



Epiphanius of Salamis and the Scotti: New Evidence for Late Roman-Irish Relations*

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ABSTRACT

A survey of the written evidence for attacks by Scotti on fourth-century Roman Britain provides a historical context for the introduction of two hitherto overlooked references to Scotti in the works of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis on Cyprus (c. A.D. 315–403). Examination of Epiphanius' Ancoratus and Panarion confirms that he inserted the ethnonym Σκόρτοι into patristic source-material in the early 370s. These passages claim attention as unique testimony to the Scotti in Greek literature and the second earliest witness to this term in Roman sources. Their date prompts the conjecture that the barbarica conspiratio that beset Britain in A.D. 367–68/9 was a widely reported event even before its significance was magnified by Theodosian dynastic propaganda.

Keywords: Late Roman; Scotti; Irish; Epiphanius; Theodosius; Barbarian Conspiracy

From the early fourth century Latin authors applied the term *Scot(t)i* to hostile peoples from Ireland engaged in periodic attacks against Britannia. Along with other similarly homogenised groupings — *Picti*, *Saxones* and, to a lesser degree, *Atecotti* — Scotti play an ill-defined and poorly documented role in the transition from late Roman to sub-Roman Britain. Whether these intrusive barbarians should be considered agents or mere beneficiaries of this transformation is subject to shifting scholarly fashion, but the longer-term historical significance of Germanic infiltration, conquest and settlement of the southern and eastern lowlands of England from the early fifth century has naturally received by far the highest degree of attention, even if the intensity or actuality of Saxon raids on Britannia in the fourth century has come under closer scrutiny in recent decades.¹ In contrast, the Irish or 'Scottic' dimension has attracted much less interest from Roman scholars, partly owing to long-established historiographic trends (and perhaps national agendas) dating back to the

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¹ For hyper-sceptical views of fourth-century Saxon raiding, see Bartholomew 1984; Cotterill 1993; for more balanced assessments, see Haywood 1991, 37–45, 51–75; Detalle 2002; Pearson 2006.

nineteenth century, but also reflecting the complexities of the evidence for Irish raiding and settlement. Few individuals combine expertise in Roman artefacts found in Ireland, the archaeology of defensive installations along the western littoral of Britannia, Welsh toponymy, Latin- and/or ogham-inscribed memorials and early medieval Irish and Welsh historico-genealogical traditions. Even from a purely classicist's perspective, however, while the archaeological aspects of Roman-Irish contacts are relatively well served in recent and older literature, a comprehensive collection of Greco-Roman texts relating to Ireland and its inhabitants was first accomplished only in 2001, despite the endeavours of some nineteenth-century philologists.² Inevitably much about the Irish threat to Britannia in the fourth and early fifth centuries is, and will remain, obscure: sporadic and terse reports in Roman literature allow little scope for gauging the scale, frequency and locations of incursions or the aims and precise identity of the perpetrators, even if archaeology and the later Irish evidence can potentially elucidate some of these questions. In these circumstances the most slender thread of evidence contributes to the larger historical tapestry. The modest purpose of this short article is to draw attention to two references to the *Scotti*, hitherto overlooked even in specialist studies, which not only rank among the earliest witnesses to this term, but also represent a unique occurrence of *Scotti*, or rather Σκόρτοι, in a Greek source.

A full assessment of the evidence for Irish raiding cannot be attempted here, but a brief survey of Roman written sources will be instructive.³ In each case it is important to distinguish the date of composition from the historical events described. The evidence first hints at Irish raiding towards the end of the third century. Anonymous panegyrics to Constantius Caesar in A.D. 297 and Constantine in A.D. 310 reveal a dim awareness of a potential but apparently not pressing threat posed to Britannia by *Hiberni*, mentioned in the context of Constantius' campaigns in the diocese in A.D. 296 and 305–6, although Roman-Hiberni contact or hostilities are explicitly denied.⁴ A somewhat obscure passage of Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*, completed c. A.D. 337–40, alludes to otherwise unreported military operations undertaken by Constantine in Britain at some point in the period c. A.D. 306–12, when he apparently suppressed rebels and repelled invaders. If the account is accurate, the adversaries may have included Irish raiders, although no particulars can be divined in Eusebius' vague circumlocutory language.⁵

The term *Scot(t)i* is first attested in an appendix to an inventory of provinces known as the *Laterculus Veronensis* (or *Nomina provinciarum omnium*). The sole manuscript witness places *Scoti*, *Picti*, *Calidoni* at the beginning of a list of forty 'barbarian peoples which have sprung forth under the emperors' (*gentes barbarae quae pullulaverunt sub imperatoribus*), arranged in a rough geographical sequence running south-eastwards along the entire length of the

² Freeman 2001, developing Freeman 1995a, assembles the literary sources (omitting the two passages discussed here, as well as *Chron. Gall. a.* 452; also Jerome, *ep.* 123 at p. 100 should read 133). See previously, e.g. Holder 1891–1913, II 1406–8; Keune 1921. For Roman finds in Ireland, see Ó'Riordáin 1947; Bateson 1973; 1976; Warner 1976; Raftery 1994, 200–19; Freeman 1995b; Bland and Loriot 2010, 334–6. The treatment of Roman-Irish contacts by Di Martino 2003 should be read with great caution. The archaeological evidence for a defensive 'limes' along the western coast of Britain is assessed by Dornier 1971; Johnson 1979, 134–9; Livens 1974; 1986; Pearson 2002, 63–5, 120.

³ For recent surveys of the broader evidence, see Charles-Edwards 2000, 145–76; Rance 2001 with older bibliography, which should be supplemented with Leschi 1935–36; Livens 1974; 1986; Campanile 1984; Mytum 1995.

⁴ *Pan. Lat.* 6(7).7.2; 8(4).11.4. The latter reference anachronistically retrojects Picti and Hiberni as enemies of the Britanni before the Roman conquest; cf. similarly Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 7.88–92.

⁵ Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 1.25.1: 'such tribes of barbarians as live beside River Rhine and western Ocean' (ὅσα τε γένη βαρβάρων τῶν ἀμφὶ Ῥήνον ποταμὸν ἐσπέριον τε ὠκεανὸν οἰκοῦντων); 25.2: 'the British nations which lie encircled by the edge of Ocean' (τὰ Βρετανῶν ἔθνη ... ἐνδον ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείμενα ὠκεανῶ). See also British victories used in imagery of world-wide dominion at 1.8.2; 4.50. Casey 1978 adduces persuasive numismatic evidence that after his accession in A.D. 306 Constantine visited Britain on two further occasions in A.D. 310–12 and 314, while Constantine's assumption of the title *Britannicus maximus*, documented from A.D. 315, suggests military activity more recent than participation in his father's campaign of A.D. 305–6. See additional remarks by Birley 2007, 411–12.

European and Near Eastern *limites*. The most recent scholarship concurs that this is a homogeneous document dating to A.D. 314; although the possibility of subsequent revision or addition cannot be entirely excluded, the received text is nowhere inconsistent with the broader evidence for this period and a case for interpolation has not been argued.⁶ The etymology of Late Latin *Scot(t)i* is notoriously obscure, as are the reasons for its supersession of the former term *Hiberni* and cognates. Clearly *Scot(t)i* did not evolve from an organic development in Latin, but nor does it correspond to any known indigenous (Goidelic) term which the Irish, in whole or in part, applied to themselves. Whatever its derivation, the occurrence of this new name in the *Laterculus Veronensis* implies a change in Roman relations with or at least perceptions of the inhabitants of Ireland. From a Roman perspective *Scot(t)i* possibly originated as a generic descriptive designation, perhaps signifying raiders and pirates, later misconceived as an ethnonym.

The earliest dated incursion by Scotti is reported in the *Res gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus, compiled in Rome during the mid- to late 380s, but not completed and published until c. A.D. 390–91, possibly in instalments.⁷ Ammianus reports that Scotti and Picts, ‘in breach of the agreed peace’, devastated unspecified ‘places close to the frontiers’ of Britannia in the winter of A.D. 359/60. Julian responded by dispatching a task-force under the *magister equitum* Lupicinus. The course and outcome of this operation are not recorded.⁸ The existence of a prior truce between the Romans and one or both peoples implies earlier hostilities, possibly reflected in Ammianus’ vague allusion to ‘a mass of preceding disasters’, but the dearth of evidence permits only speculation.⁹ While Roman political engagement with Irish peoples is not

⁶ *Laterculus Veronensis* 13.2–4 (ed. A. Riese, *Geographi Latini minores* (Heilbronn, 1878) 128.19). For the homogeneity and dating of the text, see Jones 1954; Barnes 1996, 548–50; Zuckerman 2002.

⁷ For a convenient and judicious review of the evidence and literature, see Matthews 2007, 17–27; also Sivan 1993; Sabbah 1997. Two of the three references to Scotti in Ammianus’ work (20.1.1; 26.4.5; 27.8.5) occur in the final hexad (Books 26–31; covering years A.D. 364–78), which is commonly regarded as a supplement or second instalment; for bibliography, see Matthews 2007, 26, n. 34. All citations hereafter are from W. Seyfarth (ed.), *Ammianus Marcellinus, Res gestae* (Leipzig, 1978; repr. 1999).

⁸ Amm. Marc. 20.1.1: ‘cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus rupta quiete conducta loca limitibus vicina vastarent et implicaret formido provincias praeteritarum cladum congerie fessas.’ For Lupicinus in Britain, cf. also Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.* 283A; Amm. Marc. 20.4.3, 9.9, with Birley 2007, 424–6. The unique manuscript witness V (the ninth-century *codex Fuldensis*, now *Vaticanus Latinus* 1873) reads [*sco*]ttorum, where the first three letters are written over an erasure in a different but contemporary hand; see Seyfarth app. crit. I 183. Apparently a second scribe or editor sought to correct a previously defective text, but it is not known whether his intervention was based on editorial surmise or collation against another exemplar. The contention of Bartholomew 1984, 175 that ‘a more probable emendation “Attacottorum”’ is arbitrary; this proposal becomes ‘more probable’ only after one has accepted Bartholomew’s own drastic textual emendations at both Amm. Marc. 26.4.5 and 27.8.5, supported by his further alteration of Pacatus, *Paneg. Theodosio* (= *Pan. Lat.* 2[12]).5.2. On the contrary, while Scotti and Picti are associated in other sources (*Laterculus Veronensis*, Claudian and *Chron. Gall. a.* 452), and Attacotti are routinely linked with Scotti (see *infra* note 33), no other source pairs Attacotti and Picti. Thompson’s approval of Bartholomew’s emendation (1990, 5) is based on his unsubstantiated assumption that the Attacotti were a clearly defined ‘people’ living north of Hadrian’s Wall, who were thus more susceptible to Roman diplomatic overtures than disparate and poorly understood ‘tribes’ of Scotti across the Irish Sea. Rance 2001 presents the case for the Irish origin of Attacotti (Atecotti, Aticotti, Atecutti), identifying a Latin correspondent to Old Irish *aithechthúath*, a generic designation for tributary peoples.

⁹ Ammianus’ phrase ‘*rupta quiete conducta*’ implies a preceding truce; it is unclear whether this applied to the Picti or Scotti or both. It is perhaps significant that Ammianus explicitly alludes here to an earlier episode when Constans crossed over to Britain in January/February A.D. 343, a much-celebrated mid-winter transit, of uncertain purpose but presumed to be in response to an actual or impending crisis in the diocese. This may have been the occasion of an earlier treaty. Modest support for this proposition is offered at 28.3.8, where Ammianus explains that he has previously discussed the system of scouts or informants known as *areani* (or *arcani*) in the context of Constans’ visit. The association implies the emperor’s involvement with frontier security, although this interpretation remains uncertain as the historian appears to have inserted a general excursus on Britain at this point in his narrative (cf. 27.8.4). For Constans’ visit, cf. also Libanius, *Or.* 59.137–41; Firmicus Maternus, *Err. prof. rel.* 28.6, with Thompson 1990, 1–5; Birley 2007, 414–16, 426; den Boeft *et al.* 2009, 190–1, 196; den Boeft *et al.* 2011, 160–1.

otherwise documented in literary sources, the presence of officially stamped Roman silver ingots in two late fourth-/early fifth-century hoards in Ireland may point to diplomatic subsidies or mercenary payments.¹⁰

Subsequently, towards the beginning of Book 26, Ammianus supplies a catalogue of barbarian peoples engaged in harassing peripheral provinces of the Empire, including attacks launched by Scotti, Atecotti, Picts and Saxons on Britannia.¹¹ It has been convincingly argued that this notice, coinciding with the accession of Valentinian I and Valens in March A.D. 364, does not report specific events at that time but merely previews diverse barbarian inroads that occurred at different dates during their joint reign, and which are separately described in the following chapters under the years in which they occurred.¹² Accordingly, the incursions into Britannia foreshadowed here correspond to the so-called *barbarica conspiratio* of A.D. 367 narrated in Book 27, in which the various enemies of the diocese appeared to co-ordinate assaults on several fronts and threatened to overwhelm the military and civilian administration.¹³ Valentinian responded by dispatching an expedition from Gaul under the command of Theodosius, probably as *comes rei militaris*, who repelled the invaders and restored order during A.D. 367/8–68/9.¹⁴ Ammianus supplies the only description of this campaign, which was characterised by small-scale, irregular combat operations against dispersed opponents, a type of warfare that does not necessarily suit a formal military narrative.¹⁵ His sketch of events is short, chronologically vague and almost entirely lacking in military and geographical detail, certainly in comparison to his lengthy and meticulous account of Theodosius' subsequent campaign in North Africa in A.D. 373–75. The disparity between Ammianus' treatments of the two campaigns has prompted competing explanations, all to varying degrees impressionistic, including a dearth of specific information about British events, Ammianus' artistic and compositional priorities or, for the more conspiracy-minded, his tactful silence or cover-up of Theodosius' failures or limited success in Britain.¹⁶ Whether wholly successful or not,

¹⁰ There is no consensus concerning the origin and context of the hoards of Roman silver plate, ingots and/or coins found at Balline, Co. Limerick (later fourth century), and Ballinrees (Colrairie), Co. Londonderry (deposited c. A.D. 420–25), which may alternatively exemplify the profits of raiding and/or trade. See discussion in Mattingly *et al.* 1937; Ó'Riordáin 1947, 48–53, 77–8; Bateson 1973, 42, 63–4, 73–4; 1976, 171–3; Raftery 1994, 215–17.

¹¹ Amm. Marc. 26.4.5: '*Gallias Raetiasque simul Alamanni populabantur; Sarmatae Pannonias et Quadi; Picti Saxonesque et Scotti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis . . .*' The unique manuscript V is again badly corrupted, see Seyfarth app. crit. II 9, with remarks of Tomlin 1979, 474, n. 28; Bartholomew 1984, 176 (whose extensive emendations do not compel); Thompson 1990, 6, n. 17. In V the reading *scotti* is a supralinear correction inserted above *et secuti et* by a different hand of uncertain authority. A broadly analogous misreading of *scottorum* as *scutorum* occurs twice in the manuscript transmission of Orosius 1.2.81–2, see M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet (ed. and French trans.), *Orose, Histoires (contre les Païens)* (Paris, 1990–91) I 32–3 app. crit.

¹² See most recently Tomlin 1979; also Kulikowski 2007.

¹³ Amm. Marc. 27.8.5: '*eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Gallicanos vero tractusque Franci et Saxones, isdem confines . . . violabant.*' The text, including the ethnonyms, is transmitted without corruption. Radical textual emendations by Bartholomew 1984, 175 are neither necessary nor persuasive; see remarks by den Boeft *et al.* 2009, 192.

¹⁴ Amm. Marc. 27.8; 28.3; 30.7.9–10. Differing arguments on the chronology of Theodosius' campaign are set out by Demandt 1972, 84–6, 91, 110 (favouring A.D. 368–69), Tomlin 1974 (A.D. 367–68) and Blockley 1980 (A.D. 367/8–69). The most thorough treatment of the *barbarica conspiratio* is Birley 2007, 428–40 with older bibliography, though Demandt 1972, 84–91 remains useful. For detailed commentary on Amm. Marc. 27.8, see den Boeft *et al.* 2009, xvi–xvii, 181–202.

¹⁵ Style of warfare: Amm. Marc. 27.8.7, 9; 28.3.1–2. Previously Ammianus eschews reporting minor combat operations as *minutiae ignobiles* unworthy of historical writing (27.2.11), though the remark seems somewhat disingenuous, given that elsewhere he provides specific accounts of small-scale raids, skirmishes and ambushes, e.g. 16.11.4–6, 9; 17.1–2; 24.2.8, 7.2; 28.5.1–7.

¹⁶ cf. Amm. Marc. 29.5 for Theodosius' African campaign in A.D. 373–75. Ammianus may allude to his source for British events at 28.3.7: '*eodem referente*', which Sabbah 1978, 172–3, followed by Thompson 1990, 10, 14–15, identifies as Theodosius' report of operations. For Ammianus' use of official operational documentation, see at

Theodosius was lauded and well rewarded. Upon his return to the court in A.D. 368/9 Valentinian promoted him to *magister equitum* and he subsequently became one of the emperor's foremost generals until his obscurely documented fall from grace in A.D. 375/6.¹⁷ Furthermore, Theodosius' introduction of the provincial name Valentia in Britannia in celebration of the victory in A.D. 368/9, whatever this new nomenclature entailed, implies that the dynasty of Valentinian and Valens was publically honoured in and credited with the restoration of order.¹⁸ This view is supported by Ammianus' obituary notice for Valentinian, where Theodosius' achievements in Britain are arrogated to the emperor without mention of the general.¹⁹

Nevertheless, the nature of the crisis in Britannia in A.D. 367/8–68/9 continues to harbour uncertainties. The degree (or even the possibility) of co-ordination between the various hostile peoples has been doubted, while the evidence for Saxon participation is ambiguous.²⁰ Certainly factors other than barbarian invasion contributed to the reportedly anarchic state into which the diocese descended, including treachery on the frontier, desertions and indiscipline within the garrison, and an attempted usurpation by a political exile, aspects which the government may have preferred to play down or suppress.²¹ Furthermore, it is possible that Ammianus has magnified the scale of the crisis. Theodosius' task-force comprised four units of *auxilia palatina*, perhaps 2,000–3,000 infantry, apparently intended to augment the existing garrison, but in any case the same size as the force dispatched under Lupicinus to quell border disturbances in A.D. 359/60, of which no further details are reported.²² In addition, archaeologists have not succeeded in identifying conclusive evidence of destruction and coin

length Sabbah 1978, 115–217; Matthews 2007, 377–82. For remarks on literary and compositional considerations that may have governed the relative lengths and content of Ammianus' presentation of Theodosius' campaigns in Britain and Africa, see e.g. Seager 1997; Drijvers 2007, especially 146–50; Matthews 2007, 207–8. Theodosius' failure or limited success is inferred by e.g. Thompson 1990.

¹⁷ Promotion to *magister equitum*: Amm. Marc. 28.3.9. For allusions to *ovatio* or celebration, cf. also 27.8.8; 28.3.7. For titles and subsequent career: *PLRE* I 902, Theodosius³.

¹⁸ Amm. Marc. 28.3.7. Whether the institution of the name Valentia involved the creation of a new province, the recovery of a lost province or the renaming of an existing province is of no immediate concern; for a summary of the meagre evidence and modern views, see Birley 2007, 399–400, supplemented by Dornier 1982; den Boeft *et al.* 2011, 157–9.

¹⁹ Amm. Marc. 30.7.9–10. The operations in Britain A.D. 367/8–68/9 do not appear to have merited imperial assumption of official triumphal titles: in a building dedication in Rome, dating to late A.D. 369/70, Valentinian, Valens and Gratian each bear the titles *Germanic(us) max(imus) Alamann(icus) max(imus) Franc(icus) max(imus) Gothic(us) max(imus)*, with no reference to British victories, cf. *CIL* VI, 1175 = 31250 = X, 357c = *ILS* 771. The assumption and/or recording of such titles, however, had long ceased to be both a regular and comprehensive component of imperial titulature; indeed Valentinian, Valens and Gratian are themselves the last emperors for whom the practice is firmly attested until its revival by Justinian. The last undisputed incumbent of the title *Britannicus maximus* is Constantine (though see *infra* note 37). See Demandt 1972, 82, n. 5; Kneißl 1969, 179–80, 240–1; Rösch 1978, 52–61, 120–1.

²⁰ Although, at least in the received text, Saxons are implicated in attacks on Britannia in the preview at Amm. Marc. 26.4.5, the account of the *barbarica conspiratio* at 27.8.1–5 specifies Saxon raids only upon coastal Gaul (*'Gallicanos vero tractus'*) in combination with Franks.

²¹ Treachery: Amm. Marc. 28.3.8. Desertion and absence without leave: Amm. Marc. 27.8.10, who appears to draw a legalistic distinction between *desertor* and *emansor*; cf. *Digest* 49.16.3.2–3 with Phang 2008, 147–50, 209–12, citing older bibliography. The attempted usurpation by Valentinus in A.D. 368/9, pre-empted by Theodosius, remains a highly obscure episode. It is briefly outlined by Amm. Marc. 28.3.3–6; 30.7.10, and is the only aspect of the crisis in Britannia mentioned in other sources, cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 2387 (> Jordanes, *Rom.* 308; Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Rom.* 11.4) and Zosimus 4.12.2; see *PLRE* I 935, Valentinus⁵. See now den Boeft *et al.* 2011, 152–7. Theodosius was at least sensitive to the need not to incite further disturbances by extending investigations beyond the ring-leaders of the revolt (Amm. Marc. 28.3.6). This was in contrast to savage reprisals meted out by the henchmen of Constantius II upon the supporters of Magnentius in Britain sixteen years earlier (14.5.6–9).

²² Amm. Marc. 27.8.7; there is no mention of subsequent reinforcements. In the absence of explicit evidence, modern calculations of the establishment strength of an *auxilium palatinum* estimate c. 500–800 men, see Hoffmann 1969–70, I 150–1; Nicasie 1998, 74. Cf. Amm. Marc. 20.1.3 for Lupicinus' forces, apparently two *auxilia* and two *legiones*.

hoarding associated with A.D. 367–68/9 or of Theodosius' programme of urban and military refurbishment, including frontier defences, as delineated by Ammianus.²³ Above all, it has long been acknowledged that the historian's consistently complimentary depiction of Theodosius as saviour and restorer must reflect political circumstances at the time of writing, when the son of the *comes* reigned in the East as Theodosius I (A.D. 379–95).²⁴ These considerations have prompted some scholars to doubt that barbarian invasion was the main cause of the turbulence or even an important contributory factor.²⁵

It is hard to escape the conclusion that, at least in comparison with other fourth-century imperial interventions in Britannia, the events of A.D. 367–68/9 acquired enhanced *post eventum* significance in Theodosian dynastic image-making after A.D. 379, which to differing degrees permeates all surviving sources.²⁶ While this undoubtedly poses problems of interpretation, there is no reason to believe that contemporary incursions by Scotti were propagandistic invention, rhetorical flight of fancy or retrojection of later developments. Almost certainly prior to the publication of Ammianus' *Res gestae*, Pacatus delivered a panegyric to Theodosius I in Rome in A.D. 389, in which he summarised the martial achievements of the elder Theodosius by alluding to victorious campaigns against Scotti, Saxons, Sarmatians, Alamanni and Moors.²⁷ Even allowing for encomiastic licence, the probability that the imperial addressee had himself served under his father in Britain in A.D. 367/8–68/9 would militate against gratuitous fabrication of operations against the Scotti.²⁸ A similar spectrum of adversaries may be discerned in the surviving lines of an epigram inscribed on fragments of a statue-base found in the vicinity of Stobi in Macedonia, believed to belong to a posthumous gilded statue of Theodosius the Elder.²⁹ This was one of several statues

²³ Amm. Marc. 28.3.2, 7. For syntheses of the archaeological data, see Welsby 1982, 104–24; Frere 1987, 341–8; Breeze and Dobson 2000, 224–32.

²⁴ e.g. Thompson 1947, 89–92; Sabbah 1978, 172–3; den Boeft *et al.* 2011, 147–9, 161–3. Seager 1997 discerns a subversive undercurrent of criticism in Ammianus' presentation of the *comes* Theodosius; his arguments are not in my view persuasive; see also den Boeft *et al.* 2009, 199.

²⁵ The brevity and vagueness of Ammianus' account leaves much room for imaginative speculation concerning alternative characterisations of the crisis, e.g. Bartholomew 1984, 179–82 (principally food riots and a revolt of the urban proletariat); Frend 1992 (social upheaval possibly exacerbated by pagan-Christian antipathy); Thompson 1990, 10–14 (accepting barbarian inroads but suspecting that Theodosius and/or Ammianus concealed the significance of brigandage and Valentinus' rebellion). In particular, Bartholomew 1984 rightly stresses difficulties with some of the evidence for fourth-century Saxon raiding against Britain, but his preconceived determination (177, n. 33, 183, n. 61) to eliminate all references to raiding by Scotti in the fourth century is achieved only through a circular and procrustean process of manipulating the evidence with multiple textual emendations and prejudiced dismissal of inconvenient passages. He does not cite *Laterculus Veronensis* 13.2–4; *Chron. Gall. a.* 452, *Gratiani* iv.

²⁶ Hind 1975, 110–11.

²⁷ Pacatus, *Paneg. Theodosio* (= *Pan. Lat.* 2[12]).5.2: '*redactum ad paludes Scottum loquar?*'; with remarks on the textual transmission of this passage in Bartholomew 1984, 182–3; Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 517–19. The attempt of Bartholomew to emend *Scottum* to *Gothum* and to minimise the significance of Theodosius' campaigns in Britain and Africa is not credible.

²⁸ Theodosius I's service in Britain under his father's command is indicated by Zosimus 4.35.3, who states that, at the time of his revolt in A.D. 383, Magnus Maximus had previously 'served with Theodosius the emperor in Britannia' (Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν Βρεττανίαν συστρατεύσασμενος). L. Mendelsohn (ed.), *Zosimus. Historia nova* (Leipzig, 1887; repr. Hildesheim, 1963) 191 app. crit. suspected a mistake for Theodosius the Elder, and Ridley 1972, 300 similarly faults the passage. If so, Zosimus cannot be held responsible for the error; cf. John of Antioch, fr. 211.2 Mariev = fr. 279 Roberts, 'This man had served with Theodosius the emperor in Britannia in the time of Valens' (Οὗτος Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν Βρεττανίαν συστρατεύσασμενος ἐν τοῖς Οὐάλεντος χρόνοις). Zosimus and John of Antioch drew independently on a common source, conventionally identified as Eunapius, hence presumably the eastern regnal dating of western events. For further arguments in support of the received text of Zosimus, see F. Paschoud (ed. and French trans.), *Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle* (Paris, 1971–89) II² (IV) 412, n. 171. Cf. also Pacatus, *Paneg. Theodosio* (*Pan. Lat.* 2[12]).8.3.

²⁹ *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle*, no. 273 (= *AE* 1931,53). If the text is correctly restored, the honorand is hailed as 'great delight of the Britons and great terror of Mauritania, despoiler of Saxoneia and <destroyer> of the race of Celts' (A.9–14: χάριμα | μέγα Βριτανῶν καὶ | Μαυριτανίης μέγα δῖμμα

erected throughout the Empire under his imperial offspring, presumably representing an ‘authorised version’ of Theodosius’ military career, in which his campaigns in Britain and Africa were apparently singled out for special mention.³⁰ In the late 390s Claudian similarly dwells on these two military theatres in encomiastic portraits of the elder Theodosius, though rhetorical opportunities offered by the geographical and environmental extremes of Britain and Africa may have influenced the poet’s chosen emphasis. Accordingly, Scotti feature among Theodosius’ northern opponents in two panegyrics addressed to Honorius in A.D. 396 and 398, which likewise sought to extol the military record of the emperor’s paternal grandfather.³¹ In light of certain fanciful aspects of Claudian’s depiction (e.g. Saxon blood spilt in Orkney; Picts slain in Thule), some scholars have been inclined to discard his testimony entirely and, to be sure, one cannot exclude the possibility that in the panegyrist’s repertoire *Scottus*, *Pictus* and *Saxo* had become stock characters in a topological scenario of warfare on remote north-western frontiers. Indeed, the same trio turns up again, couched in similarly florid language, in Claudian’s praise of the security measures implemented by Stilicho in Britannia in A.D. 398/9.³²

Even if Claudian did lack access to specific information about British events in A.D. 367–68/9 and/or 398/9, this does not in itself vitiate the evidence of Pacatus or Ammianus. The latter, as previously mentioned, reports earlier inroads by Scotti in A.D. 359/60, while the first emergence of this new term in the *Laterculus Veronensis* points to a shift in Roman perceptions of Irish peoples as early as A.D. 314. In addition, Jerome supplies indirect testimony to the crisis of A.D. 367–68/9 through his later claim (c. A.D. 393) that as a young man in Gaul he had witnessed ferocious and cannibalistic Atecotti, whom, like Ammianus, he associates with Scotti in an ethnological doublet.³³ Although Jerome’s autopsy and colourful depiction have been doubted (see below), his stay at Trier (c. A.D. 365–70), the administrative centre of the Gallic prefecture and once again an imperial residence, coincided exactly with the *barbarica conspiratio*.³⁴ One possible context for his statement is a relocation of captive barbarian warriors from Britannia to the Rhine when Theodosius returned to Trier in A.D. 368/9.³⁵ Certainly some Atecotti were recruited into the Roman army and transferred to the Continent in uncertain circumstances before c. A.D. 400.³⁶ Furthermore, the reality of the

Σαξονεῖς λυτήρα καὶ γένους Κελτῶν | <ὀλετήρα>. The Κελτοί here are probably Alamanni. For editorial difficulties, commentary and older bibliography, see Egger 1929–30; Feissel 1983, 228–30.

³⁰ *Contra* Bartholomew 1984, 182–3, who finds doubtful reasons why a contemporary panegyrist might wish to omit or gloss over Theodosius’ achievements in Britain and Africa. Symmachus, writing in A.D. 384–85 and thus the earliest witness to both campaigns, twice refers to the Senate of Rome dedicating equestrian statues to Theodosius, specifically in honour of his generalship in Britain and Africa — *Relationes* 9.4 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, auctores antiquissimi* VI.1 287.26–7): ‘*Africanum quondam et Britannicum ducem status equestribus*; 43.3 (314.14–15): ‘*statuarum equestrium honore ... Africani et Britannici belli recordatione*.’ An inscription from the base of such a statue was found at Canusium/Canosa di Puglia, dedicated by the province of Apulia et Calabria, cf. *CIL* IX, 333 = *ILS* 780: ‘*statuam | equestrem subaura|tam*.’ The base of another statue of Theodosius, dedicated by the proconsul of Asia, was found at Ephesus, together with possibly another from the same city, cf. *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes* 44 (1959), 267–8; 45 (1960), 95–6 = *AE* 1966, 435.

³¹ Claudian, *De III cons. Hon.* 52–8; *De IV cons. Hon.* 24–33; cf. also *Epithalamium* 219 (A.D. 399); *Laus Serenae* 39–46.

³² Claudian, *In Eutrop.* 1.391–3 (A.D. 399); *De cons. Stil.* 2.247–55 (A.D. 400); cf. *Epithalamium* 88–90; *Bell. Goth.* 416–18 (A.D. 402); Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 7.88–92. On these passages, see Miller 1975. Hind 1975, 111 discerns in Claudian’s reference to Orcaes a reminiscence of Tacitus, *Agricola* 10.

³³ Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.* 2: ‘*Ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Atticotos, gentem Britanicam ...*’, followed immediately by remarks on the Scotti; cf. Jerome, *ep.* 69.3 (A.D. 397): ‘*Scottorum et Aticottorum ritu*.’ Cf. Amm. Marc. 26.4.5: ‘*Scotti et Attacotti*’; 27.8.5: ‘*Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti*.’ For Jerome’s testimony, see Rance 2001, 245–7.

³⁴ For Jerome’s stay at Trier, see Steinhausen 1951, 134–54; Kelly 1975, 25–30.

³⁵ Amm. Marc. 28.3.9. See remarks of Steinhausen 1951, 138–40; Syme 1968, 218; Kelly 1975, 27; Rance 2001, 246.

³⁶ Atecotti in the Roman army: *ND Or.* 9.29; *Occ.* 5.197, 200, 218; 7.24, 74, 78; *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle*, no. 205 = *AE* 1937, 144 (Thessaloniki), and possibly *CIL* III, 9538

military threat from Ireland is confirmed by the compiler of the *Chronica Gallica a. 452*, untouched by literary posturing, who reports that Magnus Maximus vigorously suppressed incursions by Scotti and Picts around A.D. 383–84, if not earlier, or at most fifteen years after Theodosius reportedly engaged in similar operations.³⁷

As a whole, the evidence points to an escalation of Scotti raids from the early 360s, contributing to or culminating in the *barbarica conspiratio* in A.D. 367–68/9. The majority of references to Roman-Scotti hostilities during the fourth century relate to this crisis. The heightened profile of Scotti was perhaps reflective of greater political and/or military co-ordination or enhanced naval capabilities. The subsequent raiding reported in c. A.D. 383–84 and, according to Claudian, around A.D. 398/9 foreshadowed in turn further incursions in the early fifth century.³⁸ Paucity of evidence does not allow valid assessment of possible changes in conditions or intensity, but diminishing Romano-British military resources could only have left the diocese more vulnerable to Irish aggression and settlement. Other references to the Scotti in Roman sources from the 390s onwards do not refer to particular events, but articulate clichéd and distorted evocations of near-bestial savagery on the periphery of the civilised world, focusing on matrimonial, dietary or moral irregularities, and in part rehearsing classical ethnographic topoi.³⁹ The only explicit geographical statement merely adds that the Scotti occupied the Isle of Man at an unknown point before c. A.D. 417, clearly of significance for their transit of the Irish Sea.⁴⁰

To this survey of literary sources relating to the Scotti must now be added Epiphanius of Salamis — monk, abbot, bishop, heresiologist and saint. Born c. A.D. 315 at Besanduc, near Eleutheropolis in Palestine, Epiphanius studied in Egypt, probably at Alexandria, obtaining a thorough education in scriptural and patristic writings, before joining a monastic desert community (c. A.D. 330). Returning to Palestine in c. A.D. 335, he founded a monastery near Eleutheropolis, as abbot of which he was ordained presbyter. In c. A.D. 366/7 he was elected bishop of Salamis (*Constantia*) on Cyprus, presumably owing to his reputation for asceticism, learning and Nicene orthodoxy, a position he held until his death in A.D. 403.⁴¹ References to the Scotti occur in Epiphanius' two major works, the *Ancoratus* and *Panarion*.⁴² Both passages concern the so-called 'division of the earth' or Diamerismos (Διαμερισμός τῆς γῆς), Noah's post-diluvian apportionment of the world by lot between his three sons, Shem, Ham and

+ *add.* p. 2139 (Salona IV/V), with additional discussion of epigraphic sources in Leschi 1935–36; Hoffmann 1969–70, I 439–40; II 182 nn. 88–9; Marin *et al.* 2010, II 849–50, no. 478. For analysis of the evidence, see Scharf 1995; Rance 2001, 245–8.

³⁷ *Chron. Gall. a. 452, Gratiani iv: 'incursantes Pictos et Scottos Maximus strenue superavit.'* The critical edition is by Burgess 2001, 67. For the chronicle's reliability and chronological coherence: Muhlberger 1990, 146–52; Burgess 2001, 57–60 with earlier bibliography. The chronicler places this campaign in the year after Maximus' usurpation, which he misdates to A.D. 381 (in fact mid-383). Some have assumed authorial error or later scribal transposition, but Casey 1979, followed by Welsby 1982, 128, adduces numismatic evidence for Maximus' return to Britain, after securing his usurpation in Gaul, in order to undertake military operations in A.D. 384. Additionally, Braccesi 1968 (revised 2007) plausibly argues that *CIL* XI, 6327 (Pisaurum/Pisaro), a fragment of an imperial dedication, reads '*M*agnus *M*[aximus Brita]nnicus *m*[aximus]', which, if correctly restored, would commemorate this victory, although alternative restorations of *M*[agnentius and *Alama*]nnicus cannot be entirely excluded. See also remarks by Guidi 1970.

³⁸ Gildas, *De excidio Brit.* 14–19.

³⁹ Claudian, *Bell. Goth.* 416–18; *Carmina min.* 25.89–91; Jerome, *Adv. Jovin.* 2.7; *ep.* 69.3; 133.7; *Comm. in Jerem.* prol.; iii.pr. (*Patrologia Latina* 24.682, 758); Prudentius, *Apotheos.* 216; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina* 7.88–92.

⁴⁰ Orosius 1.2.81–2.

⁴¹ For overviews of Epiphanius' life and writings, see Nautin 1963; Dechow 1988, 25–89; Pourkier 1992, 29–47; Aragione in Pini *et al.* 2010, 5–59, and in great detail up to A.D. 373/4 in Kösters 2003, 17–76.

⁴² The critical edition of Epiphanius' opera is by Karl Holl (originally 1915–33), with vol. 3 completed by H. Lietzmann and W. Eltester; now revised by Jürgen Dummer, with updated Textapparat and Sachapparat, see Holl and Dummer 1980–85. A new edition is reported in preparation under the direction of Paul Nautin.

Japheth, from whom all the nations of the globe descend, as originally described in partly conflicting versions in *Genesis* (10.1–32) and the pseudepigraphic *Book of Jubilees* (8–9). According to this scheme, Shem was allotted the East (Mesopotamia, the Middle East and India), Ham the South (Africa with parts of the Levant and Arabian Peninsula), and Japheth the North (Asia Minor, Caucasus and Europe). Beyond its biblical historical interest, this episode contributed to long-established arguments of Christian exegesis.

The *Ancoratus*, written in A.D. 373/4, is an epistolary treatise, addressed to the church of Syedra in Pamphylia, which sets out to explain how the ‘ship’ of the Church, buffeted by winds of heresy and doctrinal error, can become firmly ‘anchored’.⁴³ In refutation of Origen’s interpretation of *Genesis*, Epiphanius includes a lengthy treatment of the Diemerismos, in which the progeny of Japheth are listed as follows:

To Japheth, the third son, (there were) fifteen children and children’s children up until the actual division of the tongues, [from whom descend]: Medoi, Albanoi, Gargianoi, Armenioi, Arraioi, Amazones, Koloi, Korzenoi, Beneagenoi, Kappodokes, Galatai, Paphlagones, Mariandenoι, Tibarenoi, Chalybes, Mossunoikoi, Kolkoi, Melanchenoi, Sauromatai, Germanoi, Maiotai, Scythai, Taurοι, Thrakes, Basternoι, Illyriοι, Makedones, Hellenes, Libyes, † Phryges, Pannonioi, Istroi, Ouennoi, Dauneis, Iapyges, Kalabroi, Hippikoi, Latinoi who are also Romaioi, Turrenoi, Galloi <who> are Keltoi, Ligustinoi, [Kampanoi], Keltiberes, Iberes, Galloi, Akouitanoi, Illyrianoi, Basantes, Kannoι, Kartanoi, Lusitanoi, Ouakkaioi, *Brettanikoi*, *Skottoi*, Spanoi. (*Ancoratus* 113.5–6)⁴⁴

The *Ancoratus* suffers from a relatively poor textual transmission. The text depends on two fourteenth-century codices: *Mediceo-Laurentianus graecus* VI–12 (= L) and *Jenensis Bose* 1 (A.D. 1304) (= J), which descend collaterally from hyparchetype ψ, from which they have inherited many erroneous readings in common.⁴⁵ This list of ethnonyms abounds in transcriptional errors. Following Βρεττανικοί L and J read Σκόρτοι, which all editors and commentators have recognised as Σκότοι, although Σκόττοι is preferable, assuming a misreading of ΣΚΟΤΤΟΙ as ΣΚΟΠΤΟΙ in a majuscule ancestor.⁴⁶ This identification is corroborated by an earlier, albeit indirect, witness to the text. Around the mid-ninth century an anonymous redactor compiled a spiritual miscellany, which has recently been styled the *Sōtērios*. It comprises a heavily modified abridgement of the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius of Sinai (c. A.D. 700), supplemented with many extracts from other patristic authors.⁴⁷ This supplementary material includes a lengthy excerpt from Epiphanius’ *Ancoratus* corresponding to the entire section relating to the Diemerismos (ps.-Anast., *Quaest.* 28 = Epiph., *Anc.* 110.3–114.8 (Holl and Dummer

⁴³ For the date, traditionally A.D. 374, see now Kösters 2003, 80–8.

⁴⁴ Epiphanius, *Ancoratus* 113.5–6 (Holl and Dummer I 140.1–12): Ἰάφεθ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ παῖδες καὶ παίδων παῖδες δεκαπέντε ἕως τοῦ αὐτοῦ διαμερισμοῦ τῶν γλωσσῶν· Μηδοὶ Ἀλβανοὶ Γαργιανοὶ Ἀρμένιοι Ἀρραῖοι Ἀμαζόνες Κόλοι Κορζηνοὶ Βενεαγηνοὶ Καππάδοκες Γαλάται Παφλαγόνες Μαριανδηνοὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ Χάλυβες Μοσσύνοικοι Κόλκοι Μελαγχηνοὶ Σαυρομάται Γερμανοὶ Μαιώται Σκύθαι Ταυροὶ Θρᾷκες Βαστέρνοι Ἰλλυριοὶ Μακεδόνες Ἑλληνες Λίβυες † Φρύγες Παννόσιοι Ἰστροὶ Οὐένιοι Δαυνεῖς Ἰάπυγες Καλαβροὶ Ἰπτικοὶ Λατίνοι οἱ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Τυρρηνοὶ Γάλλοι <οἱ> καὶ Κελτοὶ Λιγυστινοὶ [Καμπανοὶ] Κελτίβηρες Ἰβηρες Γάλλοι Ἀκουιτανοὶ Ἰλλυριανοὶ Βάσαντες Κάννιοι Καρτανοὶ Λυσιτανοὶ Οὐακκαῖοι Βρεττανικοὶ Σκότ(τ)οὶ Σπάνιοι.

⁴⁵ For mss, see Holl 1910, 75–87, with stemma codicum at 94, the conclusions of which are usefully summarised by Holl and Dummer 1980–85, III x–xiii; Kösters 2003, 77–80, with additional remarks by Knorr 1999.

⁴⁶ Pétau 1622, II 117D marg., reprinted in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* 43 224A; Holl and Dummer I 140.10; Inglebert 2001, 171, 175.

⁴⁷ This largely ps.-Anastasian collection comprises 88 *quaestiones*, of which only the first 23 are indebted wholly or partly to the authentic *Quaestiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius of Sinai. The complete text remains unpublished; a critical edition for CCSG is in preparation by Douwe Tj. Sieswerda under the title *Sōtērios* (see Sieswerda 2001). For summaries of the complex textual history, see Richard 1967–68; Piilonen 1974, 5–12; Haldon 1992, 118–25; Richard and Munitz 2006, xvii–xxiii, lii–lv with table 5.

134.5–142.18)). In the absence of a comprehensive critical edition, the place of this excerpt in the textual transmission of the *Ancoratus* awaits clarification but is of no immediate concern here. It suffices to observe that the ninth-century redactor had at his disposal an exemplar of the *Ancoratus* that was an older and more accurate witness to the text than the common ancestor of L and J, and which contained the reading Βρετανικοί, Σκόττοι.⁴⁸

The list of Japhetic nations in the *Ancoratus* is not of Epiphanius' own devising but, both in plan and content, derives from his principal source, the *Chronicon* of Hippolytus (c. A.D. 170–236).⁴⁹ This pioneering work of Christian chronography, covering the period from Creation to A.D. 234/5, survives in several recensions via a complex textual tradition.⁵⁰ Hippolytus formulated the earliest known Christian model of the Diamerismos, in which he amplified biblical authorities with Hellenistic geographical and ethnographical knowledge in order to create an inventory of peoples, old and new, of the entire *oikoumenē*.⁵¹ Hippolytus' version of the Diamerismos and the descent of nations became the *Vorlage* for the treatment of this subject in late antique and Byzantine chronographical writing.⁵² Comparison between the *Ancoratus* and Hippolytus' *Chronicon* (§§79–82 = Bauer and Helm 14.4–15.8), therefore, permits identification of Epiphanius' editorial interventions into his source, including modifications, additions, deletions and transpositions.⁵³ For the present purposes it is sufficient to recognise that Epiphanius chose to insert Σκόττοι after Βρετανικοί in his model, a unique contemporary supplement to a list of otherwise ancient nations.⁵⁴

The second and more famous work by Epiphanius is the *Panarion*, a comprehensive heresiological encyclopaedia, written directly after and elaborating the *Ancoratus*.⁵⁵ This 'medicine

⁴⁸ At present the most accurate text of pseudo-Anastasius, *quaestio* 28 available is edited in Piilonen 1974, 13–25, based on a sample of six of the oldest manuscripts; cf. 28.11.1§54–5 (23.17–18): Βρετανικοί, Σκόττοι. For additional manuscript evidence, see Richard and Munitiz 2006, xxii–xxiii.

⁴⁹ For Epiphanius' debt to Hippolytus' *Chronicon*: Bauer and Helm 1955, ix n. 1; Piilonen 1974, 30–7; Inglebert 2001, 168–76; Scott 2002, 150–3. Epiphanius appears also to have drawn directly on the *Book of Jubilees*.

⁵⁰ The text is edited by Bauer and Helm 1955, with ix–xxxi for the textual transmission. The long-running controversy concerning the integrity and provenance of the Hippolytan corpus is of no immediate concern here; for a recent reassessment of the authorship, eschatological purpose and intellectual milieu of the *Chronicon*, see Andrei 2006, with extensive bibliography.

⁵¹ The subject is examined in detail by Inglebert 2001, 125–59, which supersedes all previous studies; with especially 141–5 for a list of ethnographic source/s. See also Scott 2002, 135–49.

⁵² See Inglebert 2001, 109–92; also Jeffreys 1996, 64–5; Scott 2002, 153–8; Caire 2004, 22–5; Whitby 2007, 299–300.

⁵³ Hippolytus, *Chronicon* §§79–82 (Bauer and Helm 14.4–15.8 (with app. crit. for complex textual sources)): Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἰάφεθ ἔθνη ἀπὸ Μηδίας ἕως τοῦ ἑσπερίου κατέσπαρται ὠκεανοῦ βλέποντα πρὸς βορρᾶν. Μηδοὶ Ἀλβανοὶ Γαργανοὶ Ἐρραῖοι Ἀρμένιοι Ἀμαζόνες Κῶλοι Κορζηννοὶ Δεσσαρηνοὶ Καππάδοκες Παφλαγόνες Μαριανδηνοὶ Ταβαρηνοὶ Χάλυβες Μοσσούνιοι Σαρμάται Σαυρομάται Μαῶται Σκύθες Ταύριοι Θράκες Βασταρνοὶ Ἰλυριοὶ Μακεδόνες Ἑλληνες Λίγυρες <Ἰστροὶ Οὐέννοι Δαυνεῖς Ἰάπυγες Καλαβροὶ Ὀππικοὶ Λα>πῖνοι οἱ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Τυρρηνοὶ Γάλλιοι <οἱ καὶ> Κελτοὶ Λυγιστινοὶ Κελτίβηρες Ἴβηρες Γάλλιοι <Α>κουῖται Ἰλλυρικοὶ Βάσαντες Κυρ<τανοὶ Λυσιτάνιοι Οὐακκαῖοι Κόννιοι Βρετταννοὶ οἱ ἐν νή>σοις οἰκούντες. Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν γράμματά εἰσιν Ἴβηρες Λατῖνοι οἷς χρῶνται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Σπάνιοι Ἑλληνες Μηδοὶ Ἀρμένιοι. ('The nations descended from Japheth, dispersed from Media as far as the Western Ocean, facing towards the North, are as follows: Medoi, Albanoi, Garganoi, Erraioi, Armenioi, Amazones, Koloi, Korzenoi, Dennagenoi, Kappodokes, Paphlagones, Maraiandenoii, Tabarenoi, Chalybes, Mossunoikoii, Sarmatai, Sauromatai, Maiotai, Scythes, Taurioi, Thrakes, Bastarnoi, Ilyrioi, Makedones, Hellenes, Ligures, Istroi, Ouennoi, Dauneis, Iapyges, Kalabroi, Oppikoi, Latinoi who are also Romaioi, Turrenoi, Gallioi who are Kelttoi, Ligustinoi, Keltiberes, Iberes, Galloii, Akouitanoi, Illyrikoi, Basantes, Kyrtanoi, Lusitanoi, Ouakkaioi, Brettanoi who dwell in the islands. The literate nations among these are Iberes, Latinoi who are called Romaioi, Spanoi, Hellenes, Medoi, Armenioi').

⁵⁴ Holl notes in his apparatus (Holl and Dummer I 140 app. crit. ad l.10), 'Σκότοι, eigene Zutat des Epiph.'; see also Bauer and Helm 14 app. crit. See Piilonen 1974, 35, 'Only No. 56, Σκόττοι, has necessarily been taken from an outside source'.

⁵⁵ Text: Holl and Dummer II–III. English translations: Amidon 1990 (partial); Williams 1987; 1994. Italian translation of *Panarion* 66: Riggi 1967. On the *Panarion*, see Williams 1987, ix–xxvi; Pourkier 1992, 47–51, 77–114; Aragione in Pini *et al.* 2010, 26–59.

chest' contains remedies for the sickness of 80 heretical 'sects', dating from the earliest days of the Church to the time of writing, compiled at the request of Acacius and Paul, two Syrian abbots, to whom it is addressed. Drawing on earlier heresiological writings, oral reports and personal autopsy on journeys of investigation (proem. II 2.4), it takes the form of a series of expositions of the beliefs and practices of each 'sect' followed by a refutation. Comprising three books, it was begun in A.D. 374 or 375 (proem. II 2.3), written at great speed and published A.D. 377/8. In his chapter on Manichaeans (66) Epiphanius returns to the Diemerismos, where again we find Scotti among the Japhetic nations, only here in an abbreviated listing:

From there (Media) this lot assigned to Japheth the northern lands. But in the west <Japheth was assigned> from Europe as far as Spain and Britain, <including Thrace, Europe, Rhodope> and the races who border thereon, the Venetes and Daunii, Iapyges, Calabrii, Latini, Opici [and] Magardes, as far as the inhabitants of Spain and Gaul, and up in the lands of the Scotti and Franks (τῆς τε τῶν Σκόττων καὶ Φράγγων ἄνω χώρας). (*Panarion* 66.83.9)⁵⁶

Here the text relies on a *codex unicus*, again J, which is especially corrupt for this passage, and some identifications remain insecure. J reads Σκόττων, again recognised by all editors as an obvious transcriptional error of πτ for ττ common in both majuscule and minuscule script.⁵⁷ In addition, von Gutschmid proposed that ἄνω χώρας should be read as ἀναχωρήσεως, apparently with the sense 'and the retreats of the Scotti and Franks', although this emendation has not gained acceptance.⁵⁸ Earlier in this section Epiphanius provides a precise dating formula, noting that 'the present' is 'the thirteenth year of Valens, the ninth of Gratian, the first of Valentinian the younger and the ninety-third of the era of Diocletian' (66.20.5); unfortunately the regnal dates do not precisely coincide with the given Diocletianic year, but late A.D. 376 is clearly meant.⁵⁹ As with the previously discussed passage in the *Ancoratus*, Epiphanius updated a traditional catalogue of antique nations by appending two contemporary groups: the Scotti and the Franks.

What significance, if any, can be attached to Epiphanius' insertion of, in one instance, Scotti and, in another, Scotti and Franks into lists of ancient peoples? On one level these interpolations are unremarkable, as the compilatory character of such ethnological catalogues invites expansion and up-dating. This tendency may also be discerned in related genres: for example, when an anonymous late fourth- or early fifth-century author produced a Latin abridgement of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*, he inserted into Josephus' oration to the defenders of Jerusalem an anachronistic vignette of *Scothia* and *Saxonia* trembling in fear of Roman dominion of Britannia, followed by an allusion to contemporary Saxon piracy.⁶⁰ Epiphanius says nothing of hostilities — his rationale

⁵⁶ *Panarion* 66.83.9 (Holl and Dummer III.126.5–10): ἐντεῦθεν οὗτος ὁ κληρος διορίζει τὸν Ἰάφεθ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δύσιν <ὑπέπεσεν τῷ Ἰάφεθ ὁ κληρος> [Holl] ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄχρι τῆς Ἰσπανίας καὶ Βρεττανίας, <Θράκη, Εὐρώπη, Ῥοδόπη> [Gutschmid] ἐκεῖθεν τε τὰ παρακειμένα ἔθνη, Ἐ<v>ητες καὶ Δαύνεις Ἰάπυγες Καλαβροὶ Λατίνοι Ὀπικιοὶ Μάγαρδες ἕως διακατοχῆς τῆς Σπανίας καὶ τῆς Γαλλίας, τῆς τε τῶν Σκόττων καὶ Φράγγων ἄνω χώρας. For alternative English translations, see Amidon 1990, 241–2; Williams 1994, 302.

⁵⁷ Pétau 1622, I 703D marg., reprinted in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* 42.161B with comment at 162D; Oehler 1859–61 [1859], I.2 544; Dindorf 1859–63 [1861], IIIA 114.18; Müllenhoff, 1890–1908 [1892], III 269–70; von Gutschmid 1894, 611; Holl and Dummer III.126.10; Riggi 1967, 368.

⁵⁸ von Gutschmid 1894, 612.

⁵⁹ Williams 1994, 241, n. 106 prefers A.D. 377, but this is incompatible with two of the regnal years. The eleventh year of Valens began on 28 March A.D. 376, the eighth year of Gratian on 4 August A.D. 375, and the first year of Valentinian II on 22 November A.D. 375; the period of coincidence is thus 28 March to 4 August A.D. 376. In the Alexandrian computation of the era of Diocletian, however, the ninety-third year did not begin until 29 August A.D. 376. See Bagnall and Worp 2004, 63–87.

⁶⁰ Ps.-Hegesippus, *Historiae* 5.15.1 (= Josephus, *BJ* 5.367–8), ed. V. Ussani (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 66.1, Vienna, 1932; repr. New York/London, 1960) 319.26–20.5: 'quid adtexam Britannias interfuso mari a toto orbe divisas, sed a Romanis in orbem terrarum redactas? Tremet hos Scythia, quae terris nihil debet, tremet Saxonia inaccessa paludibus et inviis saepe regionibus ...' See Egger 1929–30, 15, 29; Tomlin 1979, 475, n. 32; Freeman 2001, 98. This passage may have been inspired by Theodosius' victories in A.D. 367/8–68/9, but certainty

in the *Ancoratus* may have been little more than comprehensiveness, the accommodation of two peoples, newly emerged on the western periphery, within the scheme of the Diamerismos, while in the *Panarion* he apparently seeks simply to delimit the geographical range of the Japhetic nations. If so, however, this motivation does not explain why he deemed it necessary to append Scotti and Franks in particular but none of the other contemporary or emergent ethnicities on the fringes of the Empire. Furthermore, when compared with the wider body of evidence relating to Scotti, Epiphanius' *Ancoratus* and *Panarion* acquire a deeper significance. First, Epiphanius provides unique and hitherto unsuspected testimony to the Scotti in Greek literature. Fourth-century Greek authors very rarely mention barbarian peoples of the North-West — the chief exception is Julian, whose military career in Gaul informs his sole reference to Franks and Saxons, but Scotti and Picts are otherwise unattested in Greek sources of any period.⁶¹ It is legitimate to assume that in the Hellenophone East knowledge of Britain was poor, informants few and interest probably low. Second, and thus all the more striking, is the early date of Epiphanius' awareness of the Scotti. The *Ancoratus* was written in A.D. 373/4 and the relevant passage of the *Panarion* in A.D. 376; in terms of date of composition and publication only the appendix to the *Laterculus Veronensis*, if correctly dated, is older. Aside from this documentary notice, Epiphanius predates the next literary evidence — Pacatus and Ammianus — by some sixteen years. Third, writing at Salamis on Cyprus, Epiphanius is by far the most geographically distant and only eastern witness to the Scotti. It is true that from the early 390s Jerome, then based at Bethlehem, adduces the Scotti and Atecotti as exempla of moral irregularity, but he explicitly clarifies that his knowledge of these peoples dates to his earlier sojourn at Trier c. A.D. 365–70, which coincided with the events of the *barbarica conspiratio* in Britain and coastal Gaul in A.D. 367–68/9. It is somewhat suspicious, nevertheless, that Jerome begins to mention both peoples only from c. A.D. 393, directly after the publication of Ammianus' *Res gestae* (c. A.D. 390–91), a work with which he was demonstrably familiar by that date.⁶² In any case, Jerome could not have been Epiphanius' source of information in A.D. 373/4, since their acquaintance began only in A.D. 382.⁶³ Epiphanius is therefore the sole Greek, second earliest and most remote witness to the Scotti.

These distinctions naturally raise the question of the source of Epiphanius' information, but only guesswork can be offered in response — the possibilities include official reportage, personal correspondence or oral informant. The evidence provides a marginally firmer basis for conjecture regarding the historical circumstances. During his extraordinarily long episcopacy (A.D. 366/7–403) Epiphanius became renowned for both his erudition and extensive travels in defence of orthodoxy, and in later years he reportedly attracted novices to the monasteries of Cyprus 'from all over the globe'.⁶⁴ But in A.D. 373/4 all this lay in the future. Before his

on this point is elusive, owing to the insecure dating of the author and the generic character of his remarks, which are partly infused with stock Vergilian diction (e.g. Vergil, *Ecl.* 1.66: '*toto divisos orbe Britannos*'; cf. Jerome, *ep.* 46.10: '*divisus ab orbe nostro Britannus*').

⁶¹ Julian, *Or.* 1.34D: Φράγγοι καὶ Σάξονες. Cf. Libanius, *Or.* 18.70; 59.127, 130, 133, 135 refers to Φρακτοί. The fragmentary survival of the historical work of Eunapius precludes accurate assessment, but certainly none of the surviving witnesses to his text, notably Zosimus and John of Antioch, alludes to Scotti or Picts.

⁶² For Jerome's evidence on Scotti and Atecotti, see Steinhausen 1951, 138–40; Rance 2001, 245–7; Freeman 2001, 98–102. For Jerome's familiarity with Ammianus' work by A.D. 392, see now Rohrbacher 2006; also Maenchen-Helfen 1955; Cameron 1971, 259. A solution may be offered by Jerome's predilection for blending personal experience and literary borrowing or allusion, see remarks by Steinhausen 1951, 126–7, 146–52; Kelly 1975, 26.

⁶³ Epiphanius and Jerome were unacquainted before their participation in a delegation to Rome in late A.D. 382/3, see Kelly 1975, 80–2, 92; Aragione in Pini *et al.* 2010, 16–18.

⁶⁴ Jerome, *ep.* 108.7.2 (written c. A.D. 403): '*Nam omnia illius regionis [Cypr]i lustrans monasteria, prout poterat, refrigeria sumptuum fratribus dereliquit, quos amor sancti viri de toto illuc orbe conduxerat*' (ed. I. Hilberg, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Opera* I pars II.2 (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 55, Vienna-Leipzig, 1912) 312.18–313.1).

appointment as bishop of Salamis in A.D. 366/7, Epiphanius had spent the preceding thirty years as abbot of the monastery he founded near Eleutheropolis. During these, admittedly sparsely documented, three decades, although Eleutheropolis was not a backwater, there is no evidence for Epiphanius' travel or contact outside this locality of Palestine.⁶⁵ It is perhaps more than coincidence, however, that the short period between his election as bishop (A.D. 366/7) and his first published reference to Scotti (A.D. 373/4) encompasses the major disturbances of A.D. 367–68/9. Modest support for this association might be gleaned from Epiphanius' apparent conjunction of 'the Scotti and Franks' in the *Panarion* — not an obvious ethnic affiliation, indeed these two peoples are never otherwise linked nor do their spheres of activity intersect except in the context of the *barbarica conspiratio*, when, according to Ammianus, Picts, Atecotts and Scotti attacked Britannia seemingly in concert with Frankish and Saxon assaults on adjacent maritime districts of Gaul.⁶⁶ This line of reasoning will not be pressed, but it remains an attractive possibility that Epiphanius offers the earliest, albeit oblique, testimony to the *barbarica conspiratio*. If that were the case, it is worth noting in conclusion that Epiphanius, writing under Valentinian and Valens, predates the post-A.D. 379 panegyricizing of the elder Theodosius that variously pervades all the other sources for these events. Awareness of the Scotti at the eastern extremities of the Mediterranean by A.D. 373/4 suggests that their presence and impact on the north-western periphery of the Empire may have been more widely known than the broader evidence implies, and prompts the conjecture that the *barbarica conspiratio* that beset Britain in A.D. 367–68/9 was a well-publicised event even before its significance was magnified by Theodosian dynastic propaganda.

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⁶⁵ Epiphanius, *Panar.* 30.5.2 (I 339.22–6) reports a visit to Scythopolis in c. A.D. 355 to meet Eusebius of Vercelli, then in confinement. An acquaintance with Lucifer of Cagliari, banished to Eleutheropolis in A.D. 356–61, has also been plausibly postulated. The value of these exiled Italian bishops as informants on developments in Britain (before A.D. 355), however, seems doubtful. On this period see Kösters 2003, 29–33.

⁶⁶ Amm. Marc. 27.8.5 with den Boeft *et al.* 2009, 193–5. The evidence for a near-contemporary Roman triumph over the Franks, probably in mid- to late A.D. 366, is assessed by Demandt 1972, 82–4; Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 517–19.

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