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
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HELSINKI 2025

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

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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

	List of illustrations	i
	Abbreviations	v
	Preface	vii
Antti Lampinen	*Introduction: Marking the North in the Greek Tradition*	1
Serena Bianchetti	*The Insular North: A Long-Unknown Reality*	43
Despoina Tsiafaki	*Recognising Thracians: Tattoos as an Ethnic Marker*	57
Antti Lampinen	*Polyphemus, Galatea, Herakles: Myths of Origin for Northerners*	79
Joanna Porucznik	*Northern Women in Greek and Roman Thought*	109
Ekaterina Ilyushechkina	*A Scythian Mirage in the* Collectanea *of Gaius Iulius Solinus*	131
Maia Kotrosits	*From Herodotus to Heresy: Scythians in Long Historical Perspective*	145
Antti Lampinen	*The Formation of the Greek Image of 'Northern' Religions: A Diachronic Account*	157
Julian Gieseke	*On either Side of the Wall: The Dynamic Image of the British Isles from Caesar to the Arrival of the Anglo-Saxons*	193
Maijastina Kahlos	*From Gigantomachia to Mission Possible: Late Roman Visions of Northern Barbarians*	219
Cédrik Michel	*Broadcasting Imperial Policy about the Goths: Theodosius' Torque-Wearing Bodyguards*	233
	Bibliography	273
	Indices	345

From *Gigantomachia* to Mission Possible: Late Roman Visions of Northern Barbarians

Maijastina Kahlos

1. Introduction

In the fourth and fifth centuries, the Romans encountered several groups of Goths as well as other ethnic groups such as Vandals, Suebi, Alans, and Franks, just to mention the most well-known groups. Some encounters were more or less peaceful; groups and individuals were recruited into the Roman army or used as agricultural labour. Other encounters were hostile; for example, Romans and Goths were involved in constant frontier warfare with each other. Furthermore, many Goths and other northern 'barbarians' entered the Roman Empire by forced movement – as captives and slaves.

In this chapter, I analyse how Late Antique Greco-Roman writers interpreted these encounters with northern 'barbarians' through their religious and mythic worldviews. Religion was an intrinsic part of late Roman society and political life, and therefore it was the way in which the realities of war, labour and social life were often outlined. In my discussion I focus on a few Late Antique writers – Synesius, Claudian, Themistius and John Chrysostom. These writers, Christian and non-Christian alike, each in his own manner, pondered how to cope with Goths and other northern 'barbarians'. They deliberated on whether it was possible to make northern 'barbarians' into useful inhabitants of the Empire or convert them as loyal members of the Church.

In the following, we will see how the 'barbarians' were, on the one hand, argued to be outside human civilisation – which in Late Antiquity was increasingly identified as Christian *Romanitas*. The classical imagery of *gigantomachia* (γιγαντομαχία) was used to conceptualise the enmities. Northern barbarians were viewed as the forces of chaos in the manner of mythical giants, *Gigantes* (Γίγαντες).[1] On the other hand, we will see that ecclesiastical writers reflected on the possibilities of converting northern barbarians to Christianity. Was this mission possible? Transforming barbarians from the North into meek Christians was a Christian variation of the Roman policy of creating loyal subjects of the subdued barbarians. In both cases, barbarians were tamed and harnessed into beneficial use of the Empire or the Church.

The concept of 'barbarian' that Greek and Roman writers used to depict the non-Greeks and non-Romans was versatile and could be modified in varying ways for different purposes.[2] Consequently, Greco-Roman authors often conceptualised non-Roman northerners as an entity with specific characteristics such as harsh, fierce and brave but

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[1] Late-Antique Christian writers, most prominently Ambrose of Milan in *De fide* 2.16.137–38, also used the Biblical imagery of Gog and Magog when discussing Goths, Huns and later many other threats: see Humphries 2010, 44–57; Christensen 2002, 49–50; Donzel & Schmidt 2009, 3–14; Tamer & al. (eds.) 2024; Alemany 2024, 23–53; and Kahlos forthcoming.

[2] In this chapter, I refer to 'barbarians' only as the term and concept used by Greek and Roman writers. It is therefore an emic term, that is, used within the ancient context. For the ancient uses of the term, see Vlassopoulos 2013b, 193–194; Chauvot 1998, 6; Hall 1989; also cf. the 'Introduction' to this volume, p. 38 fn. 256.

also greedy, cruel and stupid. Christopher B. Krebs has coined the term 'Borealism' to describe the cultural and ideological expectations of what northern 'barbarians' were like. This kind of bundling and labelling of northern and western barbarians – we may call it either 'Borealism' or 'Occidentalism' – can be compared with the similar phenomenon of 'Orientalism' coined by Edward Saïd.[3]

Late Antique writers' views reflect tensions in the Greco-Roman attitudes towards barbarians – fears, feelings of superiority, urges to benefit from barbarians, and simply what was thought of as useful strategies at specific moments in warfare and peace making. Imperial panegyrists praised the late Roman fourth- and fifth-century recruitment and accommodation policies and argued for their usefulness by using *exempla* from mythology and earlier history.[4] Both the threat of northern barbarians and their usefulness to the Roman society could be visualised in mythical and religious terms.

2. Outside the *oikoumene* and the *kosmos*

Several Greco-Roman authors viewed barbarians as situated both geographically and culturally outside the *oikoumene*, human civilisation – which they principally identified as the Mediterranean world or the Roman Empire.[5] For Late Antique Christian writers, this human *oikoumene* was primarily the Christian *Romanitas*. In some cases, imperial and ecclesiastical discourses of power even included bestialisation and demonisation. Just to mention one example from the early fourth century, there is Eusebius of Caesarea's characterisation of non-Roman nomads in his *Praise of Constantine*. This rhetoric is part of his exposition of two kinds of enemies, visible and invisible – which are paralleled with barbarians and demons:

> Again, the visible barbarians, like the wild nomad tribes, no better than savage beasts, assail the nations of civilised men, ravage their country, and enslave their cities, rushing on those who inhabit them, like ruthless wolves of the desert, and destroying all who fall under their power.[6]

Eusebius is one of the many Late Antique writers who compared barbarians, especially nomads, with wolves coming from the deserts or mountains.[7]

Non-Roman enemies were also perceived as the forces of chaos – therefore even set outside the *kosmos*, the ordered universe. The imagery of gigantomachy was one of the

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[3] Borealism: Krebs 2011, 202–221; see also Lampinen in the 'Introduction' to this volume, p. 1–2. Orientalism: Saïd 1978.

[4] Kahlos, forthcoming. See also my discussion below in the section on Themistius.

[5] The passages in which barbarians are bestialised abound in Greco-Roman literature: e.g., Sen. *Ira* 2.15 saw a similarity between barbarians and animals; cf. Gal. *San. tu.* 1.10. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36.24 paralleled the contrast between Greeks and barbarians with that between humans and wild beasts. For a discussion, see Antonova 2019, 89, 107.

[6] Euseb. *Laus Const.* 7.2. Transl. E.C. Richardson. See also Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 1.2.19 in which he compares the brutality of early humankind with the nomads, passing 'their lives in deserts, like wild and fierce beasts'. For a discussion, see Chauvot 1998, 90–92, 95–96.

[7] The most famous passage is that of Jer. *Ep.* 60.16 on Huns: wolves coming from the north; cf. *Ep.* 77.8 on Huns as wild beasts.

most long-standing ways to conceptualise the fears of disorder and devastation brought by barbarians. The mythological themes of gigantomachy are known in the Greco-Roman literature from Hesiod onwards. The most renowned representation of gigantomachy was found on the frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon in the late 180s BCE, usually connected with the Greek victories over the Galatians.[8] We will get back to the Galatians in the section on Themistius.

In Late Antiquity, battling against giants and all kinds of serpent-formed monsters came forth in propagandistic use in the power struggles between the Tetrarchs. For example, in Emperor Constantine's propaganda, the dragons, monsters and giants were used to depict his vanquished rivals. Eusebius describes a painting set up in the front of the portico of Constantine's palace in which was represented 'that hateful and savage adversary of humankind, who by means of tyranny of the ungodly had wasted the Church of God, falling headlong, under the form of a dragon, to the abyss of destruction'.[9] Furthermore, a sculptural representation of gigantomachy is known to have adorned the wall of the Senate House in the Forum in Constantinople.[10]

3. Synesius' giants and foreigners

Thus, gigantomachy was a theme that was continuously used in Antiquity to depict both internal and external enemies, and in the Roman Imperial period, political rivals and all kinds of threats to the Roman order. Gigantomachy and the imagery of giants, in general, were in use to refer to barbarians as the enemies of the Romans. Giants appear in the allegorical account *Peri pronoias* (*De providentia*) – also known as *The Egyptian Tale* (*Aigyptioi*) or *The Sacred Tale* – composed by the philosopher Synesius of Cyrene, perhaps in 400.[11] Synesius writes:

> 'Whenever,' he said, 'those who are now in power shall attempt to introduce innovations in our religious rites, then expect that in a short time the Giants' – by which he meant the foreigners – 'shall be cast out, themselves pursued with furies'.[12]

Let us have a closer look at what Synesius writes here. The sentence is put into the mouth of a god who advises the writer, 'one man', Synesius himself.[13] Synesius' *De providentia* was a pamphlet responding to the power struggle in Constantinople,

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[8] For a discussion, see Chamoud 1988; Marszal 2000; Stewart 2000; Kahl 2010, 77–128; Demandt 2013; Coarelli 2017; Queyrel 2017; Savalli-Lestrade 2020.

[9] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.3; transl. E.C. Richardson. Furthermore, a coin of Constantine (*RIC* VII 19 British Museum) represents his rival Licinius as a snake.

[10] Magdalino 1988, 102, esp. n. 42 on the sources for the gigantomachy panel. On the gigantomachy theme in Greco-Roman literature, see Innes 1979, 165–171; Hardie 1986, 85–102; Dewar 1996, 56–60; Ware 2016, 190–191.

[11] For the date of *De providentia*, see Cameron & Long 1993, 71. Synesius later became the bishop of Ptolemais.

[12] Syn. *De prov.* 1.18: 'Ὅταν' ἔφη, 'καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἁγιστείας ἡμῶν καινοτομεῖν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι, μετὰ βραχὺ προσδέχου τοὺς Γίγανταις', τούτους λέγων τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους, 'ἔσεσθαι ἐκποδὼν ποινηλατουμένους ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν·' Transl. FitzGerald 1930, 307, modified.

[13] 'One man', Synesius himself, is said to have earlier given a long speech. Modern scholars identify this speech as Synesius' earlier pamphlet *On Kingship*. Synesius wrote two pamphlets, *On Kingship* (*Peri basileias* or *De regno*, from 398) and *De providentia* during his embassy to Constantinople; Cameron & Long 1993, 71.

connected to the conflict with the Gothic military officer Gaïnas and the Goths under his command. Synesius writes about this conflict in the form of the allegorical tale set in Egypt – with Osiris, who is the good ruler, and Typhos, who is the villain of the tale. Much ink has been spilled in an effort to identify precisely who was Osiris and who Typhos in the contemporary Constantinople, as well as to set the identification of the other characters.[14]

What seems to be clear is that the 'foreigners', the Giants of the passage above, and 'Scythians' elsewhere in the tale, who have infiltrated Egypt, were Goths, and the 'innovations in our religious rites' that they brought with them were Homoean Christianity (conventionally called 'Arianism'). Synesius writes about the distortion of religion that these 'Scythians' have brought: it is 'a certain evil stamp of religious observance, and a counterfeit of ritual as in the case of coinage' which should, according to the law, be banished 'from the cities, shutting out the impiety beyond the walls'.[15] Synesius depicts this distortion of religion as the treachery of Typhos who schemes with the help of 'barbarians' (διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων).[16] Synesius most probably uses the name *Typhos* with deliberate reminiscences of the *Typhon* aka *Typhoeus* among the Giants in Greek mythology. Typhon was the well-known villain in Plutarch's treatise on the Osiris myth, *Peri Isidos kai Osiridos* (*De Iside et Osiride*). Synesius writes that the 'foreigners' used 'the city as a camp' but then suddenly 'they retired from the town' and secretly took their children, their wives, and their valuables with them. Scythians 'did not cease running out like thieves'.[17]

Whatever the precise context for Synesius' pamphlet was,[18] the 'Scythian' barbarians – 'foreigners' – were depicted as the forces of chaos, the giants. The giants were a clear reference to the mythological Giants who had raised against the order of the Olympians. Furthermore, Synesius reinforces the notion of chaos by using the name Typhos – with reminiscences to Typhon, both the giant in the gigantomachy and the enemy of Osiris. Both mythical figures represented the chaotic forces. Synesius' gigantic foreigners escape, and the order is restored. In Synesius' vision, they cannot be harnessed to serve as useful members of the civilised society.

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[14] Cameron & Long 1993, 71–73 interpret Osiris in Synesius' tale as Aurelian who was Synesius' patron and one of the leading figures in the Constantinopolitan court at that time. Jones 1964, 80–81; Liebeschuetz 1990, 114–115 and *PLRE* vol. 1, s.v. 'Flavius Eutychianus 5', 319–321 identify the villain Typhos as Eutychianus, the praetorian prefect in 396–397.

[15] Syn. *De prov.* 1.18: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συχνοῦ χρόνου διεξελθόντος πονηρόν τι κόμμα θρησκεύματος καὶ παραχάραγμα ἁγιστείας, ὥσπερ νομίσματος, ὅπερ νόμος ἀρχαῖος ἐξοικίζει τῶν πόλεων, θύραζε καὶ πόρρω τειχῶν ἀποκλείων τὸ ἀσέβημα· Transl. FitzGerald 1930, 308. See Cameron & Long 1993, 38.

[16] Syn. *De prov.* 1.18: ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο ὁ Τυφὼς οὐκ αὐτοπρόσωπος δέει τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πλήθους, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων εἰσφρῆσαί τε ἐπέθετο καὶ ἱερὸν ἐν ἄστει δοῦναι, καταλύσας νόμους πατρῴους, αὐτίκα ὁ ξένος ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλλετο, ὅτι τοῦτο ἄρα ἐκεῖνο τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ προαγόρευμα· Synesius writes that Typhos does not dare to 'break the laws of his ancestors' openly in person, so he works through the 'Scythians'. For the historical narrative (attested in Trogus-Justin) about the early war between Egyptians and Scythians, see Kotrosits' chapter p. 149.

[17] Syn. *De prov.* 2.1–2.2.

[18] This description of the escape possibly refers to how the Gothic troops led by Gaïnas left Constantinople. Likewise, the reliefs of the column of Arcadius depicted the demise of Gaïnas. The reliefs are no longer extant, but the images were copied in early modern drawings; see Liebeschuetz 1990, 273–278.

4. Claudian's giants and monsters

Gigantomachy and the monster theme in general are prevalent in the works of the Late Antique poet Claudian, as is shown in the meticulous analyses of Claudian's poetry by Clare Coombe and Catherine Ware. The imagery of giants and monsters is harnessed for the use of denigrating the opponents of Claudian's patron Stilicho who thus acts in the poem as an epic hero. Coombe shows 'how the enemies of Stilicho are transformed into chaotic forces through engagement with the monster motif.'[19] Subsequently, giants and monsters abound in his poetry, but there were two pieces by Claudian specifically on gigantomachy. First, there is an unfinished poem *Gigantomachia* in Latin, 128 verses, now amongst his *Carmina minora*; second, there are fragments of an epic on gigantomachia in Greek that is usually attributed to Claudian.

In the Latin poem the gigantomachy scenery is firmly set in Greek mythology, but, in a few instances, Claudian connects the gods' battling against giants with the Geloni and Getae. These two names were conventionally used in Roman literature to exemplify the fierce barbarians, and in Late Antique literature were associated with contemporary Goths:

> *Horrendus ubique*
> *it fragor et pugnae spatium discriminat aer.*
> *primus terrificum Mavors non segnis in agmen*
> *Odrysios impellit equos, quibus ille Gelonos*
> *sive Getas turbare solet*;
>
> On all sides a horrid din
> resounds and only the air divides the rival armies.
> First impetuous Mars urges against the horrid band
> his Odrysian steeds that oft have driven in rout
> Getae or Geloni.[20]

The fragments of Claudian's Greek *gigantomachia* also portray mythological events but with no explicit mention of barbarians. Claudian depicts the giants as destroying a river by draining it by drinking all the water[21] and destroying the sea 'by drinking the deeps and destroying the water'.[22] In their attack, the giants destroy their own mother, Gaia, Earth. The

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[19] Ware 2012, 128–141; Coombe 2018, 93 and 94: '[…] gigantomachy, the monster theme which lies at the heart of Claudian's poetry, both political and mythological. Claudian's deep interest in this theme is reflected by the prevalence of its appearance in his poetry.'

[20] Claud. *Gigantomach.* vv. 73–77 (*Carm. Min.* 53). Transl. Platnauer (*LCL* 136, p. 287), modified in my quotation.

[21] Claud. *Gigantomachia Gr.* F 2.25–29: διψήσας δὲ γίγας (πιέειν θέλε νήχυτον ὕδωρ) / τῆλε μάλ' ἐς ποταμὸν τάνυσεν πολυχανδέα δειρήν, / ἕλκε δὲ χεύματα πάντα κυλινδομένοιο ῥόοιο, / ἄχρι δὲ πηγάων ὑπεδέξατο μυρίον ὕδωρ ἑσπόμενος πρό χοῇσιν ἀπολλυμένου ποταμοῖο. 'A parched giant (he wished to drink flowing water) / far towards a river stretched his voluminous throat, / he dragged all the water of the rolling stream, / until he took in the myriad water of the streams, / which followed to the mouth of the devastated river.' (Transl. Coombe 2018, 107). The most well-known image of the greed and *hybris* in ancient literature appears in Hdt. 7.21, where the historian asks 'what water did not fall short of the needs of his host, save only the great rivers' in the way of Xerxes' army from Asia to Greece (κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν).

[22] Claud. *Gigantomach. Gr.* F 2.33–34: πινομένου δὲ βυθοῖο καὶ ὕδατος ὀλλυμένοιο / γυμνώθη μέγα βένθος,

conspicuous feature is their greed that destroys everything. As Coombe points out, 'a close reading of these [Claudian's] poems in parallel with the theme of the giants in the other political and mythological poems reveals that these are recurrent monsters which embody universal chaos, and on account of their recurrence are always contemporary, irrupting from the borders into the stable world in the same manner as the barbarian hordes.'[23]

In Greek mythology, the Giants were arrogant enough to rise against Zeus and the Olympian gods. Pride and arrogance in particular were the characteristics that were frequently connected with the northern barbarians. In the poetic imagery, proud barbarians were associated with gigantomachy and titanomachy, the mythical battles of giants and titans against the Olympian gods.[24] This is also what Claudian does in his poem in honour of the sixth consulship of the Emperor Honorius (*Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*) in 402, comparing the Goths led by Alaric to the Giants in their rage. The Goths, appearing repeatedly as *Getae* in the poem, have suffered defeat and now advance with bowed necks (*deiecta cervice*). The river Eridanus, that is, the river Po, addresses the humiliated Alaric and ridicules him in a series of contemptuous questions: 'What, Alaric, have you then changed your plans? Why do you hasten back? Have you already got wearied so soon of the coasts of Italy?'[25] The river Po speaks derisively:

> *O cunctis Erebi dignissime poenis,*
> *tune Giganteis urbem temptare deorum*
> *adgressus furiis?*
>
> Oh, you fit object of all the punishments of Erebus,
> do you think to attack the city of the gods
> with a Giant's rage?[26]

To underline Alaric's pride and arrogance, Claudian lets the Po mention another example of stupid pride, one of the most well-known tales about the human *hybris* and one that had been localised in the area of Northern Italy from a very early stage onwards: the myth of Phaethon, the son of Helios, who fell from the heavens to the very waters of the Po.[27] The river derides him by saying that it is as mad a crime to desire to spoil Rome as to grasp the reins of the Sun's chariot.[28]

ἐχερσώθη δὲ θάλασσα. 'By drinking the deeps and destroying the water, / the great depth was exposed and the sea was made dry.' Transl. Coombe 2018, 107. See Cameron 1970, 11, on the influence of Claudian's Greek *Gigantomachia* on Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*.

[23] Coombe 2018, 95. The greed of the Giants: Coombe 2018, 94–95, 105–108; Claudian's Greek works: Focanti 2016, 485–503.

[24] In Greek and Roman literature, the gigantomachy and titanomachy were often assimilated; cf. Fraenkel 1954, 15. For the myths of gigantomachy, see the articles in Massa-Pairault & Pouzadoux (eds.) 2017, especially the association between Galatians and *Gigantes* in Hellenistic art, see Queyrel 2017, 203–215. Cf. p. 98 fn. 122 in this volume.

[25] Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 180–198.

[26] Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 184–186. Transl. Platnauer (*LCL* 136, p. 289), modified in my quotation.

[27] Claud. *VI Cons. Hon.* 186–190. See also p. 27, 83, 89 in this volume.

[28] Claud. *VI Cons. Hon*. 191–192: *crede mihi, simili bacchatur crimine, quisquis / adspirat Romae spoliis aut Solis habenis*. All the other rivers join in to mock Alaric and the Gothic fugitives for their arrogance which led to their defeat (195–198).

Claudian's audience in Rome certainly associated the city of Rome with the city of the gods. He wrote the panegyric with the senators in Rome as the audience specially in mind.[29] This is clear from the beginning of the work, the preface in which he dreams of composing and performing a poem of gigantomachy in front of (no less than) Jupiter and the Olympian gods. Then he states that his dream has come true as he is actually chanting it before Emperor Honorius and the Roman Senate.[30]

In Claudian's poetry, in the mythological poems (the Greek and Latin *Gigantomachia*) as well as in political poems in praise of Stilicho, the giants are clearly the forces of chaos, and there is no hope for taming or harnessing them into the use of the orderly world. Alaric depicted by Claudian is an arrogant barbarian beyond the hope of peaceful order. Were there any possibilities to domesticate barbarians into beneficial use?

5. Themistius and the taming of the Giants

Let us see how a few other Late Antique writers discussed the possibilities of taming barbarians. First, I will discuss how the Constantinopolitan philosopher and senator Themistius aims to reassure his audience that the Goths can and will be integrated into Roman society in one of his speeches (*Oration* 16). He claims:

> So will we see the Scythians do likewise within a short time. For now their clashes with us are still recent, but in fact we shall soon receive them to share our offerings, our tables, our military ventures, and public duties.[31]

The context of Themistius' announcement is the peace made with the Goths in 382 that ended the Romano-Gothic war. The Goths, whom Themistius calls 'Scythians' (*Skythai*, Σκύθαι) – according to the Greek literary conventions, as we already saw in the case of Synesius – were given permission to settle in Thrace. The peace was a compromise after a protracted and not-so-successful war.[32] After the peace with the Goths, Themistius advocated the imperial policy of accommodation in *Oration* 16, balancing between the triumphalist subjugation and the integration of Goths.[33] On the one hand, there is the triumphant emperor and subjugated Goths, on the other hand, there is the aim to persuade the listeners that it is beneficial for all the Empire that Goths be integrated.

The message that Themistius wanted to convey is: The Goths are not 'destroyed completely' because of the rationality and philanthropy of the Romans. Instead, the

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[29] Dewar 1996, 60–61.

[30] Claud. *VI Cons. Hon*. praef.11–26, especially praef.23–24: *en princeps, en orbis apex aequatus Olympo! / en quales memini, turba verenda, deos!* For the prefaces in Claudian's poems, see Gualandri 2013, 129. Ware 2016, 189–190, interprets the gigantomachy as 'more than a flattering metaphor for the recent victory over Alaric'.

[31] Them. *Or.* 16.211d; transl. Heather & Moncur 2001, 281.

[32] On what terms the settlement was given to the Goths is still debated in modern scholarship. Some researchers argue for the Goths' semi-autonomous position both in the army and the Empire, while others maintain that Goths were treated according to traditional forms of *deditio*, unconditional surrender, as *dediticii* who were then settled in Roman areas in due course. The *dediticii* was the technical term for those who surrendered voluntarily and were settled in the Roman Empire. For the context and modern debates, see Lenski 1997, 143–144; Garnsey & Humfress 2001, 101.

[33] Them. *Or.* 16 was held on January 1, 383 to celebrate the consulship of the *magister militum* Saturninus who negotiated the peace with the Goths. For the context, see Vanderspoel 1995, 205–208 and Stone 2020, 245–249.

Goths are spared and *made better* – it is implied, made Romans – by taking them into the Roman Empire.[34] Themistius asserts that this is the greatness of the Romans: their power (*dynamis*, δύναμις) 'did not now lie in weapons, nor in breastplates, spears and unnumbered manpower.' Themistius implies that the Romans' power was in rationality and philanthropy. This power 'comes silently from that source which subdues all nations', 'turns savagery to mildness' and wins over Scythians (Goths), Alans, and Massagetae (Huns).[35] There are several images and metaphors that Themistius uses to reinforce the argument for the taming of the Goths. First, he appeals to the age-old Aesopian tale on Persuasion (Peitho) and Force (Bia) in which it becomes clear that more is achieved by Persuasion than Force.[36] Second, Themistius construes an image of barbarians who are tamed and charmed like beasts were enchanted by Orpheus – the spell in the Roman case is the emperor's love of humankind, *philanthropia* (φιλανθρωπία). As a result of the Goths' accommodation, their spirit will be humbled, and (among other excellent things) they will show respect to the land they had just sacked.[37] Themistius shows that the merit of the emperor's philanthropic policy is to make Goths useful – as it is better to have Goths as farmers than corpses, to fill the country with living humans than with tombs, to have farmed land than wilderness, and so on.

Themistius' arguments probably evoked favourable response in his audience, landowners and senators, who may have been looking for labour and manpower for the needs of their estates and the army.[38] Furthermore, Themistius introduces several successful *exempla* from Roman history to justify the emperor's accommodation policy in the present. People who had caused destruction had found 'forgiveness' (*syngnome*, συγγνώμη) and thereafter had turned out to be 'useful' (*en chreia*, ἐν χρείᾳ) to those whom they had just harmed. One of the examples he gives is that of the Galatians who had harassed Hellenistic Asia Minor and then settled in the region that was named after them, Galatia. Themistius declares:

> And now no one would ever refer to the Galatians as barbarian but as thoroughly Roman.[39]

It is in this context that the passage of the sharing of the offerings (*homospondous*, ὁμοσπόνδους), tables (*homotrapezous*, ὁμοτραπέζους), military ventures (*homou strateuomenous*, ὁμοῦ στρατευομένους) and foremost of all, the public duties (*homou*

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[34] Them. *Or.* 16.211a; cf. *Or.* 16.199c stating very generally that the Goths gave up 'their weapons voluntarily'. On this episode from the Late Antique historians' point of view, cf. Amm. Marc. 31.4–5; Eunap. F 42 (Blockley) *ap. Exc. de legat. gent.* 6; Oros. 7.33.10–11.

[35] Them. *Or.* 16.207c. Transl. Heather & Moncur 2001, 275.

[36] Them. *Or.* 16.208a–209a. For Persuasion and Force as divinities and their use in argumentation, see Marcos 2019, 111–118.

[37] Them. *Or.* 16.209a–210d. Themistius uses the terms *epaeidō* (ἐπαείδω, to sing as an incantation, to sing so as to charm or soothe) and *keleō* (κηλέω, to charm, to bewitch, to beguile, especially by music), strongly connected with magical practices. For the metaphor of Orpheus used to discuss the domesticating or tempering influence of Greco-Roman culture, see Kahlos, forthcoming.

[38] Them. *Or.* 16.211b. In his speeches, Themistius was skilful in stressing the common good and the economic benefits of peace: see Vanderspoel 1995, 175–178 and Daly 1972, 364.

[39] Them. *Or.* 16.211c. Galatians had attacked the Hellenistic kingdoms but were defeated several times. As I mentioned above, the most famous representation of gigantomachy, the frieze of the Great Altar of Pergamon, was usually associated with the Hellenistic victories over the Galatians. The Galatians settled in Asia Minor in the region that eventually became known as Galatia; see e.g. Lampinen 2024a.

leitourgountas, ὁμοῦ λειτουργοῦντας), which I just quoted, comes forth. What will make the newcomers Romans is this sharing. Their life will be akin (*symphylos*, σύνφυλος) to the Roman way of life, as they will pay taxes, they will enlist in the army, they will abide by the government, and they will obey the laws. It is these four issues that unite all Roman subjects: taxes, military service, government, and laws. That is to be Roman.[40]

In another speech (*Oration* 34, dated to late 384 or early 385), Themistius returns to the familiar imagery of the merciful emperor and the shared Romanness.[41] Furthermore, Themistius employs the imagery of gigantomachy when depicting the Romans' warfare against the barbarians. In this speech as well, he justifies Emperor Theodosius's policy of making peace with the Goths, now comparing it to the methods of the gods Hermes and Apollo, stating that 'giants were charmed by the young gods' wand and lyre.'[42] He continues, 'such are the triumphs of piety; not to destroy but to improve the vanquished.' Then he comes to the idea of sharing:

> The Scythians [that is, the Goths] share our roofs and our libations and the feasts in celebration of the victory over themselves.[43]

Paradoxically, the Goths will share with Romans even 'the celebrations of the victory over themselves'. Themistius also cherishes the emperor's piety (*eusebeia*, εὐσέβεια), justice (*dikaiosyne*, δικαιοσύνη), mildness (*praotes*, πραότης) and love of humankind (*philanthropia*).[44] He even admits that the Romans 'are gentle towards those who are suppliants', thus 'not hating them for being Scythians, but deeming them worthy, as human beings, of being spared'. The consequence is that the merciful emperor is not only the ruler of the Romans alone, but also 'knows that he is the king of all humans'.[45]

Themistius clearly advocated for the possibility of taming and harnessing northern barbarians into the beneficial use of the Empire. His views were closely connected to the imperial policy of recruiting Goths as labour and manpower. Themistius' argumentation of the usefulness of defeated Goths as future settlers and taxpayers was in line with contemporary and earlier Roman imperial policies and panegyrics. For centuries, Romans had settled whole vanquished ethnic groups both inside and outside the borders of the Empire. There had been more or less substantial transportations and accommodations

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[40] Them. *Or.*16.211d. See also the chapter of Michel in this volume.

[41] Them. *Or.* 34.23. Here the context is Themistius' speech, a kind of apology, in which he defends himself 'In Reply to Those Who Found Fault with Him for Accepting Public Office'. Heather & Moncur 2001, 304, date the speech to late 384 or early 385. Two commentators from different decades show how divergent the interpretations can be: Daly 1972, 378: 'The comparison he made of the Empire's battle against the barbarians with the gigantomachy, the mythological account of the primeval struggle between cosmos and chaos, suggests that he was conscious of the critical character of his age, a condition which modern historians, blessed with hindsight, have meaningfully entitled Spätantike, Bas-Empire, or Late Antiquity.' Compare this with De Wet 2012: 'The reality is that this rhetoric was difficult to maintain. Even Themistius was aware of the importance of winning the approval of the barbarians, thus within his anti-barbarian polemic, he also included a rhetoric of assimilation. If the barbarians would become Roman the problem would be solved. He also urged the Roman government to approach the barbarians with *philanthropia*.'

[42] Them. *Or.* 34.23. Transl. Penella 2000, 226–228.

[43] Them. *Or.* 34.25. Transl. Heather & Moncur 2001, 328.

[44] Them. *Or.* 34.23–24. Transl. Penella 2000, 226–228, with my modification. The emperor conquers the Goths by his gentleness. See also Heather & Moncur 2001, 329.

[45] Them. *Or.* 34.25. Transl. Heather & Moncur 2001, 328.

of populations during the Early Imperial period and these policies continued in Late Antiquity.[46]

6. John Chrysostom and mission possible

Themistius depicted the northern barbarians as useful to the Empire and as potential subjects of the Roman emperor. Next, we will see how ecclesiastical writers – John Chrysostom as an example – deliberated on the possibilities of converting northern barbarians to Christianity. Was this mission possible? And: which mission from what to what? In the fourth century, most (but not all) Gothic groups embraced a Homoean variant of Christianity. Dates and details are continuously debated in scholarship. I will not go into those debates here, but suffice it to say that the Christianity with which the Goths became acquainted cannot be labelled as either 'Nicene' or 'Arian', as the formation and labelling of these lines were in process.[47] The term 'Homoean' is certainly problematic as well.[48] The version of Christianity most of the Goths adopted was the imperially promoted Christianity during the reigns of Constantius II and Valens. Consequently, the conversion of Gothic groups reflects the complex fourth-century situation in which a wide variety of theological positions prevailed in late Roman society.[49]

At the end of the fourth century, the emperors of the Theodosian dynasty supported the pro-Nicene version of Christianity. It was after the council of Constantinople in 381 that 'Arians' became a juridical term for groups deemed heretical and consequently illegal under imperial legislation. The borders of proper Romanness were increasingly defined by the correct belief. The reinterpretation of correct religion brought a new dimension to the religious rivalry in late Roman society. This geography of heresy also redefined people in the other direction: the orthodox (Nicene) were regarded as citizens – and heretics ('Arians'/'Homoeans' and others) were labelled as barbarians.[50] Even though many Goths were Christian, they were nonetheless considered barbarians because their Christianity was of the wrong kind.[51]

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46 For transportations and accommodations, see Nixon & Rodgers 1994, 106, 141; Barbero 2007, 14–15, 32–33; de Blois 2017, 52–53; Woolf 2017, 37; Kahlos, forthcoming.

47 Modern scholars discuss, e.g., how remarkable the role of Ulfila (Wulfila) was in the Christianisation of the Goths; Ulfila has traditionally been connected with the missionary work of the Goths, but his role may have been exaggerated; nor should long processes be simplified to specific dates or eponymic figures. Furthermore, it is debated what 'conversion' may have meant in the context of the Goths. For surveys of the scholarly discussions, see Heather 1986, 291; Heil 2014, 85–115; Wolfram 2014, 131–144; Schäferdiek 2014, 21–48; and Kahlos 2021, 41–55.

48 Wiles 1996, 41–44; Parvis (S.) 2014, 65, on the unhelpfulness of the category 'Homoean' which would be better understood through the clearly and self-confessedly non-Nicene positions of the fourth-century participants in the doctrinal debates; see also Parvis (P.) 2014, 69.

49 Ancient writers give different accounts of the conversion of the Goths, some connecting it with the reign of Valens; Socr. *Hist. eccl.* 4.33; Oros. 7.33.19; Soz. *Hist. eccl.* 6.37. Wiles 1996, 43; Brennecke 2014, 122; Parvis (P.) 2014, 76.

50 Kim 2006, 235–251.

51 Even after the establishment of the Nicene version as the imperially supported Christianity, Goths were not bound by the religious legislation. Emperor Theodosius I provided Goths an autonomous or semi-autonomous status as *foederati*, and this included religious autonomy: *CTh* 16.5.21 (in 392). Gwynn 2010, 230.

This was the context of John Chrysostom's (*ca*. 347–407) vigorous missionary activities in Constantinople as the archbishop of Constantinople from 397 onwards – to persuade Goths there to embrace Nicene Christianity. According to the church historian Theodoret of Cyrrhus, John Chrysostom appointed priests who knew the Gothic language and could preach in Gothic, and he assigned a church to them and preached there to the Goths himself by using an interpreter:

> It was perceived by John that the Scythians [the Goths] were involved in the Arian net; he therefore devised counter contrivances and discovered a means of winning them over. Appointing presbyters and deacons and readers of the divine oracles who spoke the Scythian tongue, he assigned a church to them, and by their means won many from their error. He used frequently himself to visit it and preach there, using an interpreter who was skilled in both languages, and he got other good speakers to do the same. This was his constant practice in the city, and many of those who had been deceived he rescued by pointing out to them the truth of the apostolic preaching.[52]

One of the sermons that Chrysostom held was the homily addressed to the Goths, dated to late 400 or early 401. In this sermon, John Chrysostom stresses that there is no difference between a Hellene and a barbarian within the *ekklesia* (ἐκκλησία) – this is an allusion to the pseudo-Pauline Colossians 3:11. He also refers to the Biblical figures of Abraham, Moses, and the Magi – as *exempla* for the strangers who come to God. Goths are welcomed to the Church – the Nicene Church, of course.[53] As Chris De Wet points out in his analysis of the sermon, John Chrysostom 'seems to hold a positive view of barbarians in his sermon' but nonetheless reveals himself to be 'quite paternalistic and patronising'.[54]

In the very first chapter of the sermon, John Chrysostom rejoices that the 'beast-like among the humans' (τὸ θηριῶδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων) have embraced the church. He compares the situation to the Biblical imagery of the wolf and the lamb, the lion and the cattle hanging out together – this is an allusion to Isaiah.[55] Even the most barbarous of all the people – obviously the Goths here – were now staying together with the lambs of the church – obviously the Roman Christians – in the shared pasturage and shelter as well as at one and the same table set before them.[56] One cannot help thinking of the shared altars, tables and all else in Themistius' *Oration* 16, even though there does not need to be any particular connection between Chrysostom's sermon and Themistius' speech. These topics and images were certainly in wide circulation in late Roman society in any case.

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[52] Theodor. *Hist. eccl.* 5.30. Transl. B. Jackson.

[53] John Chrysostom's sermon to the Goths is usually known by the Latin title *Homilia habita postquam presbyter Gothus concionatus fuerat*, *PG* 63, coll. 499–510. For the date, see Cameron & Long 1993, 98.

[54] De Wet 2012: 'Chrysostom states that even the most barbarous of barbarians "were standing together with the sheep of the church, with a common pasture and one fold, and the same table set before all alike". This rhetoric of differentiation and cultural hegemony occurs frequently in the sermon.'

[55] Isa. 65:25.

[56] Ioann. Chrys. *Homilia habita postquam presbyter Gothus* 2: Λύκοι καὶ ἄρνες ἅμα βοσκηθήσονται, καὶ πάρδαλις συναναπαύσεται ἐρίφῳ, καὶ λέων ὡς βοῦς φάγεται ἄχυρα· οὐ περὶ λεόντων καὶ ἀρνῶν καὶ παρδάλεων καὶ ἐρίφων διηγούμενος, ἀλλὰ προαναφωνῶν ἡμῖν καὶ δεικνὺς, ὅτι δὴ τὸ θηριῶδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τοσαύτην ἥξει ἡμερότητα τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τοῦ κηρύγματος κερασθὲν, ὥστε μετὰ τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ πραοτάτων ἀνδρῶν συναγελάζεσθαι. Καὶ τοῦτο σήμερον ἑωράκατε, τοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων βαρβαρικωτέρους μετὰ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προβάτων ἑστῶτας, καὶ κοινὴν οὖσαν τὴν νομὴν καὶ τὸν σηκὸν ἕνα, καὶ μίαν ἅπασι τράπεζαν προκειμένην.

John Chrysostom used the comparison to beasts among the humans to describe the position of northern barbarians in late Roman society. In his view, the peaceful coexistence between the wolf and the lamb was feasible. It was possible to tame the wolf and the lion to share pasturage and shelter with the cattle. The Biblical imagery also functioned as a plea to the Roman audience: the bishop advocated the recognition of the Goths as the proper members of the Christian commonwealth. The prerequisite for belonging to Christian community was becoming Nicene Christian.

7. Conclusions

John Chrysostom was not the only Christian writer to view northern barbarians as 'beastlike among the humans'. The Christian poet Prudentius paralleled barbarians, pagans and animals with one another.[57] However, Christian writers, even Prudentius, usually considered barbarians an opportunity – they could always be converted. Thus, John Chrysostom was not the only ecclesiastical writer to look forward to humanising barbarians by making them Christians, and Nicene Christians. Latin ecclesiastical writers also cherished similar, more or less patronising, tones in their praises of the Christian mission among the barbarians. Just to mention one, there was Paulinus of Nola, the bishop and poet who optimistically wrote about the pacification of barbarians:

> *Barbari discunt resonare Christum*
> *corde Romano placidamque casti*
> *vivere pacem.*
>
> Barbarians learn to sing (about) Christ
> with a Roman heart, and to live
> chastely in tranquil peace.[58]

Consequently, the Roman ecclesiastical writers expected the barbarians both to sing Christ's song and to do so with a Roman heart. In their view, in the new interpretation of Romanness, these went hand in hand. As mentioned earlier, the borders of Romanness, and even humankind, were now defined by belief. The Homoean ('Arian') Christian Goths were still regarded as barbarians because their Christianity was thought to be of the wrong kind. The Roman heart was to be the Nicene Christian heart.[59]

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[57] Prudent. *C. Symm.* 2.816–819: *Sed tantum distant Romana et Barbara, quantum / quadrupes abiuncta est bipedi vel muta loquenti; / tantum etiam qui rite Dei praecepta sequuntur, / cultibus a stolidis et eorum erroribus absunt*.

[58] Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 17.262–264. Compare the similar optimism in Oros. 7.37.8–9 about making barbarians into civilised Christians and Romans. Christianity had tamed the brutal Goths and thus benefited the whole world by mitigating barbarian attacks. For Orosius, Christianity was the marker of the moral progress of barbarians and their becoming Roman. As a result of divine providence, barbarians arriving in the Roman Empire as invaders eventually embraced Christianity and were thus tamed of their wild nature: Oros. 7.41.8–9.

[59] As De Wet (2012) points out, for Greco-Roman writers such as Themistius and John Chrysostom it was impossible to 'think outside the dichotomy between Roman and barbarian'. For the attitudes of ecclesiastical writers on the 'Arianism' of the Goths, see Kahlos 2021, 41–55. For the division of humanity based on the correct faith, see also Kominko 2016, 375.

Synesius and Claudian used the mythological imagery of *gigantomachia* to depict northern barbarians as the forces of chaos, giants, who transgressed against the orderly world. In Synesius' pamphlet and Claudian's poems, northern barbarians functioned as outsiders and enemies, and therefore, they had no access to the Roman commonwealth. Both Synesius' and Claudian's texts were written in the contexts in which harnessing the barbarians into the Roman use was not even considered. Instead, Themistius, Latin panegyrists, and the Christian writers John Chrysostom and Paulinus of Nola regarded northern barbarians as a promising opportunity to the Empire or to the Nicene church. Their considerations were connected to the contexts of peace-making, recruitment of manpower and missionary activities. Consequently, these writers argued that even the fiercest barbarians – such as Goths – could be tamed and domesticated into the beneficial use of the Romans.

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