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

© Suomen Ateenan-Instituutin säätiö (Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens), Helsinki 2025

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

Polyphemus, Galatea, Herakles: Myths of Origin for Northerners

Antti Lampinen

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the ways in which Greeks – and Romans, too, often modelling their stories on the Greek ones – conceptualised different northern groups through divine, heroic or monstrous genealogies and origin stories. These were a very potent and cognitively efficient way of 'marking' the northerners; frequently, they were used to explain the origin of purported northern characteristics, as well as making these groups, their customs, and their place in the world familiar or at least comprehensible. This was particularly common in the Hellenistic era, when the first shock of the Galatian or Gallic threats brought to the foreground the need to localise and circumscribe these newly important barbarian groups. Some of the myths and connection-building techniques were already well-established, and this chapter will thus begin from the important role of the Herodotean Scythians and Thracians. It is hypothesised that they would have wielded a formative influence on the subsequent tradition of writing about the North.

Aetiological narratives – that is, origin stories – played an important role in later ancient contexts, too.[1] In particular, the active connection-building between the Greco-Roman and Gallic pasts in the period from the Cimbric Wars (113–101 BCE) to the Augustan era (27 BCE to 14 CE) made prominent use of mythological figures and narratives. Greek mythographers were at this point actively engaging with the traditions of the Romans and the peoples that they had subjugated, using the open-endedness of the Hellenic stories of their travelling heroes to map the world's diverse peoples onto already-existing templates. Basing this chapter on recent scholarship on founding narratives and aetiologies, I hope to investigate the flexibility of these origin stories and the way they were used to explain, affirm and encapsulate the qualities of newly encountered or conquered peoples – ethnically framed traits that were commonly shared as cultural stereotypes.[2] Some of the stories presented in Augustan mythography – such as those included by Diodorus Siculus in his *Bibliotheca* – demonstrate how the literary and ideological continuum within the broader 'Long Hellenistic Age' (extending all the way until the second century CE, and even beyond) allowed for ingenious reordering and adaptation of the traditional components in the inherited archive of stereotypes and the associated literary *topoi*.[3]

Aetiologies offered a technique for putting northern barbarian peoples in their place, both in terms of appropriating the right to 'know' their true affiliations and origins,

---

[1] For ethnographical aetiologies see Fromentin & Gotteland (eds.) 2001; studying aetiologies has much in common with the methodology of studying foundation myths, see Mac Sweeney 2015, esp. 3–10.

[2] See e.g. Vlassopoulos 2013a; Delattre 2017; Harder 2021. The pool of 'common sense' representations of the world was also relevant to these: Thiering 2014, 267–290.

[3] For the term 'Long Hellenistic Age', see Chaniotis 2018, 5 and *passim*; also see the discussion in Whitmarsh 2017. On Diodorus in particular, see Ambaglio 2008.

and of being able to derive conclusions about their nature from this 'projected knowledge'. Though not necessarily discriminatory in itself, the mechanics of this sort of epistemic ordering have colonialist analogies.[4] Aetiologies proliferated in the Hellenistic context, producing learned, mythologising etymologies and aetiologies found in many scholarly writers of the age.[5] Mythological characters are often crucial for such origin-stories, and equally often an aetiological narrative is used to explain some cultural practice or even a ritual or other religious peculiarity, whether among an ingroup or an outgroup.[6]

Aetiological narratives are not only a mythographical device, but are also frequently met in ethnographical writing. In an ethnically framed context, the symbolic aspects of an aetiological origin story are often used to convey characteristics held to be typical of the group in question. When told about an outgroup, the aetiological story can also give indications of their relationship with the ingroup's own heroes and divinities. One example of such multi-layered signifying of cultural standards and belonging is Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, where the Greek title character evokes the cannibalistic ritual crime of Tantalus, her own ancestor. In addition to her own quasi-sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis, this is certainly part of the symbolic 'aptness' that made Iphigenia suited for the role of priestess of the human-sacrificing Taurians, who may have become known to Euripides' Athenian audience only as recently as Herodotus' work.[7]

For aetiology, names are very important indeed. Often a perceived similarity of a name or a folk etymology carries much evidentiary value in an aetiological story. Giving a population group an eponymic ancestor was one fundamental way of building ancestral trees of descent and placing the barbarians into some sort of relation with what was already known. When describing an outgroup in an 'etic' mode, eponymic ancestors were almost always named after the already-existing group name, in an exact reversal of the purported direction of such a derivation.[8] With many northerners, for instance, the travelling demigod Herakles seemed to offer a plausible ancestor through his descendants – especially as his derring-do, muscular physique and fits of extreme violence resembled the stereotypes that the Greeks and Romans tended to associate with northern peoples.[9] This chapter will, in consequence, see many permutations of such Heraklean/Herculean ancestries, as well as some interesting alternatives for them. Taken as a whole, they serve well to illustrate the remarkable combination of flexibility and formality that characterises the tradition of northern ethnographies.

---

[4] On epistemic ordering, see Bhabha 1994, 92–120. Webster 1996 on colonial discourse; cf. Geus 2015 on conquest and geography in antiquity.

[5] Cf. Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 49–50.

[6] The Greek use of mythological aetiologies or heroic itineraries in relating to outsiders is emphasised by Vlassopoulos 2013b, 165–186, who underscores the 'textualisation' of Greek ethnocentrism.

[7] Eur. *IT* 380–391. See Wolff 1992, 309–312; Nagy 2009, 44–47, 50–51, 81, 107, 184. On Taurians probably being unknown in Athens before Herodotus' mention of them and their cruel rites, and on Euripides' dependence on the Herodotean description, see Hall 1989, 111–113 (but cf. Kyriakou 2006, 20–21). See also Scullion 1999, 225–230 (cf. Seaford 2009, 230–234); Bremmer 2013, 87–88, 98–100.

[8] E.g. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάζα, deriving it from Azon, son of Herakles. For the dynamics of eponymous ancestors, see Wiseman 1974; Patterson 2010; also rather pertinently Woolf 2009, 214.

[9] Stereotypical northerners as muscular, violent and brave: e.g. Cic. *Font.* 5, 12; Vell. Pat. 2.106.2, 117.3; Flor. 1.37; Anon. Lat. *De Physiogn.* 14, 79; Amm. Marc. 15.12.1–2; Maur. *Strat.* 11.3. On the theories behind these images, see Goldman 2016; Langum 2018. On Hercules, see Bonnet & Jourdain-Annequin (eds.) 1992 and 1996; Bonnet & al. (eds.) 1998; Stafford 2012.

2. Explaining and situating the Galatae

An instructive example of what aetiological narratives achieve with names is the group of origin stories through which the Hellenistic era reacted to the sudden prominence of Galatae. It is likely that the ethnonym Galatae (*Galatai*) either appeared in Greek during the immediate aftermath of the attacks of 280–278 BCE, or at any rate became more widely used only then. Certainly, the name came to be treated as a synonym for the pre-existing *Keltoi* within a short period of time. This is to be expected during an epistemic crisis, where the identity of a newly threatening outgroup needs to be defined in relation to what is already known. The first attestation of *Galatai*, however, has been variously attributed; Hieronymus of Cardia, Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, and a funerary epigram attributed to Anyte of Tegea have all been suggested, but if Pausanias' report of the epitaph of the fallen Athenian youth Kydias is correct, it probably predates all of these.[10] Based on the Byzantine *Etymologicum Magnum*, Timaeus of Tauromenium (d. *ca*. 260 BCE) may have been the first writer to use the toponym 'Galatia', but it is difficult to say whether he meant by it the area of Asia Minor later so called. The focus of his reference is in fact on the mythological pedigree of the eponymous Galatos or Galates, son of Cyclops (perhaps Polyphemus?) and Galatea.[11] Appian includes among the aetiologies of his *Illyrica* a rather complex, at least partly Timaean, interweaving of barbarian genealogies in the Balkans: the three sons of Polyphemus and Galatea – Celtus, Illyrius and Galas – give rise to groups named after them.[12] Notable are the simultaneous eponyms for Celts and Galatians, as well as the localisation of their descendants in Balkan lands, the staging area of the attacks towards Delphi.

Timaeus exemplifies the Hellenistic use of aetiologies: using minor mythological characters as his material, he connected previously known figures to new peoples or areas by creating 'eponymous' ancestors named after population groups – all the while introducing (or maintaining) tragic or pathetic elements. It is easy to see how as a Sicilian himself, Timaeus might have been interested in an origin story that made the newly significant Celts and Galatians the offspring of Cyclopes – mythical figures with a strong connection to Sicily.[13] It has even been suggested, principally in Italian scholarship, that the Galatea aetiology may have been promoted by Dionysius I of Syracuse, who employed 'Celtic' mercenaries and may have wished to familiarise and even 'Hellenise' his barbarian employees to some extent.[14] The story of Polyphemus' love for Galatea had been known since at least the late fourth century BCE and seems solidly connected with Sicily, but it had evidently not been connected with barbarians by the authors who

---

[10] Dinan 1911, 93 and Collis 2003, 18 for Hieronymus; Cahen 1930, 187 for Callimachus; Jullian 1908, 319 n. 1 for 'Anyte' as preserved in *Anth. Gr.* 7.492; and Nachtergael 1977, 13–14 n. 17 for Kydias' epitaph via Paus. 10.21.5.

[11] Tim. *BNJ* 566 F 69 *ap. EtMag s.v.* Γαλατία: Χώρα· ὠνομάσθη (ὥς φησι Τίμαιος) ἀπὸ Γαλάτου, Κύκλωπος καὶ Γαλατίας υἱοῦ.

[12] App. *Ill.* 2, 10, deriving Celts, Illyrians, and Galatae from three sons of Polyphemus and Galatea, Celtus, Illyrius and Galas. As López Sánchez 2018, 191 notes, the descendants of Illyrius in Appian are the eponyms of a range of Balkan groups: Autarieus, Dardanus, Scordiscus and Triballus. Cf. also Iun. Philarg. *Expl. in Verg. Buc.* (rec. II) *ad* 1.5. See Anello 1984.

[13] Martin 2011, 78–83; on the fixing of the Cyclopes' localisation in Sicily: Buxton 2017, 57–61.

[14] Sordi 1990, 168; Braccesi 1991a, 90–91; Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 164; Castiglioni 2014, 28–29, 31–32.

referred to it, such as Timaeus' contemporary, the historian Duris of Samos (*ca*. 350–280 BCE).[15]

Whether or not the figure of Galas/Galatos/Galates existed before Timaeus, his invention (or reapplication) demonstrates the attractiveness of cyclopean-barbarian pedigrees.[16] A perfect aetiology, it explained both the mental and physical traits of Galatians. The impious, cruel, and culturally primitive Cyclops lent substance to a race who derived their name – along with their pale northern skin – from a son of the 'milk-white' Galatea. Mental associations of sexual violence suffered by 'Greek' women at the hands of 'barbarian' savages may also have been one intention behind the pairing. Such mythicised origins responded to a need among the Hellenistic Greeks to accommodate the new barbarian invaders into their established worldview. No wonder, then, that the aetiology deriving Galatae from Polyphemus (or an unnamed Cyclops) and Galatea was taken up in the poetic reactions to the Galatian onslaught. The connection is implicit in a fragment from Callimachus' hexameter epyllion *Galatea*, which mentions Brennus rousing a group 'from near the western sea' to lead them straight 'against the Greeks'.[17] The emphasis on the plundering of the Delphic sanctuary as the Galatians' fundamental motivation lends some support to Alan Cameron's suggestion that *Galatea* could have been performed at the Delphic *Soteria* festival.[18] In any case, the fragments of *Galatea*, when taken together with the *Hymn to Delos*, show that the same historical event could be explored by the same poet in two different genres, and with two sets of mythological *exempla* used to circumscribe the new barbarians.[19]

Greek aetiologies also incorporated North Italian groups into their orbit. These origin stories were understandably of great interest to Roman writers as well. They offer further evidence of the importance of names and purported etymologies for locating the barbarians within Greek mythological narratives. Veneti, the dominant group of the north-east of the Apennine peninsula in modern-day Veneto, were mentioned in Greek sources since Herodotus' time, as were the Ligures of the north-west.[20] Polybius' criticism of earlier fanciful 'tragedians' writing on the Veneti may indicate that some of the connections of the area with Greek mythological figures could be of relatively

---

15 Duris *BNJ* 76 F 58 *ap. Schol. in Theocr.* 6f (Wendel p. 189.18); on the early version in Philoxenus of Cythera's *Cyclops*, composed in the context of Dionysius I's Syracuse: Hordern 1999. See also Buxton 2017, 57–58; on Duris see Hau 2025, 26–47, esp. 27.

16 Baron 2013, 134 thinks Timaeus may well have been responsible for creating the link.

17 Callim. *Galat.* F 379 (Pfeiffer) *ap. Schol. in Dionys. Per.* 74: οὓς Βρέννος ἀφ' ἑσπερίοιο θαλάσσης ἤγαγεν Ἑλλήνων ἐπ' ἀνάστασιν; on the dating: Fraser 1972, I 659 with n. 352 in II b 925; Rankin 1987, 81–82, based on Pfeiffer 1949, 206. Also see Giuseppetti 2012, 488; Grimaldi 2023, 167. The same idea of intentional expedition is repeated in the Callim. *Hymn* 4.171–176.

18 Cameron 1995, 66, 281–282; on the sanctuary-looting theme, see Cain 2002. If both the Callimachean F 379 and F 621 (Pfeiffer) come from his *Galatea*, replete with mythological aetiologies, it could be proposed that Callimachus composed it to celebrate the Aetolian victory over the original invaders (whether or not the piece was performed at Delphi), or at least that *Galatea* was a work commissioned by someone with contacts to the Aetolian League, eager to politicise their defence of Delphi (Platt 2011, 155). Fraser 1972, I 582 suggested something similar regarding the *Anth. Gr.* 13.25, seemingly composed for Timodemus of Naucratis, who set it up at the temple of Demeter Pylaea at Thermopylae, a shrine at the time connected with Aetolians.

19 Cf. Barbantani 2011, 181.

20 Hdt. 5.9.2; *Ligyes* is probably also a likelier ethnonym than *Libyes* as a people bordering Rhône in Phileas Ath. (*FGrH* 2038) F 1 *ap.* Avien. *Ora* 693–696: Morley 2024, 919 fn. 169.

early date.[21] The inspiration in the first place may have been the similarity between their ethnonym and the Homeric *Enetoi* (Ἐνετοί).[22] Together with their westerly neighbours the Euganei, the Veneti were perceived already during the Roman Middle Republic as groups descended from Greeks, or in the case of the Veneti, the Trojans.[23] On the Greek origins of the Euganei, Pliny the Elder refers to Cato: they originated from the 'well-born' (*eugeneis*, εὐγενεῖς) Greeks among the frostbitten soldiers whom Hercules left behind as he crossed the Alps on returning from the west.[24] Like Romans, the Veneti had absorbed quite a range of Etruscan influences, and Romans saw them as useful allies against the *Galli*, who were increasingly portrayed as external intruders into Italy.[25] This was no doubt an important motivation for the Trojan origin story, both among themselves and the Romans. Mythographically articulated 'middle ground processes' like these were also used for assimilating the mythical origins of Gallic groups and Romans during the Augustan period.[26] Strabo gives examples of the mythical stories connected with the area, mentioning both the story of Phaethon – also explaining the origins of amber – and the honours received by Diomedes among the Veneti, which include the sacrifice of a white horse. Two sacred precincts to the Argive Hera and the Aetolian Artemis substantiate the connections.[27] Aetiologies could be used to familiarise and explain local cultic specialities among groups whose ritual life was not deemed too strange. The rest, however – such as wild animals becoming tame in these sanctuaries – Strabo dismisses as fiction.

3. Greek heroes among the northerners

One of the enduring themes of Greco-Roman aetiology was the use of mythistorical 'travelling heroes' to provide connections between the Greek worldview and barbarian groups. Renaud Gagné has recently compared the divine and heroic travels as a kind of ancient Greek GIS system, creating connections and meanings throughout the world.[28] We saw just above how the well-born dropouts from Hercules' army were thought to have given rise to the North Italian Euganei. Most of the time the possibility of presenting a Greek hero as the ancestor to a barbarian group seems to have been more appealing than sticking with purely local aetiologies. This may be partly due to the evocative associations with a given foreign group's characteristics that a well-known Greek hero, each with their proverbial strengths and weaknesses, afforded the audiences.

As an instructive example, we may cite Herodotus' spotlight on Herakles as the progenitor of the Scythians, which stands at the beginning of a long tradition of portraying

---

[21] Polyb. 2.17.6. Timaeus is likely behind Polyb. 2.16.15; cf. the Phaethon myth in Tim. *BNJ* 566 F 164 *ap.* Diod. Sic. 5.23.2–5.

[22] Hom. *Il.* 2.851–855.

[23] Cato *FRHist* 5 F 58 *ap.* Plin. *HN* 3.130; later e.g. Just. 20.1.8; Livy 1.1.1–3; Str. 5.1.4.

[24] Cato *FRHist* 5 F 59 *ap.* Plin. *HN* 3.134.

[25] Williams 2001, 77–78, 100–140, 207–212 on the dissociating potential of the ancient claims about Gallic 'externality' to Italy. On the Italian Gauls, Häussler 2018. On Veneti, see Capuis 1993; Lomas 2018.

[26] On 'middle grounds' (White 1991) as contexts where ethnographic narratives and interpretations are generated through interaction between local informants and enquirers with preconceived ideas, Woolf 2011, 27–28, 111–114.

[27] Str. 5.1.9.

[28] Gagné 2021, 150.

northerners as Heraclids.[29] After reporting the Scythians' own opinion about their origins and expressing his doubts about their progenitor Targitaos being the progeny of Zeus and a daughter of the river Borysthenes, Herodotus sets out a version attributed to the Pontic Greeks.[30] When returning to Greece with the cattle of Geryon, Herakles was forced to pitch camp due to cold weather and storms (a plausible detail localising the action in the North). His steeds went missing, and in searching for them in the area of Hylaea ('Woodland', situated near the Greek colony of Olbia) he found a 'biform young woman' (*mixoparthenos*) in a cave, an 'Echidna' with a female upper body and lower parts of a snake.[31] She admitted to having Herakles' horses, but promised to return them in exchange for sex; she became pregnant with three sons during the hero's prolonged stay, and according to the will of Herakles the sons were to prove their pedigree by stretching their father's bow and girding themselves with his belt. The youngest, Scythes, was able to do these things – becoming the eponymic forefather of Scythians – while the two elder ones, Agathyrsos and Gelonos, were cast aside by their mother and wandered to other areas to become the eponyms of other northern groups.

Geloni, the eponymous descendants of the middle brother, were connected in Herodotus' account to the great wooden city of Gelonus (possibly the fortification identified at modern Bilsk in Ukraine), which they built in the Budinian indigenous lands. The Geloni are said to have been originally Greeks and speak 'a language half-Greek and half-Scythian'.[32] So while they clearly took their name from Herakles' Scythian son, the Geloni are nonetheless also descended from Greeks who left their trading outposts to settle among the Budini. Tangled ancestries in the forest steppe notwithstanding, already-existing group names were almost always at the root of forming names for their eponymous ancestors. Geographical knowledge helped in 'discovering' these connections and justifying the Greek presence along the far-away shores. From a much later period, for instance, we can point to the way in which the Imperial-era epichoric historian Domitius Callistratus brought Pontic genealogies into play when he referred to Mariandynos – an eponym of the Mariandyni on the southern shore of the Black Sea – as the son of Cimmerios – clearly another eponymous ancestor for the famed Cimmerians, whose attestations were already Homeric.[33] As a local historian of the city of Heraclea Pontica, which had founded many colonies around the Pontus and had a lively tradition of epichoric historiography (cf. Promathidas, Herodorus and Nymphis before him and Memnon probably after him), Callistratus was rather well-supplied in terms of Heracleot origin stories for different Pontic peoples.[34]

---

[29] Cf. Rusyaeva 2007, 95–96 on Hercules' Scythian descendants stemming from the knowledge-generation processes connected with the Ionian colonisation of the North Pontic area.

[30] Hdt. 4.5–7 (Scythian story) and 4.8–10 (Greek story). For the two versions and the possible pictorial representations of the latter, Olbiopolitan one: Lincoln 2014, 23–26. Also cf. Rusyaeva 2007, 95–96.

[31] Hdt. 4.9 εὑρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιξοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα (originally the Echidna reference must go back to Hes. *Theog.* 297–298); cf. *Comm. in Eth. Nic. VII* 427.38–40, 428.1.

[32] Hdt. 4.108. On the archaeological finds from Bilsk, see Shramko 2021.

[33] Domit. Callistr. *BNJ* 433 *De Heraclea* 2 F 2 *ap. Schol. vet. in Ap. Rhod.* 1.1126–1131a. On the Mariandyni, Theopomp. *BNJ* 115 F 388 *ap.* Str. 12.3.4; Nymph. *BNJ* 432 F 3 *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 2.728–735a, F 5b *ap.* Ath. 14.619f–620a; Pos. F 60 (E-K) *ap.* Ath. 6.263c-d; Callistrat. *BNJ* 348 F 4 *ap.* Ath. 6.263d-e; Str. 8.3.17, 12.3.4; on their relation with Cimmerians, cf. Arr. *BNJ* 156 *Bith.* F 76a *ap.* Eustath. *Comm. in Dionys. Per.* 791. See Burstein 1976, ch. 2.

[34] Herod. Pont. *BNJ* 31 F 49 *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 2.752; Nymph. *BNJ* 432 F 4 *ap. loc. cit.* Indeed, Jacoby (*FGrH* III B, 325–326, 334) considered Domitius Callistratus' fragment much shorter, to be followed by

The 'ethnicising' details of horses, bows, and nomadism are prominently present in Herodotus' story, and the partly monstrous nature of the 'biform young woman', when joined with the physical vigour of Herakles, was an apt metaphor for the Scythians, a barbarous group of warlike peoples with strong bonds with their horses.[35] Moreover, as Askold Ivantchik noted, irrespective of whether the Targitaos or Herakles aetiology is preferred, the forefather would in any case be the son of Zeus – while the mother would in both cases represent the land.[36] Olbia, at the estuary of the Southern Bug, which was one of the middle-grounds between the Greeks and the steppe world north of the Black Sea, had a cult of Herakles, so Herodotus' story may also reflect actual local aetiologies told about the birth of the cults celebrated in the Olbiopolitan Hylaea.[37] Later in this chapter, northern aetiologies featuring Herakles as an ancestor will be taken up in connection with the extraordinary amount of Herculean tales that were elaborated in the Late Republican and Augustan context.

Another hero who was regularly localised in the northern direction was Achilles, who not only enjoyed cults in the North Pontic area, but whose anger, impetuosity, extreme warlike valour, and unpredictable fluctuation between adhering to an honourable code of conduct and flagrantly breaching it in his treatment of vanquished enemies may well have seemed suitably 'northern' characteristics.[38] The idea of Scythia as 'Achilles' land', and the reinforcing presence of a cult site containing his reputed grave on the island of Leuke (or Snake Island, nowadays part of Ukraine), stem broadly from the same context of Milesian colonisation as the epistemic appeal of the Herodotean story of the Scythians' Heraklean ancestry.[39] This connection lived on as late as in the era of the Second Sophistic.[40] In Dio Chrysostom's speech *Borysthenitic*us, the old idea of Achilles being worshipped by inhabitants of the Pontic region does crop up: the Borysthenites' interest in both Homer and Achilles – whom they honour tremendously and to whom they have set up two temples – is explained by them 'still being a warlike people'.[41] Dio is thus using the old idea about the echoes of the Homeric age still existing somewhere along the northern fringes of the world; in his case, neither the Celts nor the Germans, but rather the Helleno-Scythian inhabitants of Olbia, are the carriers of the heroic tradition.[42] Their worship of Achilles is both an authenticating detail and a marker of their warlike and archaic character.

Promathidas *FGrH* 430 *De Heracl.* F 1 *ap. loc. cit.* about Cimmerios.

35 Cf. Stafford 2012, 146; see also the very rich discussion in Visintin 2000; as well as Hinge 2008, 375–378.

36 Ivantchik 2001, 208.

37 Braund 2007, 47–48; cf. West 2000 and 2007 on Herodotus' inquiries through Olbia; Kryzhitskiy 2005; Dan 2014a, 50 on the 'invention of local traditions' and their ethnographic characteristics.

38 E.g. *Il.* 1.1–2, 22.395, 23.176. On Achilles in the Pontic area, see Schauenburg 1974; Ferrari Pinney 1983; Hedreen 1991; Skinner 2012, 166–168; Rabadjiev 2018; Oller Guzmán 2021.

39 On Achilles' cult on the island of Leuke, see Rusyaeva 2003, 4, 11; Okhotnikov 2006; Braund 2007, 51–54; Popova 2015; Kamenou 2021; see also Ilyushechkina in this volume.

40 Pind. *Nem.* 4.45–50 already refers to the cultic ascription. Later, see [Scyl.] *Peripl.* 68; Str. 7.3.19; Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 21–23; Dionys. Per. 543–548; [Arr.] *Eux.* 93–97 (including a comment on its multitude of tame birds).

41 Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36.9; cf. 36.14 on Achilles as 'our god' according to a young Borysthenite; cf. Bäbler 2002, 320; more broadly Rusyaeva 2007, esp. 95. Later, at 36.25, On Homeric era being found among the contemporary Britons, see Diod. Sic. 5.21.5.

42 Bäbler 2005, 147. See also Hupe 2006.

One broadly aetiological element that crops up early in the literary tradition about northern peoples and that went on to form an enduring theme is the association between northerners and iron, already showcased in Aeschylus' pre-Herodotean conception of the Scythians. *Prometheus Bound* places the Scythians near the Chalybes, the inventors of ironworking and eponyms for the Greek word *khalyps* (χάλυψ).[43] Since *sidēros* (σίδηρος) denotes both iron and a sword, and the adjective *sidēreos* (σιδήρεος) already had connotations of mercilessness in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, such associations had the potential to morph into a moral evaluation. The symbolism of iron is likewise poignant in Hesiod's idea of the ages of humankind.[44] Essentially, the Age of Iron encapsulates several characteristics that came to be linked with barbarian northerners: violence, unscrupulousness, and a disregard for oaths. The rather vigorous motif of Scythian sword-worship originally stems from a combination of ideas about primitive aniconism and the iron symbolism present in these early northern aetiologies.[45] But due to the idealised qualities of some of the northerners situated on the northernmost edges of the *oikoumene*, the Greek tradition ran into inconsistencies when both the Golden Age and the Age of Iron were imagined as holding sway among northern groups.

4. Hyperboreans: timeless northerners in aetiologies

During the Late Republican and Augustan eras, the Hyperboreans seemed to be the only group of northerners who could be justifiably called 'philhellenes': Diodorus Siculus, for instance, used fourth-century BCE material from Hecataeus of Abdera to locate 'philhellenic northerners' among the Hyperboreans on the island of Elixoia (or Helixoia).[46] Diodorus reached them through the familiar way of progressing through the mythogeographical material related to different Scythian peoples. Regarding the Scythians, Diodorus rather interestingly follows otherwise the Herodotean origin myth, but has substituted Herakles with Zeus.[47] This is possibly due to the greater aptness of Herakles as the Gallic ancestor in Diodorus' own era: in the Scythian section Herakles comes up only as a captor of Hippolyta and vanquisher of her Amazons.[48] Diodorus' material about the Amazons includes an otherwise unnamed queen, 'Daughter of Ares', who is credited with instituting many of the stereotypical cultural institutions that were 'known' about Amazons, as well as the cult of Artemis Tauropolos (which Euripides

---

[43] Aesch. *PV* 301, 502, 714–716; Eudox. Cnid. (*GAGW* 6) F 21 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χάλυβες. Later, the motif of Celts wearing iron (weapons) at all times is first found in *IG* II² 1438b 33 and used by Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 105 *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.2.25; the *topos* was to have a long pedigree, e.g. Hdn. 3.14.7. On the northern cosmography of *PV*, see Gagné 2021, 273–277.

[44] Hom. *Il.* 12.357, *Od.* 5.191, 23.172; Hes. *Op.* 175–200.

[45] On aniconism, see Kruta 1992; for a later boreal angle, see Pons 2009; on northerners worshiping a sword, see p. 163, 209.

[46] Diod. Sic. 2.47.4; cf. Str. 4.4.6 on Ephorus' claim of Celts being philhellenes 'not appearing correct nowadays.' See Gagné 2021, 338–349 on Hecataeus' Early-Hellenistic gaze projected into the utmost North; also Jacquemin 2014; cf. Bilić 2021, 53–58.

[47] Diod. Sic. 2.43.3.

[48] Diod. Sic. 2.46.4. On Amazons, see p. 23–24 in this volume's 'Introduction'; also Braund 2025 and Porucznik in this volume.

had explained via Iphigenia's stay among the human-sacrificing Taurians).[49] From the Scythians and Amazons, Diodorus progresses to his discussion of Hyperboreans, though also marking them as legendary.

> Now for our part, since we have thought it was appropriate to make mention of the regions of Asia which lie to the north, we feel that it will not be foreign to our purpose to discuss the legendary accounts of the Hyperboreans. Among those who have written about the ancient myths, Hecataeus and certain others say that, in the regions beyond the land of the Celts, there lies in the Ocean an island no smaller than Sicily. This island, the account continues, is situated in the north and is inhabited by the Hyperboreans. They are labelled with this designation because their home is beyond the point from where the North Wind (Boreas) blows. [...] Moreover, the following legend is told concerning it: Leto was born on this island, and for that reason Apollo is honoured among them above all other gods. In a way, the inhabitants are looked upon as priests of Apollo since they praise this god daily and continuously in song and honour him exceedingly. There is also on the island both a magnificent sacred precinct of Apollo and a notable temple which is adorned with many votive offerings and is spherical in shape. Furthermore, a city is there which is sacred to this god, and the majority of its inhabitants are *kithara*-players. These performers continually play on this instrument in the temple and sing hymns of praise to the god, glorifying his deeds. [...] The kings of this city and the supervisors of the sacred precinct are called Boreads, since they are descendants of Boreas, and the succession to these positions is always kept in their family.[50]

To single out but one of the many traditional themes in this fascinating passage, musicality had been connected with a range of northern groups already for a long time.[51]

Hyperboreans could, however, also be imagined as having left their lands in the furthest North and interacting with the Mediterranean societies – even violently. Plutarch's *Life of Camillus* preserves a fragment from Heraclides Ponticus, who may either be the Platonist writer of the fourth century BCE, or the grammarian Heraclides Ponticus 'the Younger', Plutarch's near-contemporary in the first century CE.[52] Heraclides appears not to have deemed it incongruous to identify the perpetrators of the Sack of Rome as Hyperboreans despite their proverbial pacifism. Alternatively, instead of the traditional mythographical associations, he may have used the word in a purely technical sense for a

---

[49] See p. 21, 37, 80 above, and on the cult of Artemis Tauropolos at Halai, see Scullion 1999, 226–227; Seaford 2009, 231–232.

[50] Hecat. Abd. *BNJ* 264 F 7 *ap*. Diod. Sic. 2.47.1–7 (cf. F 12 *ap.* Ael. *NA* 11.1; also Duris *BNJ* 76 F 86 *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 1.211 on the Boreads being Hyperborean); see Dillery 1998; Piquero Rodríquez 2013; Jacquemin 2014; Bilić 2020, 585f.

[51] E.g. Thamyris the Thracian: *Il.* 2.599–560; Dion. Scytobr. *BNJ* 32 F 8 *ap.* Diod. Sic. 3.67.3; Conon *BNJ* 26 *Narr.* F 1.7 *ap*. Phot. *Bibl*. 186.140a-b; Plin. *HN* 7.204; cf. Paus. 4.33.7; Orpheus' singing severed head: Phanocl. F 1 (*Coll. Alex.*) *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.20b.47; Orpheus gaining power among Odrysae through his music: Max. Tyr. *Dial.* 37.6; Dardanians as wild but extremely musical, Str. 7.5.7; love of music among Ligyes (probably meaning Ligurians): Pl. *Phdr.* 237a and the *scholia ad loc.*; Celts as lovers of music: Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 131b *ap.* [Scymn.] *Nik. Per.* 183–187; the power of Bards among Gauls to both praise and blame: Diod. Sic. 5.31.2. A contrary, disdainful quip should be mentioned, as well: Phil. Op. (*FGrH Cont. IV*) *De Plat.* F 1 *ap. PHerc.* 1021, col. III l. 35–col. V l. 19 (Dorandi) on the singing of a Thracian slave.

[52] Heraclid. Pont. F 102 Wehrli (= Arist. F 610 Rose) *ap.* Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 22; see Mineo 2016, 174–175. On Heraclides Ponticus as a fabulist ('the Elder' in Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.34; 'the Younger' in Ath. 14.649c), Baron 2013, 125.

group from the utmost North, and one that the Greeks recognised as such.[53] The established warlikeness of Thracian and Scythian northerners – in effect, perceiving Scythia as what has been fittingly called 'the heartland of inexplicable hostility' – would no doubt have made this a plausible connection even before the attacks of Celts or Galatae.[54] Heraclides could have presented his information as a way of offering a 'real-life' aetiology for the mythical Hyperboreans, much like Posidonius' identification between Helvetii and Hyperboreans.[55]

Similarly, the probably Alexandrian *Scholia vetera* to Pindar preserve an aetiology for the Hyperboreans by the possibly Hellenistic Pherenicus of Heraclea Pontica; it explains that they originated from the blood of the Titans. This certainly must reflect the Hellenistic tendencies to connect certain northern groups to the legendary enemies of the gods.[56] Another snippet preserved in the scholiastic tradition testifies to the early building of bridges between Hyperboreans and Celts in a version of 'Cyparissus aetiology'. The commentaries to Vergil's *Georgics* attributed to the grammarian Probus cite the fourth-century BCE mythographer Asclepiades of Tragilus, a student of Isocrates, regarding a story in which Boreas, king of the Celts, lost his daughter Cyparissa and became the first to plant cypresses onto a burial mound.[57] Aetiologies could serve a broad range of explanatory functions, even with the northerners, and in this case, Boreas (ordinarily the personification of the North Wind, as we have seen), has been euhemerised into a Celtic king.[58]

The extended Late-Antique commentary on Vergil known as *Servius auctus* or *Servius Danielis* includes a mythologising aetiology which gives further evidence of how the Hyperboreans were used in Hellenistic Greek attempts to locate the Celts – even the ones in Italy – within the already-existing knowledge templates about northerners. In setting out different origins for Pisa, the commentator notes how the eponymous Pisus, son of the Hyperborean Apollo and king of the Celts (*Celtarum*) founded the city after killing a Samnite king in collaboration with the latter's wife.[59] The ethnonym *Celtae*, rare in Latin, makes it likely that Servius' source was originally written in Greek, and that the piece thus represents the Greek aetiological tradition. The motif of eponymous descendants of Greek divinities resembles the way Augustan authors ascribed Herculean origins to Gallic groups, but the inclusion of Apollo, despite his many mythological connections to Hyperborea, is surprising; particularly so in connection with a group of northern barbarians producing the eponymous founder for an Italian city. Generally, Apolline aetiologies are rare among the origins of northern groups, although Cisalpine Gaul (Northern Italy) has been noted as an area where a certain Apolline presence lingers

---

53 Some have taken the Κελτοί/Hyperboreans identification literally: Zecchini 1984, 21 (cf. *id.* 2020, 56); Bridgman 2005, 65, 119. It may, however, be significant that Plutarch doubts Heraclides (as noted above, both men of this name had a fabulist's reputation), and then refers to Aristotle as having spoken 'accurately' about the taking of the city by Κελτοί, probably in a pseudepigraphic work.

54 Merrills 2005, 56.

55 See below p. 91. On Heraclides' information deriving from Fabius Pictor, see the suggestions of Humm 2017.

56 *Schol. in Pind. Ol.* 3.28a, though his Hyperboreans are still ignorant of war: see the discussion in Gagné 2021, 384–385. Pherenicus wrote of fabulous creatures and mythological subjects (Tzetz. *Chil.* 7.144, l. 651). Parallels between the Cyclopes of the *Odyssey* and the image of the nomad are discussed in Shaw 1982, 21–24.

57 Ascl. Trag. *BNJ* 12 F 19 *ap.* [Prob.] *Comm. ad Verg. G.* 2.84. See Cameron 2004, 186f.; Freeman 1996, 25–26.

58 On Boreas, see also p. 5, 12, 39, 61–63.

59 *Serv. Dan. ad Aen.* 10.179.

– possibly due to the rehashing by local Roman and Romanising elites of old localisations of Phaethon myths that originally sprung up in connection with the amber-ports of the Northern Adriatic shore.[60] The Vergilian commentator's mention of the Samnites may open up some paths for tentative interpretation. Due to the battle of Sentinum, the alliance between the Samnites and the Senones was known to Greek historians such as Duris of Samos.[61] The information is therefore likely to have arisen in connection with Greek discussions about the relationship between Rome's enemies in that battle. The pattern of using eponymous mythological founders to foreshadow the Roman domination of a recently conquered area was repeated with variations. Only a little later in Servius' commentary, the scholiast gives a Herculean origin for Mantua, named after Manto, daughter of Hercules, who had founded Felsina-Bononia on Gallic lands.[62]

5. From Hyperboreans to historical enemies in Republican Italy

Around the time of the battle of Sentinum (295 BCE), the Senones had become identified as the group that had once sacked Rome. This same horizon also motivated the creation of the Civitalba Frieze, a monument significant for representing the first known occasion when the Greek iconography of triumphing over Galatae was drafted to serve Roman purposes.[63] The Romans' harsh treatment of the Senones – justified by the claims of their having been responsible for the Gallic Sack, as well as a possibly more historical accusation of the Senones having butchered Roman envoys – was duly passed down in the literary tradition.[64] It also led to a highly interesting aetiology, which only surfaces in the anonymous Late-Antique commentaries to the works of Prudentius. A perplexing passage meant to elucidate *Against Symmachus* brings together five separate elements: the god Liber (the Romans' name for Dionysus), the ethnographic motif of Gallic hospitality, a Greek etymology for the name of the Senones, their cruel treatment after the eventual Roman conquest, and an aetiology of the *Galli*-priests of Magna Mater. When Liber returned victorious from his Eastern campaign, he was entertained most hospitably by coastal Gauls in Italy: he came to call his hosts *Xenones*, from the Greek *xenodokheion* (ξενοδοχεῖον). The initial consonant is noted to have mutated to *S*, giving *Senones*. The aetiology goes on to note that the Romans decimated this group harshly, castrating every male they could lay hands upon – this is said to be the reason for calling eunuchs *Galli*.[65]

---

[60] Cf. p. 83, 88, 224 in this volume; also Compatangelo-Soussignan 2012. An exceptional Apolline genealogy – via Galates, who is here thought of as his son – is given to the Galatae in Eustath. *Comm. in Dionys. Per.* 69.

[61] Polyb. 2.19.6. Duris *BNJ* 76 F 56a *ap.* Diod. Sic. 21.6.1; further affirmed by F 56b *ap.* Tzetz. *Schol. in Lycoph.* 1378. Discussed in Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 159–161.

[62] *Serv. Dan. ad Aen.* 10.198.

[63] Oakley 2005, 209. For Senones as responsible for the loss at Allia and the Sack: Livy 5.34.5, 35.3; Diod. Sic. 14.113.3; Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 15.2 (though Simyl. *De Tarpeia* 724 *SH ap.* Plut. *Vit. Rom.* 17.7 with 'Boii and the numberless tribes of Celts'). Cf. Livy 10.26.7–12. For the Civitalba Frieze, see Marszal 2000; Roy 2024, 19–20.

[64] Roman severity towards conquered Senones: Polyb. 2.19.9. On the Senones killing the Roman envoys in 283 BCE: Polyb. 2.19.7–11 (see Berger 1992, 119); Livy *Per*. 12; App. *Samn*. 6 *ap. Exc. de legat*. *Rom.* 2 (see Rosenstein 2012, 36–38), *Celt*. 11.4 *ap. Exc. de legat. Rom.* 5.

[65] *Comm. anon. in Prudent*. (p. 168 ed. Burnam 1910) *ap. C. Symm. ad* 2.688. Gallic hospitality being something of a *topos* from at least the Hellenistic era onwards, as we noted in the 'Introduction', 39.

Such origin stories locating Hyperboreans (or indeed Liber-Dionysus) in Italy seem far removed from the shocks that northerners caused Romans during the Cimbric Wars, and it is quite likely that most of them were put forward before the turn of the last century BCE. It was in the years between 112 and 101 BCE, after half a century of relative calm and unchallenged hegemony on Rome's northern borders, that many of the old Roman fears of the northerners were reawakened and reinforced. Northern Greece saw barbarian troubles around the same time and in the following decade. Roman confidence was most severely dented by the defeat suffered by the consular army of Servilius Caepio in Arausio (105 BCE). Soon after, stories arose about how Caepio had earlier plundered a holy treasure of the Gallic Tectosages at Tolosa, and how it might have turned away the supernatural favour Romans had enjoyed. This was later explained through the loot being a 'cursed treasure' originally removed from Delphi, and Caepio's defeat the actualisation of divine punishment.[66] The threat of the Cimbri, Teutones and other associated groups emphasised not only the idea of rapacious and hostile northerners, but also the Alps as a providential *tutamen* of Italy.[67] This newest group of northern *gentes vagae* ('wandering peoples') inflicted a series of defeats upon Romans, breached the Alps, and plundered both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and Spain; the resulting shock went on to colour most of the Late-Republican texts on European barbarians. It is easy to see how there arose a need to use aetiologies to epistemically anchor the Cimbri and Teutones into the pre-existing tradition about northerners.

Posidonius of Apamea (*ca*. 135–51 BCE) has often been thought of as the 'first true field anthropologist' who wrote an invaluable description of the Gauls, but it is worth noting that the fragments of his historical work are all preserved by authors writing after Caesar.[68] Posidonius was also not averse to including armchair aetiologies when discussing European barbarians. His handling of the earlier mythical material about Hyperboreans is a good demonstration of how he sought to harmonise his received literary elements with his contemporary conditions. It also exemplifies the way his ethnographical elements were geared towards explaining in broadly aetiological terms the connections between northern groups that loomed large in Roman thinking. Fragment 270, preserved among the *scholia* to the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, is a garbled but intriguing reference to Posidonius' claim that Hyperboreans in fact existed, and lived around the Alps.[69] Herodotus had famously been sceptical about the existence of Hyperboreans – a view which the scholiast notes – and Posidonius may have attempted to reconcile the epic ethnonym with his contemporary situation.[70] In this, his method resembles that of Heraclides Ponticus (seen above), but it also allowed Posidonius to

---

[66] Pos. F 273 (E-K) *ap.* Str. 4.1.13 reasoned against Delphic provenance; Just. 32.3.8–11. Having survived the battle, Caepio was prosecuted for sacrilege and banished: Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.74; Gell. *NA* 3.9.7.

[67] Kerremans 2016, 6 on *tumultus* as a state of emergency when an enemy had breached the Alps. See also Carlà-Uhink 2017; Giorcelli Bersani 2019; Lampinen 2021b. Cf. Roy 2024, 28 on the shock's effect on coin imagery.

[68] Dodds 1973, 19 'the first true field anthropologist'; cf. Momigliano 1975, 67–73; Dobesch 1995, 60f.; Freeman 2006, 4, 148; Martin 2011, 23–34, 49, 68–69; Nash 1976, 111 issued a plea for a more balanced assessment. See also Lampinen 2014a.

[69] Pos. F 270 (E-K) *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 2.675. Laffranque 1964, 207; Dobesch 1995, 106–107; Marco Simón 2000, 133; Giurovich 2007. In numbering and delineating the Posidonian fragments I follow the edition of Edelstein & Kidd 1972-1999, lauded for its rigorous definition of a securely attested fragment (e.g. Algra 1991).

[70] Hdt. 4.36.

pose an alternative to Eratosthenes' view (cited by Strabo), which advocated dropping the use of 'Hyperboreans' when speaking of contemporary groups.[71] The original context of Posidonius' Hyperborean passage is uncertain, but while it is possible that he was offering a euhemerising *aition*, it would not be unparalleled within the tradition for this note to exist in the intermediate space between mythogeography and ethnography. In this knowledge frame, historians, geographers, and mythographers were all able to operate within the parameters of inherited elements, while offering their own interpretations of the material's relationship with their current worldview.[72]

We can get a better idea of what Posidonius was in fact trying to achieve in his own context with his Hyperborean aetiology by taking up another of his fragments, F 272. In detailing the peoples encountered by the westward-wandering Cimbri, Posidonius included a detail about how the Helvetii, 'peaceable men rich in gold', were induced to join the Cimbri after they witnessed the even greater amount of gold that the invaders had gathered.[73] This is probably the original context of Posidonius' Hyperboreans in F 270, too. In other words, Posidonius wanted to euhemeristically associate the peaceable and bounteous Hyperboreans of myth with the Helvetii of his own day. To aid in this, the Alps were further etymologised by Posidonius into 'Olbian Mountains', and from them into the Rhipaean mountains of legend, behind which the Hyperboreans were said to live.[74] Corresponding to Posidonius' 'Hyperborean' Helvetii are his 'Cimmerian' Cimbri: the equation is preserved in Strabo.[75] The Cimbric wanderings gave occasion for Posidonius to not only suggest an emendation to previous conjectures regarding the mythical Hyperboreans, but also to gratify the curiosity of his Roman patrons and to moralise about the influence of wealth on the character of peoples, in itself a topic for self-reflection in the Later Roman Republic.[76] The same moralising stance is quite visible in Athenaeus' story – apparently deriving from Posidonius – about the Scordisci banning gold altogether from their lands in memory of the horrors they had endured after the Delphic attack.[77]

---

[71] Str. 1.3.22. Another fragment in which Posidonius sought to reconcile Homeric ethnonyms and geography with his current-day understanding is F 276 *ap.* Str. 7.3.2–7 on the Mysians and *Il.* 13.3–5.

[72] Cf. the discussion by Dan & al. 2014, 31–34 on the ancient worldviews studied through the concept of 'common sense geography'.

[73] Pos. F 272 (E-K) *ap.* Str. 7.2.1–2 (cf. 4.3.3). The Cimbri would have been a natural choice for such a moralising tale, since their vast and disruptive wanderings seemed to have been motivated by depredation; cf. Kidd 1989, 47; also Potter 2020, 359.

[74] F 240a (E-K) *ap.* Ath. 6.233d. See Kidd 1988, II 919 comparing F 270 with F 240a in their euhemeristic method; also Giurovich 2007.

[75] F 272 (E-K) *ap.* Str. 7.2.2. Alps were also interpreted as Rhipaean mountains by Protarchus of Tralles (*FGH* 4 F 2 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὑπερβόρειοι), whose dating, however, is insecure: he may not have been much removed from Posidonius, and wrote on Italian matters. Str. 5.4.5 preserves Ephorus' much earlier but formally similar rationalising attempt to explain the Homeric 'Cimmerians' (*BNJ* 70 F 134a; cf. Eudox. Rhod. *BNJ* 79 F 2 *ap.* Apoll. *Mir.* 24; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γέρμαρα). On the Cimbri-Cimmerians equation, e.g. Dobesch 1995, 63–70. Hecataeus of Abdera (F 8 *ap.* Str. 7.3.6) may have spoken of 'Cimmeris', a city of Hyperboreans: Dillery 1998, 266.

[76] On wealth in Posidonius, Hau 2016, 168. On the sumptuary regulations and moralising accusations of *luxuria*, see Levick 1982; Evans 2008, 100, 125–127.

[77] Ath. 6.234b (= Pos. F 240a E-K). Scordisci were sometimes considered Celtic (*SIG*^{3} 710 A-B = *CIL* I^2 692; Livy *Per.* 63; Cass. Dio 22.74.1) and sometimes (more on the basis of geography, perhaps) a Paeonian group: Phlg. Trall. *BNJ* 257 F 20 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σκορδίσκοι; for the central Balkan groups, see Papazoglu 1978.

6. Thracians: violent and impious descendants of Ares

In stark contrast with the Hyperboreans, nobody in either the Hellenistic or the Roman eras had any doubt about where the Thracians lived. The obvious continuum in calling the region they inhabited *Thracia*, as well as the use of many of the inherited group names, enabled many of the myths and literary elements to be used with confidence and gave little reason for doubting either their referent groups or the customs described.[78] As Despoina Tsiafaki has showed in a number of studies, Thracians were perhaps the most significant group of northerners in the early Greek mental map.[79] Scholarship has tended to agree that the Hellenic clash with Persia in the early fifth century BCE deeply affected the Greeks' way of relating to foreign societies.[80] Yet the change was not uniform. Northern groups were little affected by this first period of heightened use of the imagery of the hostile barbarian. Mythical exemplars of Thracians had been showcased in Classical literature quite extensively, and even in different aetiological tales they were frequently portrayed through generalised 'barbarian' negative stereotypes. The inherited figures included the greedy Polymestor in Euripides' *Hecuba* and the violent and impious king Tereus, son of Ares, who raped his sister-in-law Philomela and tried to hide his deed by cutting her tongue out; after his impiety is discovered, Philomela and Procne, Tereus' wife, punish him by killing his son Itys. The story ends in a cluster of avian aetiologies: Procne becomes a swallow, Philomela a nightingale, and Tereus a hoopoe.[81] Tereus also represents the associations between northerners and Ares, which came to have such resonance later in the context of the Galatae.[82]

It was suggested by Edith Hall that Tereus may in fact have been 'barbarised' into a Thracian only in Sophocles' version of the myth, with the identification becoming subsequently fixed.[83] Although Thucydides expressly identifies Teres, father of Sitalces the king of Thracians, as an entirely different person from the more famous Tereus, husband to the Athenian Procne, the very need for this clarification may itself indicate that Sophocles' relocation of Tereus could have had something to do with contemporary Athenian perceptions of the Thracians.[84] Another violent northern son of Ares was Diomedes, famous for his carnivorous horses and undone by Herakles.[85] The Boreads, too, were sometimes thought to have been vanquished by Herakles, giving rise to some local interpretations, such as those by the fourth- or third-century BCE Ainesidamos, a local historian of Tenos, and the much better-known Nicander of Colophon. In Ainesidamos' version the Boreads betray universally agreed guest-rights by attacking Herakles when hosting him.[86]

---

[78] The learning and use of place names, and its significance for mythography, in particular, is very valuably debated in Delattre 2017, 272–276.

[79] See her chapter in this volume, pp. 58-72, with all the relevant literature.

[80] E.g. Hall 1989; Ceauşescu 1991; Isaac 2004, 257–303; Gruen 2011, 9–75; Skinner 2012, 233–257.

[81] Tereus as son of Ares, as well as the rest of the myth: Hyg. *Fab.* 45; cf. Ant. Lib. *Met.* 11, 21.

[82] Ever since *Il.* 13.301 (on the Thracian origins of Ares) and in particular since Herodotus' Scythians (4.50, 59, 62). On the connection to Galatae, see next page.

[83] On Polymestor, Hall 1989, 109–110; on Tereus *ead.* 104 (cf. Fitzpatrick 2001, 90–91).

[84] Thuc. 2.29.3–4. See Marazov 2011; Mojsik 2023, 38.

[85] [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.96.

[86] Ainesid. *BNJ* 600 F 1 *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 1.1300–1305a; cf. Nicandr. *BNJ* 271 F 11 *ap. Schol. in Ap. Rhod.* 1.1300–1305a-b; Ap. Rhod. 1.1304; Hyg. *Fab.* 14 (and 273). See Jackson 2003. Thracian disregard for oaths was proverbial: Zenob. *Epit.* 4.32.

The Scythian and Thracian connection to Ares, the personified violence of war, was soon attached to the newly important Galatian northerners in Hellenistic discourse. The Galatians' perceived affinity to Ares is already notable in the early reactions to their attack against Delphi. Callimachus' 'barbarian sword and Celtic Ares' did not explicitly refer to the Delphic attack alone, but rather alludes to both the earlier attack of northerners against Apollo and the later rebellion of the mercenary *Galatai* in Egypt.[87] The 'Celtic Ares', first met in the epitaph of Kydias as reported by Pausanias, along with the *Hymn to Delos*, no doubt owed some of its aptness to the long-standing association of Ares as the 'northern' god of the Thracians' and Scythians' warlike societies. Northernness is rather prominent and polysemically conveyed in Callimachus' imagery. His comparison of the Celts swarming around Delphi with the numberlessness of snowflakes may have been an allusion to Herodotus' mention in his *Skythikos logos* of the continuous and thick snowfall in northern Scythian lands.[88] On a metonymic level, the snowfall could be a kind of epiphanic manifestation of Apollo's presence: arriving at Delphi in its hour of need from his sojourn in the land of the Hyperboreans over the winter months.[89] The prophecy about the 'White Maidens' coming to defend Delphi from the Gauls – a prediction that was explained to mean a snowstorm helping the defenders – may be related to this theme as well.[90] The Hellenistic proverbiality of the Ares/Galatae link is also supported by several other texts, though their degree of 'ethnicising' varies from case to case.[91]

If we continue with the metonymic representations for a while, violence stemming from Thrace can also be seen to be embodied in the Dionysiac Maenads, the frenzied women who – in addition to the satyrs – reinforce the cultic associations of Dionysus with wild mountains and the primeval morality that seemed (or was portrayed) as something opposite to the urban way of life.[92] Maenadic behaviour is depicted as generally violent, in addition to which they are associated with the particular ritual motif of *sparagmos* (σπαραγμός), the rending apart of a sacrificial victim, and the often associated *ōmophagia* (ὠμοφαγία), or the raw consumption of the sacrificial meat, both of which were perceived as foreign and untamed.[93] Maenads lead us to Orpheus, the mythological or mythistorical character perhaps most elementally connected with Thrace in the literary tradition, though Orphic rituals and theology, themselves, bear a complex and unclear relation to Bacchic ones.[94] While Orpheus' genealogical connections are seldom stressed, his violent death at the hands of Maenads may have been felt to be particularly apt in the archaic,

---

[87] See Nelson 2022, 114.

[88] Hdt. 4.7, 31. On Herodotus' popularity in Hellenistic Egypt, Murray 1972, esp. 202–203. For later instances, cf. Callim. *Hymn* 4.175–176 (which may also be a structural parallel to the attack of the Cimmerians against Ephesus in Callim. *Hymn* 3.251–258, as suggested by Barbantani 2001, 193, or even more likely an allusion to Eur. *Bacch.* 1335, where barbarian invaders similarly come in ἀναρίθμῳ στρατεύματι ('a numberless host'), as suggested by Bing 2008, 130 fn. 67

[89] On the theories of Apollo's seasonal absence from Delphi, Gagné 2021, 108–109.

[90] Diod. Sic. 22.9.5; Just. 24.8.11–16; Paus. 10.23.4; cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.81.

[91] *IG* XI 4.1105, a Delian dedicatory epigram from the middle of the third century by Sosicrates for a statue of Philetaerus, set up under his grand-nephew Attalus I; see Queyrel 2003, 15; Kosmetatou 2022, 164–169.

[92] See Topper 2015, 141; on the story of Lycurgus' conflict with Dionysus, cf. Tsiafaki 2000, 381–382; cf. Rabadjiev 2015, 446.

[93] On the Maenads in myth and cult, see the different views of Henrichs 1978 and Bremmer 1984. On *sparagmos*, cf. Edmonds 1999; Nagy 2009, 63–77, 101–102, 122–124; Frankfurter 2021, 205.

[94] For these, see Graf & Iles Johnson 2007, 142–148; also cf. Zhmud' 1992, 162–163. On the explicit Thracian connection with 'Orphism': Eur. *Alc.* 967–968.

disconcertingly violent world that Thrace was sometimes portrayed as.[95] Tomasz Mojsik has recently noted that although Orpheus' connection to Thrace was not an indispensable part of the tradition – especially in its early stages – the links to the Thracian region reflected contemporary, and especially Athenian, realities and interests in a flexible and adaptable way, while making use of the common perceptions of the time regarding northern groups' characteristics.[96]

Some of Orpheus' achievements approximate those typically attributed to culture-heroes, and his aetiologies can be thought of as addressing questions of Greece's cultural indebtedness to other areas, as well as the Hellenic influence on its 'near-abroad' (to borrow a term from contemporary geopolitics). The legend of Orpheus' severed head floating to the isle of Lesbos can in this sense be read as bequeathing to Greece the torch of music, brought home from the barbarian lands.[97] The severed head itself was an element that later came to be associated with Celts, in particular, but was already met in the story of Tereus, Procne and Philomela. Other qualities of northerners could be derived from the Orpheus cycle: Pausanias, though a late source, cites his death as the origin for the proverbial practice of northern peoples of marching into battle when drunk.[98] The Orphic mystery texts and religious practices may have received some added exoticism from their purported Thracian origins. By Plato's time, Orpheus himself was thought to have become a swan upon his death, which might have fostered associations between him and Hyperborea, the northern land favoured by Apollo.[99] The connections with Dionysus cultivated in the later (Imperial-era) Orphic cosmogonies are particularly apt for the Thracian context, but nothing explicitly connects them with actual barbarian peoples. Another theme frequently associated with different northern groups in the subsequent tradition, and later even given an explanation based upon the astro-climatological theories of the second century CE, is their homosexual preferences. If a specific entry point of this theme into the literary tradition is sought, the myths related to Orpheus' preference for male love could be early candidates.[100]

Even after the Hellenistic era, the mythical register continued to be relevant for the culturally shared image of Thrace due to many of the early myths having connections to the area. Anca Dan has demonstrated well how the mythical pygmy folk continued to be localised in Thrace, noting how 'ancient names, landscapes and cultural *facies* changed their meaning in new historical contexts'.[101] As a land of so many myths, Thrace remained indelibly associated with the stories of the past, despite some sceptical voices. Unlike

---

[95] On Orpheus' killing, see above p. 22 fn. 139; see also Tsiafaki' chapter, 61, 63, 67–68, 71.

[96] Mojsik 2023, esp. 37–42.

[97] On Orpheus' head, see the early-Hellenistic Phanocl. F 1 (*Coll. Alex.* 106–108) *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* 4.20b.47, where Kalaïs, son of Boreas, brings the North into the picture; cf. Proclus *Comm. in Pl. Resp*. 1.174.21, 2.314.24. Cf. Str. 7.5.7 on the Dardanians as wild but extremely musical; cf. Euph. Chalc. *De melod.* F 203 *ap.* Ath. 4.184 on two members of the Thracian Maedi as the inventors of syrinx. See Stern 1979; Tsiafaki 2000, 376–377; Skinner 2012, 84; Mojsik 2023, 37–39.

[98] Paus. 9.30.5.

[99] Pl. *Resp*. 620a: swans had been a part of the Hyperborean setting of Apollo's cult since Hecataeus of Abdera: *BNJ* 264 F 12 *ap.* Ael. *NA* 11.1; see Ahl 1982.

[100] On Orpheus' misogyny and homosexuality, Burges Watson 2014, especially in Phanocles' F 1. The Early Hellenistic theme of Celts not being *gynaikokratoumenoi* (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1269b) may be connected; other examples include Diod. Sic. 5.32.6–7, Ptol. *Tetr.* 2.3.62; see p. 23 in the 'Introduction', and 113–117 below in Porucznik's chapter.

[101] Dan 2014a, 41.

with the other, more central regions of mythistory, in Thrace the past pressed closer to the present than in more solidly 'Greek' lands. The Second Sophistic, as Dan notes, helped to propagate the Classical form of many ethnically framed stories.[102] This is partly due to the way that the ethnic customs that stayed part of the tradition the longest were not only the best-known ones, but often the most striking and foreign-seeming. This was especially true in an area like Thrace that had subsequently become extensively Hellenised. Thracian mythological characters, similarly, were well-known and could thus be easily drafted into aetiologies.

As an Early Imperial example of using Thrace as a traditional localisation for mythical stories, we can note Ovid's portrayal of king Pyreneus of Thrace, who violated the traditional guest-rights in his attempt to harm the Muses. He ended up dying in a fall from a tower while trying to pursue the goddesses as they fled through the air.[103] It is potentially connected to an earlier tradition, already referred to in the *Iliad*, according to which the legendary musician of old, Thamyris son of Philammon, challenged the Muses to a musical competition and impiously insisted on marrying all of them as his reward; he was punished with a loss of his musical talent and being made *pēron* (πηρόν, with meanings ranging from maimed or castrated to blinded).[104] Thracians in these stories often seem to treat divine beings – especially goddesses or female personifications – as the ordinary Greeks would have treated foreign, captive women.

Mythical stories were frequently read as metaphors or aetiologies for well-known cultural practices among barbarians. Thamyris' desire to marry all the Muses was interpreted by the fourth-century BCE mythographer Asclepiades of Tragilus in the light of the received opinion about Thracian polygynous marriages.[105] Thamyris, whom the tradition had usually portrayed as a Thracian, was – according to the Augustan mythographer Conon – chosen by the Scythians to be their king due to his mastery of the kithara.[106] This is not too dissimilar from the note made by the second-century CE sophist Maximus of Tyre, about how Orpheus' wondrous musical skills were behind his political influence over the Odrysae, 'a mountain tribe of brigands', whom he ruled as a king.[107] The implication is that just like beasts of any kind, so did these most crude of people willingly follow the lure of music. Yet by their brutal treatment of the Muses, the mythical Thracian kings showed their fundamental incompatibility with Hellenic culture. Another aetiological story of non-normative coupling and the ensuing divine sanction is attributed by the Pseudo-Plutarchan *De fluviis* to the astrologer-grammarian Thrasyllus of Mendes (*fl.* under Tiberius). A sister and brother fell in love in the Rhodope and Haemus mountains, taking up 'Zeus' and 'Hera' as their pet-names for each other. This hybristic act offended the gods so much that they turned the two into mountains still bearing the same names.[108]

---

[102] Dan 2014a, 45–47, documenting the fascinating 'move north' of the Pygmies in Imperial Era.

[103] Ov. *Met.* 5.273–293.

[104] *Il.* 2.599–600; Dion. Scytobr. *BNJ* 32 F 8 *ap.* Diod. Sic. 3.67.3; cf. Paus. 4.33.7. See Suksi 2017, 207.

[105] Ascl. Trag. *BNJ* 12 F 10 *ap. Schol. in Rhes.* 916.

[106] Conon *BNJ* 26 *Narr*. F 1.7 *ap*. Phot. *Bibl*. 186.140a-b; on Thamyris, see above fn. 51.

[107] Max. Tyr. *Dial.* 37.6. On the prevalence of ideas about the Thracian mountains as brigand nests, see Dan 2015, 140.

[108] Thras. Mend. *BNJ* 622 F 2 *ap.* [Plut.] *De fluv.* 11.3.

Other Imperial-era stories highlight the connections between mythology and local topography and ethnography. Cassius Dio's description of the Moesian campaign of M. Licinius Crassus in 29–28 BCE mentions that Licinius spared the Odrysae from depredation because of their devotion to the cult of Dionysus. Here, the barbarian beliefs were clearly close enough to the Greco-Roman ones to allow for justified clemency, though the reference to cultic devotion seems like a retroactive justification for Crassus' transfer of the old Dionysiac sanctuary formerly guarded by the Bessi to the guardianship of Odrysae, their enemies.[109] Yet more negative associations are evoked in connection with other groups: after defeating the Getae, Licinius surrounded the survivors in the cave of Ciris, the large size of which led to a tradition that the defeated Titans had taken refuge there.[110] Other tropes are also clearly present in the narrative: envoys from the Bastarnae are purposefully made drunk in order to learn their plans, for 'the whole Scythian race is insatiable in their use of wine'. Then a traditional stratagem of the barbarians is reversed by ambushing them in a forest.[111] An attack on drunken barbarians in the style of Odysseus' attack on Polyphemus had already been used as a narrative trope in connection with northerners before. An aetiological entry in the *Suda* cites Heraclides Ponticus on how Boeotians, after being occupied by Thracians and fleeing to the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia, received a dream oracle from Dionysus promising help. After then attacking the drunken Thracians the Boeotians regained their liberty and went on to found a temple to Dionysus Lysios ('the Liberator').[112] The story in its broad contours is patterned after the Delphic *Soteria* narrative.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that Thracian aetiologies and mythical connections illustrated the broader ideas about their religiosity. The imagery of Thracians as particularly superstitious and credulous in the face of any religiously tinged manipulation, as well as disrespectful towards any other peoples' gods except their own, is deeply indebted to Herodotus' impressive religious ethnography – and aetiology – of Thracian beliefs. As a barbarian group looming large in the Classical Greeks' 'near-abroad', Thracians had already before Herodotus' time become a typical rhetorical exemplar whenever the nature of religious beliefs, practices or representations was debated.[113] Xenophanes of Colophon's (late sixth–early fifth centuries BCE) relativistic argument about religious perceptions – according to which every species of animal and every human group would represent their divinities as resembling themselves – uses 'pale and red-headed' Thracians as an anthropological example, paired with the 'snub-nosed and black' Aethiopes. The contrast is clearly between a northern and southern group of

---

[109] Cass. Dio 51.25.5; this led to a significant rebellion of the Bessi in 12–10 BCE, which was led by Vologaesus, the Bessian priest of Dionysus: Cass. Dio 54.34.57. See also Wilkes 1996, 551; Uzunov 2020; Sayar 2020, 17; Evangelidis 2020, 39; Rufin Solas 2020. Dionysus had already been used as an intercultural bridge much earlier in the Thracian area, as the oath formula between Thracians and Greeks from Pistiros testifies: Domaradzka & Velkov 1994; Demetriou 2012, 170–171.

[110] Cass. Dio 51.25.5–26.4. Some notional or allusive connection with the Herodotean cave of Zalmoxis among the Getae is almost certainly at work in Dio's original source on the campaign.

[111] Cass. Dio 51.24.2–3; cf. Livy 23.24.6–13. See Günnewig 2000, 144–145.

[112] Heraclid. Pont. F 155 Wehrli *ap. Suda s.v.* Λύσιοι τελεταί.

[113] For Thrace as the 'near-North' to Classical Greeks, see Rausch 2013, 26–31. This has a basis already in ancient perceptions: cf. Joseph. *Ap.* 1.64.

barbarians, both with their stereotypically ethnic physiognomies. Both peoples thus form the images of their divinities to their own physical likenesses.[114]

Xenophanes' approach is something that has been compared by Rosaria Vignolo Munson with Herodotus' story reported by the Propontic Greeks about the origin of the Thracians' cult of Zalmoxis. Herodotus' relativism is, however, somewhat exceptional in the ethnographic register, which almost mandatorily included at least a mention of cults. Not many of Herodotus' later emulators and adaptors placed foreign religious systems on a par with the Greek (or Roman) polytheism.[115] The story of Zalmoxis is used by Herodotus to explain a series of theological, cultic and ritual characteristics of Thracians.

> The Getic belief in their immortality is as follows: they believe that they do not die, but that one who perishes goes to the deity Zalmoxis, or Gebeleïzis, as some of them call him. Once every five years they choose one of their people by lot and send him as a messenger to Zalmoxis, with instructions to report their needs; and this is how they send him: three lances are held by designated men; others seize the messenger to Zalmoxis by his hands and feet, and swing and toss him up on to the spear-points. If he is killed by the toss, they believe that the god regards them with favour; but if he is not killed, they blame the messenger himself, considering him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him. It is while the man still lives that they give him the message.[116]

The Thracian (or more specifically, Getic) veneration of their deity Zalmoxis, as well as their beliefs about a blessed afterlife, are in Herodotus' telling founded on a ruse played on these credulous barbarians by a mortal man called Zalmoxis, a former slave of Pythagoras. After returning to his native Thrace, he used his acquired wealth and 'Ionian ways' – probably a mixture of opulence and philosophical pretensions – to dazzle his crude and poor compatriots, and deceived them into believing that he himself had risen from the dead, when he had actually just hidden in a pre-prepared subterranean chamber.[117] In a way, Herodotus' Greeks are to the Thracians what his Egyptians are to the Greeks in terms of mastery of knowledge; a gradient of civilisational relativity which also involves climatic factors. Convinced by Zalmoxis' deception, the Getae began worshipping him as a god, and believing that everybody following his creed would enjoy a happy and abundant afterlife. The detail of Getic belief in their own immortality became subsequently very influential, and was often extended to other northern groups such as Scythians.[118]

Essentially, Herodotus portrays the Thracians as credulous and violent primitives with a religion that is not only antagonistic to everyone else's gods, but possibly based upon a ruse. Herodotus' final word about the historicity of Zalmoxis, however, introduces a typical note of unresolved ambiguity, heightening his authority as a historian. He

---

[114] Xenophan. *Silli* F 16 (D-K) 21 *ap.* Clem. Al. *Strom.* 7.4.22.1.

[115] Munson 2001, 164–166 on Herodotus' religious relativism and Xenophanes.

[116] Hdt. 4.94. See Taufer 2016; cf. also Drugaş 2016.

[117] Hdt. 4.95; on the Zalmoxis story and its implications, see e.g. Linforth 1918; Bianchi & al. 1971; Eliade & Trask 1972; Coman 1981; Rabadjiev 2015, 444, 446, 451–453; Zhmud' 2016; Kotova 2017; Ivanov 2017; on Zalmoxis' reception, Dana 2008.

[118] Cf. Pl. *Chrm.* 156d; Diod. Sic. 1.94; Mela 2.2; Arr. *Anab.* 1.3.2; Lucian *Scyth.* 1, *Conc. deor.* 9 ('Scythians and Goths'); Julian. *Caes.* 28; *Suda s.v.* Ζάμολξις; *EtMag s.v.* Ζάμολξις, *s.v.* Δεισιδαιμονία. On the later reception, see p. 180 fn. 129 below.

remains non-committed about the origin story at large and particularly about the detail of the subterranean chamber, and notes that Zalmoxis probably lived before Pythagoras' time.[119] Herodotus then leaves the matter by recapitulating the options: either there once lived a man called Zalmoxis (and the Greek story, it is implied, is true), or he is the native god of the Getae.[120] Despite Herodotus' reservations, the Pythagorean connection would go on to gain many new applications over the centuries.

7. Constructing genealogies for the northerners

Above, we saw how both Timaeus and Callimachus found the figure of Galatea and her wooing by Polyphemus helpful in dealing with the shock caused by the sudden Galatian entry into the Hellenistic worldview.[121] We also glimpsed an aetiology deriving the Hyperboreans from the blood of the Titans. Such origin stories can be compared with Hellenistic iconographies, built upon the perceived Titan- or Giant-like physique of the northerners, and the similarly Titanic-seeming *hybris* with which they attacked the Greek sanctuaries.[122] These are perhaps less aetiologies than mythological cues or parallels in the visual media, but they fit well into the general matrix of Hellenistic reactions to the Galatae. The many Earthborn groups of gigantic beings and adversaries of the Olympian gods offered a symbolically potent point of comparison with the northerners. Soon after the Delphic attack, Callimachus compared the Galatae to 'latter-day Titans', who rushed from the furthest West, innumerable as snowflakes, and brought 'Celtic Ares' (that is, war) against the Greeks, only to be stymied by the combined efforts of Apollo and Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[123] The simile with the hybristic, gods-defying Titans works with analogies that resemble Timaeus' above-mentioned genealogical aetiology for the Celts through the monstrous Cyclops Polyphemus and the milk-white, eponymous-sounding Galatea.[124] Indeed, it may even be that Timaeus wrote late enough to have been able to respond to the Greek need to etymologically (or 'etymythologically') situate and explain these northern invaders. The metaphor of Titanism remained similarly useful and gave a religious and cosmogonic aspect to political propaganda that pitched Greeks and Romans against the northerners. The association between the European barbarians and the Titans or Giants, the old enemies of the gods, was to prove long-lived and manifested itself through both iconographic and literary testimony. The physiques of

---

[119] Hdt. 4.96.

[120] See Munson 2001, 164; cf. Rabadjiev 2015, 451 on [Eur.] *Rhes.* 962–982 and the theme of Thracian afterlife; the cave motif, however, is common to both Herodotus and (Pseudo-)Euripides. Also see Casadesús Bordoy 2016 about the 'artful knavery' of Pythagoras, which seems rather similar to how Herodotus describes Zalmoxis deceiving the Getae.

[121] On collective and cultural traumas from a sociological point of view, Eyerman 2013; Smith 1985, 21.

[122] Fraenkel 1954, 15 pointed out that the names *Gigantes* and *Titani* tended to be deployed indiscriminately and largely synonymously. The two mythical groups of the Olympians' adversaries had become interchangeable quite early on in the tradition. Cf. Pfeiffer 1949, I 134 on Callimachus' use; cf. Mineur 1984, 170–171. Also see Queyrel 2017, Prioux 2017 and Nelson 2022, 106–112, 114 fn. 73.

[123] Callim. *Hymn.* 4.185–190. See Giuseppetti 2013, 97–121 on the use of myths in the *Hymn to Delos*.

[124] See p. 81–82 above.

the northerners continued to be imagined in strongly 'Titanic' ways, and this by-now-proverbial similarity was used without further need of comment by many writers.[125]

Especially in the case of the Attalids of Pergamon, resisting the Galatae came to form one of the fundamental narratives for the whole dynasty. The Attalid monuments are probably the most influential pictorial testimony to Hellenistic royal propaganda featuring anti-barbarian struggles: in some ways they shaped the subsequent portrayals of northerners through the whole 'Long Hellenistic Age'. Their visual language has received much attention.[126] The iconography of the Hellenistic Galatae in the Pergamene monuments – of which the 'Dying Gaul' of the Musei Capitolini (Fig. 12.5) and the 'Ludovisi Gaul' at the Palazzo Altemps are the two best-known examples – is clearly reminiscent of the Titans and Giants, with muscular physiques and facial expressions conveying defiant pride, rage, and incomprehension at their defeat.[127] Contrariwise, the actual gigantomachy decorating the Great Altar of Pergamon, constructed by Eumenes II, approximates the iconography of the Galatae: this is no wonder since the king had still to contend with Galatian adversaries, and owed his title of 'Soter' to these clashes.[128]

The citizens of the Greek communities in Asia Minor remained concerned about the Galatae until Gnaeus Manlius Vulso's expedition in 189 BCE. Some aetiologies stemming from this context were later taken up in the Augustan age, when the origins of Western 'Celtic' or Gallic groups were eagerly elaborated upon. Parthenius of Nicaea (or of Myrlea) was enslaved during the Mithridatic Wars and taken from Asia Minor to Rome, where he made his long career as a grammarian and poet.[129] Parthenius' thirty-six *Narrationes amatoriae* offered simply-outlined summaries of (mostly tragic) tales of love based on earlier Hellenistic material – and in so doing reflect some of the developing ideas of northerners' morality and their relations with Greek divinities or heroes. Number 30 of the *Narrationes* is a short piece that gives the essentials about Herakles' encounter with princess Keltine.[130] The story clearly participates in the tradition of using Greek heroes' interactions with the northerners to provide aetiologies for barbarian groups, although Parthenius' take on it opened further opportunities for reapplication. As Herakles is returning to Greece through the land of the Celts with Geryon's cattle, he lodges in the household of one Bretannus, whose daughter Keltine falls in love with the travelling hero, and in order to gain leverage over him she steals and hides Herakles' captured cattle. Struck by the girl's beauty, Herakles consents to her wishes, resulting in the birth of a son Celtus, the eponymous ancestor of Celts. As stock motifs go, we have a nod

---

[125] Livy 7.10.9; Gell. *NA* 9.11; Paus. 10.20.7. See Queyrel 2017; Nelson 2022, 106–109.

[126] Attalus' refusal of tribute: Livy 38.16.14. On the Pergamene cultural propaganda, Chamoux 1988; Hannestad 1993, 25; Gruen 2000; Marszal 2000; on the originals, Roman copies, and reception of the Pergamene and Athenian dedications of Attalus: Stewart 2004, esp. 206–232; also Courtieu 2011; Rebeggiani 2018; Osborne 2017; on the 'Great Frieze' generally, Demandt 2013.

[127] For an excellent exploration of the iconography and reception of the 'Dying Gaul', see Cassibry 2017; see also Marvin 2002; Kahl 2010, 77–127; Mugione & Pouzadoux 2017; Roy 2024, 15–16.

[128] Cf. Kosmetatou 2003, 164–165; Platt 2011, 136–139; Demandt 2013, 122–129; Coarelli 2017; Kahl 2010, 77–127 investigates the cosmic combat Pergamene gigantomachy frieze of the Great Altar for its ethnic gestures, especially in reference to the Galatae. See also Savalli-Lestrade 2020, 176–182; Jim 2022, 159 (and 199–202 on the Attalids as *Sōtēres*); Nelson 2022, 106–109.

[129] *Suda s.v.* 'Παρθένιος'; Suet. *Tib.* 70.2; stylistic and thematic connections to Euphorion, Callimachus and Heraclides Ponticus the Younger according to Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 57 and Artemid. *Onir.* 4.63. Lightfoot 1999, 54–72.

[130] Parth. *Narr.* 30.

towards Celtic hospitability, as well as that of the independent character of their women (as well as other northern women more generally).[131] The piece resembles several Greek stories about Gauls which were current in the immediately post-Caesarian and Augustan contexts.

8. Creating origins for the Gauls: Greeks and the horizon of Roman conquest

Parthenius' story about Keltine can be formally compared with what Parthenius' approximate contemporary, Timagenes of Alexandria, wrote about Herakles and his descendants in Gaul.[132] Diodorus Siculus, too, preserves a version of Herakles' tryst with a handsome, tall Gallic princess; it is likely connected with both Parthenius and Timagenes.[133] But if we look at the longer tradition of describing the northerners, the main significance of the Keltine story lies in its resemblance to much earlier aetiologies and etymologies. The formal models of these Augustan stories hark even further back in time than the mid-Hellenistic era: Jane Lightfoot has pointed out that in its essentials the narrative of Keltine and Herakles is identical to the story of Herakles and the 'biform maid' Echidna in Herodotus.[134] The narrative represents the ongoing Hellenistic 'involution' – or the literary development and elaboration – of such material, and can be compared with other aetiologies for Celts or Galatae, like the one put forward by Timaeus. Parthenius may also have included other Gallic aetiological stories: Stephanus of Byzantium quotes Parthenius about Nemausus, an eponymous descendant of Herakles in Gallia Narbonensis, who was supposed to have given his name to what is now Nîmes.[135]

Southern Gaul, in particular, was dotted with Herculean origin stories in the Late Republican and Early Imperial eras. There are also references to both the Aedui and the Arverni, two important Gallic groups, entertaining aetiological traditions that connected them with the Trojan origins of the Romans – probably in an effort to outbid each other for the prestige of being blood-relations of their new masters and forge a 'special relationship'.[136] Such creative mythological reapplications accord well with what Greg Woolf has called 'tales of the barbarians', told and shaped in the new provincial middle grounds. In this case, Gallic groups and their Roman rulers were constructing links between each other.[137] The creation of the Herculean genealogy for Nemausus could have been linked to the peaceful submission of the Volcae Arecomici of Nemausus to Rome,

---

131 For Celtic hospitality, see Phylarchus *BNJ* 81 F 2 *ap.* Ath. 4.150d-f; Cic. *Deiot.* 18; Parth. *Narr.* 8; for active, independent women among northerners Hdt. 4.26 (Issedones); Diod. Sic. 5.32.2; Plut. *De mul. vir.* 20 (257e–258c); Cass. Dio 77.16.5 *ap.* Xiph. 325; Amm. Marc. 15.12.1.

132 Timagenes *BNJ* 88 F 2 *ap*. Amm. Marc. 15.9.6.

133 Diod. Sic. 5.24.2–3; cf. Lightfoot 1999, 532.

134 Lightfoot 1999, 532–533, also on Kelto, daughter of Bretannus in the *EtMag s.v.* Κελτοί. Cf. Hinge 2008, 375f.

135 Parth. F 52 Lightfoot *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Νέμαυσος: πόλις Γαλλίας, ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου Ἡρακλείδου, ὡς Παρθένιος.

136 On the Arverni, Luc. 1.427–428 and Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 7.139, *Epist.* 7.7.2; on the Aedui, Caes. *BGall.* 1.33. These and other comparable accounts have been variously assessed: e.g. Braund 1980; Kremer 1994, 219–257; Johnston 2017, 194–204.

137 Woolf 2011, with 23–24 on Parthenius; also Johnston 2017.

and the *ius Latii* granted to this strategically important group along the Via Herculea. We also know of a local divinity called Nemausus, associated with a sacred spring, and this local eponymic ancestor/divinity was by Parthenius' time given a Greek pedigree.[138]

The next section will look at the popularity of the Herculean aetiologies in the Late Republic and Augustan Gaul in more depth, but it can be emphasised at this point how much this phenomenon was influenced by the Romans aiming to pacify Gaul and create a class of tractable, ideologically co-opted local elites to act as middlemen to the imperial rule. Mythical genealogies were eminently suited for this purpose, and were very probably shaped by both local and Roman considerations, with Gallic elites participating in their creation for their own reasons.[139] Diodorus' aetiology for the town of Alesia – named after Herakles' wanderings (*alē*, ἄλη) – and the parallel he constructed between Herakles and Caesar tell of a deliberate drive towards assimilating barbarian origins to the broader Greco-Roman mythistorical narratives.[140] Diodorus, writing very soon after Caesar's conquests in the area, also comments on the religious practices and attitudes of the Gauls in several places; the contents of these sections come across as a typically Diodoran display of interesting anecdotes, unattributed material from earlier writers, and additions based on his contemporary common knowledge.[141]

The knowledge-generation enabled by the expansion of the Roman influence went of course further than just Gaul. Diodorus, for one, gestures constantly in his British excursus towards his intention to give a better description of the area and its peoples when narrating Caesar's conquest of the area.[142] The increased drive to locate and frame even the British through aetiology can also be clearly seen in Parthenius' story of Keltine and Herakles, and the same dynamics have been cited as the reason for an increase in references to Pytheas in the post-Caesarian literature.[143] One detail in the Keltine narrative almost certainly stems from Caesar's recent campaigns in Britain, which had heightened the need to anchor the newly opened-up area in existing mythogeography. The eponymous Bretannus is only mentioned by Parthenius and the late etymological compilations who probably found it from him.[144] The notion of Celtus being descended from Bretannus implies a belief in the joint origins of the *Keltoi* and *Brettanoi* but does not necessarily depend on Caesar's claim that Gallic Druids received their training in Britain.[145]

We also have a valuable glimpse into how this kind of middle ground knowledge-generation could have worked. In responding to a letter from his brother Quintus, Cicero testifies to his Roman contemporaries' reactions to Caesar's British expeditions. Cicero combines genuine enthusiasm with adulation, expressing his delight of receiving a

---

[138] Str. 4.1.12; Plin. *HN* 3.37; on local divinity, see Aldhouse-Green 1992, 160 *s.v.* 'Nemausus'. On the *Via Herculea*: Polyb. 3.39; Str. *loc. cit.*; see DeWitt 1941; Plácido 1993.

[139] See the discussion in Woolf 2011, 27–28, 111–114.

[140] Diod. Sic. 4.19.1–2, 5.25.4. On the dynamics at play, see Woolf 2011, 21–23.

[141] Celtic ritual deposition of gold at sanctuaries, and their respect of these treasures: Diod. Sic. 5.27.4; their readiness to throw away their lives in single combat due to the influence of Pythagorean-seeming ideas about the immortality of the souls: 5.28.5–6; ritual headhunting at war: 5.29.3–5; Bards, Druids and human sacrifices: 5.31.2–5; cannibalism by the Irish: 5.32.3; Cimbric human sacrifices 5.32.6.

[142] Diod. Sic. 5.21–22.

[143] Stewart 1995, 2; on Pytheas, Magnani 1993; Cunliffe 2001; also Mund-Dopchie 1990 and 2009; McPhail 2014; also Bianchetti in this volume.

[144] *EtGen*, *EtSym* and *EtMag s.v.* Βρεττανοί**;** *EtMag s.v.* Κελτοί**.** See discussion in Braccesi 1996, 191–192.

[145] Caes. *BGall.* 6.13. See Lightfoot 1999, 533.

letter from Britain after having contemplated its coasts and the Ocean with fear, and claiming that Caesar's undertakings inspire hope rather than fear, keeping Cicero in suspense.[146] Importantly, he also notes that Quintus has at hand a wonderful subject for topographical and ethnographical ekphrasis; but after promising to help with his brother's literary output, Cicero soon turns rather characteristically to enquiring about whether his poems had been well received by Caesar. It is a pity that Quintus' actual letter is no longer extant, but even the partial correspondence of the two Cicerones shows us how the knowledge-generation of the very earliest Roman enquiries to Britain worked. It sketches out a route for intriguing new snippets about the recently encountered peoples to pass into the commonly known pool of learned audiences' epistemic matrix. Aetiologies were a natural help in such processes, though we can only guess whether the Cicerones would have made extensive use of them, had they ever implemented the idea that we glimpse fleetingly in their correspondence. Likewise, the letter shows how the members of the urban intelligentsia 'suggestively interviewed' their (Roman) informants in the field, using time-honoured ways of displaying their own erudition – in pursuit of their own personal authorial aims – while possibly influencing the angle of view for further observations.

9. Augustan-era origin stories for Gauls: children of Hercules

Hercules' importance to post-Caesarian and Augustan writers such as Parthenius, Pompeius Trogus and Diodorus Siculus has already been glimpsed above. This impression is reinforced by the hero's prominent role in the Gallic material attributed to Timagenes of Alexandria. Timagenes produced the first Greek work of history written in Rome after Polybius, as Quintilian notes, though it is difficult to say whether this proves that Timagenes published before Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History* (*Bibliotheca historica*) came out (sometime during the last years of the Republic).[147] Timagenes seems to have been reluctant to eulogise the Roman power, and towards the end of his career he angered Augustus through his outspokenness.[148] His critical stance towards Roman imperialism has even led some scholars to call him straightforwardly a 'philobarbarian', as Marta Sordi did long ago and Livia Capponi has more recently reiterated.[149] It is possible that Timagenes' own experiences during the end of Ptolemaic Egypt predisposed him to view the impact of Roman rule on local populations in a fashion that was not only critical towards Rome but also sympathetic towards other dominated groups.[150] Yet we should also be wary of seeing 'barbarians' as a unitary group in the thinking of Hellenistic or Late-Republican writers: gradients and degrees of difference would certainly have existed. The point is more about updating Sordi's terminology than about denying Timagenes' sympathies towards the subaltern.

At the end of the fourth century CE, Ammianus Marcellinus used Timagenes as an important source for the Gallic excursus of Book 15 of his *Res Gestae* – he famously

---

146 Cic. *QFr.* 2.15.4.

147 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.75. On Diodorus' dating, Sacks 1990, 3.

148 *Suda s.v.* Τιμαγένης; Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.15–16; Sen. *Controv.* 10.5.21–22; Sen. *Ep.* 91.13, *Ira* 3.23.4–8.

149 Sordi 1979; *ead.* 1982; cf. Capponi 2018, 50; also Alonso-Núñez 2002, 97; Muccioli 2009, esp. 76.

150 On Timagenes' disillusionment with Romans, see Bowersock 1965, 109–110, 125; Capponi 2018.

compliments the previous author both on his diligence and Greekness.[151] Hercules is first mentioned in two aetiologies introduced within a list of alternative Gallic origin stories: on the one hand 'some' thought that the earliest inhabitants of Gaul were Dorians who followed 'an earlier Hercules' and settled on the shores of the Ocean. On the other hand 'the inhabitants of the area affirm more than anything else' that the descendants left by Hercules in Gaul after his vanquishing of local tyrants Geryon and Tauriscus and his affairs with local princesses were the origin of different Gallic groups: local monuments are also said to testify to this.[152] This all reinforces the likelihood that the role of Herakles was already emphasised in Timagenes' original account as an ancestor of the Gauls and a conqueror of the Alps.[153] The interest of local groups in promoting Herculean (and other broadly Hellenic – including 'Trojan') aetiologies was significant: these may show reflections of genuine middle-ground processes feeding myth-building in Augustan Gaul, as we noted above.[154]

Later in Ammianus' Gallic excursus Hercules pops up again, this time explicitly in connection with the Alps: he is credited to have been the first to build a road over the mountain range as he was heading towards his confrontation with Geryon.[155] Ammianus is notable for his very positive overall assessment of the Gauls' virtues and culture, though this aspect is difficult to decisively pin down to either his own context or Timagenes' original narrative. In addition to the Herculean presences in Trogus-Justin and Timagenes, the emphasis on Hercules' crossing of the Alps is strikingly similar to Diodorus Siculus' work, to which we turn next. In fact, both Trogus and Diodorus may well have found the idea in Timagenes, their close contemporary (the exact order of the publication of their respective works is unfortunately not clear). There is no need to evoke Posidonius as a possible source: no mention of Hercules can be found in the securely attested 'Gallic' fragments of Posidonius.

Aetiology could benefit groups in the provinces, as we have seen, but it also worked for the authors in the centres of knowledge production. The intimate links between mythography and each era's habits of deploying cultural capital and ordering existing knowledge have recently been stressed by many scholars.[156] Mythical connections, origin stories and religious antiquities play an important part in the surviving fifteen books of Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History*; it is not unreasonable to see this complex text as participating in the tradition of universal historiography.[157] In terms of his sources and methods, Diodorus is characterised by his compilatory drive – it is no wonder he foregrounded the image of a 'library' even in the title of his work.[158] Diodorus' sources have been a major preoccupation for much of modern scholarship; he has often been seen as a 'mere' compiler, and consequently quarried for earlier material that he supposedly

---

151 Amm. Marc. 15.9.2.

152 Timag. *BNJ* 88 F 2 *ap.* Amm. Marc. 15.9.3.

153 Diod. Sic. 5.24.2–3; Parth. *Narr.* 30; Just. 24.4.4. On the importance of Herculean pedigrees in Augustan writers, such as that in Verg. *Aen.* 8.285–305; see Heiden 1987; cf. Sulimani 2011, 33–35.

154 Amm. Marc. 15.9.5 on wandering refugees from Troy being the first inhabitants of Gaul.

155 Timagenes *BNJ* 88 F 14 *ap.* Amm. Marc. 15.10.9.

156 See Delattre 2017, 262–264, in line with the 'knowledge-ordering' approach of König & Whitmarsh (eds.) 2007.

157 Alonso-Núñez 2002, 97; Sulimani 2011, 53; Saïd 2014, 67; Muntz 2017, 2.

158 Diod. Sic. 1.4.3.

preserved without significant changes.[159] More recently, his methods of ordering and redeveloping earlier literary material have become the subject of sophisticated analysis, allowing for a much more complex appreciation of Diodorus' text as a literary work and a cultural artefact.[160] It is worth bearing in mind, for instance, that despite the obvious wealth of literary sources he used, Diodorus nonetheless gestures towards his own travels and personal eye-witness testimony as part of his authorial self-fashioning.[161] This is something to remember when thinking about authors vaunted for their autoptic source value, such as Posidonius.

Diodoran material relating to Celts is particularly difficult to untangle: his relationship with the preceding tradition is complex, but perhaps symptomatic of the broader Late Republican or Augustan way of engaging with northerners. The early sections of Diodorus' work that contain ethnographically framed material on Celts – mainly in Book 5, but also within the Herakles-matter of Book 4 – rarely give the names of his source authors, though he had clearly read widely on the subject before writing his account.[162] Some sections, such as the description of the embalmed heads of enemies being displayed publicly, resemble 'Posidonian' fragments in other writers, but without mentioning the source.[163] The inherited elements in Diodorus' Gallic ethnography are thus challenging to contextualise, but many of the details could be considered commonplace ideas that were widespread by his time, largely thanks to Caesar.[164] Overall, Diodorus is an excellent source for the study of general information on (and representations of) barbarians available to an antiquarian author of his generation, despite being practically no help at all in determining the extent and content of any particular author's contribution. Diodorus' selection process was significant in its own right, and his use of aetiologies is a telling illustration of how the histories, identities and ethnicities of the western provinces would be tied more tightly to the broader Greek narratives in the first decades after the Caesarian conquest.

Diodorus' view of the history of humankind is prominently influenced by his own experience of the Late Republic. Caesar, in particular, is presented as a conquering culture-bringer in the mould of Herakles.[165] The original Herakles, himself, is brought into relation with the western world and its inhabitants through several origin stories that collectively reinforce the impression of mythological bridge-building which we already observed in Trogus, Parthenius, and the fragments of Timagenes. The earliest books of *Bibliotheca* – programmatic in tone and ostensibly dealing with myths and the earliest

---

159 Muntz 2017, 14–21 summarises well the tendencies of previous scholarly mining of Diodorus' text.

160 Early rehabilitators of Diodorus: Palm 1955, 63–65, 110–139; Drews 1962, 383, 392 (to an extent); cf. Rubincam 1998, defending Diodorus at least against accusations of 'mindlessness', 68. Subsequently, our understanding of Diodorus' method has improved greatly: Sacks 1990, 4, 83–116; Bosworth 2003, 194–195; Sulimani 2011, 4–6, 57–108; Muntz 2017, 14–26. For Diodorus' method, see also Ambaglio 1995; on sources, Hau 2016, 73–75.

161 Diod. Sic. 1.4.1.

162 Cameron 2004, 30 notes that Diodorus cites more sources in his mythological books than in his later, historical books. Perl 1978 for Diodorus' sources on Gaul. The Diodoran passages on Celts are examined, for instance, in Kremer 1994, 266–278, though with an over-emphasis on Posidonius (e.g. 267 fn. 3, 271, etc.).

163 Diod. Sic. 5.29.5. The detail cannot be from Caesar, since he does not mention it: Creer 2023, 177.

164 Cf. Nash 1976, 113; Kidd 1988, I 309.

165 Sacks 1990, 55–82 on the Hellenistic element of benefactors in human history; on Caesar, Scherr 2023, 139–161, 294–296.

history – show particularly strong connections with Diodorus' ideas about civilisational development and the Empire.[166] Myths and historical narratives, sometimes deploying aetiologies and ethnographically framed material in close proximity, are expressly used in Diodorus to construct the geographical stage onto which the Roman Empire was to be projected. This 'mytho-geo-historiographical' triple focus speaks of Diodorus' ambitions, although the enormous scope of the work and the wealth of available material posed some challenges to him.

Besides Caesar and Posidonius, Diodorus had many other possible sources about the European barbarians. The description of his euhemerised Herakles crossing the Alps from Gaul to Italy with a multinational army sounds very similar to what we just saw Ammianus citing on the authority of Timagenes.[167] The Augustan relevance of Herakles made the subject suitable for lengthy treatment through mythologised *exempla*. Diodorus, Timagenes, Trogus, and Parthenius all used the motif of Herakles' travels and tyrant-fighting in the West during a period when the demi-god was – to a certain extent – presented as a model for Augustus' pacificatory acts.[168] The same can be said of the Alps, which Augustus had brought under stronger Roman control and made safe for travellers, much like what Diodorus' Herakles supposedly did.[169] Diodorus tells in Book 4 how Herakles, having beaten Geryon's armies, set up his eponymous Pillars, gifted a part of Geryon's cattle to a particularly pious local dignitary, and handed the rulership of Iberia over to the noblest among the natives. This sounds very similar to what a Late-Republican Roman conqueror would have done. He then began his return to Greece via Gaul. Diodorus emphasises not only the role of Herakles as the pacifier of the area – he 'eradicated the lawlessness and murdering of strangers, which had become the habit of the inhabitants' – but also his founding of a great city named Alesia, taking its name from the Greek word for wandering.[170] The 'murdering of strangers' seems like an inversion of the idea of Celtic hospitality, and may be a nod towards the classical image of the Taurians. More explicitly, Diodorus' aetiology links the founding of Alesia and the birth of Herakles' son Galates – a name used already by Timaeus – to an unnamed but markedly strong, beautiful and haughty Celtic princess.[171] There is a particular mention of the princess's parents having given their consent to the coupling. This emphasis on the orderly and normative settlement distinguishes this version from the otherwise very similar-sounding Keltine story of Parthenius, mentioned above.

Diodorus' motivation for including the Heraklean aetiology for Alesia was linked to his fashioning of Caesar into a cultural hero. The fact that the majority of the inhabitants of Alesia were locals led gradually to the 'barbarisation' of the whole civic body, while to the Gauls the city was ever since the 'hearth and metropolis' of the whole Celtica, remaining unconquered through the centuries. This was only changed when Caesar, finally, took the city and in so doing subjugated the Gauls; it is in this instance

---

166 Sacks 1990, 20; Muntz 2017, 3–21.

167 Amm. Marc. 15.9.3, 6, 10.9. Diodorus' euhemerising stance: Sacks 1990, 68–69.

168 On such openness of signification Heiden 1987, e.g. 663–665.

169 Diod. Sic. 4.19.3–4; The spatial context of the Alps may have been given particular emphasis (particularly in Trogus' time, a bit later than Diodorus) by Augustus' involvement with the polities there: Gruen 1996, 169–171; Sulimani 2011, 218f. On Timagenes and Diodorus, Kidd 1988, I 309.

170 Diod. Sic. 4.19.1. Cf. Jourdain-Annequin 1992; and Sulimani 2011, 212–220 on Diodorus' Herakles resembling a Roman general.

171 Diod. Sic. 5.24.1–3; cf. Tim. *BNJ* 566 F 69 *ap. EtMag s.v.* Γαλατία.

that Diodorus mentions how Caesar was elevated into divinity due to his great deeds.[172] Greg Woolf has remarked that the swift (re)barbarisation of even those Gauls with alleged Greek ancestry, between Herakles and Caesar, might have boded ill for the Gallo-Roman civilisation itself, but the most immediate concern for both Diodorus and the later users of the same motif was the rhetorical benefit to be gained from this claim.[173] A cultural gradient is implied: even in a barbarised state a Greek foundation is prone to be the metropolis of a savage land. The reference to the Gauls' own appreciation of Alesia helps Diodorus (or his source) construct the site of Caesar's final victory as a symbol of the Gallic return to civilisation by way of the Roman conquest, which replicates Herakles' ancient deeds.[174]

Further mythological parallelisms in Diodorus' Book 5 are found in Caesar's expeditions to Britain, which are compared with those of Dionysus and Herakles, two travelling gods of the past.[175] Diodorus calls the inhabitants of Britain autochthonous, their habits of warfare like those of the Homeric Greeks (though they also are said to live mostly in peace), their mode of life humble and without the negative affectations of the 'civilised' peoples.[176] Though technically an analogy rather than aetiology, this does explain and localise the northerners via the Homeric comparison. It is also possible that Diodorus' use of earlier authors was coloured by his contemporaries' excitement about northern discoveries. When ostensibly quoting Hecataeus of Abdera about Elixoia, the fertile island of Hyperboreans, he seems to augment it with the Caesarian detail of the two yearly harvests in Britain.[177] For Diodorus, the Britons represent a mixture of beyond-the-world Golden Age, Homeric heroism, and 'hard primitivism'. He also cites them as an example of those northerners who are most savage among all peoples, even eating human beings.[178] He promises more details in connection with Caesar's campaign onto the island, but due to the loss of that part of the *Bibliotheca* (if it was ever written), we do not know if the more contemporary context changed Diodorus' representation of the Britons.[179]

10. Conclusions

Aetiologies were a firmly established part of ancient societies' toolkit for explaining both their own and others' ritual practices and religious ideas. They could also help to localise foreign peoples – especially newly important ones – in the established worldview. The logic of aetiological and other origin narratives that projected explanations of outgroup customs onto the mythistorical past was necessarily a reflection of the ingroup's views,

---

[172] Diod. Sic. 4.19.2; Caesar's deeds and apotheosis are closely linked, in a broadly 'Herculean' way, also in 5.25.4. See Sulimani 2011, 278–279; Woolf 2011, 19–21.

[173] Woolf 2011, 21.

[174] On the connections built by Diodorus between Herakles and Caesar through mythical geographies, see Sulimani 2017, 224–225.

[175] Diod. Sic. 5.25.4.

[176] Diod. Sic. 5.21.1–6.

[177] Diod. Sic. 2.47.1 (Hecat. Abd. *BNJ* 264 F 7); Caes. *BGall.* 5.12.6. For Diodorus' utopian islands, see Sulimani 2017.

[178] Diod. Sic. 5.32.3.

[179] Cf. Sulimani 2011, 29. For Britain, see Gieseke in this volume, esp. 199–200.

concerns and preoccupations. They form a rich source for the Greek and Roman ways of explaining the enduring and essentialisingly perceived qualities of northern societies, and they also act as illustrative vignettes for northerners' perceived attitudes towards important figures in Mediterranean societies. The ethnographic tradition is full of origin narratives and structures comparable to them. This chapter has introduced the reader to some of the most influential aetiological structures through which Greeks and Romans used their own mythological past to incorporate the barbarians of Europe into their worldviews.

Typical of the knowledge-generation processes at play is the trust placed on Greek informants in contrast – or at least in addition – to local or 'ethnic' ones, even if local colouring is present for instance in terms of names of places or individuals. Often, as with Herodotus, the author avoids decisively choosing between different variant explanations. This tacit acceptance of multiplicity is something which recent scholarship on foundation narratives – in many ways similar in function and form with the broader aetiological register – has embraced.[180] The mythical ways of explaining contemporary barbarian groups were associated with an important pattern of thought that is met often throughout the contributions to this book: essentialism. The outgroups were imagined as 'remaining themselves' from their very origins onwards – this applied to moral characteristics and religious attitudes too. Their aetiologies reflected this and their interactions with Greeks and Romans were told through *exempla* that reified this. Even the Roman conquest (where it happened) did not dilute the usefulness of ethnicised evidence about the character of foreign groups. Established elements continued in the literary tradition due to their proverbial appeal and the ease with which they formed efficient, lightly ethnicised shorthands for speakers, educators and writers. The descent from Ares seemed to explain the Thracians' warlike ways, while their rudimentary civilisational level made them susceptible to clever deceptions, such as that by Zalmoxis in Herodotus' telling – which in turn explained a series of theological, cultic and ritual characteristics of Thracians.

Aetiologies often cross-fertilised with other ways of using mythological material. For all their haziness, the symbolically potent associations between Titans or Giants and the northerners were, perhaps not surprisingly, expressed both in genealogical terms and in the visual media. The iconography of 'Titanic northerners' was wielded with particular efficiency in the Attalid pictorial programme to suggest symbolic similarities between Galatae and the 'Earth-born' primordial enemies of the Olympian gods. This reinforced the Hellenistic kings' role as the upholders of the current cosmological order. One of the fundamental acts of cosmogony, the repulse of the Giants from Olympus was a lofty but obvious mythological episode with which to compare the apparent zeal of the muscular, impetuous northerners in attacking the rich sanctuaries of the Greeks.[181] This, in many ways, was the most operative and exemplary case of their 'wrong beliefs' or mistaken understanding of human-divine relations. But it also harked back to a mythical register, with the northerners re-enacting their Titanic models' (or forebears') acts. These mythical parallels were also echoed in some literary texts.

Hyperboreans, though otherwise constituting an 'edge-of-the-world' group living a blessed life in the far-away North, were drafted into use as a mythological parallel to the more immediately concerning northerners. Heraclides Ponticus may have used Hyperboreans as a suitable name with a mythical pedigree for the northerners who had

---

[180] As outlined very well in Mac Sweeney 2015.

[181] Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 8.17.

sacked Rome; here, the common stereotype of warlike northerners had eclipsed the even older notion of peaceful Hyperboreans. Posidonius, whose euhemeristic take on the Hyperboreans shows a decidedly more literary approach to northern ethnography than is usually expected of him, used the contemporary Helvetii to suggest a real-life referent group for the mythical Hyperboreans. He partly adhered to the old idea of Hyperboreans as peaceful and wealthy, but also turned them into a moralising exemplar in a time when the Cimbri and Teutones had made the Alps and their peoples a very relevant concern for his Roman patrons.

Eponymous ancestors were a nimble and heuristically economical way of connecting new groups with pre-existing genealogies. We have seen many examples of how barbarian groups were most often presented as gaining their names through the local offspring of travelling heroes: the names of these eponyms were 'found' among the already-existing ethnonyms. Apart from the early references to Ares as the father of violent Thracian kings, not many full divinities are featured directly in northern aetiologies. Though Apollo had Hyperborean connections, he is seldom cited as an ancestor to northern barbarians. Some of the aetiologies, such as the early origin story of Galatae as the progeny of Polyphemus and Galatea, stem from the Hellenistic shock about the newly dangerous northerners. Others – from Herodotus' Scythian origin story to the Augustan writers' aetiologies for the *Galli* – took shape in a more shared epistemic space in the 'middle grounds' of Pontic colonies or Roman Gaul. Here, the accommodating potential of aetiologies could have benefited both sides.

Herakles/Hercules was particularly important as an ancestor to European barbarian groups. The role of Herodotus' *Skythikos logos* in this should not be underestimated, but several further reasons can be suggested. First is the direction of some of Herakles' travels, especially the fetching of the cattle of Geryon, which suited both the Romans' own aetiologies and those of many other groups. Secondly, the ethnic stereotypes associated with northern and western peoples had a certain Herculean aptness: they were commonly thought to be muscular, warlike, and daring. Often the other half of their ancestry also communicated ethnic qualities, such as the 'milk-white' Galatea or the tall, haughty and proactive 'Celtic' princesses that wooed Hercules. Later, in the Late Republican and Augustan stage, Herculean aetiologies became very common facilitators of origins for a whole series of Gallic groups, and we see several authors reflecting this contemporary penchant. This process may well have been two-way, where Gallic elites participated in cultural, mythically buttressed bridge-building. Greeks and Romans no doubt asked leading questions of the local informants, who would have also had their own reasons for creating connections; it was through these middle-ground processes that accommodations of mythical figures and origin narratives were arrived at.

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 = *ΘΡΑΚΗ*, 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.