of Migrating Barbarians', in D. Jørgensen & V. Langum (eds.), *Visions of North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout 2018, 307–327.

Donnellan 2021 = L. Donnellan, 'Understanding Greek–native interaction in early Greek Black Sea colonisation. An example from Istros/Histria', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A. Avram & J. Hargrave (eds.), *The Greeks and Romans in the Black Sea and the Importance of the Pontic Region for the Graeco-Roman World (7th century BC – 5th century AD)*, Oxford 2021, 55–68.

van Donzel & Schmidt 2009 = J. van Donzel & A.B. Schmidt, 'Gog and Magog in Pre-Islamic, Jewish and Christian Sources', in E.J. van Donzel, A.B. Schmidt & C. Ott (eds.), *Gog and Magog in Early Syriac and Islamic Sources: Sallam's Quest for Alexander's Wall*, Leiden 2009, 3–14.

Dorati 2011 = M. Dorati, 'Travel Writing, Ethnographical Writing, and the Representation of the Edges of the World in Herodotus', in R. Rollinger, B. Truschnegg & R. Bichler (eds.), *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich*, Wiesbaden 2011, 273–312.
Dougherty 2001 = C. Dougherty, *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's* Odyssey, Oxford 2001.
Dover 1989 = K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality,* 2nd rev. ed., Cambridge MA 1989.
Dowden 1980 = K. Dowden, 'Deux notes sur les scythes et les arimaspes', *RÉG* 93 (1980) 486–492.
Dowden 2000 = K. Dowden, *European Paganism. The Realities of Cult from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, London 2000.
Downey 1957 = G. Downey, 'Themistius and the Defense of Hellenism in the Fourth Century', *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 50 (1957) 259–274.
Dragoni 1979 = G. Dragoni, *Eratostene e l'apogeo della scienza greca*, Bologna 1979.
Drews 1962 = R. Drews, 'Diodorus and his Sources', *AJPhil*. 83 (1962) 383–392.
Drinkwater 1983 = J.F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: the Three Provinces, 58 B.C. – A.D. 260*, London 1983.
Drinkwater 1996 = J.F. Drinkwater, 'The 'Germanic Threat' on the Rhine Frontier: A Romano-Gallic Artefact?', in R.W. Mathisen & H.S. Sivan (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Aldershot 1996, 20–30.
Drijvers 1965 = H.J.W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries. Dialogue on Fate of Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, Assen 1965.
Drijvers 1966 = H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, Assen 1966.
Drugaş 2016 = Ş.G.P. Drugaş, 'The Name of Zalmoxis and Its Significance in the Dacian Language and Religion', *Hiperboreea* 3 (2016) 5–66.
duBois 2012 = P. duBois, *Out of Athens. The New Ancient Greeks*, Cambridge MA 2012.
Dubuisson 2001 = M. Dubuisson, 'Barbares et barbarie dans le monde gréco-romain. Du concept au slogan', *Ant. Class.* 69 (2001) 1–16.
Dueck 2000 = D. Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia. A Greek man of Letters in Augustan Rome,* London & New York 2000.
Dueck 2012 = D. Dueck, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 2012.
Dueck 2016 = D. Dueck, 'Graeco-Roman Popular Perception of Africa. The Proverbial Aspect', in D.M. Schaps, U. Yiftach & D. Dueck (eds.), *When West Met East. The Encounter of Greece and Rome with the Jews, Egyptians, and Others. Studies Presented to Ranon Katzoff in Honor of his 75th Birthday*, Trieste 2016, 211–223.
Dueck 2017 = D. Dueck, *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, London & New York 2017.
Dueck 2021 = D. Dueck, 'Ethnic Types and Stereotypes in Ancient Latin Idioms', in J.J. Price, M. Finkelberg & Y. Shahar (eds.), *Rome: An Empire of Many Nations. New Perspectives on Ethic Diversity and Cultural Identity*, Cambridge 2021, 42–57.
Dunbabin 1999 = K.M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge 1999.
Durrheim 2022 = K. Durrheim, 'Stereotypes: in the head, in language and in the wild', in C. Tileagă, M. Augoustinos & K. Durrheim (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Discrimination, Prejudice and Stereotyping*, Abingdon 2022, 184–196.
Edelstein & Kidd 1972-1999 = L. Edelstein & I.G. Kidd, *Posidonius*, Cambridge 1972-1999.

Edmonds 1999 = R.G. Edmonds III, 'Tearing Apart the Zagreus Myth: A Few Disparaging Remarks on Orphism and Original Sin', *Cl. Ant.* 18 (1999) 35–73.

Edtstadler & al. (eds.) 2022 = K. Edtstadler, S. Folie & G. Zocco (eds.) 2022, *New Perspectives on Imagology*, Leiden & Boston 2022.

Ehrhardt 2002 = N. Ehrhardt, 'Teuta, eine 'barbarische' Königin bei Polybios und in der späteren Überlieferung', in R. Rollinger & C. Ulf (eds.), *Geschlechter, Frauen, fremde Ethnien: in antiker Ethnographie, Theorie und Realität*, Innsbruck 2002, 239–250.

Eichel & Todd 1976 = M.H. Eichel & J.M. Todd, 'A Note on Polybius' Voyage to Africa in 146 B.C.', *CP* 71 (1976) 237–243.

Eisenfeld 2022 = H. Eisenfeldt, *Pindar and Greek Religion. Theologies of Mortality in the Victory Odes*, Cambridge 2022.

Eliade & Trask 1972 = M. Eliade & W.R. Trask, 'Zalmoxis', *HR* 11 (1972) 257–302.

Ellul 1973 = J. Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, New York 1973.

Elm & al. 2000 = S. Elm, É. Rebillard & A. Romano*, Orthodoxie, Christianisme, Histoire / Orthodoxy, Christianity, History*, Rome 2000.

Elsner 2000 = J. Elsner, 'From the Culture of Spolia to the Cult of Relics: The Arch of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms', *PBSR* 68 (2000) 149–184.

Elton 1996 = H. Elton*, Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425*, Oxford 1996.

Emme 2022 = B. Emme, 'Die Silberbecher von Hoby. Narrative Strategie und Diskursive Kontexte', *JDAI* 137 (2022) 141–176.

Enenkel 2000 = K. Enenkel, 'Panegyrische Geschichtsmythologisierung und Propaganda: Zur Interpretation des *Panegyricus Latinus* VI', *Hermes* 128 (2000) 91–126.

Engels 1999 = J. Engels, *Augusteische Oikumenegeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia*, Stuttgart 1999.

Engels 2017 = J. Engels, 'Strabon aus Amaseia und Apollodoros aus Artemita', in S. Müller & J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Parthika: Greek and Roman author's views of the Arsacid Empire. Griechisch-römische Bilder des Arsakidenreiches*, Wiesbaden 2017, 29–45.

Erim 1982 = K.T. Erim, 'A New Relief Showing Claudius and Britannia from Aphrodisias', *Britannia* 13 (1982) ii + 277–281.

Esmonde Cleary 1989 = S. Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, London 1989.

Eumion 2017 = M. Eumion, *Des soldats de l'armée romaine tardive: les* protectores *(III^e–VI^e siècles ap. J.-C.)*, Rouen 2017.

Evangelidis 2020 = V. Evangelidis, ''Thracian' Identities in the time of Rome: Bessi and others', in I. Topalilov & S. Nedelcheva (eds.), *The Bessi in the Roman Empire*, Shumen 2020, 38–67.

Evans 1969 = E.C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World*, Philadelphia 1969.

Evans 1864 = J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, London 1864.

Evans 2008 = R. Evans, *Utopia Antiqua: Readings of the Golden Age and Decline at Rome*, London & New York 2008.

Evans 2023 = R. Evans, ''Angry, Reckless, Savage': Problematising the Hypermasculine *Germani*', in M. Racette-Campbell & A. McMaster (eds.), *Toxic Masculinity in the Ancient World*, Edinburgh 2023, 150–160.

Eyerman 2013 = R. Eyerman, 'Social theory and trauma', *Acta Sociologica* 56 (2013) 41–53.

Fabre 1985 = P. Fabre, 'Les Massaliotes et l'Atlantique', in [n.e.] *Océan atlantique et péninsule armoricaine: études archéologiques. Actes du 107^e Congrès national des Sociétés Savantes (Brest 1982)*, Paris 1985, 25–49.

Falileyev 2005 = A. Falileyev, 'Celtic Presence in Dobrudja: Onomastic Evidence', in V. Cojocaru (ed.), *Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea: From the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Conquest*, Iaşi 2005, 291–303.

Fält 2008 = O.K. Fält, 'Theoretical Roots of the Study of Historical Images', in K. Alenius, O.K. Fält & M. Mertaniemi (eds.), *Imagology and Cross-Cultural Encounters in History*, Rovaniemi 2008, 37–43.

Fantuzzi 2010 = M. Fantuzzi, 'Sung Poetry: The Case of Inscribed Paeans', in J. Clauss & M. Cuypers (eds.), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, Chichester 2010, 181–196.

Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004 = M. Fantuzzi & R. Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*, Cambridge 2004.

Feld 2005 = K. Feld, *Barbarische Bürger. Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich*, Berlin 2005.

Feraco 2011 = F. Feraco, *Ammiano geografo. Nuovi studi*, Naples 2011.

Fernández Nieto 2001 = F.J. Fernández Nieto, *Solino. Collección de hechos memorables o El erudite,* Madrid 2001.

Ferrari Pinney 1983 = G. Ferrari Pinney, 'Achilles, Lord of Scythia', in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Madison WI 1983, 127–146.

Ferris 2000 = I.M. Ferris, *Enemies of Rome. Barbarians through the Roman Eyes*, Stroud 2000.

Ferris 2013 = I.M. Ferris*, The Arch of Constantine: Inspired by the Divine*, Stroud 2013.

Ferris 2021 = I.M. Ferris, *Visions of the Roman North. Art and Identity in Northern Roman Britain*, Oxford 2021.

Fless 2002 = F. Fless, 'Zur Konstruktion antiker Feindbilder – Das Beispiel der 'Großen Gallier'', in H.-U. Cain & S. Rieckhoff (eds.), *Fromm, fremd, barbarisch: die Religion der Kelten*, Mainz 2002, 59–70.

Flower 2001 = H.I. Flower, 'A Tale of Two Monuments: Domitian, Trajan, and Some Praetorians at Puteoli (*AE* 1973, 137)', *AJArch.* 105 (2001) 625–648.

Flower 2013 = R. Flower, ''The Insanity of Heretics Must Be Restrained': Heresiology in the Theodosian Code', in C. Kelly (ed.), *Theodosius II: Rethinking the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2013, 172–194.

Flower 2018 = R. Flower, 'Medicalizing Heresy: Doctors and Patients in Epiphanius of Salamis', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 11 (2018) 251–273.

Fiddes 1991 = N. Fiddes, *Meat. A Natural Symbol*, London & New York 1991.

Figueira & Soares (eds.) 2020 = T. Figueira & C. Soares (eds.), *Ethnicity and Identity in Herodotus*, London & New York 2020.

Fink & al. (eds.) 2017 = S. Fink, F. Pöhl & R. Rebitsch (eds.), *Die Konstruktion des Kannibalen zwischen Fiktion und Realität*, Wiesbaden 2017.

Finkelberg 1998 = M. Finkelberg, 'The Geography of the *Prometheus vinctus*', *Rh. Mus.* 141 (1998) 119–141.

Finkelberg 2014 = M. Finkelberg, 'Boreas and Oreithyia: A Case-Study in Multichannel Transmission of Myth', in R. Scodel (ed.), *Between Orality and Literacy: Communication and Adaptation in Antiquity*, Leiden 2014, 87–100.

Fischer 1972 = F. Fischer, 'Die Kelten bei Herodot. Bemerkungen zu einigen geographischen und ethnographischen Problemen', *Madrider Mitteilungen* 13 (1972) 109–124.

Fisher 2002 = J.A. Fisher, 'Tattooing the body, marking culture', *Body & Society* 8 (2002) 91–107.
Fitzpatrick 2001 = D. Fitzpatrick, 'Sophocles' *Tereus*', *CQ* 51 (2001) 90–101.
Focanti 2016 = L. Focanti, 'The *patria* of Claudianus (*FGrHist* 282)', *GRBS* 56 (2016) 485–503.
Fodorean 2016 = F.-G. Fodorean, *Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia in the Ancient Geographical Sources*, Stuttgart 2016.
Ford 2020 = R. Ford, 'From Scythian, to Getan, to Goth: The *Getica* of Jordanes and the Classical Ethnographic Tradition', in G. Heydemann & H. Reimitz (eds.), *Historiography and Identity II: Post-Roman Multiplicity and New Political Identities*, Turnhout 2020, 95–119.
Ford 2022 = R. Ford, 'Anger as an Ethnographic Trope: Changing Views from Aristotle to Seneca', in D. Konstan (ed.), *Emotions across Cultures. Ancient China and Greece*, Berlin 2022, 143–168.
Formisano 2007 = M. Formisano, 'Towards an aesthetic paradigm of Late Antiquity', *Antiquité Tardive* 15 (2007) 277–284.
Foster 1996 = S.M. Foster, *Picts, Gaels and Scots*, London 1996.
Foxhall 2013 = L. Foxhall, *Studying Gender in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 2013.
Fraenkel 1954 = E. Fraenkel, 'The Giants in the Poem of Naevius', *JRS* 44 (1954) 14–17.
Fraesdorff 2005 = D. Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden: Vorstellungen und Fremdheitskategorien bei Rimbert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bosau*, Berlin 2005.
Frank 1969 = R.I. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae: The Palace Guards of the Later Roman Empire*, Rome 1969.
Frankfurter 2021 = D. Frankfurter, 'Religion in the Mirror of the Other: The Discursive Value of Cult-Atrocity Stories in Mediterranean Antiquity', *HR* 60 (2021) 188–208.
Fraser 1972 = P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2 vols., Oxford 1972.
Freeman 1996 = P. Freeman, 'The earliest Greek sources on the Celts', *Études celtiques* 32 (1996) 11–48.
Freeman 2001 = P. Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World*, Austin 2001.
Freeman 2002 = P. Freeman, *War, women and druids: eyewitness reports and early accounts of the ancient Celts*, Austin 2002.
Freeman 2006 = P. Freeman, *The philosopher and the Druids: a journey among the ancient Celts*, London 2006.
Frel 1963 = J. Frel, 'Dike and Adikia', in L. Varel & R.F. Willetts (eds.), *Geras. Studies Presented to George Thomson*, Prague 1963, 95–98.
French 1994 = R. French, *Ancient Natural History: Histories of Nature*, London 1994.
Freshfield 1922 = E.H. Freshfield, 'Notes on a Vellum Album Containing Some Original Sketches of Public Buildings and Monuments, drawn by a German Artist Who Visited Constantinople in 1574', *Archaeologia* 72 (1922) 87–104.
Fromentin & Gotteland (eds.) 2001 = V. Fromentin & V.S. Gotteland (eds.), *Origines Gentium*, Bordeaux 2001.
Fuhrmann 1968 = M. Fuhrmann, 'Die Funktion grausiger und ekelhaften Motive in der lateinischen Dichtung', in H.R. Jauß (ed.), *Poetik und Hermeneutik III*, Munich 1968, 23–66.

Gagné 2020 = R. Gagné, 'Mirages of ethnicity and the distant north in Book IV of the *Histories*: Hyperboreans, Arimaspians, and Issedones', in T. Figueira & C. Soares (eds.), *Ethnicity and Identity in Herodotus*, London & New York 2020, 237–256.

Gagné 2021 = R. Gagné, *Cosmography and the Idea of Hyperborea in Ancient Greece: A Philology of Worlds*, Cambridge 2021.

Gandeva 1984 = R. Gandeva, 'Das Bild von Thrakien bei einem spätrömischen Dichter', in J. Harmatta (ed.), *Actes du VII^e congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques*, Budapest 1984, II 105–111.

Gandila 2018 = A. Gandila, *Cultural Encounters on Byzantium's Northern Frontier, c. AD 500–700. Coins, Artifacts and History*, Cambridge 2018.

García Moreno 2005 = L.A. García Moreno, 'Polibio y la creación del estereotipo de lo hispano en la etnografía y la historiografía helenisticas', in J. Santos Yanguas & R. Torregaray Pagola (eds.), *Polibio y la Península Ibérica*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2005, 339–357.

Gardiner-Garden 1988 = J.R. Gardiner-Garden, *Herodotos' Contemporaries on Skythian Geography and Ethnography*, Bloomington IN 1988.

Gardner 1983 = J.F. Gardner, 'The 'Gallic Menace' in Caesar's Propaganda', *G&R* 30 (1983) 181–189.

Gardner 1989 = J.F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society*, Bloomington 1986.

Garezou 1994 = M.X. Garezou, 'Orpheus', in *LIMC* 7, Zurich 1994, II 81–105.

Garnsey & Humfress 2001 = P. Garnsey & C. Humfress, *The Evolution of the Late Antique World*, Cambridge 2001.

Garrow & Gosden 2012 = D. Garrow & C. Gosden, *Technologies of Enchantment? Exploring Celtic Art: 400 BC to AD 100*, Oxford 2012.

Gazzano 2024 = F. Gazzano, 'Πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον. I sacrifici umani nelle *Storie* di Erodoto', in M.A. Oliveira Silva & M. de Fátima Silva (eds.), *Heródoto e a invenção do outro: confrontos e conflitos culturais / Herodotus and the invention of the Other: Encounters and cultural conflicts*, Coimbra 2024, 105–130.

Georgieva 2015 = R. Georgieva, 'Ritual pits', in J. Valeva, E. Nankov & D. Graninger (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, Hoboken NJ 2015, 144–157.

Gera 1997 = D.L. Gera, *Warrior women: the anonymous* Tractatus de Mulieribus, Leiden 1997.

Gergel 1994 = R.A. Gergel, 'Costume as Geographic Indicator: Barbarians and Prisoners on Cuirassed Statue Breastplates', in J.L. Sebesta & L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Madison WI 1994, 191–209.

Geroulanos 2024 = S. Geroulanos, *The Invention of Prehistory. Empire, Violence, and Our Obsession with Human Origins*, New York 2024.

Gerschkovych & Romashko 2013 = Y.P. Gerschkovych & O.V. Romashko, 'Scythian Sanctuaries of Ares: Archaeological Data and Herodotus' Testimonies', in [n.e.] *Ukrainian archaeology: selected papers from Ukrainian journal 'Arheologiia'* 2013, 19–32.

Gerstacker & al. (eds.) 2015 = A. Gerstacker, A. Kuhnert, F. Oldemeier & N. Quenouille (eds.), *Skythen in der lateinischen Literatur: eine Quellensammlung*, Berlin 2015.

Geus 2002 = K. Geus, *Eratosthenes von Kyrene. Studien zur hellenistischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Munich 2002.

Geus 2015 = K. Geus, 'Alexander und Eratosthenes. Der Feldherr und der Geograph', *Geographia Antiqua* 23-24 (2015) 53–61.

Geus & Thiering (eds.) 2014 = K. Geus & M. Thiering (eds.), *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*, Zurich, Münster & Vienna 2014.

Ghezal & al. 2018 = S. Ghezal, E. Ciesielski, B. Girard, A. Creuzieux, P. Gosnell, C. Mathe, C. Vieillescazes & R. Roure, 2018, 'Embalmed heads of the Celtic Iron Age in the south of France', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 101 (2018) 181–188.

Gieseke 2023a = J. Gieseke, ''The Common Enemies of All'? The Illyrians in the *Histories* of Polybios between Barbarism and Hellenicity', *Anc. Soc.* 53 (2023) 11–54.

Gieseke 2023b = J. Gieseke, *Vom äußersten Westen der Welt. Die Griechische Ethnographie und die Völker Iberiens und der Keltiké im Schatten der römischen Expansion (2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. – 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.),* Stuttgart 2023.

Gieseke 2024 = J. Gieseke, 'In the Shadow of the Empire. Greek Ethnography of the North in the Late Hellenistic Period and the Role of Comparisons', *Classica Cracoviensia* 27 (2024) 97–150.

Gillespie 2015 = C.C. Gillespie, 'The Wolf and the Hare: Boudica's Political Bodies in Tacitus and Dio', *CW* 108 (2015) 403–429.

Gillespie 2018 = C.C. Gillespie, *Boudica: Warrior Woman of Roman Britain*, Oxford 2018.

Gillett 2009 = A. Gillett, 'The Mirror of Jordanes: Concepts of the Barbarian, Then and Now', in P. Rousseau (ed.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, Hoboken NJ 2009, 392–408.

Giorcelli Bersani 2019 = S. Giorcelli Bersani, *L'impero in quota. I Romani e le Alpi*, Rome 2019.

Gisinger 1937 = F. Gisinger, 'Okeanos', *RE* 17 (1937) 2308–2349.

Gisinger 1963 = F. Gisinger, 'Pytheas', *RE* 24 (1963) 314–366.

Giurovich 2007 = S. Giurovich, 'Posidonio, le Alpi e i Monti Ripei', *RSA* 37 (2007) 9–40.

Giuseppetti 2012 = M. Giuseppetti, 'Mito e storia nell'*Inno a Delo* di Callimaco', in C. Cusset, N. Le Meur-Weissman & F. Levin (eds.), *Mythe et pouvoir à l'époque hellenistique*, Leuven 2012, 469–494.

Giuseppetti 2013 = M. Giuseppetti, *L'isola esile. Studi sull*'Inno a Delo *di Callimaco*, Rome 2013.

Giusti 2024 = E. Giusti, '*Haec de Africa.* Rome's Imagined Africa and the Limits of Fiction', in K. Blouin & B. Akrigg (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Classics, Colonialism, and Postcolonial Theory*, London 2024, 301–315.

Gleba 2008 = M. Gleba, 'You Are What You Wear: Scythian Costume as Identity', in M. Gleba, C. Munkholt & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Dressing the Past*, Oxford 2008, 13–28.

Goffart 2006 = W. Goffart, *Barbarian tides: the migration age and the later Roman Empire*, Philadelphia 2006.

Goldenberg 1998 = D. Goldenberg, 'Scythian–Barbarian: The Permutations of a Classical *Topos* in Jewish and Christian Texts of Late Antiquity', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 49 (1998) 87–102.

Goldman 2016 = M.L. Goldman, 'Ethnic Bodies. Physiognomy, Identity and the Environment', in R.F. Kennedy & M. Jones-Lewis (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, London 2016, 62–74.

Gonzales & Schettino (eds.) 2014 = A. Gonzales & M.T. Schettino (eds.), *L'idéalisation de l'autre. Faire un modèle d'un anti-modèle*, Besançon 2014.

González 2013 = S.M. González, 'The Missorium of Theodosius: Imperial Elites and the Lusitanian Countryside in the Later Roman Empire', in R. García-Gasco, S. González Sánchez & D.A. Hernández de la Fuente (eds.), *The Theodosian Age (A.D. 379–455): Power, Place, Belief and Learning at the End of the Western Empire*, Oxford 2013, 91–98.

González Ponce 2008 = J. González Ponce, *Periplo de Hanón y autores de los siglos VI y V a.C.*, Zaragoza 2008.

Graf & Iles Johnson 2007 = F. Graf & S. Iles Johnson, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife. Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets*, London 2007.

Grakov 1947 = B.N. Grakov, 'ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ: perezhitki matriarkhata u sarmatov', *VDI* 3 (1947) 100–121.

Grane 2013 = T. Grane, 'Roman imports in Scandinavia: their purpose and meaning?', in P.S. Wells (ed.), *Rome Beyond its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices,* Portsmouth, RI 2013, 29–44.

Grane 2017 = T. Grane, 'Modern Perceptions of Roman-Scandinavian Relations: Research History and Interpretations', in S. González Sánchez & A. Guglielmi (eds.), *Romans and Barbarians beyond the Frontiers. Archaeology, Ideology and Identities in the North*, Oxford & Philadelphia 2017, 83–104.

Graninger 2015 = D. Graninger, 'Ethnicity and *Ethne'*, in J. Valeva, E. Nankov & D. Graninger (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, Malden MA & Oxford 2015, 22–32.

Gratsianskaya 2014 = L.I. Gratsianskaya, 'The Northern Black Sea Region in the *Geography* of Strabo', in A.V. Podossinov (ed.), *The Periphery of the Classical World in Ancient Geography and Cartography*, Leuven 2014, 123–132.

Greenland 2022 = K. Greenland, 'Discrimination and intergroup contact', in C. Tileagă, M. Augoustinos & K. Durrheim (eds.), *The Routledge International Handbook of Discrimination, Prejudice and Stereotyping*, Abingdon 2022, 153–166.

Gregorić & Karamanolis 2021 = P. Gregorić & G. Karamanolis, *Pseudo-Aristotle: De Mundo (On the Cosmos). A Commentary*, Cambridge 2021.

Greisiger 2016 = L. Greisiger, 'Opening the Gates of the North in 627: War, Anti-Byzantine Sentiment and Apocalyptic Expectancy in the Near East Prior to the Arab Invasion', in W. Brandes, F. Schmieder & R. Voß (eds.), *Peoples of the Apocalypse. Eschatological Beliefs and Political Scenarios*, Berlin 2016, 63–79.

Grigg 1977 = R. Grigg, ''Symphōnian Aeidō Tēs Basileias': An Image of Imperial Harmony on the Base of the Column of Arcadius', *The Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) 469–482.

Grilli 1983 = A. Grilli, 'La documentazione sulla provenienza dell'ambra in Plinio', *Acme* 36 (1983) 5–17.

Grimaldi 2023 = A. Grimaldi, 'Ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες ἀφ'ἑσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος. Lo scontro tra Greci e Galati nella poesia di età ellenistica', in M. Barbanera, A. Caruso & R. Nicolai (eds.), *Diaspora. Migrazioni, incontri e trasformazioni nel Mediterraneo antico*, Rome 2023, 165–180.

Gruen 1996 = E.S. Gruen, 'The expansion of the empire under Augustus', in A.K. Bowman, E. Champlin & A. Lintott (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, X: The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C. – A. D. 69*, Cambridge 1996, 148–197.

Gruen 2000 = E.S. Gruen, 'Culture as Policy: The Attalids of Pergamon', in N. Thomson de Grummond & B.S. Ridgway (eds.), *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, Berkeley 2000, 17–31.

Gruen 2011 = E.S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Princeton NJ & Woodstock 2011.

Gruen 2020 = E.S. Gruen, *Ethnicity in the Ancient World – Did it Matter?*, Berlin 2020.

Grünhagen 1954 = W. von Grünhagen*, Der Schatzfund von Gross Bodungen*, Berlin 1954.

Gualandri 2013 = I. Gualandri, 'Claudian, from Easterner to Westerner', *Talanta* 45 (2013) 115–129.

Guldager Bilde 2005 = P. Guldager Bilde, 'Что скифского было в "Скифской Диане" из Неми? – What was Scythian about the 'Scythian Diana' at Nemi?', *Archeologičeskie Vesti* 12 (2005) 209–217.

Guldager Bilde 2008 = P. Guldager Bilde, 'Some Reflections on Eschatological Currents, Diasporic Experience, and Group identity in the Northwestern Black Sea Region', in P. Guldager Bilde & J. Munk Højte (eds.), *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region. Between Conflict and Coexistence*, Aarhus 2008, 29–45.

Guldager Bilde & al. 2020 = P. Guldager Bilde, S. Handberg & J.H. Petersen, 'The Black Sea', in F. De Angelis (ed.), *A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World*, Malden MA & Oxford 2020, 431–457.

Gutenbrunner 1939 = S. Gutenbrunner, *Germanische Frühzeit in den Berichten der Antiken*, Heidelberg 1939.

Günnewig 1998 = B. Günnewig, *Das Bild der Germanen und Britannier: Untersuchungen zur Sichtweise von fremden Völkern in antiker Literatur und moderner wissenschaftlicher Forschung*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1998.

Günnewig 2000 = B. Günnewig, 'Cassius Dio und die fremden Völker des nördlichen und nordöstlichen Raumes', *OT* 6 (2000) 139–154.

Gwynn 2010 = D.M. Gwynn, 'Archaeology and the 'Arian Controversy' in the Fourth Century', in D.M. Gwynn & S. Bangert (eds.), *Religious Diversity in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2010, 229–263.

Haake 2011 = M. Haake, 'Philemon (2039)', in H.-J. Gehrke & F. Maier (eds.), *Jacoby Online*. *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued, Part V*, Leiden 2011.

Habachi 1977 = L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past*, ed. C.C. Van Siclen, New York 1977.

Hagendoorn 1993 = L. Hagendoorn, 'Ethnic Categorization and Outgroup Exclusion: Cultural Values and Social Stereotypes in the Construction of Ethnic Hierarchies', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (1993) 26–51.

Hall 1989 = E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*, Oxford 1989.

Halsall 2007 = G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376–568*, Cambridge 2007.

Halsall 2013 = G. Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur. Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages*, Oxford 2013.

Hammond 1992 = N.G.L. Hammond, 'The Relations of Illyrian Albania with the Greeks and the Romans', in T. Winnifrith (ed.), *Perspectives on Albania*, London 1992, 29–39.

Hanks 2008 = B. Hanks, 'Reconsidering Warfare, Status, and Gender in the Eurasian Steppe Iron Age', in K. Linduff & K. Rubinson (eds.), *Are All Warriors Male? Gender Roles on the Ancient Eurasian Steppe,* Lanham MD 2008, 15–34.

Hannestad 1993 = L. Hannestad, 'Greeks and Celts: The Creation of a Myth', in P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, K. Randsborg & J. Zahle (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World*, Aarhus 1993, 15–38.

Hanson 2004 = W.S. Hanson, 'Scotland and the Northern Frontier. Second to Fourth Centuries AD', in M. Todd (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*, Malden MA & Oxford 2004, 136–161.

Hanson & Campbell 1986 = W.S. Hanson & D.B. Campbell, 'The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest', *Britannia* 17 (1986) 73–89.

Harden 2017 = A. Harden, ''Wild men' and animal skins in Archaic Greek imagery', in T. Fögen & E. Thomas (eds.), *Interactions between Animals and Humans in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, Berlin 2017, 369–388.

Harder 2021 = A. Harder, 'Anchoring Innovations through Aetiology', in A.B. Wessels & J.J.H. Klooster (eds.), *Inventing Origins? Aetiological Thinking in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Leiden & Boston 2021, 17–30.

Hardie 1986 = P.R. Hardie, *Virgil's* Aeneid*: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford 1986.

Hardie 2009 = P.R. Hardie, *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture,* Oxford 2009.

Harding & Hughes-Brock 2017 = A. Harding & H. Hughes-Brock, 'Mycenaeans in Bavaria? Amber and Gold from the Bronze Age site of Bernstorf: review article', *Antiquity: A Review of World Archaeology* 91 (2017) 1382–1385.

Hardwick 1990 = L. Hardwick, 'Ancient Amazons – Heroes, Outsiders or Women?', *G&R* 37 (1990) 14–36.

Harland 2020 = P.A. Harland, 'Pontic Diasporas in the Classical and Hellenistic Eras', *ZPE* 215 (2020) 159–177.

Harland 2021 = P.A. Harland, ''The Most Ignorant Peoples of All': Ancient Ethnic Hierarchies and Pontic Peoples', in A. Coşkun (ed.), *Ethnic Constructs, Royal Dynasties and Historical Geography around the Black Sea Littoral*, Stuttgart 2021, 75–98.

Harland 2024 = P.A. Harland, 'Revisiting Wise 'Barbarians' in the Hellenistic Era', *CW* 117 (2024) 147–181.

Harland 2026 = P.A. Harland, *Ethnic Relations in the Ancient Mediterranean: Social Life Under Empire*, Chicago 2026.

Harmand 1973 = J. Harmand, 'Une composante scientifique du *Corpus Caesarianum*: le portrait de la Gaule dans le *De Bello Gallico* I-VII', *ANRW* I.3 (1973) 523–595.

Harmatta 1990 = J. Harmatta, 'Herodotus, Historian of the Cimmerians and the Scythians', in G. Nenci & O. Reverdin (eds.), *Hérodote et les peuples non Grecs*, Vandoeuvres & Genève 1990, 115–130.

Harrison 2000 = T. Harrison, *The Emptiness of Asia. Aeschylus'* Persians *and the History of the Fifth Century*, London 2000.

Harrison (ed.) 2002 = T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh 2002.

Harrison 2019 = T. Harrison, 'Classical Greek Ethnography and the Slave Trade', *Cl. Ant.* 38 (2019) 36–57.

Harrison 2020 = T. Harrison, 'Reinventing the barbarian', *CPhil.* 115 (2020) 139–163.

Harrison 2025 = T. Harrison, 'Classical Greek Racism', in J.E. Skinner, V. Manolopoulou & C. Tsouparopoulou (eds.), *Identities in Antiquity*, Abingdon & New York 2025, 294–308.

Hart 2024 = T.C. Hart, *Beyond the River, Under the Eye of Rome*, Ann Arbor 2024.

Hartman 1997 = S. Hartman*, Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*, New York 1997.

Hartog 1988 = F. Hartog, *The mirror of Herodotus: the representation of the other in the writing of history,* transl. J. Lloyd, Berkeley 1988.

Hartog 2015 = F. Hartog, 'Barbarians. From the Ancient to the New World', in M. Boletsi & C. Moser (eds.), *Barbarism Revisited. New Perspectives on an Old Concept*, Leiden 2015, 29–44.

Haselgrove 2001 = C. Haselgrove, 'Iron Age Britain and its European setting', in J.R. Collis (ed.), *Society and Settlement in Iron Age Europe*, Sheffield 2001, 37–72.

Haselgrove 2004 = C. Haselgrove, 'Society and Polity in Late Iron Age Britain', in M. Todd (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*, Malden MA & Oxford 2004, 12–29.

Hatt 1984 = J.-J. Hatt, 'L'opinion que les Grecs avaient des Celtes', *Ktèma* 9 (1984) 79–87.

Hau 2016 = L.I. Hau, *Moral History from Herodotus to Diodorus Siculus*, Edinburgh 2016.

Hau 2025 = L.I. Hau, *Rethinking Hellenistic Historiography. The Immersive Histories of Duris, Phylarchus and Agatharchides*, Edinburgh 2025.

Häussler 2014 = R. Häussler, 'Manipulating the Past. Re-Thinking Graeco-Roman accounts on 'Celtic' Religion', in F. Marco Simón, F. Pina Polo & H. Remesal Rodríguez (eds.), *Fraude, mentiras y engaños en el mundo antiguo*, Barcelona 2014, 35–54.

Häussler 2018 = R. Häussler, 'The Galli', in G.D. Farney & G. Bradley (eds.), *The Peoples of Ancient Italy*, Berlin 2018, 719–754.

Hawkes 1984 = C.F.C. Hawkes, 'Ictis disentangled and the British tin trade'*, OJA* 3 (1984) 211–234.

Haynes 2003 = H. Haynes, *The History of Make-Believe: Tacitus on Imperial Rome*, Berkeley 2003.

Haynes 2014 = I.P. Haynes*, Blood of the Provinces: The Roman* Auxilia *and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans*, Oxford 2014.

Heath 1994 = J. Heath, 'The Failure of Orpheus', *TAPA* 124 (1994) 163–196.

Heather 1986 = P.J. Heather, 'The Crossing of the Danube and the Gothic Conversion', *GRBS* 27 (1986) 289–318.

Heather 1988 = P.J. Heather, 'The Anti-Scythian Tirade of Synesius' *De Regno*', *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 152–172.

Heather 1991 = P.J. Heather, *Goths and Romans, 332–489*, Oxford 1991.

Heather 1997 = P.J. Heather, '*Foedera* and *Foederati* in the Fourth Century', in W. Pohl (ed.), *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity,* Leiden 1997, 57–74.

Heather 1998 = P.J. Heather, 'Themistius: A Political Philosopher', in M. Whitby (ed.), *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 1998, 125–150.

Heather 1999 = P.J. Heather, 'The barbarian in late antiquity: image, reality, and transformation', in R. Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, London 1999, 234–258.

Heather 2005 = P.J. Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire. A New History*, Oxford 2005.
Heather 2010 = P.J. Heather, 'Liar in winter. Themistius and Theodosius', in S. McGill, C. Sogno & E. Watts (eds.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians: Later Roman History and Culture, 284-450 CE*, Cambridge 2010, 185–213.
Heather 2020 = P.J. Heather, 'Migration and Identity in Late Antiquity', in A. Bursche, J. Hines & A. Zapolska (eds.), *The Migration Period between the Oder and the Vistula*, Leiden 2020, 65–83.
Heather & Moncur 2001 = P.J. Heather & D. Moncur, *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century. Select Orations of Themistius*, Liverpool 2001.
Hedreen 1991 = G. Hedreen, 'The Cult of Achilles in the Euxine', *Hesperia* 60 (1991), 313–330.
Hegedus 2003 = T. Hegedus, 'Necessity and Free Will in the Thought of Bardaiṣan of Edessa', *Laval théologique et philosophique* 59 (2003) 333–344.
Heichholz 1962 = D.E. Heichholz, *Pliny Natural History*, *X (Libri XXXVI-XXXVII)*, Cambridge MA 1962.
Heiden 1987 = B. Heiden, '*Laudes Herculeae*: Suppressed Savagery in the Hymn to Hercules, Verg. *A*. 8.285-305', *AJPhil*. 108 (1987) 661–671.
Heil 2014 = U. Heil, 'The Homoians', in G.M. Berndt & R. Steinacher (eds.), *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, Farnham 2014, 85–115.
Hekster 2003 = O. Hekster, 'Coins and Messages: Audience Targeting on Coins of Different Denominations?', in P. Erdkamp, O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn, S.T.A.M. Mols & L. de Blois (eds.), *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, Leiden 2003, 20–35.
Hekster 2005 = O. Hekster, 'Propagating power: Hercules as an example for second-century emperors', in L. Rawlings & H. Bowden (eds.), *Herakles and Hercules: exploring a Graeco-Roman divinity*, Swansea 2005, 223–239.
Hekster 2020 = O. Hekster, 'When Was an Imperial Image? Some Reflections on Roman Art and Imagery', in A. Russell & M. Hellstrom (eds.), *The Social Dynamics of Roman Imperial Imagery*, Cambridge 2020, 275–288.
Hemelrijk 2004 = E.A. Hemelrijk, 'City Patronesses in the Roman Empire', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 53 (2004) 209–245.
Hemelrijk 2015 = E.A. Hemelrijk, *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: Women and Civic Life in the Roman West*, Oxford 2015.
Hennig 1936 = R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, I, Leiden 1936.
Henrichs 1978 = A. Henrichs, 'Greek Maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', *Harv. Stud*. 82 (1978) 121–160.
Herbaux 2024 = F. Herbaux, *Pythéas, explorateur du Grand Nord*, Paris 2024.
Héron de Villefosse 1899 = A. Héron de Villefosse, 'Le Trésor de Boscoreale', *Mon. Piot* 5 (1899) 7–132.
Herren 2011 = M.W. Herren, *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister. Edition, translation, and commentary*, Turnhout 2011.
Hind 1984 = J.G.F. Hind, 'Greek and barbarian peoples on the shores of the Black Sea', *Archaeological Reports* 30 (1983-84) 71–97.
Hinge 2008 = G. Hinge, 'Dionysos and Herakles in Scythia – The Eschatological String of Herodotos' Book 4', in P. Guldager Bilde & J.H. Petersen (eds.), *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Coexistence*, Aarhus 2008, 369–397.

Hingley 2012 = R. Hingley, *Hadrian's Wall. A Life*, Oxford 2012.
Hingley & Unwin 2005 = R. Hingley & C. Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, London 2005.
Hoare 1995 = F.R. Hoare, 'Constantius of Lyon. The Life of Saint Germanus of Auxerre', in T. Head & T.F.X. Noble (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ. Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, University Park PA 1995, 75–106.
Hobbs 2022 = R. Hobbs, 'Forms of *Largitio* and 'Denominations' of Silver Plate in Late Antiquity: The Evidence of Flanged Bowls', in J. Mairat, A. Wilson & C. Howgego (eds.), *Coin Hoards and Hoarding in the Roman World*, Oxford 2022, 313–334.
Hoddinott 1981 = R.F. Hoddinott, *The Thracians*, London 1981.
Hodot & Jouin 2008 = R. Hodot & P. Jouin, 'Barbares, barbarismes et barbarie dans le monde gréco-romain', in J. Schillinger and P. Alexandre (eds.), *Le Barbare. Images phobiques et réflexions sur l'altérité dans la culture européenne*, Bern 2008, 25–45.
Hofeneder 2005 = A. Hofeneder, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen. Sammlung, Übersetzung und Kommentierung, Bd. 1: Von den Anfängen bis Caesar*, Vienna 2005.
Hofeneder 2007 = A. Hofeneder, 'Cicero als Quelle für die keltische Religion', in M. Hainzmann (ed.), *Auf den Spuren keltischer Götterverehrung*, Vienna 2007, 155–182.
Hofeneder 2008 = A. Hofeneder, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen: Sammlung, Übersetzung und Kommentierung, Bd. 2: Von Cicero Bis Florus*, Vienna 2008.
Hofeneder 2009 = A. Hofeneder, 'Die 'Druidinnen' der Historia Augusta', in S. Zimmer (ed.), *Kelten am Rhein. Akten des Dreizehnten Internationalen Keltologiekongresses 23. bis 27. Juli 2007 in Bonn, 2. Teil: Philologie – Sprachen und Literaturen*, Mainz 2009, 81–94.
Hofeneder 2011 = A. Hofeneder, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen: Sammlung, Übersetzung und Kommentierung, Bd. 3: Von Arrianos bis zum Ausklang der Antike*, Vienna 2011.
Holmes 1907 = T.E.R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, Oxford 1907.
Hommel 1980 = H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus*, Heidelberg 1980.
Hordern 1999 = J.H. Hordern, 'The *Cyclops* of Polyxenus', *CQ* 49 (2009) 445–455.
Hormuth & Schmidt (eds.) 2010 = D. Hormuth & M. Schmidt (eds.), *Norden und Nördlichkeit. Darstellungen vom Eigenen und Fremden*, Frankfurt-am-Main 2010.
Horsfall 1981 = N. Horsfall, 'From History to Legend: M. Manlius and the Geese', *CJ* (1981) 298–311.
Hughes 2003 = D.D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, London 2003.
Hughes-Brock 1985 = H. Hughes-Brock, 'Amber and the Mycenaeans', *Journal of Baltic Studies* 16 (1985) 257–267.
Huisman & Olthof 2024 = H.D.J. Huisman & D.M. Olthof, '*Spuma Batava.* Experimental research into a Germanic fad in 1st-century Rome', in H. van Enckevort, M. Driessen, E. Graafstal, T. Hazenberg, T. Ivleva & C. van Driel-Murray (eds.), *Living and Dying on the Roman Frontier and Beyond*, Leiden 2024, 215–222.
Humm 2017 = M. Humm, 'Rome, une 'cité grecque' prise par le Hyperboréens', *Ktèma* 42 (2017) 53–71.

Humphries 2010 = M. Humphries, ‘‘Gog is the Goth’: Biblical Barbarians in Ambrose of Milan’s *De Fide*’, in C. Kelly, R. Flower & M. Stuart Williams (eds.), *Unclassical Traditions: Alternatives to the Classical Path in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2010, 44–57.

Hunter 2009 = F. Hunter, ‘Barbarians and their equipment on Roman provincial sculpture’, in V. Gaggadis-Robin, A. Hermary, M. Reddé & C. Sintes (eds.), *Les ateliers de sculpture régionaux: techniques, styles et iconographie*, Arles 2009, 793–801.

Hupe 2006 = J. Hupe, ‘Die olbische Achilleus-Verehrung in der römischen Kaiserzeit’, in J. Hupe (ed.), *Der Achilleus-Kult im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum vom Beginn der griechischen Kolonisation bit in die römische Kaiserzeit*, Rahden 2006, 165–239.

Iancu 2016 = L.M. Iancu, ‘‘Scythian’ Archers on Late Archaic Attic Pottery: A Reappraisal’, *Revista CICSA* 2 (2016) 55–63.

Ilinskaya & Terenozhkin 1983 = V.A. Ilinskaya & A.I. Terenozhkin, *Skifiya VII–IV vv. do n.e*., Kyiv 1983.

Ilyushechkina 2017 = E. Ilyushechkina, ‘Strabo’s Description of the North and Roman Geo-Political Ideas’, in D. Dueck (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, London & New York 2017, 60–68.

Ilyushechkina 2022 = E. Ilyushechkina, ‘Space of Archaic Rome in the Geography of Caius Iulius Solinus’, in M. Angelucci (ed.), *Urban Space in Historical Geography: Collective Perception and Territoriality*, Sevilla 2022, 289–296.

Innemée 2022 = K.C. Innemée, ‘Human sacrifice and ritual killing, defining the field’, in K.C. Innemée (ed.), *The Value of a Human Life. Ritual Killing and Human Sacrifice in Antiquity*, Leiden 2022, 9–25.

Innes 1979 = D.C. Innes, ‘Gigantomachy and Natural Philosophy’, *CQ* 29 (1979) 165–171.

Irby 2016 = G.L. Irby, ‘Climate and courage’, in R.F. Kennedy and M. Jones-Lewis (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, London 2016, 247–265.

Irby 2019 = G.L. Irby, ‘Tracing the *Orbis terrarum* from Tingentera’, in D.W. Roller (ed.), *New Directions in the Study of Ancient Geography*, Pennsylvania 2019, 103–134.

Ireland 2008 = S. Ireland, *Roman Britain. A Sourcebook*, 3rd edition, London & New York 2008.

Irimia 2001 = M. Irimia, ‘Despre sciti şi Scitia mica in ultimele secole ale mileniului I a.Chr.’, *Pontica* 33-34 (2001) 299–318.

Isaac 2004 = B.H. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, Princeton 2004.

Isaac 2009 = B.H. Isaac, ‘Racism: a rationalization of prejudice in Greece and Rome’, in M. Eliav-Feldon, B.H. Isaac & J. Ziegler (eds.), *The Origins of Racism in the West*, Cambridge 2009, 32–56.

Ivanov 2017 = M. Ivanov, ‘Zalmoxis and Kronos’, *Orpheus* 23-24 (2017) 73–79.

Ivantchik 1999a = A. Ivantchik, ‘The Scythian ‘Rule Over Asia’: the Classical Tradition and the Historical Reality’, in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks East and West*, Leiden 1999, 497–520.

Ivantchik 1999b = A. Ivantchik, ‘Mlekoyedy i Abii Iliady. Gomerovskiy passazh v antichnoy literaturye i problemy vozniknoveniya idealizatsii skifov’ (‘The Milkeaters and Abioi of the Iliad. A Homeric passage in classical literature and problems of the origin of the idealization of the Scythians’), in A.V. Podossinov

(ed.), *Северное Причерноморье в античности: вопросы источниковедения* (*The North Coast of the Black Sea in Classical Antiquity: Issues in Source-Criticism*), Moscow 1999, 7–45.

Ivantchik 2001 = A. Ivantchik, 'La légende 'grecque' sur l'origine des Scythes (Hérodote 4.8-10)', in V. Fromentin & S. Gotteland (eds.), *Origines Gentium*, Bordeaux 2001, 207–220.

Ivantchik 2005 = A. Ivantchik, *Am Vorabend der Kolonisation. Das nördliche Schwarzmeergebiet und die Steppennomaden des 8.-7. Jhs. v.Chr. in der klassischen Literaturtradition: Mündliche Überlieferung, Literatur und Geschichte,* Berlin & Moscow 2005.

Ivantchik 2006 = A. Ivantchik, ''Scythian' Archers on Archaic Attic Vases: Problems of Interpretation', *ACSS* 12 (2006) 197–271.

Ivantchik 2010 = A. Ivantchik, 'Sinope et les Cimmériens', *ACSS* 16 (2010) 65–72.

Ivantchik 2011 = A. Ivantchik, 'The Funeral of Scythian Kings: The Historical Reality and the Description of Herodotus (4.71-72)', in L. Bonfante (ed.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe. Realities and Interactions*, Cambridge 2011, 71–106.

Ivantchik 2013 = A. Ivantchik, 'Amazonen, Skythen und Sauromaten: Alte und Moderne Mythen', in C. Schubert & A. Weiß (eds.), *Amazonen zwischen Griechen und Skythen: Gegenbilder in Mythos und Geschichte*, Berlin & Boston 2013, 73–87.

Ivantchik 2017 = A. Ivantchik, 'The Greeks and the Black Sea: The Earliest Ideas about the Region and the Beginning of Colonization', in V. Kozlovskaya, (ed.), *The Northern Black Sea in Antiquity: Networks, Connectivity, and Cultural Interactions*, Cambridge 2017, 7–26.

Jackson 2017 = C.R. Jackson, 'Dio Chrysostom', in D.S. Richer & W.A. Johnson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic*, Oxford 2017, 217–232.

Jacob 1992 = C. Jacob, 'Un athlète du savoir: Ératosthène', in C. Jacob & F. de Polignac (éds.), *Alexandrie III^e siècle av. J.C. Tous les savoirs du monde ou le rêve de l'universalité des Ptolémées,* Paris 1992, 113–127.

Jacobs 2016 = A.S. Jacobs, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: A Cultural Biography of Late Antiquity,* Berkeley 2016.

Jacoby 1940 = F. Jacoby, 'Die Überlieferung von Ps. Plutarchs *Parallela Minora* und die Schwindelautoren', *Mnemosyne* 8 (1940) 73–144.

Jacquemin 2014 = A. Jacquemin, 'Barbares et modèles de vertu: le bon sauvage 'à la grecque' dans le *Livre des Îles* de Diodore', in A. Gonzales & M.T. Schettino (eds.), *L'idéalisation de l'autre. Faire un modèle d'un anti-modèle*, Besançon 2014, 157–169.

Janko 2015 = R. Janko, 'Amber inscribed in Linear B from Bernstorf in Bavaria: new light on the Mycenaean kingdom of Pylos', *Bayerische Vorgeschichtblätter* 80 (2015) 39–64.

Janni 2008 = P. Janni, 'Continente e continenti', *Geographia antiqua* 16-17 (2007-2008) 127–135.

Janni 2016 = P. Janni, 'The Sea of the Greeks and Romans', in S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella & H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography: The Inhabited World in Greek and Roman Tradition*, Leiden 2016, 21–42.

Janson 2011 = H. Janson, 'Scythian Christianity', in I. Garipzanov & O. Tolochko (eds.), *Early Christianity on the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks* (*Ruthenica Supplementum* 4), Kyiv 2011, 33–57.

Janson 2018 = H. Janson, 'Pictured by the Other: Classical and Early Medieval Perspectives on Religions in the North', in M. Clunies Ross (ed.), *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North. Research and Reception, Volume I: From the Middle Ages to* c. *1830*, Turnhout 2018, 7–40.

Janvier 1982 = Y. Janvier, *La géographie d'Orose*, Paris 1982.

Jim 2022 = T.S.F. Jim, *Saviour Gods and* Soteria *in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2022.

Johne 2006 = K.-P. Johne, *Die Römer an der Elba. Das Stromgebiet der Elbe im geographischen Weltbild und im politischen Bewusstsein der griechisc-römischen Antike,* Berlin 2006.

Johnson 1959 = J.W. Johnson, 'The Scythian: His Rise and Fall', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (1959) 250–257.

Johnson 1960 = J.W. Johnson, 'On Differing Ages and Climes', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 21 (1960) 465–480.

Johnson 2019 = M. Johnson, 'Race and Ethnicity', in M. Harlow (ed.), *A Cultural History of Hair in Antiquity*, London 2019, 111–128.

Johnson 1980 = S. Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, New York 1980.

Johnson & al. 2021 = M. Johnson, W. Rowatt & J.P. Labouff, 'Religiosity and Prejudice Revisited: In-Group Favoritism, Out-Group Derogation, or Both?', *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* 4 (2012) 154–168.

Johnson & Stavru 2019 = J.C. Johnson & A. Stavru, 'Introduction', in J.C. Johnson & A. Stavru (eds.), *Visualising the invisible with the human body: Physiognomy and ekphrasis in the ancient world*, Berlin 2019, 1–7.

Johnston 2017 = A.C. Johnston, *The Sons of Remus. Identity in Roman Gaul and Spain*, Cambridge MA & London 2017.

Johnston 2019 = A.C. Johnston, 'Rewriting Caesar: Cassius Dio and an Alternative Ethnography of the North', *Histos* 13 (2019) 53–77.

Jones 1964 = A.H.M. Jones*, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols., Baltimore 1964.

Jones 1987 = C.P. Jones, 'Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', *JRS* 77 (1987) 139–155.

Jones 1998 = M.E. Jones, *The End of Roman Britain*, Ithaca NY 1998.

Jordanova 2014 = M. Jordanova, 'Immortal Mortal: Heroic Ideology in the Thracian Myth and Cult', *Orpheus* 21 (2014) 65–74.

Jouanna 1981 = J. Jouanna, 'Les causes de la défaite des Barbares chez Eschyle, Hérodote et Hippocrate', *Ktèma* 6 (1981) 3–15.

Jourdain-Annequin 1992 = C. Jourdain-Annequin, 'Héraclès en Occident', in C. Bonnet & C. Jourdain-Annequin (eds.), *Héraclès: d'une rive à l'autre de la Méditerranee*, Brussels 1992, 263–291.

Jørgensen & Langum (eds.) 2018 = D. Jørgensen & V. Langum (eds.), *Visions of North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout 2018.

Juhász 2016 = L. Juhász, 'Britannia on Roman coins', *Dissertationes Archaeologicae* 3 (2016) 145–160.

Jullian 1908 = C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule, tome I*, Paris 1908.

Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979 = S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Bern 1979.

Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1986 = S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, 'Boreas', in *LIMC* 3, Zurich 1986, 133–142.

Kahl 2010 = B. Kahl, *Galatians re-imagined: reading with the eyes of the vanquished*, Minneapolis 2010.

Kahlos 2012 = M. Kahlos, 'Who is a Good Roman? Setting and Resetting Boundaries for Romans, Christians, Pagans, and Barbarians in the Late Roman Empire', in M. Kahlos (ed.), *Faces of the Other: Religious Rivalry and Ethnic Encounters in the Later Roman World*, Turnhout 2012, 259–274.

Kahlos 2013 = M. Kahlos, 'Nocturnal Rituals as an Othering Device: The Long Life of Fears and Labels in Ancient Polemic and Legislation', in R. Hakola, N. Nikki & U. Tervahauta (eds.), *Others and the Construction of Early Christian Identities*, Helsinki 2013, 313–344.

Kahlos 2021 = M. Kahlos, 'Heresy Test and the Barbarian Other', in G.D. Dunn & C. Shepardson (eds.), *Dealing with Difference: Patterns of Response to Religious Rivalry in Late Antiquity*, Tübingen 2021, 41–55.

Kahlos 2023 = M. Kahlos, 'From Bad Barbarians into Good Romans? Themistius and the Case of Goths in the Fourth Century', *Advances in Ancient, Biblical, and Near Eastern Research* 3 (2023) 221–252.

Kahlos forthcoming = M. Kahlos, *The Use of Northern Barbarians in the Religious Rivalries in the Late Roman World*, Edinburgh, forthcoming.

Kajava 2011 = M. Kajava, 'Φλεγυᾶν and the Phlegyans, with a Note on μόρφνος φλεγύας (Hes. *Sc*. 134)', *Arctos* 44 (2011) 123–132.

Kaldellis 2013 = A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography After Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature*, Philadelphia 2013.

Kaldellis & Kruse 2023 = A. Kaldellis & M. Kruse, *The Field Armies of the East Roman Empire, 361–630*, Cambridge 2023.

Kamenou 2021 = M. Kamenou, 'From the tower of Kronos to the island of Achilles: placing Leuce in the Greek conception of heroic apotheosis', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A. Avram & J. Hargrave (eds.), *The Greeks and Romans in the Black Sea and the Importance of the Pontic Region for the Graeco-Roman World (7th century BC – 5th century AD)*, Oxford 2021, 137–141.

Kaminski-Jones & Kaminski-Jones (eds.) 2020 = F. Kaminski-Jones & R. Kaminski-Jones (eds.)*, Romans, Britons. Classical and Celtic Influences in the Construction of British Identities*, Oxford 2020.

Käppel 2001 = L. Käppel, 'Bilder des Nordens im frühen antiken Griechenland', in A. Engel-Braunschmidt, G. Fouquet, W. von Hinden & I. Schmidt (eds.), *Ultima Thule: Bilder des Nordens von der Antike bis zur Gegenwurt*, Bern 2001, 11–27.

Karttunen 1989 = K. Karttunen, 'Kynokephaloi and Kynomolgoi in Classical Ethnography', *Arctos* 18 (1989) 31–36.

Kaufman 2022 = D.H. Kaufman, 'Race and Science', in D.E. McCoskey (ed.), *A Cultural History of Race in Antiquity*, London 2022, 67–82.

Kaul 2011 = F. Kaul, 'The Gundestrup Cauldron: Thracian Art, Celtic Motifs', *Études celtiques* 37 (2011) 81–110.

Kazakevych 2022 = H. Kazakevych, ''Celtoscythians': Ethnical Processes and Cultural Contacts in the Baltic-Black Sea Region (3rd century BC – 1st century AD)', *Ukrainian Studies* 4 (2022) 103–114.

Kehne 1989 = P. Kehne, *Formen römischer Aussenpolitik in der Kaiserzeit. Die auswärtige Praxis im Nordgrenzenbereich als Einwirkung auf das Vorfeld*, PhD thesis, Hannover 1989.

Kehne 2000 = P. Kehne, '*Externae gentes* und *regna intra fines* im Nordgrenzenbereich des Imperium Romanum vom 1. bis zum 3. Jahrhundert: Eine Kritik der Klientelrandstaaten-Theorie', *Eos* 87 (2000) 311–334.

Kelley 1994 = H. Kelley, 'The Myth of Matriarchy: Symbols of Womanhood in Galician Regional Identity', *Anthropological Quarterly* 67 (1994) 71–80.

Kelly 2020 = B. Kelly, 'Court Politics and Imperial Imagery in the Roman Principate', in A. Russell & M. Hellstrom (eds.), *The Social Dynamics of Roman Imperial Imagery*, Cambridge 2020, 128–158

Kelly & Brown 2017 = R. Kelly & J. Brown, 'Cross-Cultural Models or Approaches to Gender', in K.L. Andal (ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Psychology and Gender*, Thousand Oaks CA 2017, 404–409.

Kemezis 2014 = A.M. Kemezis, 'Greek Ethnicity and the Second Sophistic', in J. McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, London 2014, 390–404.

Kennedy & Jones-Lewis (eds.) 2016 = R.F. Kennedy & M. Jones-Lewitt (eds.), *Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, London & New York 2016.

Kenney 2021 = J. Kenney, *A Welsh Landscape through Time. Excavations at Parc Cybì, Holy Island, Anglesey*, Oxford & Philadelphia 2021.

Kerremans 2016 = B. Kerremans, '*Metus Gallicus, tumultus Cimbricus*? The Possible Promulgation of a *tumultus* in the Cimbrian War (105-101 BCE)', *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016) 822–841.

Keyser 2011 = P.T. Keyser, 'Greek Geography of the Western Barbarians', in L. Bonfante (ed.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, Cambridge 2011, 37–70.

Knauer 2001 = E.R. Knauer, 'Observations on the 'Barbarian' Custom of Suspending the Heads of Vanquished Enemies from the Neck of Horses', *Archäologisches Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 33 (2001) 283–332.

Kidd 1988 = I.G. Kidd, *Posidonius. Volume II: The Commentary*, 2. vols., Cambridge 1988.

Kidd 1989 = I.G. Kidd, 'Posidonius as Philosopher-Historian', in M. Griffin & J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata: Essays on Philosophy and Roman Society*, Oxford 1989, I 38–50

Kiilerich 1993 = B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts: Studies in the So-Called Theodosian Renaissance*, Odense 1993.

Kiilerich 1998 = B. Kiilerich, *The Obelisk Base in Constantinople: Court Art and Imperial Ideology*, Rome 1998.

Kiilerich 2000 = B. Kiilerich, 'Representing an Emperor: Style and Meaning on the Missorium of Theodosius', in M. Almagro Gorbea, J.M. Álvarez Martínez & M. Blázquez Martínez (eds.), *El disco de Teodosio*, Madrid 2000, 273–280.

Killeen 1976 = J.F. Killeen, 'Ireland in the Greek and Roman Writers', *PRIA* 76 (1976) 207–215.

Kim 2013 = H.J. Kim, 'The Invention of the 'Barbarian' in Late Sixth-Century BC Ionia', in E. Almagor & J.E. Skinner (eds.), *Ancient Ethnography. New Approaches*, London 2013, 25–48.

Kim 2006 = Y.R. Kim, 'Epiphanius of Cyprus and the Geography of Heresy', in H.A. Drake (ed.), *Violence in Late Antiquity. Perceptions and Practices*, Aldershot 2006, 235–252.

Kim 2015 = Y.R. Kim*, Epiphanius of Cyprus: Imagining an Orthodox World*, Ann Arbor 2015.

Kim 2016 = Y.R. Kim, 'The Transformation of Heresiology in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Cyprus', in H. Elton & G. Greatrex (eds.), *Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity*, London 2016, 53–65.

Kindstrand 1981 = J.F. Kindstrand, *Anacharsis, the legend and the apophthegmata*, Uppsala 1981.

King 2003 = K.L. King, *What is Gnosticism?*, Cambridge 2003.

King 2011 = K.L. King, 'Factions, Variety, Diversity, Multiplicity: Representing Early Christian Differences for the 21st Century', *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 23 (2011) 216–237.

King 2022 = R. King, *Amber: from antiquity to eternity*, London 2022.

Kistler 2009 = E. Kistler, *Funktionalisierte Keltenbilder. Die Indienstnahme der Kelten zur Vermittlung von Normen und Werten in der hellenistischen Welt*, Berlin 2009.

Kleiner 1992 = D. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, New Haven 1992.

Klingenberg & al. 2018 = S. Klingenberg, R. Blankenfeldt, K. Høhling Søsted, A.J. Nielsen & A.E. Jensen, 'Hoby – An exceptional Early Roman Iron Age site in the Western Baltic Region'*, Acta Archaeologica* 88 (2018) 121–137.

Kloß (ed.) 2020 = S.T. Kloß (ed.), *Tattoo Histories: Transcultural Perspectives on the Narratives, Practices, and Representations of Tattooing*, London 2020.

Kochanek 2004 = P. Kochanek, *Die Vorstellung vom Norden und der Eurozentrismus. Eine Auswertung der patristischen und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Mainz 2004.

Koch & Carey 2003 = J.T. Koch & J. Carey, *The Celtic Heroic Age: literary sources for ancient Celtic Europe & early Ireland & Wales*, Aberystwyth 2003.

Kolb & Speidel 2016 = A. Kolb & M.A. Speidel, 'Perceptions from Beyond: Some Observations on Non-Roman Assessments of the Roman Empire from the Great Eastern Trade Routes', in D. Slootjes & M. Peachin (eds.), *Rome and the Worlds Beyond Its Frontiers*, Leiden 2016, 151–179.

Kolendo 1981 = J. Kolendo, *À la recherche de l'ambre baltique. L'expédition d'un chevalier romain sous Néron*, Warsaw 1981.

Kominko 2016 = M. Kominko, ''Ugly as Sin'. Monsters and barbarians in Late Antiquity', in R.F. Kennedy & M. Jones-Lewis (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, London 2016, 373–389.

Komorowska 2011 = J. Komorowska, 'Scientific Astrology and the Art of Persuasion: Brief Remarks on the Structure of Book Two of the *Tetrabiblos*', *Eos* 98 (2011) 69–85.

Komorowska 2016 = J. Komorowska, 'Those happy people: Arabia Felix and the astrological *oikoumene* of Claudius Ptolemaeus', in R.F. Kennedy & M. Jones-Lewis (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, London 2016, 353–372.

Kontny 2008 = B. Kontny, 'The war as seen by an archaeologist. Reconstruction of barbarian weapons and fighting techniques in the Roman Period based on the analysis of graves containing weapons. The case of the Przeworsk Culture', in L. Kocsis (ed.), *The Enemies of Rome. Proceedings of the 15th International Roman Military Equipment Conference, Budapest 2005*, Budapest 2008, 107–145.

König & Whitmarsh (eds.) 2007 = J. König & T. Whitmarsh (eds.), *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 2007.

Koptev 2011 = A. Koptev, 'The Massacre of Old Men by the Gauls in 390 BC and the Social Meaning of Old Age in Archaic Rome', in C. Krötzl & K. Mustakallio (eds.), *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2011, 153–182.

Korobili 2023 = G. Korobili, '*Eukrasia* and *Enkrateia*: Greco-Roman Theories of Blending and the Struggle for Virtue', *Early Science and Medicine* 28 (2023) 270–294.

Kosmetatou 2003 = E. Kosmetatou, 'The Attalids of Pergamon', in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2003, 159–174.

Kosmetatou 2022 = E. Kosmetatou, 'The Eunuch Philetairos: Pergamene Founding Father and Galatian-Slayer', in A. Coşkun (ed.), *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods*, Leuven 2022, 163–192.

Kosmin 2018 = P.J. Kosmin, 'The Politics of Science: Eratosthenes Geography and Ptolemaic Imperialism'*, OT* 15 (2018) 85–96.

Kotova 2017 = D. Kotova, 'The Getic Messengers to Zalmoxis, the Faith in Immortality and the Death of the Widows', *Orpheus* 23-24 (2017) 58–72.

Kotrosits 2023 = M. Kotrosits, 'The Ethnography of Gender: Reconsidering Gender as an Object of Study', *Studies in Late Antiquity* 7 (2023) 5–28.

Krebs 2011 = C.B. Krebs, 'Borealism. Caesar, Seneca, Tacitus and the Roman concept of the North', in E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Los Angeles 2011, 202–221.

Krebs 2018 = C.B. Krebs, 'The World's Measure: Caesar's Geographies of *Gallia* and *Britannia* in their Contexts and as Evidence of his World Map', *AJPhil.* 139 (2018) 93–122.

Kremer 1994 = B. Kremer, *Das Bild der Kelten bis in Augusteische Zeit. Studien zur Instrumentalisierung eines antiken Feindbildes bei griechischen und römischen Autoren*, Stuttgart 1994.

Kruta 1992 = V. Kruta, 'Brennos et l'image des dieux: la représentation de la figure humaine chez les Celtes', *CR Acad. Inscr*. 136 (1992) 821–846.

Krutak & Deter-Wolf (eds.) 2017 = L. Krutak & A. Deter-Wolf (eds.), *Ancient Ink. The archaeology of tattooing*, Seattle & London 2017.

Kryzhitskiy 2005 = S.D. Kryzhitskiy, 'Olbia and the Scythians in the Fifth Century BC. The Scythian 'Protectorate'', in D.C. Braund (ed.), *Scythians and Greeks. Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire*, Exeter 2005, 123–130.

Kulatunga 2016 = R. Kulatunga, 'Invisible boundaries? The concept of 'barbarian' in the ancient Greek and Indian literary sources', in H. Berthelot, A. Boiché & P.-A. Caltot (eds.), *Vivre et penser les frontières dans le monde méditerranéen antique*, Bordeaux 2016, 199–211.

Kulawiak-Cyrankowska 2022 = J. Kulawiak-Cyrankowska, 'Martial on Interweaving of Roman and Barbarian Worlds', in M. Olędzki & A. Dubicki (eds.), *Rome and the Barbarians. An Interplay between two Worlds*, Łódź 2022, 11–20.

Kulikowski 2002 = M. Kulikowski, 'Nation vs. Army: A Necessary Contrast?', in A. Gillett (ed.), *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2002, 69–84.

Kulikowski 2018 = M. Kulikowski, 'Northern Invaders: Migration and Conquest as Scholarly *Topoi* in Eurasian History', in N. Di Cosmo & M. Maas (eds.), *Empires*

and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity. Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250-750, Cambridge 2018, 151–165.

Kuttner 1995 = A.L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups*, Berkeley 1995.

Kyriakou 2006 = P. Kyriakou, *A Commentary on Euripides'* Iphigenia in Tauris, Berlin & New York 2006.

Kytzler 2006 = B. Kytzler, 'Unwirkliche Wirklichkeiten: Geplant-Geträumt-Geflunkert. Über Utopie und Realität im frühen Europa', in N. Hömke & M. Baumbach (eds.), *Fremde Wirklichkeiten. Literarisch Phantastik und antike Literatur*, Heidelberg 2006, 277–287.

Ladner 1976 = G.B. Ladner, 'On Roman Attitudes toward Barbarians in Late Antiquity', *Viator* 7 (1976) 1–26.

Laffranque 1964 = M. Laffranque, *Poseidonios d'Apamée: essai du mise au point*, Paris 1964.

Lampinen 2012 = A.J. Lampinen, 'Migrating Motifs of Northern Barbarism: Depicting Gauls and Germans in Imperial Literature', in M. Kahlos (ed.), *The Faces of the Other. Religious Rivalry and Ethnic Encounters in the Later Roman World*, Turnhout 2012, 199–235.

Lampinen 2014a = A.J. Lampinen, 'Fragments from the 'Middle Ground' – Posidonius' Northern Ethnography', *Arctos* 48 (2014) 229–259.

Lampinen 2014b = A.J. Lampinen, 'Cruel and Unusual? The Idea of 'Celtic justice' in the Greco-Roman Lighter Literature', *Studia Celtica Fennica* 11 (2014) 8–23.

Lampinen 2015 = A.J. Lampinen, 'A Helping Hand from the Divine. Notes on the Triumphalist Iconography of the Theodosian Dynasty', *Acta Byzantina Fennica* 4 (2015) 9–38.

Lampinen 2018 = A.J. Lampinen, 'Against hope? The untimely *elpis* of northern barbarians', in G. Kazantzidis & D. Spatharas (eds.), *Hope in Ancient Literature, History, and Art*, Berlin 2018, 279–298.

Lampinen 2019a = A.J. Lampinen, 'Cultural Artefacts in Transit: Notes on the Transmission and Translation of Ethnonyms in the Greco-Roman Eastern Mediterranean', in J. Hämeen-Anttila & I. Lindstedt (eds.), *Translation and Transmission. Collection of Articles*, Münster 2019, 139–179.

Lampinen 2019b = A.J. Lampinen, 'Physiognomy, *Ekphrasis*, and the 'Ethnographicising' Register in the Second Sophistic', in J.C. Johnson and A. Stavru (eds.), *Visualizing the invisible with the human body: Physiognomy and ekphrasis in the ancient world*, Berlin 2019, 227–270.

Lampinen 2021a = A.J. Lampinen, ''Ethnic' Divination in Roman Imperial Literature', in C. Addey (ed.), *Divination and Knowledge in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, Abingdon 2021, 218–247.

Lampinen 2021b = A.J. Lampinen, 'Breaching the Alps: the Roman Idea of the 'Wall of Italy' from the Republic to the Augustan Era', *History in Flux* 3 (2021) 7–28.

Lampinen 2021c = A.J. Lampinen, 'Review/Discussion 'Approaches to Ancient Ethnographic *Topoi*', on M. Zerjadtke (ed.) 2020, *Der ethnographische* Topos *in der Alten Geschichte: Annäherungen an ein omnipräsentes Phänomen*', *Histos* 15 (2021) xli–lii.

Lampinen 2024a = A.J. Lampinen, 'Galatae between Northern and Eastern Stereotypes. Methods, Motives and Motifs of 'Orientalisation'', in A.J. Lampinen & B. Forsén

(eds.), *Oriental Mirages. Stereotypes and Identity Creation in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2024, 197–231.

Lampinen 2024b = A.J. Lampinen, 'Explaining the East: Forming and Applying Eastern Stereotypes in the Graeco-Roman Tradition', in A.J. Lampinen & B. Forsén (eds.), *Oriental Mirages: Stereotypes and Identity Creation in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2024, 279–317.

Lampinen 2024c = A.J. Lampinen, '*Lucus horridus.* Emotional Responses to 'Northern' Holy Groves in Lucan and Tacitus', in M. Bassani & R. Berg (eds.), *Locus horridus. Ansie romane verso il mondo naturale,* Rome 2024, 101–116.

Lampinen 2025 = A.J. Lampinen, 'Boudica's Daughters: Conquest and Rape in the Ancient Roman Discourse', in E. Pyy (ed.), *Ancient Rape Cultures: Sexual Violence in the Greek, Roman, Jewish, and Early Christian World*, Rome 2025, 151–169.

Lampinen & Forsén 2024 A.J. Lampinen, & B. Forsén, 'Barbarians and Empire. Greek and Roman Conceptions of the East', in A.J. Lampinen & B. Forsén (eds.), *Oriental Mirages. Stereotypes and Identity Creation in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2024, 11–40.

Lampinen & Forsén (eds.) 2024 = A.J. Lampinen, & B. Forsén (eds.), *Oriental Mirages: Stereotypes and Identity Creation in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2024.

Lancini 2019 = L. Lancini, 'Barbari ostili o pacifici interlocutori? Traci e Greci ad Apollonia Pontica', *Aristonothos. Scritti per il Mediterraneo antico* 159 (2019) 11–43.

Landucci Gattinoni 1997 = F. Landucci Gattinoni, *Duride di Samo*, Rome 1997.

Landucci Gattinoni 2024 = F. Landucci Gattinoni, 'Illyrians and Macedonians in the Fifth Century BC. An Impossible Peace', in E.D. Carney, S. Müller & B. Antela-Bernárdez (eds.), *Karanos Supplement I: Know thy Neighbor. Macedonia and its Environment*, Barcelona 2024, 121–129.

Lane 1996 = E.N. Lane, 'The Name of Cybele's Priests the *Galloi*', in E.N. Lane (ed.), *Cybele, Attis and Related Cults. Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren*, Leiden 1996, 117–133.

Langum 2018 = V. Langum, 'Cold Characters: Northern Temperament in the Premodern Imaginary', in D. Jørgensen & V. Langum (eds.), *Visions of North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout 2018, 123–144.

Lasserre 1982 = F. Lasserre, 'Strabon devant l'empire romain', *ANRW* II 30.1 (1982) 867–896.

Lazarenko 2015 = I. Lazarenko, *The Scythians in Thrace (7th century BC – 1st century AD), Part I: Written Sources for the Scythians in Thrace*, Varna 2015.

Lazarov 2010 = L. Lazarov, 'The Celtic Tylite State in the Time of Cavarus', in L.F. Vagalinski (ed.), *In Search of Celtic Tylis in Thrace (III c. BC): Proceedings of the interdisciplinary colloquium, Sofia 8 May 2010*, Sofia 2010, 97–114.

Lazova 1996 = T. Lazova, *The Hyperboreans: A Study in the Paleo-Balkan Tradition*, Sofia 1996.

Leader-Newby 2003 = R.E. Leader-Newby, *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries*, Aldershot 2003.

Lee 2009 = M.M. Lee, 'Body-Modification in Classical Greece', in T. Fögen & M.M. Lee (eds.), *Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, Berlin & New York 2009, 155–180.

Leerssen 2016 = J. Leerssen, 'Imagology: On using ethnicity to make sense of the world', *Iberic@l. Revue d'études ibériques et ibéro-américaines* 10 (2016) 13–31.
Lefkowitz & Fant (eds.) 2016 = M. Lefkowitz & M.B. Fant (eds.), *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*, 4th ed., London & New York 2016.
Lenski 2002 = N. Lenski, *Failure of empire: Valens and the Roman state in the fourth century A.D.*, Berkeley 2002.
Lepper & Frere 1988 = F. Lepper & S. Frere, *Trajan's Column: A New Edition of the Cichorius Plates*, Gloucester 1988.
Levick 1982 = B. Levick, 'Morals, Politics, and the Fall of the Roman Republic', *G&R* 29 (1982) 53–62.
Lévy 1981 = E. Lévy, 'Les origins du mirage scythe', *Ktèma* 6 (1981) 57–68.
Liapis 2011 = V.J. Liapis, 'The Thracian Cult of Rhesus and the *Heros Equitans*', *Kernos* 24 (2011) 95–104.
Liccardo 2018 = S. Liccardo, 'Different *Gentes*, Same Amazons: The Myth of Women Warriors at the Service of Ethnic Discourse', *The Medieval History Journal* 21 (2018) 1–29.
Liccardo 2024 = S. Liccardo, *Old Names, New Peoples: Listing Ethnonyms in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2024.
Lieber 2003 = E. Lieber, 'The Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places* on Cross-Dressing Eunuchs: 'Natural' yet also 'Divine'', in M. Golden & P. Toohey (eds), *Sex and Difference in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Edinburgh 2003, 351–369.
Liebeschuetz 1990 = J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom,* Oxford 1990.
Liebeschuetz 2012 = J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, '*Habitus barbarus*: did barbarians look different from Romans?', in P. Porena & Y. Rivière (eds.), *Expropriations et confiscations dans les royaumes barbares. Une approche régionale*, Rome 2012, 13–28.
Lightfoot 1999 = J.L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea: The poetical fragments and the Erotica Pathemata*, Oxford 1999.
Lightfoot 2020 = J. Lightfoot, 'Tacitus' *Germania* and the Limits of Fantastic Geography', *Histos* 14 (2020) 116–151.
Lincoln 2014 = B. Lincoln, 'Once Again the 'Scythian' Myth of Origins (Herodotus 4.5-10),' *Nordlit* 33 (2014) 19–34.
Lindenbaum 2004 = S. Lindenbaum, 'Thinking about Cannibalism', *Ann. Rev. Anthropol.* 33 (2004) 475–498.
Linduff & Rubinson (eds.) 2008 = K. Linduff & K.S. Rubinson (eds.), *Are All Warriors Male?: Gender Roles on the Ancient Eurasian Steppe*, Lanham MD 2008.
Linforth 1918 = I.M. Linforth, 'ΟΙ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ (Herodotus iv.93-96)', *CPhil*. 13 (1918) 22–33.
Lippert & Matzinger 2022 = A. Lippert & J. Matzinger, *Die Illyrer. Geschichte, Archäologie und Sprache*, Stuttgart 2022.
Lissarague 2002 = F. Lissarague, 'The Athenian Image of the Foreigner', in T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians,* Edinburgh 2002, 101–124.
Livingstone 2011 = D. Livingstone, 'Environmental Determinism', in J. Agnew & D. Livingstone (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*, Los Angeles & London 2011, 368–380.
Lomas 2018 = K. Lomas, 'The Veneti', in G.D. Farney & G. Bradley (eds.), *The Peoples of Ancient Italy*, Berlin 2018, 701–718.

López Sánchez 2018 = F. López Sánchez, 'Galatians in Macedonia (280-277 BCE): Invasion or Invitation?', in T. Ñaco del Hoyo & F. López Sánchez (eds.), *War, Warlords, and Interstate Relations in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Leiden 2018, 183–203.

L'Orange 1939 = H.P. L'Orange, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens*, Berlin 1939.

Lovejoy & Boas 1935 = A.O. Lovejoy & G. Boas, *Primitivism and related ideas in antiquity*, Baltimore 1935 (repr. New York 1997).

Lozat 2019 = M. Lozat, 'Aux confins du monde: la *Géographie* de Strabon', *SemClas* 12 (2019) 97–108.

Luchte 2009 = J. Luchte, *Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration*, London & New York 2009.

Luiselli 1992 = B. Luiselli, *Storia culturale dei rapporti tra mondo romano e mondo germanico*, Rome 1992.

Lund 1990 = A.A. Lund, *Zum Germanenbild der Römer. Eine Einführung in die antike Ethnographie*, Heidelberg 1990.

Lund 1991 = A.A. Lund, 'Versuch einer Gesamtinterpretation der *Germania* des Tacitus, mit einem Anhang: Zu Entstehung und Geschichte des Namens und Begriffs *Germani*', *ANRW* II 33.3 (1991) 1858–1988.

Lundström & Teitelbaum 2017 = C. Lundström & B.R. Teitelbaum, 'Nordic Whiteness: An Introduction', *Scandinavian Studies* 89 (2017) 151–158.

Lyman 1993 = R. Lyman, 'The Topography of Heresy: Mapping the Rhetorical Creation of Arianism', in M.R. Barnes & D.H. Williams (eds.), *Arianism After Arius: Essays on the Development of the Fourth Century Trinitarian Conflicts*, Edinburgh 1993, 45–62.

Maas 2025 = M. Maas, *The Conqueror's Gift. Roman Ethnography and the End of Antiquity*, Princeton 2025.

MacCormack 1981 = S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1981.

MacNeill 2020 = E. MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, Dublin 1919 (repr. Frankfurt-am-Main 2020).

Mac Sweeney 2015 = N. Mac Sweeney, 'Introduction', in N. Mac Sweeney (ed.), *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies. Dialogues and Discourses*, Philadelphia 2015, 1–19.

Macurdy 1920 = G.H. Macurdy, 'The Hyperboreans Again, Abaris, and Helixoia', *CR* 34 (1920) 137–141.

Magdalino 1988 = P. Magdalino, 'The Bath of Leo the Wise and the 'Macedonian Renaissance' Revisited: Topography, Iconography, Ceremonial, Ideology', *DOP* 42 (1988) 97–118.

Magnani 1993 = S. Magnani, 'Una geografia fantastica? Pitea di Massilia e l'immaginario greco', *RSA* 22-23 (1992-93) 25–42.

Mair 1906 = G. Mair, 'Pytheas von Massilien und die mathematische Geographie', *Jahresbericht k. k. Staats-Gymnasium Marburg a.d.D. II* (1906) 5–31.

Maiuri 2013 = A. Maiuri, 'Il Nord nel mondo greco-romano', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 55 (2013) 567–585.

Majeska 1999 = G.P. Majeska, 'The Byzantines on the Slavs: On the Problem of Ethnic Stereotyping', *Byzantium and the North. Acta Byzantina Fennica* 9 (1999) 70–86.

Maldonano 2017 = A. Maldonano, 'Before Conan the Barbarian, There Was Bran', *AlmostArchaeology* 23 (Dec 2017) https://almostarchaeology.com/post/168837690898/branmakmorn

Malinowski 2017 = G. Malinowski, 'Strabo the Historian', in D. Dueck (ed.), *Routledge Companion to Strabo*, London & New York 2017, 337–352.

Malinowski 2024 = G. Malinowski, 'Arimaspi and Issedonians Reconsidered', *Eos* 111 (2024) 55–87.

Mallan & Davenport 2015 = C. Mallan & C. Davenport, 'Dexippus and the Gothic Invasions: Interpreting the New Vienna Fragment (*Codex Vindobonensis Hist. gr.* 73, ff. 192^{v}-193^{r})', *JRS* 105 (2015) 203–226.

Maner 2018 = B. Maner, *Germany's Ancient Pasts. Archaeology and Historical Interpretation since 1700*, Chicago 2018.

Mann 1992 = J.C. Mann, 'Loca', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 20 (1992) 53–55.

Manning 2004 = W. Manning, 'The Conquest of Wales', in M. Todd (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*, Malden MA & Oxford 2004, 60–74.

Marazov 2011 = I. Marazov, 'Philomele's Tongue: Reading the Pictorial Text of Thracian Mythology', in L. Bonfante (ed.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe*, Cambridge 2011, 132–189.

Marcone 2021 = A. Marcone, 'Idee di barbari e di confini in età imperiale romana', *Geographia Antiqua* 30 (2021) 47–56.

Marcone 2022 = A. Marcone, 'Posidonio negli studie del secolo scorso', *Geographia Antiqua* 31 (2022) 101–110.

Marcos 2019 = M. Marcos, 'Recognition through persuasion. An aspect of late antique religious controversy', in M. Kahlos, H.J. Koskinen & R. Palmén (eds), *Recognition and Religion: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, London 2019, 109–126.

Marco Simón 2000 = F. Marco Simón, 'Ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν: La idealización de Celtas e Hiperbóreos en las fuentes griegas', *DHA* 26 (2000) 121–147.

Marco Simón 2007 = F. Marco Simón, 'Celtic Ritualism from the (Graeco)-Roman point of view', in C. Bonnet & J. Scheid (ed.), *Rites et croyances dans les religions du monde Romain,* Geneva 2007, 149–188.

Marco Simón 2014 = F. Marco Simón, 'Los druidas y Roma: representación y realidad de un tema clásico', in G. Urso (ed.), *Sacerdos. Figure del sacro nella società romana*, Pisa 2014, 323–339.

Marco Simón 2017 = F. Marco Simón, 'Other People's Gods: Atheism, Demonisation, and *Interpretatio* from Strabo to Bernardino de Sahagún', *Acta Classica Univ. scient. Debrecen.* 53 (2017) 83–107.

Marcotte 1998 = D. Marcotte, 'La climatologie d'Ératosthène à Poséidonios: genèse d'une science humaine', in G. Argoud & J.-Y. Guillaumin (eds.), *Sciences exactes et sciences appliquées à Alexandrie*, Saint-Étienne 1998, 263–277.

Marcotte 2000 = D. Marcotte, *Géographes grecs, tome I: Introduction générale; Ps.-Scymnos: 'Circuit de la Terre'*, Paris 2000.

Marcotte 2006 = D. Marcotte, 'De l'Ibérie à la Celtique: géographie et chronographie du monde occidental avant Polybe', in G. Cruz Andreotti, P. Le Roux & P. Moret (eds.), *La invención de una geografía de la Península Ibérica, 1: La época republicana / L'invention d'une géographie de la péninsule Ibérique, 1: L'époque républicaine* , Madrid 2006, 31–38.

Marcotte 2017 = D. Marcotte, 'Ptolémée ethnographe. Questions de tradition', *Geographia Antiqua* 26 (2017) 47–60.
Marcotte 2021 = D. Marcotte, 'Ptolémée ethnographe II. Nature et fonction des notices ethnographiques dans la *Géographie*', *Geographia Antiqua* 30 (2021) 57–68.
Marincola 1997 = J. Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, Cambridge 1997.
Marincola 1999 = J. Marincola, 'Genre, Convention, and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography', *Mnemosyne Supplementum* 191 (1999) 281–324.
Margariti 2018 = K. Margariti, 'Painting early death. Deceased maidens on funerary vases in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens', *Opuscula* 11 (2018) 127–150.
Markantonatos (ed.) 2012 = A. Markantonatos (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Sophocles*, Leiden 2012.
Markantonatos 2013 = A. Markantonatos, *Euripides'* Alcestis. *Narrative, Myth, and Religion,* Berlin 2013.
Marshall 2005 = F. Marshall, 'Mediterranean Reception in the Americas', in W.V. Harris (ed.), *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, Oxford 2005, 294–313.
Marszal 2000 = J.R. Marszal, 'Ubiquitous barbarians: representations of the Gauls at Pergamon and elsewhere', in N. Thomson de Grummond & B. Ridgway (eds.), *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, Berkeley 2000, 191–234.
Martin 2011 = M. Martin, *Posidonio d'Apamea e i Celti: un viaggiatore greco in Gallia prima di Cesare*, Rome 2011.
Martin & Grusková 2014 = G. Martin & J. Grusková, ''Scythica Vindobonensia' by Dexippus(?): New Fragments on Decius' Gothic Wars', *GRBS* 54 (2014) 728–754.
Martin & Grusková 2022 = G. Martin & J. Grusková, 'Facing the plague and the Goths: a new passage from the 'Scythica Vindobonensia' (*Codex Vindobonensis hist. gr.* 73, fol. 192r, lines 13-30)', *GRBS* 62 (2022) 437–493.
Martini 1998 = M.C. Martini, *Due studi sulla riscrittura annalistica dell'età monarchica a Roma*, Brussels 1998.
Marvin 2002 = M. Marvin, 'The Ludovisi Barbarians: The Grand Manner', *MAAR Suppl.* 1 (2002) 205–223.
Massa-Pairault & Pouzadoux (eds.) 2017 = F.-H. Massa-Pairault & C. Pouzadoux (eds.), *Géants et gigantomachies entre Orient et Occident*, Naples 2017.
Massimi & Arancio 2012 = S. Massimi & M.L. Arancio, *Ambra. Dalle rive del Baltico all'Etruria,* Rome 2012.
Mastrocinque 1991 = A. Mastrocinque, *L'ambra e l'Eridano: studi sulla letteratura e sul commercio dell'ambra in età preromana*, Este 1991.
Masuzawa 2005 = T. Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism,* Chicago 2005.
Mathisen 2020 = R.W. Mathisen, 'Barbarian Invasions or Civil Wars? Goths as Auxiliary Forces in the Roman Army', in F. Mitthof, G. Martin & J. Grusková (eds.), *Empire in Crisis. Gothic Invasions and Roman Historiography,* Vienna 2020, 263–286.
Matijašić 2011 = I. Matijašić, ''Shrieking like Illyrians'. Historical geography and the Greek perspective of the Illyrian world in the 5th century BC', *Arheološki vestnik* 62 (2011) 289–316.
Matthews 2012 = J.F. Matthews, 'Viewing the Column of Arcadius in Constantinople', in D. Brakke, D. Mauskopf Deliyannis & E.J. Watts (eds.), *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Farnham 2012, 211–223.

Matthias 1901-1902 = F. Matthias, *Über Pytheas von Massilia und die ältesten Nachrichtene von den Germanen*, 2. vols., Berlin 1901–1902.
Mattingly 2006 = D. Mattingly, *An Imperial Possession. Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC–AD 409*, London 2006.
Mattingly 2011 = D. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power, and Identity*, Princeton 2011.
Matzulewitsch 1929 = L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike: Studien auf Grund der Silbergefäße der Ermitage*, Berlin 1929.
Maxfield 1981 = V.A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, Berkeley 1981.
Mayer 2006 = E. Mayer, 'Civil War and Public Dissent: The State Monuments of the Decentralised Roman Empire', in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge & C. Machado (eds.), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, Leiden 2006, 141–155.
Mayhew & Mirhady (eds.) 2022 = R. Mayhew & D.C. Mirhady (eds.), T. Dorandi & S. White (transl.), *Clearchus of Soli. Text, Translation, and Discussion*, London 2022.
Mayor 2014 = A. Mayor, *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women across the Ancient World*, Princeton 2014.
Mazzarino 1957 = S. Mazzarino, 'La prima menzione dei Germani', *Studi classici e orientali* 6 (1957) 76–81.
McClure (ed.) 2016 = L.K. McClure (ed.), *A Companion to Euripides*, Chichester 2016.
McCormick 1986 = M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*, Cambridge 1986.
McCoskey 2012 = D.E. McCoskey, *Race: Antiquity and Its Legacy*, Oxford 2012.
McCoskey 2022 = D.E. McCoskey, 'Introduction', in D.E. McCoskey (ed.), *A Cultural History of Race in Antiquity*, London 2022, 1–20.
McEvoy 2013 = M. McEvoy, *Child Emperor Rule in the Late Roman West, AD 367–455*, Oxford 2013.
McGrail 2014 = S. McGrail, *Ancient Boats in North-West Europe. The Archaeology of Water Transport to AD 1500*, Abingdon 2014.
McPhail 2014 = C. McPhail, 'Pytheas of Massalia's Route of Travel', *Phoenix* 68 (2014) 247–257.
Meier 2019 = M. Meier, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung. Europa, Asien und Afrika vom 3. bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, Munich 2019.
Menestrier 1702 = C.-F. Menestrier, *Description de la belle et grande colonne historiée dressée à l'honneur de l'Empereur Theodose*, Paris 1702.
Merrills 2005 = A.H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2005.
Mette 1952 = H.J. Mette, *Pytheas von Massalia,* Berlin 1952.
Michel 2024 = C. Michel, *The Rhetorical Use of 'the Barbarian' in Late Antiquity: From the Battle of Adrianople to the Sack of Rome (378–410 CE)*, PhD thesis, Durham 2024.
Millar 1992 = F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World: 31BC - AD 337*, 2nd ed, London 1992.
Mineo 2016 = B. Mineo, 'Archéologie du récit livien de la prise de Rome par les Gaulois', in M. Bernard & P. Thierry (eds.), *Les premiers temps de Rome. VIe–IIIe siècles av. JC. La fabrique d'une histoire*, Rennes 2016, 165–203.
Mineur 1984 = W.H. Mineur, *Callimachus. Hymn to Delos*, Leiden 1984.

Miniaci 2021 = G. Miniaci, 'From Tenochtitlán to Punt: When People Encounter the Distant and Unknown, a Cognitive Approach', *Journal of Egyptian History* 13 (2021) 169–206.

Mirhady 2017 = D.C. Mirhady, 'Dicaearchus of Messana: The Sources, Text and Translation', in W.W. Fortenbaugh & E. Schütrumpf (eds.), *Dicaearchus of Messana. Text, Translation, and Discussion*, London & New York 2017, 1–142.

Mitchell 2007 = L.G. Mitchell, *Panhellenism and the Barbarian in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Swansea 2007.

Mitchell 1993 = S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: land, men, and gods in Asia Minor. Vol. 1, The Celts in Anatolia and the Impact of Roman rule*, Oxford 1993.

Moellering 1962 = H.A. Moellering, *Plutarch on Superstition. Plutarch's* De Superstitione*, Its Place in the Changing Meaning of* Deisidaimonia *and in the Context of his Theological Writings*, Boston 1962.

Moffat 2000 = B. Moffat, 'A Marvellous Plant. The Place of the Heath Pea in Scottish Botanical Tradition', *Folio* 1 (2000) 13–15.

Mojsik 2023 = T. Mojsik, *Orpheus in Macedonia. Myth, Cult and Ideology*, London 2023.

Moles 2005 = J. Moles, 'The Thirteenth Oration of Dio Chrysostom: Complexity and Simplicity, Rhetoric and Moralism, Literature and Life', *JHS* 125 (2005) 112–138.

Molina Moreno 2001 = F. Molina Moreno, 'Bilder der heiligen Nordens in Antike, Patristik und Mittelalter', in A. Engel-Braunschmidt, G. Fouquet, W. von Hinden & I. Schmidt (eds.), *Ultima Thule. Bilder des Nordens von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Frankfurt-am-Main 2001, 47–65.

Molinelli 2024 = S. Molinelli, *Dissoi Logoi: Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Cham 2024.

Momigliano 1975 = A. Momigliano, *Alien wisdom: the limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge 1975.

Mommsen 1865 = T. Mommsen (ed.), *C. Julii Solini Collectanea rerum memorabilium,* Berlin 1864 (2nd ed. 1895).

Montesanti 2010 = A. Montesanti, 'Orkney: the 6th province of Britannia? New evidence from Mine Howe', *InStoria. Rivista online di Storia e Informazione* 34 (2010) 1–19.

Moore 2019 = R. Moore, 'Empire without End at the Ends of the Earth: Ireland and Thule in Roman Imperial Ideology', *Classics Ireland* 26 (2019) 58–85.

Moore 2024 = R. Moore, 'Where Reason Could Not Prevail: Barbarian Othering and Diplomatic Double-Standards in Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*', in J.L. Brandão, C. Teixeira & A. Rodrigues (eds.), *Confronting Identities in the Roman Empire. Assumptions about the Other in Literary Evidence*, London 2024, 115–128.

Moraux 1957 = P. Moraux, 'L'établissement des Galates en Asie Mineure', *Ist. Mitt.* 7 (1957) 56–75.

Mordvintseva 2008 = V. Mordvintseva, 'Phalerae of Horse Harnesses in Votive Depositions of the 2nd–1st Century BC in the North Pontic Region and the Sarmatian Paradigm', in P. Guldager Bilde & J.H. Petersen (eds.), *Meetings of Cultures in the Black Sea Region: Between Conflict and Co-existence*, Aarhus 2008, 47–65.

Mordvintseva 2013 = V. Mordvintseva, 'The Sarmatians: The Creation of Archaeological Evidence', *OJA* 32 (2013) 203–219.

Moreno 2021 = A. Moreno, 'Pompeyo Trogo y la reprecentación de los galos en las *Historiae Philippicae*', *Letras Clássicas* 1 (2021) 29–59.

Moret 2017 = P. Moret, *Des noms à la carte. Figures antiques de l'Ibérie et de la Gaule*, Alcalá de Henares & Sevilla 2017.

Moretti 1994 = G.B. Moretti, 'The Other World and the 'Antipodes'. The Myth of the Unknown Countries between Antiquity and the Renaissance', in W. Haase & R. Meyer (eds.), *The Classical Tradition and the Americas I*, Berlin & New York 1994, 241–284.

Morgan 1985 = J.R. Morgan, 'Lucian's *True Histories* and the *Wonders beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes', *CQ* 35 (1985) 475–490.

Morley 2024 = R. Morley, 'Avienus (Avienius), *Ora Maritima* (*The Sea Coast*)', in D.G.J. Shipley (ed.), *Geographers of the Ancient World*, Cambridge 2024, II 889–920.

Morris 2021 = C.D. Morris, 'An overview and final assessment', in C.D. Morris & R.C. Barrowman (eds.), *The Birsay Bay Project 3. The Brough of Birsay, Orkney, Investigations 1954–2014*, Oxford 2021, 589–614.

Motta 1999 = D. Motta, '*Scythae iustissimi barbarorum*? Notazioni sulla fortuna di Erodoto nella cultura greco-romana', in [n.e.] *Erodoto e l'Occidente*, Rome 1999, 305–341.

Motta 1985 = F. Motta, 'Un frammento di Filarco relativo ai Galati', in E. Campanile, R. Lazzeroni & R. Personi (eds.), *Scritti in onore di Riccardo Ambrosini*, Pisa 1985, 147–157.

Mráv 2015 = Z. Mráv, '*Maniakion* – the Golden Torc in Late Roman and Early Byzantine Army Preliminary Research Report', in T. Vida, P. Rance, A. Blay, I. Koncz & L. Samu (eds.), *The Frontier World Romans, Barbarians and Military Culture*, Budapest 2015, 287–303.

Muccioli 2009 = F. Muccioli, 'Letterati greci a Roma nel I secolo a.C.: Elementi per una riconsiderazione di Alessandro Poliistore e Timagene', in S. Conti & B. Scardigli (eds.), *Stranieri a Roma*, Ancona 2009, 59–84.

Mugione & Pouzadoux 2017 = R. Mugione & C. Pouzadoux, 'I Giganti come 'altri' nei programmi figurative in Grecia e in Magna Grecia dall'età arcaica all'età di Alessandro', in F.-H. Massa-Pairault & C. Pouzadoux (eds.), *Géants et gigantomachies entre orient et occident*, Naples 2017, 115–142.

Müller 1963 = K. Müller, 'Zu Plutarch, *Romulus* 17.7 (= Simylos fr. 1,5sq., *Anthol. lyr. Gr.*[2] ii 6 p. 102 D)', *MH* 20 (1963) 114–119.

Müller 1980 = K.E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung. Von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1980.

Müller 2000 = K.E. Müller, 'Ethnicity, Ethnozentrismus und Essentialismus', in W. Essbach (ed.), *wihr / ihr / sie. Identität und Alterität in Theorie und Methode*, Würzburg 2000, 317–343.

Müller 2024 = S. Müller, 'Macedonia's Interests in Thrace and Conflicts with Athens', *Karanos Supplement I: Knowing thy Neighbor. Macedonia and its Environment*, Barcelona 2024, 169–184.

Mund-Dopchie 1990 = M. Mund-Dopchie, 'La survie littéraire de la Thylé de Pythéas. Un exemple de la permanence de schémas antiques dans la culture européenne', *Ant. Class.* 59 (1990) 79–98.

Mund-Dopchie 2009 = M. Mund-Dopchie, *Ultima Thulé: Histoire d'un lieu et genèse d'un mythe*, Geneva 2009.

Mund-Dopchie 2012 = M. Mund-Dopchie, 'Imaginaire des îles de l'Extrême-Nord dans la littérature géographique de la Renaissance: confusions et transferts', in É. Schnakenbourg (ed.), *Figures du Nord: Scandinavie, Groenland, Sibérie. Perceptions et représentations des espaces septentriaux de la fin de Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle*, Rennes 2012, 85–101.

Munson 2001 = R.V. Munson, *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus*, Ann Arbor 2001.

Muntz 2017 = C.E. Muntz, *Diodorus Siculus and the World of the Late Roman Republic*, Oxford 2017.

Murray 2022 = J. Murray, 'Race and Sexuality: Racecraft in the *Odyssey*', in D.E. McCoskey (ed.), *A Cultural History of Race in Antiquity*, London 2022, 137–156.

Murray 1970 = O. Murray, 'Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship', *JEA* 56 (1970) 141–171.

Murray 1972 = O. Murray, 'Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture', *CQ* 22 (1972) 200–213.

Nachtergael 1977 = G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôteria de Delphes: recherches d'histoire et d'épigraphie hellénistiques*, Brussels 1977.

Nagy 2009 = A.A. Nagy, *Qui a peur du cannibale? Récits antiques d'anthropophages aux frontières de l'humanité*, Turnhout 2009.

Nash 1976 = D. Nash, 'Reconstructing Poseidonios' Celtic Ethnography: Some Considerations', *Britannia* 7 (1976) 111–126.

Nau 1907 = F. Nau, 'Bardesanes, *Liber Legum Regionum*', in R. Graffin, I. Parisot, F. Nau & M. Kmosko (eds.), *Patrologia Syriaca* I.2, Paris 1907, 492–657.

Ndiaye 2005 = E. Ndiaye, 'L'étranger 'barbare' à Rome: essai d'analyse sémique', *Ant. Class.* 74 (2005) 119–135.

Ndiaye 2007 = E. Ndiaye, 'L'image du *barbarus* gaulois chez Cicéron et César', *Vita Latina* 177 (2007) 87–99.

Nelson 2005 = M. Nelson, *The Barbarian's Beverage: A History of Beer in Ancient Europe*, London 2005.

Nelson 2022 = T.J. Nelson, 'Beating the Galatians: Ideologies, Analogies and Allegories in Hellenistic Literature and Art', in A. Coşkun (ed.), *Galatian Victories and Other Studies into the Agency and Identity of the Galatians in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods*, Leuven 2022, 97–144.

Nenci 1990 = G. Nenci, 'L'Occidente 'barbarico'', in G. Nenci & O. Reverdin (eds.), *Hérodote et les peuples non Grecs,* Vandoeuvres & Genève 1990, 301–318.

Nesselrath 2005 = H.-G. Nesselrath, ''Where the Lord of the Sea Grants Passage to Sailors through the Deep-Blue Mere No More': The Greeks and the Western Seas', *G&R* 52 (2005) 153–171.

Nicolai 2022 = R. Nicolai, 'Posidonio a Gadeira: l'osservazione diretta e la testimonianza dei marinai', *Geographia Antiqua* 31 (2022) 49–60.

Nicolet 1988 = C. Nicolet, *L'inventaire du monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l'Empire romain*, Paris 1988.

Nikolaidis 1986 = A.G. Nikolaidis, 'Ἑλληνικός – βαρβαρικός. Plutarch on Greek and Barbarian Characteristics', *Wien. Stud.* 20 (1986) 229–244.

Ní Mheallaigh 2008 = K. Ní Mheallaigh, 'Pseudo-Documentarism and the Limits of Ancient Fiction', *AJPhil.* 129 (2008) 403–431.

Ní Mheallaigh 2014 = K. Ní Mheallaigh, 'Reading the Fraudulent Text: Thessalus of Tralles and the Book of Nechepso', in J. Martínez (ed.), *Fakes and Forgers of Classical Literature. Ergo decipiatur!*, Leiden & Boston 2014, 179–186.

Nippel 1990 = W. Nippel, *Griechen, Barbaren und 'Wilde'. Alte Geschichte und Sozialanthropologie*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1990.

Nixon 1987 = C.E.V. Nixon*, Panegyric to the Emperor Theodosius*, Liverpool 1987.

Nixon 1992 = C.E.V. Nixon, 'Relations between Romans and Visigoths in Fifth-Century Gaul', in J.F. Drinkwater & H. Elton (eds.), *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?*, Cambridge 1992, 64–75.

Nixon & Rodgers 1994 = C.E.V. Nixon & B.S. Rodgers, *In praise of later Roman emperors: The Panegyrici Latini*, Berkeley 1994.

Nongbri 2013 = B. Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept*, New Haven 2013.

Norden 1922 = E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1922.

Oakley 2000 = J.H. Oakley, 'Some 'other' members of the Athenian household. Maids and their mistresses in fifth century Athenian art', in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical ideal. Athens and the construction of the other in Greek art*, Leiden 2000, 227–247.

Oakley 2004 = J.H. Oakley, *Picturing death in Classical Athens. The evidence of the white lekythoi*, Cambridge 2004.

Oakley 2005 = S.P. Oakley, *A commentary on Livy: Books VI-X, vol. III*, Oxford 2005.

O'Bryhim 2020 = S. O'Bryhim, 'Stock Characters and Stereotypes', in G.F. Franko & D. Dutsch (eds.), *A Companion to Plautus*, Chichester 2020, 123–133.

Ó Corráin 2017 = D. Ó Corráin, 'Orosius, Ireland, and Christianity', *Peritia* 28 (2017) 113–134.

O'Gorman 2012 = E. O'Gorman, 'No place like Rome: Identity and Difference in the *Germania* of Tacitus', in R. Ash (ed.), *Tacitus*, Oxford 2012, 95–118.

Okhotnikov 2006 = S.B. Okhotnikov, 'Achilleus auf der Insel Leuke', in J. Hupe (ed.), *Der Achilleus-Kult im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum vom Beginn der griechischen Kolonisation bis in die römische Kaizerzeit. Beiträge zur Akkulturationsforschung*, Rahden 2006, 46–87.

Oktaş 2001 = B.T. Oktaş, 'The Historical Image Research Method', *Faravid* 25 (2001) 199–220.

Okubo 2017 = Y. Okubo, 'Cross-Cultural Differences in Gender', in K.L. Nadal (ed.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Psychology and Gender*, Thousand Oaks CA 2017, 401–404.

Oldfather 1939 = C.H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily, III: Books IV, 59-VIII*, Cambridge MA 1939.

Oller Guzmán 2021 = M. Oller Guzmán, 'Racing for Love: Achilles and Iphigenia in the Black Sea', in D. Braund, V.F. Stolba & U. Peter (eds.), *Environment and Habitation around the Ancient Black Sea*, Berlin 2021, 225–234.

Omissi 2016 = A. Omissi, '*Damnatio Memoriae* or *Creatio Memoriae*? Memory Sanctions as Creative Processes in the Fourth Century AD', *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 62 (2016) 170–199.

Omissi 2018 = A. Omissi, *Emperors and Usurpers in the Later Roman Empire: Civil War, Panegyric, and the Construction of Legitimacy*, Oxford 2018.

O'Rahilly 1942 = T.F. O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks. A Lecture on the History of Christianity in Fifth-Century Ireland*, Dublin 1942.

Oreshko & Alagöz 2023 = R. Oreshko & U. Alagöz, 'A New Phrygian Inscription from Gordion: A Pergamene Contingent in Phrygia in the Early Reign of Antiochus I', *Belleten* 87 (2023) 793–831.

Osborne & Byrne 1996 = M.J. Osborne & S.G. Byrne, *Lexicon of Greek personal names: Attica*, Leuven 1996.

Osborne 2017 = R. Osborne, 'How the Gauls Broke the Frame. The Political and Theological Impact of Taking Battle Scenes off Greek Temples', in V. Platt & M. Squire (eds.), *The Frame in Classical Art. A Cultural History*, Cambridge 2017, 425–456.

Pagán 1999 = V.E. Pagán, 'Beyond Teutoburg: Transgression and Transformation in Tacitus *Annales* 1.61-62', *CP* 94 (1999) 302–320.

Pajón Leyra 2011 = I. Pajón Leyra, *Entre ciencie y maravilla. El género literario de la paradoxografia griega*, Zaragoza 2011.

Pajón Leyra 2015 = I. Pajón Leyra, 'Reconstructing the First Steps of Hellenistic Ethnography. The *Nomima Barbarika* of *P.Lond.Lit.* 112 Reconsidered', *Arch. Pap.* 61 (2015) 235–275.

Pallavisini 1972 = A. Pallavisini, 'Tradizione e novità nel giudizio di Cesare sui barbari nel *De bello gallico*', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica, I,* Milan 1972, 98–107.

Palm 1955 = J. Palm, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodorus von Sizilien*, Lund 1955.

Papachrysostomou 2021 = A. Papachrysostomou, *Ephippus. Introduction, translation, commentary*, Göttingen 2021.

Papathomas & Tsitsianopoulou 2022 = S. Papathomas & E. Tsitsianopoulou, 'Οι 'ἀνανδριεῖς' Σκύθες στο Ιπποκρατικό έργο *Περί ανέμων, υδάτων, τόπων*', *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 46 (2022) 33–50.

Papazoglu 1978 = F. Papazoglu, *The Central Balkan Tribes in Pre-Roman times: Triballi, Autariatae, Dardanians, Scordisci, and Moesians*, Amsterdam 1978.

Paradiso 1995 = A. Paradiso, 'L'etnografia tra Erodoto ed Ippocrate: le donne guerriere dei Sauromati', *Medicina nei secoli: arte e scienza* n.s. 7 (1995) 621–632.

Parke 1982 = H.W. Parke, 'The attribution of the oracle in Zosimus, *New History* 2.37', *CQ* 32 (1982) 441–444.

Parmeggiani 2023 = G. Parmeggiani, *Ephorus of Cyme and Greek Historiography*, Cambridge 2023.

Parmenter 2024 = C. Parmenter, *Racialized Commodities. Long-distance Trade, Mobility, and the Making of Race in Ancient Greece, c. 700-300 BCE*, Oxford 2024.

Parroni 1984 = P. Parroni, *Pomponii Melae De Chorographia libri tres*, Rome 1984.

Parvis (P.) 2014 = P. Parvis, 'Sabas: 'Orthodox' or 'Arian'?', in G.M. Berndt & R. Steinacher (eds.), *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, Farnham 2014, 67–83.

Parvis (S.) 2014 = S. Parvis, 'Was Ulfila Really a Homoian?', in G.M. Berndt & R. Steinacher (eds.), *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, Farnham 2014, 49–65.

Patterson 2010 = L.E. Patterson, 'Strabo, Local Myth, and Kinship Diplomacy', *Hermes* 138 (2010) 109–118.

Pavlock 2014 = B. Pavlock, 'Paradox and the Journey in the Dedicatory Preface of Solinus' *Collectanea'*, in K. Brodersen (ed.), *Solinus, New Studies*, Heidelberg 2014, 24–31.

Pédech 1956 = P. Pédech, 'La géographie de Polybe: structure et contenu du livre XXXIV des *Histoires*', *LEC* 24 (1956) 3–24.

Pédech 1964 = P. Pédech, *La méthode historique de Polybe,* Paris 1964.

Pekkanen 1968 = T. Pekkanen, *The ethnic Origin of the ΔΟΥΛΟΣΠΟΡΟΙ, Arctos Supplementum* 1, Helsinki 1968.

Pekkanen 1974 = T. Pekkanen, 'Sul problema del nome 'Germani'', *QUCC* 18 (1974) 39–55.

Pekkanen 1983 = T. Pekkanen, 'The Hellusii and the Oxiones of Tac. *Germ.* 46,4', *Arctos* 17 (1983) 49–60.

Pekkanen 1985 = T. Pekkanen, 'Notes on Tac. *Germ.* 46,3', *Arctos. Supplementum II: Studia in honorem Iiro Kajanto* (1985) 197–213.

Pekkanen 2014 = T. Pekkanen, '*De Finnis cornutis*', *Nordlit* 33 (2014) 223–232.

Pelling 1997 = C. Pelling, 'East is East and West is West – or are they? National stereotypes in Herodotus', *Histos* 1 (1997) 51–66.

Penella 2000 = R.J. Penella*, The Private Orations of Themistius*, Berkeley 2000.

Penrose 2016 = W.D. Penrose Jr., *Postcolonial Amazons: Female Masculinity and Courage in Ancient Greek and Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford 2016.

Pérez Aguayo 2015 = Á.C. Pérez Aguayo, 'Aristeas de Proconeso y el poema épico de los Arimaspos', in J. García Sánchez & I. Mañas Romero (eds.), *Navigare necesse est. Estudios en homenaje a José María Luzón Nogué*, Madrid 2015, 200–204.

Perl 1978 = G. Perl, 'Diodors Einteilung Galliens (5, 32, 1)', *Philol*. 122 (1978) 328–334.

Perl 1990 = G. Perl, *Tacitus. Germania, lateinisch und deutsch*, Berlin 1990.

Petersen & Salzman-Mitchell (eds.) 2012 = L.H. Petersen & P. Salzman-Mitchell (eds.), *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Austin 2012.

Petolescu 2022 = C.C. Petolescu, 'Dacia – de la noţiune geografică la parte a lumii romane', in [n.e.] *Dacia. Ultima frontieră a romanităţii*, Bucharest 2022, 164–175.

Pfeiffer 1949 = R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus. Vol. I: Fragmenta*, Oxford 1949.

Pinault 2008 = G.-J. Pinault, 'La langue des Scythes et le nom des Arimaspes', *CR Acad. Inscr.* 152 (2008) 105–138.

Pitcher 2017 = L. Pitcher, 'Caesar and Greek Historians', in L. Grillo & C.B. Krebs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Writings of Julius Caesar*, Cambridge 2017, 237–248.

Piquero Rodríquez 2013 = J. Piquero Rodríquez, 'El mito de los hiperbóreos en la obra de Hecateo de Abdera', in R. Fornieles Sánchez & V. Gomis García (eds.), *Multa movens animo. Actas el I encuentro de jóvenes investigadores en filologia clásica*, Madrid 2013, 67–74.

Pirart 1998 = É. Pirart, 'Le nom des Arimaspes', *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 34 (1998) 239–260.

Plácido 1993 = D. Plácido, 'Le vie di Ercole nell'estremo Occidente', in A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Ercole in occidente*, Trento 1993, 63–80.

Platt 2011 = V. Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion*, Cambridge 2011.

Podestà 2016 = S. Podestà, 'Arimaspi e Monti Rifei: Damaste di Sigeo in Plin. *Nat.* 4,88-89?', *Rationes Rerum* 7 (2016) 9–32.

Podossinov 1996 = A.V. Podossinov, 'Barbarisierte Hellenen – hellenisierte Barbaren: Zur Dialektik ethno-kultureller Kontakte in der Region des Mare Ponticum', in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Tübingen 1996, 415–425.

Podossinov 2014a = A.V. Podossinov, 'Introduction: The Periphery of the Classical World as Seen from the Centre. Mastering the *Oikoumene*', in A.V. Podossinov (ed.), *The Periphery of the Classical World in Ancient Geography and Cartography*, Leuven 2014, 1–7.

Podossinov 2014b = A.V. Podossinov, 'The Indians in Northern Europe? On the Ancient Roman Notion of the Configuration of Eurasia', in A.V. Podossinov (ed.), *The Periphery of the Classical World in Ancient Geography and Cartography*, Leuven 2014, 133–146.

Podossinov 2019 = A.V. Podossinov, 'A Concept 'Riphaean Mountains' in Ancient Geocartography: Myth, Cosmology, Symbol and/or Reality?', *Miscellanea Geographica* 23 (2019) 194–198.

Podossinov 2021 = A.V. Podossinov, ''Barbarian' Peoples of the Northern Black Sea Region on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* versus Literary Tradition', in M. Manoledakis (ed.), *Peoples in the Black Sea Region from the Archaic to the Roman Period*, Oxford 2021, 43–50.

Pohl 2018 = W. Pohl, *The Avars. A Steppe Empire in Central Europe, 567–822*, Ithaca & London 2018.

Polverini 2008 = L. Polverini, 'Cesare e la geografia', *Semanas de estudios romanos* 14 (2008) 59–72.

Pomeroy 1995 = S.B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, 2nd ed., New York 1995.

Pons 2009 = C. Pons, 'The Use of Images in Aniconic Societies: Occultism, Protestantism and Imagination in Iceland', in S. Jakobsson (ed.), *Images of the North. Histories – Identities – Ideas*, Amsterdam & New York 2009, 217–228.

Popa 2024 = T. Popa, 'Environmental Causation in Aristotle and in *Airs, Waters, Places*', in H. Bartoš & V. Linka (eds.), *Aristotle Reads Hippocrates*, Leiden 2024, 276–305.

Popkin 2016 = M.L. Popkin, 'Symbiosis and Civil War: The Audacity of the Arch of Constantine', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 9 (2016) 42–88.

Popova 2015 = R. Popova, 'Leuce Island as a part of the Pontic contact zone: constructing a sacred *topos*', in G.R. Tsetskhladze, A. Avram & J. Hargrave (eds.), *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th century BCE – 10th century AD)*, Oxford 2015, 67–72.

Porucznik 2017a = J. Porucznik, 'The Cult of Chersonasos in Tauric Chersonesos. Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence Revisited', *ACSS* 23 (2017) 63–89.

Porucznik 2017b = J. Porucznik, 'The Process of Creating Cultural Identity in the North Pontic Region in Antiquity – The Greek *Polis* and Rural Territories', *Eos* 104 (2017) 362–363.

Porucznik 2018 = J. Porucznik, 'Heuresibios son of Syriskos and the Question of Tyranny in Olbia Pontike (Fifth-Fourth Century BC),' *BSA* 113 (2018) 399–414.

Porucznik 2021 = J. Porucznik, *Cultural Identity within the Northern Black Sea Region in Antiquity: (De)Constructing Past Identities*, Leuven 2021.

Pothecary 2002 = S. Pothecary, 'Strabo, the Tiberian Author: Past, Present and Silence in Strabo's *Geography*', *Mnemosyne* 55 (2002) 387–438.

Potter 2020 = D. Potter, 'Dexippus' Gothic Anthropology', in F. Mitthof, G. Martin & J. Grusková (eds.), *Empire in Crisis: Gothic Invasions and Roman Historiography. Beiträge einer internationalen Tagung zu den Wiener Dexipp-Fragmenten (*Dexippus Vindobonensis*), Wien, 3.-6. Mai 2017*, Vienna 2020, 357–368.

Povahalev 2008 = N. Povahalev, *Die Griechen am Nordpontos: die nordpontische Kolonisation im Kontext der grossen griechischen Kolonisationsbewegung vom 8. bis 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Munich 2008.

Prandi 1981 = L. Prandi, 'I Flegiei di Orcomeno e Delfi. La 'preistoria' delle guerre sacre', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Religione e politica nel mondo antico*, Milan 1981, 51–63.

Prandi 1996 = L. Prandi, *Fortuna e realtà dell'Opera di Clitarco*, Stuttgart 1996.

Prida (ed.) 2013 = J. Prida (ed.), *Conan Meets the Academy. Multidisciplinary Essays on the Enduring Barbarian*, Jefferson & London 2013.

Prioux 2017 = E. Prioux, 'Géants et gigantomachie dans la poésie hellénistique', in F.-H. Massa-Pairault & C. Pouzadoux (eds.), *Géants et gigantomachies entre orient et occident*, Naples 2017, 143–172.

Prontera 1984 = F. Prontera, *Strabone: contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera*, Perugia 1984.

Prontera 1992 = F. Prontera, 'La cultura geografica in età imperiale', in [n.e.] *Optima hereditas. Sapienza giuridica romana e conoscenza dell'ecumene*, Milan 1992, 277–317.

Prontera 1998 = F. Prontera, 'Insel', *RAC* 18 (1998) 312–328.

Prontera 2016 = F. Prontera, 'Strabo's *Geography*', in S. Bianchetti, M.R. Cataudella & H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Geography*, Leiden & Boston 2016, 239–257.

Prontera 2025 = F. Prontera, *Al di qua delle Colonne d'Ercole. Scoperta e rappresentazioni del Mediterraneo,* Florence 2025.

Pümpel-Mader 2010 = M. Pümpel-Mader, *Personenstereotype. Eine linguistische Untersuchung zu Form und Funktion von Stereotypen*, Heidelberg 2010.

Pyy 2024 = E. Pyy, 'Gratuitous Sex and Senseless Violence? The Oriental Queen as the Absolute Other', in A.J. Lampinen & B. Forsén (eds.), *Oriental Mirages. Stereotypes and Identity Creation in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2024, 135–162.

Queyrel 2003 = F. Queyrel, *Les portraits des Attalides. Function et représentation*, Athens 2003.

Queyrel 2017 = F. Queyrel, 'Les Galates comme nouveaux Géants? De la métaphore au glissement interprétatif', in F.-H. Massa-Pairault & C. Pouzadoux (eds.), *Géants et gigantomachies entre orient et occident*, Naples 2017, 203–215.

Raaflaub & Talbert (eds.) 2010 = K.A. Raaflaub & R.J.A. Talbert (eds.), *Geography and Ethnography: perceptions of the world in pre-modern societies*, Malden MA & Chichester 2010.

Rabadjiev 2015 = K. Rabadjiev, 'Religion', in J. Valeva, E. Nankov & D. Graninger (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, Chichester 2015, 443–456.

Rabadjiev 2018 = K. Rabadjiev, 'The Greek Myths about Scythian North: Heracles and Achilles in Pontus', V.Y. Zuev & V.A. Khrshanovskiy (eds.), *Боспорский феномен: общее и особенное в историко-культурном пространстве*

античного мира / *The Bosporan Phenomenon: General and Peculiar Features of Historical and Cultural Space in the World of Classical Antiquity*, St Petersburg 2018, 324–334.

Rackham 1942 = H. Rackham, *Pliny. Natural history, v. II (Libri III-VII*), Cambridge MA 1942.

Racine 2016 = F. Racine, 'Herodotus' Reputation in Latin Literature from Cicero to the 12th Century', in J. Priestley & V. Zali (eds.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Herodotus in Antiquity and Beyond*, Leiden 2016, 193–212.

Raeck 1981 = W. Raeck, *Zum Barbarenbild in der Kunst Athens im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr*., Bonn 1981.

Rafferty 2005 = B. Rafferty, 'Iron-Age Ireland', in D. Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A New History of Ireland 1. Prehistoric and Early Ireland,* Oxford 2005, 134–180.

Raga 2019 = E. Raga, 'Romans and Barbarians at the Table: Banquets and Food as Tools of Distinction according to Sidonius Apollinaris (Fifth-Century Gaul)', in Y. Fox & E. Buchberger (eds.), *Inclusion and Exclusion in Mediterranean Christianities, 400-800*, Turnhout 2019, 239–258.

Ramelli 2009a = I.L.E. Ramelli, *Bardaiṣan of Edessa: A Reassessment of the Evidence and a New Interpretation*, Piscataway NJ 2009.

Ramelli 2009b = I.L.E. Ramelli, 'Origen, Bardaiṣan, and the Origin of Universal Salvation', *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 102 (2009) 135–168.

Rankin 1969 = H.D. Rankin, ''Eating People is Right': Petronius 141 and a ΤΟΠΟΣ', *Hermes* 97 (1969) 381–384.

Rankin 1987 = H.D. Rankin*, Celts and the Classical World*, London & New York 1987.

Rankov 2008 = B. Rankov, *The Praetorian Guard*, Colchester 2008.

Rapp 2010 = E.M. Rapp, *Stigmatization or decoration: Tattoo as Deviance, a cross-cultural study*, BA thesis (unpublished), Salem OR 2010.

Rastas 2019 = A. Rastas, 'The Emergence of Race as a Social Category in Northern Europe', in P. Essed, K. Farquharson, K. Pillay & E. Joy White (eds.), *Relating Worlds of Racism: Dehumanisation, Belonging, and the Normativity of European Whiteness*, Cham 2019, 357–381.

Rathmann 2016 = M. Rathmann, *Diodor und seine 'Bibliotheke'. Weltgeschichte aus der Provinz*, Berlin & Boston 2016.

Ratz 2007 = D. Ratz, 'The Study of Historical Images', *Faravid* 31 (2007) 189–220.

Rausch 2013 = S. Rausch, *Bilder des Nordens: Vorstellungen vom Norden in der griechischen Literatur von Homer bis zum Ende des Hellenismus*, Berlin 2013.

Rausing 1997 = G. Rausing, 'Riflessi di Roma', in [n.e.] *Riflessi di Roma. Impero Romano e barbari del Baltico. Milano, AltriMusei a Porta Romana, 1 marzo – 1 giugno 1997*, Rome 1997, 21–24.

Raviola 2001 = F. Raviola, 'Erodoto e l'Europa iperborea', *Anemos: studi di storia antica* 2 (2001) 111–124.

Rauhala 2013 = M. Rauhala, 'Danger and Delusion: Ancient Literary Images of Religious Prejudices', in R. Hakola, N. Nikki & U. Tervahauta (eds.), *Others and the Construction of Early Christian Identities*, Helsinki 2013, 283–312.

Rebeggiani 2018 = S. Rebeggiani, 'Buried Treasures, Hidden Verses: (Re)Appropriating the Gauls of Pergamon in Flavian Rome', in M.P. Loar, C. MacDonald & D. Padilla Peralta (eds.), *Rome, Empire of Plunder: The Dynamics of Cultural Appropriation*, Cambridge 2018, 69–81.

Reece 2001 = S. Reece, 'The Ἄβιοι and the Γάβιοι: Aeschylean Solution to a Homeric Problem', *AJPhil.* 122 (2001) 465–470.
Reed 1973 = N. Reed, 'Three Fragments of Livy concerning Britain', *Latomus* 32 (1973) 766–786.
Rees 2020 = O. Rees, 'Incompatible Inking Ideologies in the Ancient Greek World', in S.T. Kloß (ed.), *Tattoo Histories. Transcultural Perspectives on the Narratives, Practices, and Representations of Tattooing*, London 2020, 277–294.
Rehm 1912 = A. Rehm, 'Zum *Abaris* des Herakleides Pontikos', *Rh. Mus.* 67 (1912) 417–424.
Renaut 2011 = L. Renaut, ''Mains peintes et menton brûlé': la parure tatouée des femmes thraces', in L. Bodiou, F. Gherchanoc, V. Huet & V. Mehl (eds.), *Parures et artifices, le corps exposé dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*, Paris 2011, 191–216.
Renaut 2014 = L. Renaut, 'Tattooing in Antiquity', in S. Galliot, P. Bagot & Anne & Julien (eds.), *Tattoo. Exhibition catalogue, Musée du quai Branly, Paris, May 6, 2014 - October 18, 2015, Arles / Paris, Actes Sud / Musée du quai Branly*, Paris 2014, 22–26.
Retsö 2018 = J. Retsö, 'The Reception in Early Arabic Writings', in M. Clunies Ross (ed.), *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North: Research and Reception, Volume I: From the Middle Ages to c. 1830*, Turnhout 2018, 81–89.
Rhodes 2007 = P.J. Rhodes, 'The Impact of the Persian Wars on Classical Greece', in E. Bridges, E. Hall & P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *Cultural responses to the Persian Wars: antiquity to the third millennium*, Oxford & New York 2007, 31–45.
Richmond 1955 = I.A. Richmond, *Roman Britain*, London 1955.
Richmond 1982 = I.A. Richmond, *Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column*, London 1982.
Richter 1987 = H.-D. Richter, *Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Historiographie: die Vorlage des Pompeius Trogus für die Darstellung der nachalexandrinischen hellenistischen Geschichte (Iust. 13-40)*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1987.
Riese 1875 = A. Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1875.
Rigolio 2019 = A. Rigolio, *Christians in Conversation. A Guide to Late Antique Dialogues in Greek and Syriac*, Oxford 2019.
Ritzerfeld 2001 = U. Ritzerfeld, '*Omnia Theodosio cedunt subolique perenni*: Überlegungen zu Bildprogramm und Bedeutung des Theodosiusobelisken und seiner Basen in Konstantinopel', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 44 (2001) 168–184.
Rives 1995 = J.B. Rives, 'Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians', *JRS* 85 (1995) 65–85.
Rives 2004 = J.B. Rives, 'Aristotle, Antisthenes of Rhodes, and the *Magikos*', *Rh. Mus.* 147 (2004) 35–54.
Rives 2011 = J.B. Rives, 'Roman Translation: Tacitus and Ethnographic Interpretation', in P.A. Harland (ed.), *Travel and Religion in Antiquity*, Waterloo 2011, 165–186.
Rix 2015 = R.W. Rix, *The Barbarian North in Medieval Imagination. Ethnicity, Legend, and Literature*, London 2015.
Robbins 1982 = E. Robbins, 'Heracles, the Hyperboreans, and the Hind: Pindar, *Ol.* 3', *Phoenix* 36 (1982) 295–305.
Rohmann 1998 = J. Rohmann, 'Die Spätantike Kaiserporträts Am Konstantinsbogen in Rom', *MDAIR* 105 (1998) 259–282.

Roling & Schirg (eds.) 2019 = B. Roling & B. Schirg (eds.), *Boreas Rising. Antiquarianism and national narratives in 17th- and 18th-century Scandinavia*, Berlin 2019.
Rolle 1989 = R. Rolle, *The World of the Scythians*, transl. F.G. Walls, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London 1989.
Roller 2006 = D.W. Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman Exploration of the Atlantic*, London 2006.
Roller 2010 = D.W. Roller, *Eratosthenes' Geography,* Princeton & Oxford 2010.
Roller 2014 = D.W. Roller, *The* Geography *of Strabo. An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge 2014.
Roller 2015 = D.W. Roller, *Ancient Geography. The Discovery of the World in Classical Greece and Rome*, London & New York 2015.
Roller 2018 = D.W. Roller, *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the* Geography *of Strabo*, Cambridge 2018.
Rollinger 1999 = R. Rollinger, 'Ethnographie und Geschlechterrollen bei Pomponius Mela', in R. Rollinger & C. Ulfi (eds.), *Geschlechterrollen und Frauenbild in der Perspektive antiker Autoren*, Innsbruck, Vienna & Munich 1999, 187–222.
Roman 1983 = Y. Roman, 'Auguste, l'Océan et l'impérialisme romain', *Ktèma* 8 (1983) 261–268.
Romer 1998 = F.E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World,* Ann Arbor 1998.
Romm 1989 = J.S. Romm, 'Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans', *TAPA* 119 (1989) 97–117.
Romm 1992 = J.S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration and Fiction*, Princeton 1992.
Romm 1996 = J.S. Romm, 'Dog Heads and Noble Savages: Cynicism Before the Cynics?', in R. Bracht Branham & M.O. Goulet Cazé (eds.), *Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, Berkeley 1996, 121–135.
Romm 2010 = J.S. Romm, 'Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek Theories of Global Structure', in K.A. Raaflaub & R.J.A. Talbert (eds.), *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, Chichester 2010, 215–235.
Rose 2021 = C.B. Rose, 'Reconsidering the Frieze on the Arch of Constantine', *JRA* 34 (2021) 175–210.
Rosenstein 2012 = N. Rosenstein, *Rome and the Mediterranean 290 to 146 BC: the Imperial Republic*, Edinburgh 2012.
Rossi 1971 = L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, transl. J.M.C. Toynbee, rev. ed., London 1971.
Rostad 2019 = A. Rostad, 'Vagrancy, archery, and savagery: Lucian's use of Scythians as a rhetorical tool', *Hermes* 147 (2019) 333–351.
Rostovtzeff 1922 = M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922.
Roubekas 2017 = N.P. Roubekas, *An Ancient Theory of Religion. Euhemerism from Antiquity to the Present*, New York & Abingdon 2017.
Roullet 2015 = A. Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, Leiden 2015.
Roy 2024 = A. Roy, *Empire of Images. Visualizing the Conquered in the Roman Republic*, Berlin 2024.
Roymans 2019 = N. Roymans, 'Conquest, mass violence and ethnic stereotyping: investigating Caesar's actions in the Germanic frontier zone', *JRA* 32 (2019) 439–458.

Rowan 2004 = C. Rowan, 'On the Edge of Identity: a study of the concept of the 'barbarian other' along the Graeco-Roman frontiers', *Ancient History* 34 (2004) 38–55.
Rubel 2020 = A. Rubel, 'What the Romans really meant when using the word 'barbarian'. Some thoughts on 'Romans and Barbarians'', in R.-G. Curcă, A. Rubel, R.P. Symonds & H.-U. Voß (eds.), *Rome and Barbaricum: Contributions to the Archaeology and History of Interaction in European Protohistory*, Oxford 2020, 1–21.
Rubincam 1998 = C. Rubincam, 'Did Diodorus Siculus Take over Cross-References from His Sources?', *AJPhil*. 119 (1998) 67–87.
Rufin Solas 2020 = A. Rufin Solas, 'Pre-Roman Bessoi', in I. Topalilov & S. Nedelcheva (eds.), *The Bessi in the Roman Empire*, Shumen 2020, 24–37.
Ruggeri 2000 = M. Ruggeri, *Posidonio e i Celti. Il ruolo del grande filosofo stoico nella storia dell'etnografia antica*, Florence 2000.
Ruiz-Montero 1996 = C. Ruiz-Montero, 'The Rise of the Greek Novel', in G. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World*, Leiden & New York 1996, 29–85.
Rummel 2007 = P. von Rummel, *Habitus barbarus: Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert*, Berlin & New York 2007.
Runions 2014 = E. Runions*, The Babylon Complex: Theopolitical Fantasies of Sex, War and Sovereignty*, New York 2014.
Rush 2005 = J. Rush, *Spiritual Tattoo: A Cultural History of Tattooing, Piercing, Scarification, Branding, and Implants,* Berkeley CA 2005.
Russu 1972 = I.I. Russu, '*Getica* lui Statilius Crito', *StudClas* 14 (1972) 249–258.
Rusyaeva 2003 = A.S. Rusyaeva, 'The Temple of Achilles on the Island of Leuke in the Black Sea', *ACSS* 9 (2003) 1–16.
Rusyaeva 2007 = A.S. Rusyaeva, 'Religious Interactions between Olbia and Scythia', in D.C. Braund & S.D. Kryzhitskiy (eds.), *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World. From the Sixth Century BC to the Second Century AD*, London & Oxford 2007, 93–102.
Rusyaeva 2010 = A.S. Rusyaeva, 'The Traditions of Miletus in the Culture of Olbia Pontica', *Bosporos Studies* 24 (2010) 84–114.
Saavedra 1999 = T. Saavedra, 'Women as Focalizers of Barbarism in Conquest Texts', *Echos du monde classique* 18 (1999) 59–77.
Sacco 2011 = L. Sacco, *Devotio. Aspetti storico-religiosi di un rito militare romano*, Rome 2011.
Sacks 1990 = K.S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century,* Princeton & Oxford 1990.
Saddington 1961 = D.B. Saddington, 'Roman Attitudes to the *Externae Gentes* of the North', *AC* 4 (1961) 90–102.
Saddington 2005 = D.B. Saddington, 'Two Notes on Roman Germany'*, AC* 48 (2005) 195–199.
Safran 1993 = L Safran, 'Points of View: The Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context', *GRBS* 34 (1993) 409–435.
Saïd 1978 = E.W. Saïd, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.
Saïd 2014 = S. Saïd, 'Between mythography and historiography: Diodorus' *Universal Library*', in E.K. Emilsson, A. Maravela and M. Skoie (eds.), *Paradeigmata: studies in honour of Øivind Andersen*, Athens 2014, 67–86.
Sale 1961 = W. Sale, 'The Hyperborean Maidens on Delos', *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 54 (1961) 75–89.

Sallmann 1971 = K.G. Sallmann, *Die Geographie des älteren Plinius in ihrem Verhältnis zu Varro. Versuch einer Quellenanalyse,* Berlin & New York 1971.
Salmasius 1689 = C. Salmasius, *Plinianae exercitationes in Caji Julii Solini Polyhistora: Item Caji Julii Solini Polyhistor ex veteribus libris emendatus,* Utrecht 1689.
Salway 1993 = P. Salway, *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*, Oxford & New York 1993.
Sandin 2009 = P. Sandin, 'Dim Hyperborea? Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15, 356–360', *Hyperboreus* 15 (2009) 291–296.
Sandin 2014 = P. Sandin, 'Famous Hyperboreans', in P.P. Aspaas, S. Albert & F. Nilsen (eds.), *Rara Avis in Ultima Thule. Libellus festivus Sunnivae des Bouvrie dedicatus*, Trondheim 2014, 205–222.
Sandin 2018 = P. Sandin, 'Scythia or Elysium? The Land of the Hyperboreans in Early Greek Literature', in D. Jørgensen & V. Langum (eds.), *Visions of North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout 2018, 13–33.
Sarantis 2018 = A. Sarantis, 'Procopius and the different types of northern barbarian', in G. Greatrex & S. Janniard (eds.), *Le monde de Procope*, Paris 2018, 355–378.
Sassi 2001 = M.M. Sassi, *The science of man in ancient Greece*, transl. by P. Tucker, Chicago & London 2001.
Savalli-Lestrade 2020 = I. Savalli-Lestrade, 'I Galati e gli Attalidi, tra esclusione e integrazione', in C. Bearzot, F. Landucci & G. Zecchini (eds.), *I Celti e il Mediterraneo: impatto e trasformazioni*, Milan 2020, 167–195.
Sawinski 2021 = P. Sawinski, *Holders of Extraordinary Imperium under Augustus and Tiberius,* Abingdon & New York 2021.
Sayar 2020 = M.H. Sayar, 'Bessoi', in I. Topalilov & S. Nedelcheva (eds.), *The Bessi in the Roman Empire*, Shumen 2020, 11–23.
Schadee 2008 = H. Schadee, 'Caesar's Construction of Northern Europe: Inquiry, Contact and Corruption in *De Bello Gallico*', *CQ* 58 (2008) 158–180.
Schauenburg 1974 = K. Schauenburg, 'Achilleus als Barbar: ein antikes Mißverständnis', *A&A* 20 (1974) 88–96.
Shcheglov 2004 = D.A. Shcheglov, 'Ptolemy's System of Seven Climata and Eratosthenes' Geography', *Geographia Antiqua* 13 (2004) 21–37.
Scheidel 2011 = W. Scheidel, 'The Roman slave supply', in K. Bradley & P. Cartledge (eds.), *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, 1: The Ancient Mediterranean World*, Cambridge 2011, 287–310.
Scheil 2016 = A. Scheil*, Babylon Under Western Eyes: A Study of Allusion and Myth*, Toronto 2016.
Schelske 2011 = O. Schelske, *Orpheus in der Spätantike. Studien und Kommentar zu den Argonautika des Orpheus: Ein literarisches, religiöses und philosophisches Zeugnis*, Berlin & Boston 2011.
Schepens & Delcroix 1996 = G. Schepens & K. Delcroix, 'Ancient Paradoxography. Origin, evolution, production and reception', in O. Pecere & A. Stramaglia (eds.), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino: atti di convegno internazionale*, Cassino 1996, 373–460.
Scherr 2023 = J. Scherr, *Die Zivilisierung der Barbaren. Eine Diskursgeschichte von Cicero bis Cassius Dio*, Berlin & Boston 2023.
Schlosser 2020 = J.A. Schlosser, *Herodotus in the Anthropocene*, Chicago & London 2020.

Schmedt 2020 = H. Schmedt, *Antonius Diogenes,* Die unglaublichen Dinge jenseits von Thule*. Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Berlin 2020.

Schmekel 1848 = A. Schmekel, *Pytheas Massiliensis quae supersunt Fragmenta*, Merseburg 1848.

Schmidt 1995 = P.L. Schmidt, 'Solins Polyhistor in Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Geschichte', *Philol.* 139 (1995) 23–35.

Schmidt 2002 = T.S. Schmidt, 'Plutarch's Timeless Barbarians and the Age of Trajan', in P.A. Stadter & L. van der Stockt (eds.), *Sage and Emperor. Plutarch, Greek Intellectuals, and Roman Power in the Time of Trajan (98-117 A.D.)*, Leuven 2002, 57–72.

Schmidt 2020 = T.S. Schmidt, 'Sophistes, barbares et identité grecque: le cas de Dion Chrysostome', in P. Fleury & T. Schmidt (eds.), *Perceptions of the Second Sophistic and Its Times – Regards sur la Seconde Sophistique et son époque*, Toronto 2010, 105–119.

Schneider 2004 = D.J. Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping*, New York & London 2004.

Schoeller 1969 = F.M. Schoeller, *Darstellungen des Orpheus in der Antike*, PhD thesis, Freiburg 1969.

Schott 2008 = J. Schott*, Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia 2008.

Schubert 2010 = C. Schubert, *Anacharsis der Weise. Nomade, Skythe, Grieche*, Tübingen 2010.

Schultz 2014 = C.E. Schultz, *A Commentary on Cicero,* De Divinatione *I*, Ann Arbor 2014.

Schulz 2012 = R.J. Schulz, *Feldherren, Krieger und Strategen. Krieg in der Antike von Achill bis Attila*, Stuttgart 2012.

Schulz 2020 = R.J. Schulz, ''Meister der langen Ruder und Helden der Seefahrt'. Die Geburt der griechischen Ethnographie aus der Praxis maritimer Erfahrung', *Hermes* 148 (2020) 391–436.

Schulz 2024 = R.J. Schulz, *To the Ends of the Earth: How Ancient Explorers, Scientists, and Traders Connected the World*, Oxford 2024.

Schorn 2009 = S. Schorn, 'On Eating Meat and Human Sacrifice. Greek Anthropology in Asclepiades of Cyprus and Theophrastus of Eresus', in P. Van Nuffelen (ed.), *Faces of Hellenism. Studies in the History of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Leuven 2009, 11–47.

Schreiner 2020 = P. Schreiner, 'Die Skythen in der byzantinischen Literatur (6.-15. Jh.): Ein Überblick', in F. Mitthof, G. Martin & J. Grusková (eds.), *Empire in Crisis: Gothic Invasions and Roman Historiography. Beiträge einer internationalen Tagung zu den Wiener Dexipp-Fragmenten (*Dexippus Vindobonensis*), Wien, 3.-6. Mai 2017*, Vienna 2020, 171–193.

Schäferdiek 2014 = K. Schäferdiek, 'Ulfila und der sogenannte gotische Arianismus', in G.M. Berndt & R. Steinacher (eds.), *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, Farnham 2014, 21–48.

Schwab & Rose 2019 = K.A. Schwab & M. Rose, 'Self and Society', in M. Harlow (ed.), *A Cultural History of Hair in Antiquity*, London 2019, 31–46.

Scott 2022 = L. Scott, *Pytheas of Massalia, Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, London & New York 2022.

Scullion 1999 = S. Scullion, 'Tradition and Invention in Euripidean Aitiology', *Illinois Classical Studies* 24/25 (1999-2000) 217–233.
Seaford 2009 = R. Seaford, 'Aitiologies of Cult in Euripides: A Response to Scott Scullion', in J.R.C. Cousland & J.R. Hume (eds.), *The Play of Texts and Fragments. Essays in Honour of Martin Cropp*, Leiden & Boston 2009, 221–234.
Sears 2013 = M.A. Sears, *Athens, Thrace, and the Shaping of Athenian Leadership*, Cambridge & New York 2013.
Seymour 2014 = M. Seymour, *Babylon: Legend, History and the Ancient City*, London 2014.
Sforza 2013 = I. Sforza, 'Visioni di sogno di un viaggiatore bibliofilo: Ecateo di Abdera nella terra degli Iperborei', in V. Costa & M. Berti (eds.), *Ritorno ad Alessandria. Storiografia antica e cultura bibliotecaria: tracce di un relazione perduta*, Tivoli 2013, 127–154.
Shanks 2013 = J. Shanks, 'Hyborian Age Archaeology: Unearthing Historical and Anthropological Foundations', in J. Prida (ed.), *Conan Meets the Academy. Multidisciplinary Essays on the Enduring Barbarian*, Jefferson & London 2013, 13–34.
Shapiro 1983 = H.A. Shapiro, 'Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians', *GRBS* 24 (1983) 105–114.
Shapiro 1993 = H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 B.C.*, Zurich 1993.
Shaw 1982 = B.D. Shaw, ''Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk': The Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomad', *Anc. Soc.* 13 (1982) 5–31.
Shaw 2014 = B.D. Shaw, 'Who Are You? Africa and Africans', in J. McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Chichester 2014, 527–540.
Sherwin-White 1967 = A.N. Sherwin-White, *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome*, Cambridge 1967.
Shipley (ed.) 2024 = D.G.J. Shipley (ed.), *Geographers of the Ancient Greek World. Selected Texts in Translation* [*GAGW*], 2 vols., Cambridge 2024.
Shipley 2024a = D.G.J. Shipley, 'Eratosthenes of Kyrene', in D.G.J. Shipley (ed.), *Geographers of the Ancient World*, Cambridge 2024, I 289–359.
Shipley 2024b = D.G.J. Shipley, 'Artemidoros of Ephesos', in D.G.J. Shipley (ed.), *Geographers of the Ancient World*, Cambridge 2024, I 501–560.
Shipley 2024c = D.G.J. Shipley, 'Pseudo-Arrian, *Circumnavigation of the Euxine*', in D.G.J. Shipley (ed.), *Geographers of the Ancient World*, Cambridge 2024, II 1000–1027.
Shramko 2021 = I. Shramko, 'Bilsk (Belsk) City-Site. The Largest Fortified Settlement of Scythia', *Ancient West & East* 20 (2021) 171–218.
Siekierka & al. 2021 = P. Siekierka, K. Stebnicka & A. Wolicki, *Women and the Polis: Public Honorific Inscriptions for Women in the Greek Cities from the Late Classical to the Roman Period*, 2 vols., Berlin & Boston 2021.
Silberman 1988 = A. Silberman, *Pomponius Mela,* Chorographie*, texte établi, traduit et commenté*, Paris 1988.
Silberman 1989 = A. Silberman, 'Le premier ouvrage latin de géographie: la *Chorographie* de Pomponius Méla et ses sources grecques', *Klio* 71 (1989) 571–581.
Sims-Williams 2017 = P. Sims-Williams, 'The earliest Celtic ethnography', *ZCP* 64 (2017) 421–442.

Sîrbu & Vaida (eds.) 2006 = V. Sîrbu & D.L. Vaida (eds.), *Thracians and Celts: proceedings of the international colloquium from Bistrița, 18-20 May 2006*, Cluj-Napoca 2006.

Skinner 2012 = J.E. Skinner, *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus*, Oxford 2012.

Skinner 2022 = J.E. Skinner, 'Race, Environment, Culture', in D.E. McCoskey (ed.), *A Cultural History of Race in Antiquity*, London 2022, 33–47.

Slobodian 2025 = Q. Slobodian, *Hayek's Bastards. The Neoliberal Roots of the Populist Right*, London 2025.

Smělý 2017 = T. Smělý, 'One authority, one idea, one order: the monetary system of the amber road as a testimony of Greek influence on social and economic activities of central European Celts', *Studia Hercynia* 21 (2017) 40–80.

Smith 1999 = A.C. Smith, 'Eurymedon and the Evolution of Political Personifications in the Early Classical Period', *JHS* 119 (1999) 128–141.

Smith 2011 = A.C. Smith, *Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art*, Leiden 2011.

Smith 2022 = I.G. Smith, 'Demetrius of Tarsus' Exploration of the Islands in the West. An Unusual Excursion of the Roman Navy in Britain', *Historia* 71 (2022) 225–258.

Smith 1985 = J.Z. Smith, 'What a Difference A Difference Makes', in J. Neusner & E.S. Frerichs (eds.), *'To See Ourselves as Others See Us': Christians, Jews, 'Others' in Late Antiquity*, Chico CA 1985, 3–48.

Soderberg 2013 = J. Soderberg, ''Between Britain and Hispania': Ireland in Roman-period Europe', in P.S. Wells (ed.), *Rome Beyond its Frontiers: Imports, Attitudes and Practices*, Portsmouth, RI 2013, 71–86.

Sodini 1994 = J.-P. Sodini, 'Images sculptées et propagande impériale du IV^{e} au VI^{e} siècle: recherches récentes sur les colonnes honorifiques et les reliefs politiques à Byzance', in A. Guillou & J. Durand (eds.), *Byzance et les images*, Paris 1994, 43–94.

Sordi 1979 = M. Sordi, 'Ellenocentrismo e filobarbarismo nell'excursus gallico di Timagene' in M. Sordi (ed.) *Conoscenze etniche e rapporti di convivenza nell'antichità*, Milan 1979, 34–56.

Sordi 1982 = M. Sordi, 'Timagene di Alessandria: uno storico ellenocentrico e filobarbaro', *ANRW* II 30.1 (1982) 775–797.

Sordi 1990 = M. Sordi, 'Filisto e la propaganda dionisiana', in H. Verdin, G. Schepens & E. de Kayser (eds.), *Purposes of History. Studies in Greek Historiography from the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C.*, Leuven 1990, 159–171.

Sordi & al. 1999 = M. Sordi, G. Urso & C. Dognini, 'L'Europa nel mondo greco e romano: geografia e valori', *Aevum* 73 (1999) 3–19.

Sparkes 1997 = B.A. Sparkes, 'Some Greek Images of Others', in B. Leigh Molyneaux (ed.), *The Cultural Life of Images. Visual Representation in Archaeology*, London 1997, 130–158.

Speich 2022 = M. Speich, 'Professionalisierung und Ethnographie – Xenophon über die Thraker', *Classica Cracoviensia* 25 (2022) 157–190.

Speidel 1985 = M.P. Speidel, 'The Master of the Dragon Standards and the Golden Torc: An Inscription from Prusias and Prudentius' *Peristephanon*', *TAPA* 115 (1985) 283–287.

Speidel 1994 = M.P. Speidel, *Riding for Caesar: The Roman Emperors' Horse Guards*, London 1994.

Speidel 1996 = M.P. Speidel, 'Late Roman Military Decorations I: Neck- and Wristbands', *Antiquité Tardive* 4 (1996) 235–243.

Spekke 1957 = A. Spekke, *The ancient amber routes and the discovery of the eastern Baltic*, Stockholm 1957.

Spier & al. (eds.) 2024 = J. Spier, T. Potts, S.E. Cole & M. Damyanov (eds.), *Ancient Thrace and the Classical World: Treasures from Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece*, Los Angeles 2024.

Stafford 2012 = E. Stafford, *Herakles*, London & New York 2012.

Steinacher 2021 = R. Steinacher, 'Rome and its Created Northerners', in M. Friedrich & J.M. Harland (eds.), *Interrogating the Germanic: A Category and Its Use in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Berlin 2021, 31–66.

Stenton 2001 = F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 2001.

Stephens 1996 = S.A. Stephens, 'Fragments of Lost Novels', in G. Schmeling (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World*, Leiden & New York 1996, 655–683.

Stephens & Winkler 1995 = S.A. Stephens & J.J. Winkler, *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments*, Princeton 1995.

Stern 1979 = J. Stern, 'Phanocles' Fragment 1', *QUCC* 3 (1979) 135–143.

Stewart 2000 = A. Stewart, '*Pergamo Ara Marmorea Magna.* On the Date, Reconstruction, and Functions of the Great Altar of Pergamon', in N. Thomson de Grummond & B. Ridgway (eds.), *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context*, Berkeley 2000, 32–57.

Stewart 1995 = P.C.N. Stewart, 'Inventing Britain: The Roman creation and adaptation of an image', *Britannia* 26 (1995) 1–11.

Stickler 2011 = T. Stickler, 'The *Foederati*', in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, 2nd ed., Oxford 2011, 495–514.

Stockert 1983 = W. Stockert, *T. Maccius Plautus*, *Aulularia*, Stuttgart 1983.

Stolyarik & Kleeberg 2023 = E.S. Stolyarik & J.M. Kleeberg, *Scythians and Greeks on the Western Black Sea. The Coinage of the Kings of Scythia Minor in Dobruja, 218/212–110 BCE*, Turnhout 2023.

Stone 2020 = R. Stone, 'Inviting the Enemy In: Assimilating Barbarians in Theodosian Panegyric', in A. Omissi & A.J. Ross (eds.), *Imperial Panegyric from Diocletian to Honorius*, Liverpool 2020, 233–254.

Stout 1994 = A.M. Stout, 'Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire', in J.L. Sebesta & L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Madison WI 1994, 77–100.

Strobel 1989 = K. Strobel, *Die Donaukriege Domitians*, Bonn 1989.

Strobel 2009 = K. Strobel, 'The Galatians in the Roman empire. Historical tradition and ethnic identity in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor', in R. Derks and N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, Amsterdam 2009, 117–144.

Strootman 2005 = R. Strootman, 'Kings Against Celts. Deliverance from Barbarians as a Theme in Hellenistic Royal Propaganda', in K.A.E. Enenkel & I.L. Pfeijffer (eds.), *The Manipulative Mode. Political Propaganda in Antiquity*, Leiden 2005, 101–141.

Suksi 2017 = A. Suksi, 'Scandalous Maps in Aeschylean Tragedy', in G. Hawes (ed.), *Myths on the Map. The Storied Landscapes of Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2017, 204–220.

Sulimani 2011 = I. Sulimani, *Diodorus' Mythistory and the Pagan Mission*, Leiden & Boston 2011.
Svennung 1974 = J. Svennung, *Scandinavien bei Plinius und Ptolemaios*, Uppsala 1974.
Swain (ed.) 2007 = S. Swain (ed.), *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's* Physiognomy *from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*, Oxford 2007.
Swain 2021 = S. Swain, *Themistius and Valens:* Orations *6–13*, Liverpool 2021.
Swift & al. 2021 = E. Swift, J. Stoner & A. Pudsey, *A Social Archaeology of Roman and Late Antique Egypt: Artefacts of Everyday Life*, Oxford 2021.
Sybel 1909 = L. Sybel, *Christliche Antike* II, Marburg 1909.
Symonds 2020 = M. Symonds, *Hadrian's Wall. Creating Division*, London 2020.
Szabo 2018 = V. Szabo, 'Northern Seas, Marine Monsters, and Perceptions of the Premodern North Atlantic in the *longue durée*', in D. Jørgensen & V. Langum (eds.), *Visions of North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout 2018, 145–182.
Talmaţchi & Cealera 2020 = G. M. Talmaţchi & C. Cealera, 'Contribuții privind prezența monedelor regatului celtic din Thracia în Dobrogea', *Pontica: Anuar al Muzeului de Istorie Naţională şi Arheologie Constanţa* 53 (2020) 475–482.
Tandoi 1964 = V. Tandoi, 'Albinovano Pedone e la retorica giulio-claudia delle conquiste, I', *SIFC* 36 (1964) 129–168.
Tandoi 1967 = V. Tandoi, 'Albinovano Pedone e la retorica giulio-claudia delle conquiste, II', *SIFC* 39 (1967) 5–66.
Talbert 2010 = R.J.A. Talbert, *Rome's world: The Peutinger map reconsidered*, Cambridge & New York 2010.
Tamer & al. (eds.) 2024 = G. Tamer, A. Mein & L. Greisiger (eds.), *Gog and Magog: Contributions toward a World History of an Apocalyptic Motif*, Berlin 2024.
Taufer 2016 = M. Taufer, '"I Geti che '(si) rendono' o 'si credono' immortali"? Note a margine di Hdt. 4,93-95', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 58 (2016) 51–65.
Teichner 2013 = F. Teichner, 'From Aquileia to Carnuntum: geographical mobility along the Amber Road', *Veleia* 30 (2013) 47–73.
Ter Keurs 2022 = P. Ter Keurs, 'Death and new life. An intimate relationship', in K.C. Innemée (ed.), *The Value of a Human Life. Ritual Killing and Human Sacrifice in Antiquity*, Leiden 2022, 149–154.
Terras 1965 = V. Terras, 'Leo Diaconus and the Ethnology of Kievan Rus', *Slavic Review* 24 (1965) 395–406.
Terrei 2000 = S. Terrei, 'I *Getica* di Dione Crisostomo', *Aevum* 74 (2000) 177–186.
Texier 1976 = J.C. Texier, 'Polybe géographe'*, DHA* 2 (1976) 395–407.
Thalamas 1921 = A. Thalamas, *La géographie d'Eratosthène*, Versailles 1921.
Theodosiev 2015 = N. Theodosiev, 'An Introduction to Studying Ancient Thrace', in J. Valeva, E. Nankov & D. Graninger (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, Malden MA & Oxford 2015, 1–11.
Thesleff 1965 = H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period. Collected and Edited*, Turku 1965.
Thiele 2022 = M. Thiele, 'Categories, Stereotypes, Images, and Intersectionality', in K. Edtstadler, S. Folie & G. Zocco (eds.), *New Perspectives on Imagology*, Leiden 2022, 277–296.
Thiering 2014 = M. Thiering, 'Implicit Knowledge Structures as Mental Models in Common Sense Geography', in K. Geus & M. Thiering (eds.), *Features of Common*

Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts, Zurich, Münster & Vienna 2014, 265–317.

Thollard 1987 = P. Thollard, *Barbarie et civilisation chez Strabon. Étude critique des livres III et IV de la Géographie*, Paris 1987.

Thomas 1982 = R. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition*, Cambridge 1982.

Thomas 2000 = R. Thomas, *Herodotus in context: ethnography, science and the art of persuasion*, Cambridge 2000.

Thompson 1963 = E.A. Thompson, 'Christianity and the Northern Barbarians', in A. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between paganism and Christianity in the fourth century: essays*, Oxford 1963, 56–78.

Thompson 1980 = E.A. Thompson, 'Procopius on Brittany and Britannia', *CQ* 80 (1980) 498–507.

Thompson 1982 = E.A. Thompson, 'Zosimus 6.10.2 and the Letters of Honorius', *CQ* 32 (1982) 445–462.

Thompson 1999 = E.A. Thompson, *Who was Saint Patrick?*, Woodbridge 1999.

THRACE 2000 = *ΘPAKH*, Komotini 2000.

Tierney 1960 = J.J. Tierney, 'The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius', *PRIA* 60 (1960) 189–275.

Tierney 1976 = J.J. Tierney, 'The Greek Geographic Tradition and Ptolemy's Evidence for Irish Geography', *PRIA* 76 (1976) 257–265.

Timpe 2006 = D. Timpe, *Römisch-germanisch Begegnung in der späten Republik und frühen Kaiserzeít. Voraussetzungen – Konfrontationen – Wirkungen. Gesammelte Studien*, Munich & Leipzig 2006.

Tiverios 2008 = M. Tiverios, 'Greek Colonisation of the northern Aegean', in G.R. Tsetskhlatdze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An account of Greek Colonies and other settlements overseas*, 2 vols., Leiden & Boston 2008, 1–154.

Todd 1987 = M. Todd, *The Northern Barbarians, 100 B.C. – A.D. 300*, Oxford 1987.

Todd 2004 = M. Todd, *The Early Germans*, 2nd ed., Malden MA & Oxford 2004.

Todorov 2010 = T. Todorov, *The Fear of Barbarians. Beyond the Clash of Civilizations*, transl. A. Brown, Chicago & London 2010.

Tomaschitz 2002 = K. Tomaschitz, *Die Wanderungen der Kelten in der antiken literarischen Überlieferung*, Vienna 2002.

Tonkova 2009 = M. Tonkova, 'On Human Sacrifice in Thrace (on Archaeological Evidence)', in I. Cândea (ed.), *The Thracians and their Neighbours in Antiquity. Studia in Honorem Valerii Sîrbu*, Brăila 2009, 503–514.

Topper 2015 = K.R. Topper, 'Dionysos Comes to Thrace: the Metaphor of Corrupted Sacrifice and the Introduction of Dionysian Cult in Images of Lykourgos' Madness', *Arethusa* 48 (2015) 129–171.

Toynbee & Painter 1986 = J.M.C. Toynbee & K.S. Painter, 'Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A.D. 300 to 700', *Archaeologia* 108 (1986) 15–65.

Triantaphyllos 1991 = D. Triantaphyllos, 'La Thrace égéenne avant la colonisation grecque', in M. Lazarov, M. Tatcheva, C. Angelova & M. Georgiev (eds.), *Quatrième Symposium international Thracia Pontica IV: Sozopol, 6-12 octobre 1988. Les thèmes, les agglomérations côtières de la Thrace avant la colonisation grecque, les sites submergés. Méthodes des recherches*, Sofia 1991, 283–308.

Trzaska-Richter 1991 = C. Trzaska-Richter, *Furor Teutonicus*. *Das Römische Germanenbild in Politik und Propaganda von den Anfängen bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Trier 1991.

Tsetskhladze 2008 = G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Pontic Slaves in Athens: Orthodoxy and Reality', in P. Mauritsch, W. Petermandl, R. Rollinger, C. Ulf & I. Huber (eds.), *Antike Lebenswelten: Konstanz – Wandel – Wirkungsmacht. Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 70. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden 2008, 309–320.

Tsetskhladze 2014 = G.R. Tsetskhladze, 'Black Sea Ethnicities', in J. McInerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Hoboken NJ 2014, 312–326.

Tsiafaki 1998 = D. Tsiafaki, *Η Θράκη στην αττική εικονογραφία του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ. Προσεγγίσεις στις σχέσεις Αθήνας και Θράκης*, Komotini 1998.

Tsiafaki 2000 = D. Tsiafaki, 'The Allure and Repulsion of Thracians in the Art of Classical Athens', in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden 2000, 364–389.

Tsiafaki 2002 = D. Tsiafaki, 'Battles between Athenians and Thracians: An Abstract Representation or a Realistic Scene?', [n.e.] *Pitye: Studia in Honorem Prof. Ivan Marazov*, Sofia 2002, 365–369.

Tsiafaki 2003 = D. Tsiafaki, 'Θράκες βασιλείς από τον Στρυμόνα στην Ίσμαρο', *ΠΕΡΙ ΘΡΑΚΗΣ* 3 (2003) 43–66.

Tsiafaki 2009 = D. Tsiafaki, 'Έλληνες και Θράκες από τον 7ο μέχρι τον 5ο αι. π.Χ.', in Z. Bonias & J.Y. Perreault (eds.), *Greeks and Thracians along the coast and in the Hinterland of Thrace during the years before and after the great colonization, Acts of the international Symposium, Thasos, 26-27 September 2009*, Thasos 2009, 123–134.

Tsiafaki 2015 = D. Tsiafaki, 'Thracian Tattoos', in D. Boschung, A. Shapiro & F. Wascheck (eds.), *Bodies in Transition. Dissolving the Boundaries of Embodied Knowledge*, Paderborn 2015, 89–117.

Tsiafaki 2016a = D. Tsiafaki, 'Ancient Thrace and Thracians through the Athenian Eyes', *Thracia* 21 (2016) 261–282.

Tsiafaki 2016b = D. Tsiafaki, 'Ο Φινέας στην αττική αγγειογραφία', in M. Giannopoulou & Chr. Kallini (eds.), *ἠχάδιν ΙΙ, Τιμητικός τόμος για τη Στέλλα Δρούγου*, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού – Ταμείο αρχαιολογικών πόρων και απαλλοτριώσεων, Thessaloniki 2016, 726–740.

Tsiafaki 2018 = D. Tsiafaki, 'Thracians and Greeks in the North Aegean', in S. Gimatzidis, M. Pieniazek & S. Mangaloglu-Votruba (eds.), *Archaeology across Frontiers and Borderlands. Fragmentation and Connectivity in the North Aegean and the Balkans during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age*, Vienna 2018, 219–242.

Tsiafaki 2020 = D. Tsiafaki, 'The Northern Aegean', in F. De Angelis (ed.), *A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World*, Hoboken NJ 2020, 409–430.

Tsiafaki 2021 = D. Tsiafaki, 'Thracian warriors linking(?) Greeks and Thracians', in C. Lang-Auinger & E. Trinkl (eds.), *Griechische Vasen als Medium für Kommunikation. Ausgewählte Aspekte. Akten des internationalen Symposions im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien, 5.-7. Oktober 2017*, Vienna 2021, 249–261.

Tsiafaki 2024 = D. Tsiafaki, 'Thracians on Athenian Vases', in J. Spier, T. Potts, S.E. Cole & M. Damyanov (eds.), *Ancient Thrace and the Classical World: Treasures from Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece*, Los Angeles 2024, 47–56.

Turnbull 2010 = S. Turnbull, *Samurai Women 1184–1877*, Oxford 2010.
Turner 1992 = B.S. Turner, 'Recent Developments in the Theory of the Body', in M. Featherstone, M. Hepworth & B.S. Turner (eds.), *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory,* New York & London 1992, 1–35.
Ungefehr-Kortus 1996 = C. Ungefehr-Kortus, *Anacharsis, der Typus des edlen, weisen Barbaren*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1996.
Uzunov 2020 = T. Uzunov, 'The Great sanctuary of Dionysos. An attempt of localization in the context of new findings and the information by Pseudo-Aristotle', in I. Topalilov & S. Nedelcheva (eds.), *The Bessi in the Roman Empire*, Shumen 2020, 68–91.
Vagalinski (ed.) 2010 = L.F. Vagalinski (ed.), *In Search of Celtic Tylis in Thrace (III c. BC): Proceedings of the interdisciplinary colloquium, Sofia 8 May 2010*, Sofia 2010.
Valeva & al. (eds.) 2015 = J. Valeva, E. Nankov & D. Graninger (eds.), *A Companion to Ancient Thrace*, Hoboken NJ & Oxford 2015.
Valgiglio 1955 = E. Valgiglio, 'Considerazioni sulla storia dei Cimbri e dei Teutoni', *RSC* 3 (1955) 3–23.
Vallauri 1965 = G. Vallauri, *Evemero di Messene. Testimonianze e frammenti con introduzione e commento*, Turin 1965.
Valtonen 2008 = I. Valtonen, *The North in the* Old English Orosius. *A Geographical Narrative in Context*, Helsinki 2008.
Valtonen 2009 = I. Valtonen, 'On Descriptions and Perceptions of the North in Ancient and Early Medieval Geography', *NOWELE. North-Western European Language Evolution* 56 (2009) 53–87.
Vanderspoel 1995 = J. Vanderspoel, *Themistius and the Imperial Court, Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius and Theodosius*, Ann Arbor 1995.
Van der Vliet 1977 = E.C.L. Van der Vliet, *Strabo over Landen, Volken en Steden*, Assen & Amsterdam 1977.
Van der Vliet 1984 = E.C.L. Van der Vliet, 'L'ethnographie de Strabon: ideologie ou tradition?', in F. Prontera (ed.)*, Strabone. Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera I,* Perugia 1984, 29–86.
Vanotti 1992 = G. Vanotti, 'Roma e il suo impero in Strabone'*,* in M. Sordi (ed.), *Autocoscienza e rappresentazione dei popoli nell'antichità*, Milan 1992, 173–194.
Van Nuffelen 2012 = P. Van Nuffelen, *Orosius and the Rhetoric of History*, Oxford 2012.
Van Nuffelen 2019 = P. Van Nuffelen, 'Beside the rim of the Ocean. The edges of the world in fifth and sixth century historiography', in P. Van Nuffelen (ed.), *Historiography and Space in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2019, 36–56.
Van Thienen 2016 = V. Van Thienen, 'A Symbol of Late Roman Authority Revisited: A Sociohistorical Understanding of the Crossbow Brooch', in N. Roymans, S. Heeren & W. De Clercq (eds.), *Social Dynamics in the Northwest Frontiers of the Late Roman Empire: Beyond Transformation or Decline*, Amsterdam 2016, 97–125.
van Wees 2004 = H. van Wees, *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*, London 2004.
Verger 2006 = S. Verger, 'Des Hyperboréens aux Celtes. L'extrême Nord occidental des Grecs à l'épreuve des contacts avec les cultures de l'Europe tempérée', in D. Vitali (ed.), *Celtes et Gaulois. L'Archéologie face à l'Histoire 2: la préhistoire des Celtes*, Glux-en-Glenne 2006, 45–61.

Verger 2013 = S. Verger, 'Les conceptions de l'extrême Nord occidental dans la géographie grecque archaïque', in S. Verger & L. Pernet (eds.), *Une Odyssée gauloise. Parures de femmes à l'origine des premiers échanges entre la Grèce et la Gaule*, Arles 2013, 278–283.

Veness 2002 = R. Veness, 'Investing the Barbarian? The Dress of Amazons in Athenian Art', in L. Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, Cardiff 2002, 95–110.

Vian 1987a = F. Vian, *Les Argonautiques orphiques*, Paris 1987.

Vian 1987b = F. Vian, 'Poésie et géographie: les Retours des Argonautes', *CR Acad. Inscr.* 131 (1987) 249–262.

Virgilio 1981 = B. Virgilio, *Il 'tempio stato' di Pessinunte fra Pergamo e Roma nel II-I secolo a.C.*, Pisa 1981.

Visintin 2000 = M. Visintin, 'Echidna, Skythes e l'arco di Herakles. Figure della marginalità nella versione greca delle origini degli Sciti, Herodot. 4, 8–10', *MD* 45 (2000) 43–81.

Vlachopoulos & Tsiafaki (eds.) 2017 = A. Vlachopoulos & D. Tsiafaki (eds.), *Αρχαιολογία – Μακεδονία και Θράκη*, Athens 2017.

Vlassopoulos 2013a = K. Vlassopoulos, 'The Stories of Others: Storytelling and Intercultural Communication in the Herodotean Mediterranean', in E. Almagor & J.E. Skinner (eds.), *Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches*, London 2013, 49–75.

Vlassopoulos 2013b = K. Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians*, Cambridge 2013.

Vlassopoulos 2023 = K. Vlassopoulos, 'Slavery in Ancient Greece', in D.A. Pargas & J. Schiel (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery throughout History*, London 2023.

Vlassopoulos 2024 = K. Vlassopoulos, 'The Barbarian Repertoire and its Visual Stereotypes around 500 BC. Revisiting the Main Issues', in A.J. Lampinen & B. Forsén (eds.), *Oriental Mirages. Stereotypes and Identity Creation in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2024, 75–98.

Voisin 2020 = C. Voisin, 'Le plongeon des Hyperboréens, une pratique funéraire utopique', *Ktèma* 45 (2020) 221–235.

Von Carnap-Bornheim 2020 = C. Von Carnap-Bornheim, 'The Germani and the German Provinces of Rome', in S. James & S. Krmnicek (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Roman Germany*, Oxford 2020, 409–436.

Von den Hoff 2004 = R. Von den Hoff, 'Horror and amazement: Colossal mythological statue groups and the new rhetoric of images in late second and early third century Rome', in B.E. Borg (ed.), *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic*, Berlin 2004, 105–129.

Von der Mühll 1959 = P. Von der Mühll, 'Die Kimmerier der *Odyssee* und Theopomp', *MH* 16 (1959) 145–151.

Von Fremersdorf 1952 = F. Von Fremersdorf, 'Christliche Leibwächter auf einem geschliffenen Kölner Glasbecher des 4. Jahrhunderts', in G. Moro (ed.), *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger*, Klagenfurt 1952, 66–83.

Vos 1963 = M.F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting*, Groningen 1963.

Wacher 1979 = J. Wacher, *The Coming of Rome*, London 1979.

Wagner 1876 = W. Wagner, *T. Macci Plauti* Aulularia*, with notes critical and exegetical and an introduction*, Cambridge 1876.

Walbank 1948 = F.W. Walbank, 'The Geography of Polybius', *C&M* 9 (1948) 155–182.

Walbank 1979 = F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3 vols., Oxford 1979.

Walter 2001 = C. Walter, 'The Maniakion or Torc in Byzantine Tradition', *Rev. Ét. Byz.* 59 (2001) 179–192.

Ward 2006 = A. Ward, 'Self-Reflection, Egyptian Beliefs, Scythians and 'Greek Ideas': Reconsidering Greeks and Barbarians in Herodotus', *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms* 11 (2006) 1–19.

Ware 2012 = C. Ware, *Claudian and the Roman Epic Tradition*, Cambridge 2012.

Ware 2016 = C. Ware, 'Dreams of genre and inspiration: multiple allusion in Claudian (VI Cons., praefatio)', in S. McGill & J. Pucci (eds.), *Classics Renewed: Reception and Innovation in the Latin Poetry of Late Antiquity*, Heidelberg 2016, 171–194.

Warner 2020 = R.B. Warner, 'The Late Roman silver hoard from Ballinrees, Co. Derry: Observations and Implications', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 29 (2020) 79–102.

Webb 2018 = L. Webb, '*Inter imperium sine fine*: Thule and Hyperborea in Roman Literature', in D. Jørgensen & V. Langum (eds.), *Visions of North in Premodern Europe*, Turnhout 2018, 35–58.

Webster 1985 = G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, 3rd rev. ed., Totowa 1985.

Webster 2004 = G. Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*, 2nd rev. ed., London & New York 2004.

Webster 1995a = J. Webster, '*Interpretatio*: Roman Word Power and the Celtic Gods', *Britannia* 26 (1995) 153–161.

Webster 1995b = J. Webster, 'Translation and subjection: *interpretatio* and the Celtic Gods', in J.D. Hill & C. Cumberpatch (eds.), *Different Iron Ages. Studies on the Iron Age in temperate Europe*, Oxford 1995, 175–183.

Webster 1996 = J. Webster, 'Ethnographic Barbarity: Colonial Discourse and 'Celtic Warrior Societies'', in J. Webster & N. Cooper (eds.), *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*, Leicester 1996, 111–124.

Wells 2011 = P.S. Wells, 'The Ancient Germans', in L. Bonfante (ed.), *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe. Realities and Interactions*, Cambridge 2011, 211–232.

Wenskus 1985 = R. Wenskus, 'Pytheas und der Bernsteinhandel', in K. Düwel, H. Jankuhn, H. Siems & D. Timpe (eds.), *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa, v. I: Methodische Grundlagen und Darstellungen zum Handel in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit und in der Antike*, Göttingen 1985, 84–108.

Werner 1994 = S. Werner, 'On the History of the *Commenta Bernensia* and the *Adnotationes super Lucanum*', *Harv. Stud.* 96 (1994) 343–368.

West (M.) 2007 = M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 2007.

West 2000 = S. West, 'Herodotus in the North? Reflections on a Colossal Cauldron (4.8.1),' *Scripta Classica Israelica* 19 (2000) 15–34.

West 2003 = S. West, ''The Most Marvellous of All Seas': The Greek Encounter with the Euxine', *G&R* 50 (2003) 151–167.

West 2004 = S. West, 'Herodotus on Aristeas', in C.J. Tuplin (ed.), *Pontus and the Outside World*, Leiden 2004, 43–67.

West (S.) 2007 = S. West, 'Herodotus and Olbia', in D.C. Braund & S.D. Kryzhitskiy (eds.), *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World. From the Sixth Century BC to the Second Century AD*, London & Oxford 2007, 79–92.

West 2019 = S. West, 'The Northward Advance of Greek Horizons', in D.C. Braund, E. Hall & R. Wyles (eds.), *Ancient Theatre and Performance Culture Around the Black Sea*, Cambridge 2019, 26–42.

Whitby 2001 = M. Whitby, 'The Army c. 420–602', in A. Cameron, M. Whitby & B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, XIV: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors A.D. 425–600*, Cambridge 2001.

Whitby 2006 = M. Whitby, 'Emperors and Armies, AD 235–395', in S. Swain & M. Edwards (eds.), *Approaching Late Antiquity: The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, Oxford 2006, 156–186.

Whitby 2016 = M. Whitby, 'The Late Roman Empire Was before All Things a Bureaucratic State', in P. Crooks & T.H. Parsons (eds.), *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History: From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge 2016.

White 1991 = R. White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge 1991.

Whitmarsh 2017 = T. Whitmarsh, 'Greece. Hellenistic and Early Imperial Continuities', in D.S. Richter & W.A. Johnson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic*, Oxford 2017, 11–23.

Wiedemann 1986 = T. Wiedemann, 'Between Man and Beasts. Barbarians in Ammianus Marcellinus', in I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart & A.J. Woodman (eds.), *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, Cambridge 1986, 189–211.

Wielowiejski 1984 = J. Wielowiejski, 'Bernsteinstrasse und Bernsteinweg während der römischen Kaiserzeit im Lichte der neueren Forschung', *Münst. Beitr*. 3 (1984) 69–87.

Wijnendaele 2022 = J.W.P. Wijnendaele, 'Ammianus on Mallobaudes and Magnus Maximus: A Response to Theodosian Discourse?', in M. Hanaghan & D. Woods (eds.), *Ammianus Marcellinus from Soldier to Author*, Leiden & Boston 2022, 204–227.

Wiles 1996 = M. Wiles, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries*, Oxford 1996.

Wilkes 1992 = J.J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, Oxford 1992.

Wilkes 1996 = J.J. Wilkes, 'The Danubian and Balkan Provinces', in A.K. Bowman, E. Champlin & A. Lintott (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, X: The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C. – A. D. 69*, Cambridge 1996, 545–585.

Wilkes 2007 = J. Wilkes, 'Sailing to the Britannic Isles: Some Mediterranean Perspectives on the Remote Northwest from the Sixth Century BCE to the Seventh Century AD', in C. Gosden, H. Hamerow, P. de Jersey & G. Lock (eds.), *Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe*, Oxford 2007, 3–14.

Williams 2010 = C.A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*, 2nd ed., New York & Oxford 2010.

Williams 2009 = F. Williams, *The* Panarion *of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book 1 (Sects 1-46)*, Leiden 2009.

Williams 2001 = J.H.C. Williams, *Beyond the Rubicon: Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy*, Oxford 2001.

Williams & Friell 1998 = S. Williams & G. Friell, *Theodosius: The Empire at Bay*, London 1998.

Wilson 2017 = J.C. Wilson, '*Et tu, Hibernia*? Frontier Zones and Culture Contact – Ireland in a Roman World', in S. González Sánchez & A. Guglielmi (eds.), *Romans and*

Barbarians beyond the Frontiers. Archaeology, Ideology and Identities in the North, Oxford & Philadelphia 2017, 48–69.

Winiarczyk 2002 = M. Winiarczyk, *Euhemeros von Messene: Leben, Werk und Nachwirkung*, Munich & Leipzig 2002.

Winiarczyk 2013 = M. Winiarczyk, *The 'Sacred History' of Euhemerus of Messene*, Berlin & Boston 2013.

Winkler 2000 = G. Winkler, 'Geographie bei den Römern: Mela, Seneca, Plinius', in W. Hübner (ed.), *Geographie und verwandte Wissenschaften,* Stuttgart 2000, 141–161.

Wintjes 2005 = J. Wintjes, *Das Leben des Libanius*, Rahden 2005.

Wiseman 1974 = T.P. Wiseman, 'Legendary Genealogies in Late-Republican Rome', *G&R* 21 (1974) 153–164.

Witschel 1999 = C. Witschel, *Krise – Rezession – Stagnation? Der Westen des römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1999.

Wiwjorra 2006 = I. Wiwjorra, *Der Germanenmythos: Konstruktion einer Weltanschauung in der Altertumsforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Darmstadt 2006.

Wolfram 1988 = H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, transl. T.J. Dunlap, 2nd ed., Berkeley 1988.

Wolfram 1997 = H. Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*, transl. T.J. Dunlap, Berkeley 1997.

Wolfram 2014 = H. Wolfram, '*Vulfila pontifex ipseque primas Gothorum minorum, sed non apostolus eorum*. Vulfila. Bishop and Secular Leader of His People but not Their Apostle', in G.M. Berndt & R. Steinacher (eds.), *Arianism: Roman Heresy and Barbarian Creed*, Farnham 2014, 131–144.

Wolff 1992 = C. Wolff, 'Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians*: Aetiology, Ritual, and Myth', *Cl. Ant.* 11 (1992) 308–334.

Wolters 1999 = R. Wolters, *Nummi Signati: Untersuchungen zur römischen Münzprägung und Geldwirtschaft*, Munich 1999.

Wolters 2003 = R. Wolters, 'Die Geschwindigkeit der Zeit und die Gefahr der Bilder: Münzbilder und Münzpropaganda in der römischen Kaiserzeit', in G. Weber & M. Zimmerman (eds.), *Propaganda – Selbstdarstellung – Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreich des 1. Jhs. n. Chr*, Stuttgart 2003, 175–204.

Wood 2004 = I. Wood, 'The Final Phase', in M. Todd (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*, Malden MA & Oxford 2004, 428–442.

Woodman 2004 = A.J. Woodman, *Tacitus: The Annals, Translated, with Introduction and Notes,* Indianapolis & Cambridge 2004.

Woodman 1993 = A.J. Woodman, *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition*, Princeton 1993.

Woolf 2003 = A. Woolf, 'The Britons: From Romans to Barbarians', in H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut & W. Pohl (eds.), *Regna and Gentes. The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, Leiden 2003, 345–380.

Woolf 2007 = G. Woolf, 'A Distant Mirror: Britain and Rome in the Representation of Empire', in J. Santos Yanguas & E. Torregaray Pagola (eds.), *LAVDES PROVINCIARVM: Retórica y política en la representación del imperio romano*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2007, 135–147.

Woolf 2009 = G. Woolf, 'Cruptorix and his kind. Talking ethnicity on the middle ground', in T. Derks & N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, Amsterdam 2009, 207–218.

Woolf 2011a = G. Woolf, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West*, Chichester 2011.

Woolf 2011b = G. Woolf, 'Saving the Barbarian', in E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean. Issues & Debates*, Los Angeles 2011, 255–271.

Woolf 2017 = G. Woolf, 'Moving Peoples in the early Roman Empire', in E. Lo Cascio, L.E. Tacoma & M.J. Groen-Vallinga (eds.), *The Impact of Mobility and Migration in the Roman Empire*, Leiden 2017, 25–41.

Xydopoulos 2007 = I.K. Xydopoulos, 'The Thracian Image in Herodotus and the Rhetoric of Otherness', in A. Iakovidou (ed.), *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World*, Athens 2007, 693–697.

Yavetz 1998 = Z. Yavetz, 'Latin Authors on Jews and Dacians', *Historia* 47 (1998) 77–107.

Zaccagnino & al. 2012 = C. Zaccagnino, G. Bevan & A. Gabov, 'The Missorium of Ardabur Aspar: New Considerations on Its Archaeological and Historical Contexts', *Arch. Class.* 63 (2012) 419–454.

Zacharasiewicz 2010 = W. Zacharasiewicz, *Imagology Revisited*, Amsterdam & New York 2010.

Zarkadas 2022 = A. Zarkadas, 'Boreas and Oreithyia: The Abduction of a Kanephoros in the Panathenaic Procession', in J. Neils & O. Palagia (eds.), *From Kallias to Kritias: art in Athens in the second half of the fifth century B.C.*, Berlin & Boston 2022, 357–377.

Zasterova 1985 = B. Zasterova, 'Zur Problematik der ethnographischen *Topoi'*, in J. Herrmann, H. Köpstein & R. Müller (eds.), *Griechenland–Byzanz–Europa. Ein Studienband*, Berlin 1985, 16–19.

Zecchini 1979 = G. Zecchini, 'La più antica testimonianza del nome dei Germani nel mondo classico', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Conoscenze etniche e pregiudizi nel mondo antico*, Milan 1979, 65–78.

Zecchini 1984 = G. Zecchini, 'La profezia dei druidi sull'incendio del Campidoglio nel 69 d.C.', in M. Sordi (ed.), *I santuari e la guerra nel mondo classico*, Milan 1984, 121–131.

Zecchini 1990 = G. Zecchini, 'La storiografia lagide', in H. Verdin, G. Schepens & E. de Keyser (eds.), *Purposes of History. Studies in Greek Historiography from the Fourth to the Second Centuries BC*, Louvain 1990.

Zecchini 2010 = G. Zecchini, 'La politica di Roma in Germania da Cesare agli Antonini', *Aevum* 84 (2010) 187–198.

Zecchini 2020 = G. Zecchini, 'Dalla leggenda degli Iperborei alla realtà dei Galati', in C. Bearzot, F. Landucci & G. Zecchini (eds.), *I Celti e il Mediterraneo: impatto e trasformazioni*, Milan 2020, 53–61.

Zehnacker 2004 = H. Zehnacker, 'L'Europe du Nord dans l'*Histoire naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien (*N.H.* IV, 88–104)', *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 82 (2004) 167–186.

Zehnacker & Silberman 2015 = H. Zehnacker & A. Silberman, *Pline l'Ancien,* Histoire naturelle*, Livre IV, texte établi, traduit et commenté*, Paris 2015.

Zerjadtke (ed.) 2020 = M. Zerjadtke (ed.), *Der ethnographische* Topos *in der Alten Geschichte: Annäherungen an ein omnipräsentes Phänomen*, Stuttgart 2020.

Zerjadtke 2020 = M. Zerjadtke, 'Thematische Einführung. Der Problemkomplex 'Topos' und seine Facetten', in M. Zerjadtke (ed.), *Der ethnographische* Topos *in der Alten Geschichte: Annäherungen an ein omnipräsentes Phänomen*, Stuttgart 2020, 11–26.

Zernack 2018 = J. Zernack, 'On the Concept of 'Germanic' Religion and Myth', in M. Clunies Ross (ed.), *The Pre-Christian Religions of the North: Research and Reception, Volume I: From the Middle Ages to* c. *1830*, Turnhout 2018, 527–542.

Zhmud' 1992 = L. Zhmud', 'Orphism and Graffiti from Olbia', *Hermes* 120 (1992) 159–168.

Zhmud' 2016 = L. Zhmud', 'Pythagoras' Northern Connections: Zalmoxis, Abaris, Aristeas', *CQ* 66 (2016) 446–462.

Zidarov 2017 = P.N. Zidarov, 'The Antiquity of Tattooing in Southeastern Europe', in L. Krutak & A. Deter-Wolf (eds.), *Ancient Ink. The Archaeology of Tattooing,* Seattle & London 2017, 137–149.

Zimmermann 1980a = K. Zimmermann, 'Thraker-Darstellungen auf griechischen Vasen', in R. Vulpe (ed.), *Actes du II^e^ Congres International de Thracologie, Bucarest, 4-10 Septembre 1976*, Bucharest 1980, I 429–446.

Zimmermann 1980b = K. Zimmermann, 'Tätowierte Thrakerinnen auf Griechischen Vasenbildern', *JDAI* 95 (1980) 163–196.

Zimonyi 2019 = Á. Zimonyi, 'Did Jordanes Read Hippocrates? The Impact of Climatic Factors on nomads in the *Getica* of Jordanes', in C. Hao (ed.), *Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and their Sedentary Neighbours,* Szeged 2019, 333–346.

Zizza 2014 = C. Zizza, 'Aristotele, i popoli anellenici della *Politica* e l'*exemplum* degli Achei e degli Eniochi del Ponto. Modelli e antimodelli?', in A. Gonzales & M.T. Schettino (eds.), *L'idéalisation de l'autre. Faire un modèle d'un anti-modèle*, Besançon 2014, 115–155.

Zwicker 1934 = J. Zwicker, *Fontes historiae religionis celticae*, Berlin 1934.

Стшиговский 1892 = Й. Стшиговский, 'Византийский памятник, найденный в Керчи в 1891. Изслѣдованіе проф. Ios. Стржиговскаго', *Материалы по археологии России* 8 (1892) 5–22.

Шаров 2009 = О. Шаров, 'Блюдо с Изображением Триумфа Императора Из Склепа Гордиковых в Керчи', *Боспорские Чтения* 10 (2009) 508–514.