

The Theodosian Age (A.D. 379-455)

Power, place, belief and learning
at the end of the Western Empire

Edited by

Rosa García-Gasco

Sergio González Sánchez

David Hernández de la Fuente



BAR International Series 2493
2013

Published by

Archaeopress
Publishers of British Archaeological Reports
Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED
England
bar@archaeopress.com
www.archaeopress.com

BAR S2493

The Theodosian Age (A.D. 379-455): Power, place, belief and learning at the end of the Western Empire

© Archaeopress and the individual authors 2013

ISBN 978 1 4073 1107 4

Printed in England by 4edge, Hockley

All BAR titles are available from:

Hadrian Books Ltd
122 Banbury Road
Oxford
OX2 7BP
England
www.hadrianbooks.co.uk

The current BAR catalogue with details of all titles in print, prices and means of payment is available free from Hadrian Books or may be downloaded from www.archaeopress.com

Ammianus and Theodosius I concerning the *Barbarica Conspiratio*

David Álvarez-Jiménez

Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Grupo *Barbaricum*

Abstract

Through this paper, the author deals with the troubling historical episode known as the *Barbarica Conspiratio* that, in brief, implied a brutal barbarian attack by sea played by Picts, Scots, Saxons and Franks on the shores of continental Gaul and mainly on Britannia. Dr. Álvarez-Jiménez approaches this subject from a close analysis on Ammianus Marcellinus' narrative and particularly on the historian relationship with the later emperor Theodosius I, who was the son of Theodosius the Elder, the general in charge of recovering the British provinces to the Roman dominance.

With the sonorous term of Barbarian Conspiracy, Ammianus Marcellinus described an impressive barbarian attack that affected some coastal areas of the Western Roman Empire and especially Britain during two years from the year 367 onwards.¹ Unfortunately Ammianus is our main source for this episode and even if there are some additional and more or less vague references, we have to trust mainly on his narrative in spite of its complexity and its lapses.

KEYWORDS: Barbarian conspiracy, Ammianus Marcellinus, Theodosius, Piracy, Barbarians

A narrative of the Barbarian Conspiracy

Ammianus described in this way how the emperor Valentinian I knew of the first details of this episode when he was heading towards the Eastern Gaul to confront the Alamans:

Having set out then from Amiens and hastening to Treves, Valentinian was alarmed by serious news which showed that Britain was brought into a state of extreme need by a conspiracy of the savages, that Nectaridus, the commanding general of the seacoast region, had been killed, and that another general, Fullofaudes, had been ambushed by the enemy and taken prisoner (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 1).²

On account of this *magno horrore* Valentinian was shocked and he decided to send successively two of his best military commanders.³ The first one was the *comes*

domesticorum Severus and later was added the *magister militum* Jovinus. However, their presence on Britain was not enough to face the barbarians who raided the island and Valentinian 'allowed them to return at quick step, intending to seek the support of a strong army; for he declared that this was demanded by the pressing necessities of the situation' (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 2). Finally, 'because of the many alarming things which constant rumours reported about the same island, Theodosius, a man most favourably known for his services in war, was chosen to be sent there with all speed, and having enrolled legions and cohorts of courageous young men, he hastened to depart, preceded by brilliant expectations' (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 3). Theodosius who was then *comes rei militaris* is also remarkable for being the father of the eponymous Theodosius I—because of this fact, he is known as Theodosius the Elder or the count Theodosius.⁴ According to Ammianus, the Barbarian Conspiracy was characterized by a double-front attack. On one hand, the situation in Britain was terrible because of the threatening activities of barbarians peoples such as the Picts who were 'divided into two tribes, called Dicalydones and Verturiones, as well as the Attacotti, a warlike race of men, and the Scots, were ranging widely (*per diversa*) and causing great devastation' (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 5). Simultaneously the continent was also affected by other pirates because as Ammianus (27, 8, 5) stated 'while the Gallic regions, wherever anyone could break in by land or sea, were harassed by the Franks and their neighbours, the Saxons, with cruel robbery, fire, and the murder of all who were taken prisoners'.

Regarding the Frankish and Saxon activities in the continent—even though I judge that these piratical peoples did not just affect the continental coasts but also the Briton shores—, unfortunately the sources do not provide any straight evidence. However I deem possible to ascribe an extremely difficult fragment from the very Ammianus and dated in 369. After stating Valentinian's defensive efforts along the frontiers (28, 2, 1), Ammianus exposed Valentinian's unfortunate decision of erecting a fortress at *Mons Piri* in the middle of the Alamanni territory and therefore contravening former treaties. The dramatic consequence was the slaughter of the Roman garrison placed there except just one of the soldiers. Immediately after this, Ammianus wrote the following words:

Meanwhile throughout Gaul there spread, to the ruin of many, a savage frenzy for brigandage, which kept watch of the frequented roads and fell indiscriminately upon everything profitable that fell in its way. Finally, in addition to many others who fell victim to such ambushes, Constantianus, chief of the imperial stables, a relative by marriage of Valentinian and own brother to Cerealis and Justina, was surprised by an unexpected attack and presently slain (Amm. Marc. 28, 2, 10).

arrival of any new from Britain to the Imperial court. On this piracy, see below.

⁴ I regard Austin's (1979, 43, n. 7) idea of Theodosius as a new *comes litoris Saxonici* as nonsense.

¹ About *Conspiratio*'s chronology see Tomlin (1974) and Blockley (1980). While Tomlin placed its beginning in June 367 and considered that Theodosius' campaign finished in the next year, Blockley deemed that there was not any reason to discuss the traditional chronological frame. In consequence, the *Conspiratio* lasted over two years till 369.

² This and next Ammianus' references are extracted from John C. Rolfe's Loeb translation, 1935-40]

³ Interestingly enough Snyder (2003, 61) thought that the piratical activities of Franks and Saxons in the continent could have delayed the

Unquestionably, this *latrociniorum rabies saeva* cannot correlate with the Alamanni's assault because Ammianus did not specify it neither he connected this attack with the disastrous end of the Roman garrison formerly cited. Moreover, although some scholars have tried to link this episode with banditry (Dill 1910, 342; Thompson 1952, 17) or a bagaudic outbreak,⁵ I do not consider any of these possibilities as being accurate. First of all, the geographical vagueness placed on this reference (*inter per Gallias*) reminds to another one offered by Ammianus and cited previously when he mentioned the Frankish and Saxon attack on *Gallicanus tractus*.⁶ Obviously, this evidence is not a very solid one but in my opinion it rules out Drinkwater's idea of holding the Bagauda responsible because besides of not knowing any outburst of this kind in any source, I consider Ammianus should have localised it in a more precise way. I consider rather that this geographical vagueness entailed the wandering nature of these *latrones*' attacks. That is, this description aims to some typical piratical characteristics: mobility and surprise. On the other hand, this information (28, 2, 10) is placed among the first reference to the *Barbarica Conspiratio* (27, 8) and immediately before the resolution of Theodosius' British campaign (28, 3). Between both episodes, there is not any other predatory action consigned in Gaul except the isolated capture of *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) by the Alamann princeps Rando—an attack that provoked the later Valentinian I's reprisal on Alamann territory (27, 10)—that in no way can be connected to these plundering activities.⁷ In brief, this allusion can only be interpreted as a back reference to the formerly cited raids of Franks and Saxons since Ammianus individualized the plunderers through the description of these *latrones* as 'bloody' (*saeva*), so characteristic of the bad fame attributed to these *gentes*.⁸ On the other hand, these attacks are directly correlated with the actions described subsequently of the Maratocupreni (28, 2, 11-14), a contemporary people who practiced banditry in Syria. In fact Ammianus said that 'no one could guard against their unexpected coming, since they did not assail previously chosen places, but various quarters and those that were far removed, breaking out wherever the wind took them—the same reason that makes the Saxons feared before all other

enemies for their sudden raids' (Amm. Marc. 28, 2, 12). As Irfan Shahîd (1984, 172) said, this mention is really unusual in Ammianus because of the context where it is placed and it can only be explained if it is connected with the former reference to the *latrones*,⁹ that is, the Saxons—and implicitly the Franks—who raided this Gaulish coasts. In fact, as Phillip Bartholomew (1984, 173, n. 17) said,¹⁰ it is highly meaningful the Ammianus' description on the Maratocupreni's *modus operandi* as the historian from Antioch argued that the Maratocupreni attacked 'wherever the wind took them' (*quoquo ventus duxerat*) comparing with this maritime metaphor their raids with Saxons' assaults. In fact, this reference matches with a Roman *topos* very well established concerning the random piratical menace.¹¹ Regarding the effects of these Saxon and Frankish piratical attacks, they were unquestionably devastating and very difficult to counter after the *Litus Saxonicum*'s defensive system was shut down. Certainly, Ammianus' *Res Gestae* seems to suggest this area was defencelessness and the failure of the Roman military antipiratical measures: the *Litus Saxonicum* itself, and the defence-in-depth defensive system described by Ammianus himself when he wrote about the Saxon pirates intercepted by a patrol in Deuso, *Germania Inferior*.¹² This failure is evidenced by Ammianus when he writes about the *tribunus stabuli* Constantianus, Valentinian I's brother-in-law whom I regard as a piratical victim of these Germanic raiders (*PLRE* I, 221). It is not surprising that some time later the emperor had stirred punishment expeditions against the Saxons and Franks in their own territory.

It is obvious to assert that the situation was more catastrophic in Britannia.¹³ The army was absolutely beheaded because of the *dux Britanniarum* Fullofaudes' death, who commanded the army placed in the northern frontier and resided in York (*Eburacum*), and because of Nectaridus's capture—the *comes tractus maritime*, whose rank has to be undoubtedly equalled to the *Notitia*'s *comes Litori Saxonici*—that should be beholden as a periphrasis of his later death (Birley 2005, 428-429).¹⁴ In fact, Ammianus (27, 8, 10) told us how the

⁵ Drinkwater (1989, 194; 2007, 278) argued that this info should help 'to fill the long gap between 286 and 407/8'. However this argument misinterprets the bagaudic phenomenon since it is a mistake to establish continuity on this rebel movement from the third to the fifth centuries. I consider that in the fifth century the term bagauda just exemplified a citizen rebellion. That is, this word had become standardized into the later Roman political language to typify an antisystemic movement against the Roman order. Consequently, there's nothing to admit a connection between both realities.

⁶ Bartholomew (1984, 175-176) admits this fragment alludes to the Frankish and Saxon piratical attacks, but I consider he is wrong when he deems it as an introductory one to the later referred by Ammianus (28, 5, 1-7).

⁷ Ammianus just records two others military episodes in this lapse besides of the reflected in the text but they are not located in Gaul. In this way (27, 9) are described both Mauri attacks on Africa and Isaurians in Asia Minor, and additionally (27, 12) is mentioned the clash between the Empire and the Persians because their ambitions in Armenia and Hiberia.

⁸ Concerning the Saxon piratical features it is interesting to attend—even if it is a later source—Sid. Apollinaris (*ep.* 8, 6, 14).

⁹ On the very Maratocupreni see how this author considers them as an Arabic population (*ibid.* 172-175).

¹⁰ However, this scholar (172-173) wrote an *ad hoc* improbable historical reconstruction to justify an allegedly inexistence of the Saxon menace. In this way, he substituted *saxones* for *sagaces*.

¹¹ An aspect I often emphasized in my thesis Álvarez-Jiménez (2010).

¹² The so called *Limes Belgicus* (Amm. Marc. 28, 5; Jerome *Chron.* s.a. 373; Orosius 7, 32, 10; Álvarez-Jiménez 2010, 571-576).

¹³ Frensd (1992) considered that the *Conspiratio* meant a huge attack on the poor advance on Christianity in Britannia. On this, Frensd is followed by Watts (1998, 66) y Jones (1996, 180-181). Against this view Reece (1994).

¹⁴ On the other hand, Fraser (2009, 56-57) really valued this testimony and he considered that the Picts desired booty and future ransoms—I possibility I do not trust—more than blood. Less convincingly, Fuentes, *Fresh*, 61 deemed in his deep revision of the *Litus* that there were two different commands focused on the fight against piracy. First of all the *comes tractus maritimi*, whose command would extend from Bradwell till the river Humber and also the *comes litori Saxonici*, whose authority was based on the defence of the English Channel. According to Fuentes, once that the *comes tractus maritimi* Nectaridus died, the Roman military power was replaced immediately by Germanic *foederati* settlers. However, I consider more feasible to take into consideration this

British army had been disbanded and many of its members had deserted. Despite not knowing this process, I consider E. A. Thompson (1990, 7) was right when he said that 'it can hardly be doubted that the Roman garrison had suffered a disastrous defeat or series of defeats amounting to a demoralising catastrophe'.¹⁵ According to Ammianus, Theodosius marched with his troops, maybe two thousand soldiers, to Boulogne.¹⁶ There they were reinforced by several elite units, some of them very valuable to confront this kind of raiders because of their ethnic origins. These were the Batavians, the Heruls, the Jovians and the Victors. Unfortunately we do not know the exact vicissitudes of this campaign that lasted two years because Ammianus just sketched a general view of the countermeasures adopted by Theodosius in such a big time lapse.

Once he disembarked in Richborough (*Rutupiae*), as Lupicinus did some years before, he marched fast to London (*Londinium*), the Diocese's capital, whose situation was defined as 'plunged into the greatest difficulties' (*mersam difficultatibus summis*) (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 8). Presumably Theodosius looked for both relieving the most important urban centre in Britannia before its presumed harassment and getting info of the assailants, the island's global state of affairs and its army. On one hand, he told that in the way between Richborough to London 'he divided his troops into many parts and attacked the predatory bands of the enemy, which were ranging about and were laden with heavy packs' (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 7). That is, the present region of Kent, the area with the island's most prominent maritime defences as the coastal forts of Reculver (*Regulbium*), Richborough (*Rutupiae*), Dover (*Dubris*) and Lympne (*Portus Lemanis*) show. This fact, along the capture of Nectaridus, has to be taken into consideration both as a proof of Ammianus' statement of the existence of a conspiracy conformed by several barbarian peoples and also of its mighty attack because the *Litus Saxonicum* was not designed to face huge naval menaces neither intensive attacks coming from multiple fronts but to confront lesser infiltrations. In fact, it is interesting to suppose that one of the main objectives of this attack was to dismantle the naval defensive system that formerly had frustrated so many piratical raids. According to this, it can be reasonably deduced that Saxons and Franks participated of the assault of Britannia because this territory, and especially its southeaster sector, was a perennial objective of both peoples as ancient sources show from the third century onwards.¹⁷

settlement around the time of the later usurper Maximus. Also unconvincingly, Martin (1969, 414-417) thought that the traditional identification between Nectaridus and the *comes litori Saxonici* was wrong because this last one had to be just a simple *comes* who commanded *comitatenses* troops. Finally, White (1961, 50) also refused to identify both commands.

¹⁵ Thompson (1990, 8) eloquently said that 'we must not underestimate the size of the defeat which the Romans had suffered'.

¹⁶ Tomlin (1974, 307) accurately stressed their scarce number. See also Thompson (1990, 7), who is followed by Birley (2005, 439).

¹⁷ Johnson (1976, 82); Casey (1979, 74; 78, n. 20a). This scholar deemed that the ammianean reference to their activities in *tractus*

However, in spite of being obvious that this area was severely affected this evidence does not imply necessarily that the *Conspiratio* assault was confined just here neither that, as Phillip Bartholomew (1984, 179) and E. A. Thompson (1990, 9) said, Theodosius' actions were limited in this very area.¹⁸ Nevertheless we have to discern several geographical areas affected by these pirates and correspondingly Theodosius' deeds in spite of Ammianus' fragmentary narrative. It is true that archaeology has shown that Hadrian Wall was not affected because of the Conspiracy, but this fact precisely presupposes that this defensive line was surrounded by sea. Regarding this, we cannot forget neither the *dux Britanniarum*'s death nor the later development of coastal signal stations placed on the northeastern coast from the farthest eastern limit of the Wall till the proximity of the very *Eburacum*. Then again, the Picts have been held responsible of quite a few contemporary damages stated in this area as, for example, the Roman villa of Langton (Ramm 1978, 131), even though as with any other archaeological evidence connected to the *Conspiratio* this one has to be used carefully. However, concerning the eastern coast of Britannia, it has been ascribed to this episode certain contemporary Pictish material found in East Anglia (Casey 1979, 78, n. 20a) while, on the other hand, the abandonment of numerous villas in southeastern Britannia has been associated with an economical decline accelerated by the raiders' presence.¹⁹ Likewise, according to Shepard S. Frere (1987, 345-346) it is possible that some other villas from Yorkshire, the Midlands and Hertfordshire could be touched by the raiders as well as the potteries factories specialized in the black burnished ware and placed in these areas and additionally the important centre of production of Hartshill-Mancetter.²⁰

Likewise, the Scots raiders' range of action logically should be located in the western coast of Britannia as it is reflected in the numerous coin-hoards and destructions found there. In this way, although I do not concur completely, Frere (1987, 345-346) thought that alongside northern Britain, the western coast suffered most of the barbarian damage and he held accountable respectively the Picts and, on the other hand, the Scots and the mysterious Attacotti.²¹ Therefore, according to P. J.

Gallicus as just a 'poetic licence'. Instead, under his view this geographic term referred to the Briton Eastern coast. Austin (1979, 43); Tomlin (1974, 475), even though he did not specify it; Frend (1992, 129-130) and Faulkner (2001, 159).

¹⁸ On the contrary, Frend (1992, 129-130) judged the attack damaged especially The Fens in the centre-east coast of Britain. In a more recent paper, Frend and Hadman (1994) thought that a lead deposit from the fourth century and found in North Lodge Farm (Barnwell, Northant), in the very centre of Britain, was left by looters during the Conspiracy: Frend and Hadman (1994). Likewise, Martin (1969, 415) thought that the attack happened just in the northern and western regions of Roman Britain. On the contrary, I consider as a more reasonable approach Casey (1979, 73-74), Rance (2001, 245) or Faulkner (2001, 158) who defended a multiplicity of attack fronts.

¹⁹ Black (1987, 45) emphasized the abandonment of the terms of Cobham y Sidlesham, and also of the Roman villas of Walton-on-the-Hill and Oltford.

²⁰ In consequence of this, the pottery production in Britain was centralized in a few but big places as Nene Vallet, Farnham and Oxford.

²¹ According to him, Picts came from the firth of Forth.

Casey (1979, 74) a number of contemporary damages have been attributed to the *Conspiratio* in Ambleside (Cumbria) and additionally a lot of archaeological remains have been connected as certain contemporary destructions in Roman villas in Somerset, as Kings Weston, Brislington and Keynsham, where the archaeologists found corpses in a context of violence as happened in the villas of West Park, Bowood y Calne. Apart from these villas, Keith Branigan pointed out several other villas more complicated in dating but that they could have been attacked by barbarians in this very area as Combe Down, Wellow II, North Wraxall, Box, Atworth, Nuthills, Tockington, Lye Hole, Ilchester Mead and West Cooker (Figure 1).

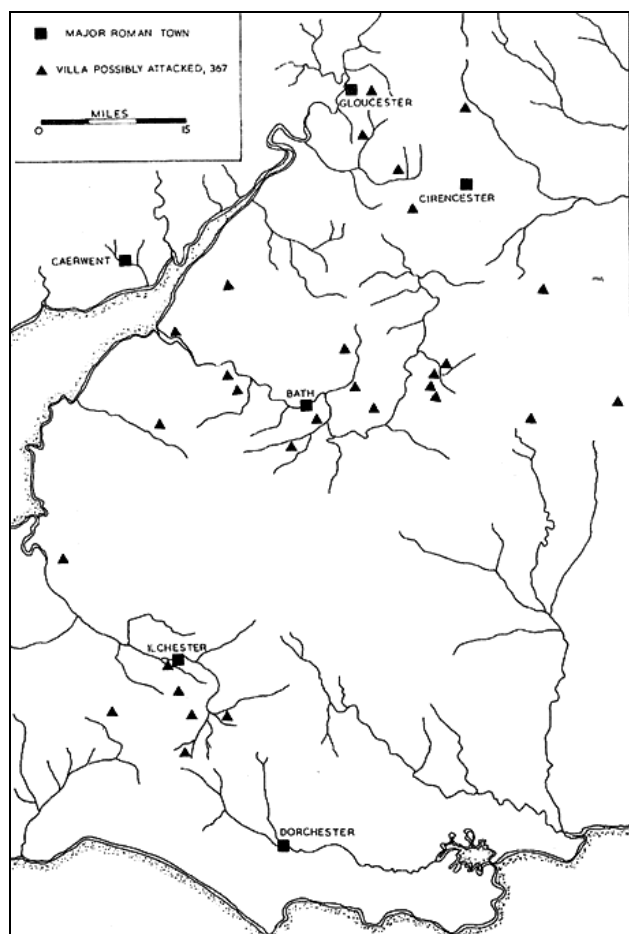


Figure 1. Map of Roman Villas damaged in time of the Barbarica Conspiratio (Branigan 1976, fig.29).

On the other hand, Branigan also judged that other south-western villas could be harmed even though there are not so evident destructive traces. However, in spite of these damages, many villas kept working, and some of the most damaged as Brislington or Keynshaw were reoccupied but in a different way. It is possible that their original owners went to the cities and the villas became mere farms managed by dependents or occupied by squatters.²² On the other hand, according to Frere (1987,

²² Rahtz (1976, 227-228). Branigan (1972a; 1972b, 120-125 and, especially, 1976, 136-141), who is followed by Dark (1999, 22) and Edwards (1990, 4). Sensibly, Branigan (1976, 137) said that 'it is of

345-346), it is possible that some villas from Hampshire were also damaged. Finally, the find of a pottery shard in the island of Rathlin, at the Irish Sea, has been linked with the Scots pirates (Collins 1960).²³

Apart of the affected areas and the hypothetical damages correlated with the *Barbarica Conspiratio*, it is necessary to come back to Ammianus and analyze the measures he took to suppress the raiders. Ammianus stressed the success in Theodosius' work that according to his words was got after such a hard and intensive effort that provoked the troops' exhaustion. However, this success was not complete given that, as the very historian acknowledged, they routed quickly 'those who were driving along prisoners and cattle, he wrested from them the booty which the wretched tribute-paying people had lost' (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 7). Once the first phase of Britain's reconquest was over, after returning the booty recovered to the legitimate owners —yet he admitted that a part was shared out between his men as a reward. A decision that, as happened under Carausius' command in the third century, was illegal but fit to the present-day circumstances—, Theodosius went back to *Londinium*. The first part in the Britannia's recovery can be qualified as an urgent '*shock therapy*' measure in time to regain the initiative to the Empire and to clear south-eastern Britannia, that is, such was a vital objective to reconnect the province to the continent and the Empire. As it can be deduced from Ammianus, Theodosius adapted his military resources to the raiders' *modus operandi* who were scattered through the Diocese territory in *factiones* and he planned an active campaign of harassment against them. However, he did not have enough military resources to confront them with a certain level of security and subsequently Ammianus (27, 8, 9) surreptitiously admitted the flight of the pirates. Obviously, Theodosius needed more muscle and this reality became more flagrant when he received worrying news:

While he lingered there, encouraged by the successful outcome to dare greater deeds, he carefully considered what plans would be safe; and he was in doubt about his future course, since he learned from the confessions of the captives and the reports of deserters that the widely scattered enemy, a mob of various natives and frightfully savage, could be overcome only by secret craft and unforeseen attacks.

That is, after being fulfilled this first stage and when he was about to consolidate his deeds and the island's defence,²⁴

course true that, in many cases, where fire destruction alone is attested without clear evidence for hostilities, the disaster may have been accidental. On the other hand it is also true that many villas may have been accidental. On the other hand it is also true that many villas may have been raided but not fired by the raiders, and if they were reoccupied there would be little or nothing in the archaeological record to attest the raid'. About Kingsweston, see Boone (1950, 16-19).

²³ According to A. E. P. Collins, a simple shard of common pottery — the only late Roman find in the island— did not imply anything conclusive at all but in his view it could have hidden something worthy inside. Against Collins, Bateson (1976, 36, n. 16), who deemed this find as an evidence of commerce.

²⁴ On this see Amm. Marc. (28, 3, 1-2). Across this text Ammianus compresses again the events. At first he mentions Theodosius' stay on

Britannia was shaken again by an apparently massive new attack that could perfectly reflect to a former planning outlined by the raiders. A proof of this can be inferred from the way Theodosius got the info as some barbarian captives informed him. However, this fact does not imply any detail to identify the looters but their description as *variarum gentium* obviously entails the participation of barbarians coming from different places in consonance with the Barbarian Conspiracy's multiethnic character announced by Ammianus at the beginning of his narrative. On the other hand, this info lacks any detail about the area or geographical areas involved on this attack.

Theodosius subverted again the Roman law when he promulgated some edicts to rejoin up the already cited deserters and soldiers on the run in exchange of immunity before their acts of treason (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 10). He also as well requested additional help to Valentinian and he solicited two specific persons to strengthen both the military and the civil commands of the Diocese. So he reclaimed Civilis as a new *vicarius Britanniarum* and the general Dulcitus, *dux scientia rei militaris insignem*, presumably as the new *dux Britanniarum* (Amm. Marc. 27, 8, 10). Yet, in spite of these efforts, his forces were not enough and according to Ammianus he cunningly recruited soldiers.²⁵ I consider this decision has to be interpreted both as an allusion to the deserters' re-enlistment and the incorporation of new barbarian warriors in consequence of the adhesion of the enemy traitors cited above. About these barbarian new allies, I consider highly suggestive to identify them with the Attacotti who would have been drafted after been defeated and become *dediticii*. In fact, the later *Notitia* detailed the existence of Attacotti units integrated into the Imperial army and scattered into the provinces of Gaul, Italy and the Ilirian. It is very tempting to assign its origin to the Conspiracy according to this reading.²⁶ Likewise, regarding the Attacotti based on Gaul we are lucky enough of having Jerome as a witness of their presence. In his *Contra Jovianum*, Jerome affirmed he saw in his youth when he resided in *Treveris* c. 370 a group of Attacotti whom he described as savage cannibals.²⁷ That is,

Londinium and then he detailed the recruitment of troops—an episode I will deal with later—and his efforts on the island's defensive reconstruction.

²⁵ Amm. Marc. (28, 3, 1): *cum milite industria comparato sollerti*.

²⁶ The *Atecotti Honoriani seniores* and the *Atecotti iuniores Gallicani* placed in Gaul and the *Atecotti Honoriani iuniores* placed in Italy are cited in *Not. Dig. Occ.* (7). Likewise there is a mention of a unit just named *Atecotti* and placed in Illiria in *Not. Dig. Occ.* (9). Although some of these troops are labelled as *Honoriani*, that is, honouring the emperor Honorian, this fact does not mean these contingents were created during his reign and nor even during his father's. It was found not so many years ago a funerary inscription from Illiria of a member of an *Attacotti* unit. On this see Scharf (1995). On the other hand, Richmond (1958, 128) bound these contingents with Magnus Maximus, while Frere (1987, 341) linked these units with the Conspiracy but he did not connect their appearance with their defeat and later treason as I deem. It is also interesting Rance (2001, 247-248; 260-261).

²⁷ Likewise, Jerome (*adv. Jov.* 2, 7) also made a commentary about the Scots in a comparison with the Attacotti. However he said he did not see them personally: *Quid loquar de caeteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia Atticotos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus: et cum per silvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperiant, pastorum nates et feminarum, et papillas solere abscondere, et has solas ciborum delicias arbitrari? Scotorum nationes uxores proprias non haber: et quasi Platonis politiam legerit, et Catonis*

this info fits with the end of Theodosius' campaign and his presence at the Imperial court to be honoured after having solved the Barbarian Conspiracy. It is reasonable to think that Theodosius could have carried some of these Attacotti before the emperor presence as a sign of his success and also maybe in prediction of the celebration by Valentinian of a triumph and the self-concession of the title of BRITANNICUM²⁸ but neither of those things ever happened (Rance 2001, 246).

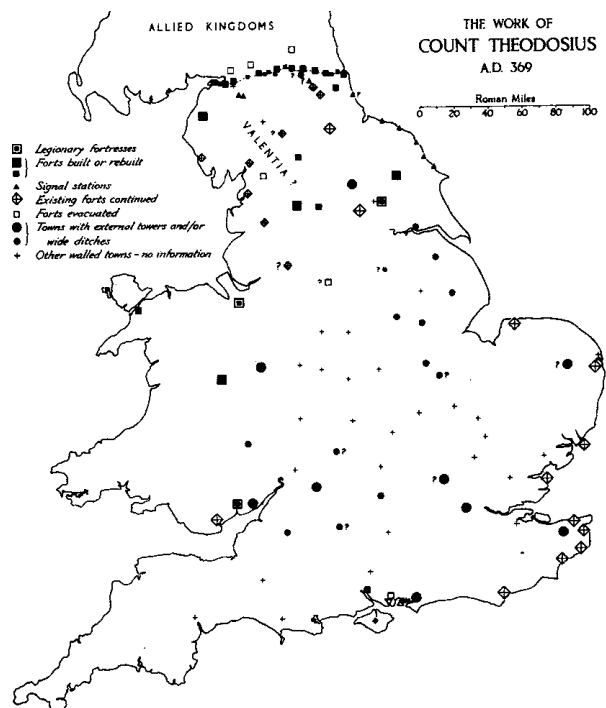


Figure 2. The work of the Count Theodosius (Frere 1987).

Returning to the Conspiracy narrative, Theodosius kept practicing a similar strategic scheme adapted to the barbarians' tactics and finally he completed a very tough struggle that lasted many months.²⁹ However Ammianus (Amm. Marc. 28, 3, 2) solved his victory in just some lines: 'in this way, while he performed the duties of an active common soldier and observed the care of a distinguished general, after having routed and put to flight tribes which an insolence fostered by impunity was inflaming with a desire to attack the Romans'. That is, Ammianus (30, 7, 9) again reported about a inconclusive result of his campaign even if in a very brief resume of the Barbarian Conspiracy placed somewhere else the very

sectetur exemplum, nulla apud eos conjux propria est, sed ut cuique libitum fuerit, pecudum more lasciviunt. There is another interesting reference about Attacotti and Scots in Jerome (*ep.* 69, 3). Concerning the topic of cannibalism and Scots in the ancient sources, see Killeen (1976, 209-210).

²⁸ Richmond (1958, 120) was wrong when he considered that this reference meant that the Attacotti had attacked Gaul.

²⁹ As Ammianus described, 'He secured beforehand everywhere the places suitable for ambushing the savages, requiring nothing of the common soldiers in which he himself did not smartly take the first tasks' (Ammianus 28, 3, 1).

historian said that Valentian —Theodosius to be precise— ‘allowed almost none of the plunderers to return to his home’.³⁰ Even if Thompson (1990, 10) valued almost completely this assertion, I deem it as a very suspicious one in contrast to the data provided by the very Ammianus concerning the *Barbarica Conspiratio* as I have analyzed it.

It was more important to the future, even more that any possible annihilation of the pirates, to return to normality across the Diocese. So Ammianus (28, 3, 7) tried:

Then, after the danger had been wholly removed, since it was common knowledge that propitious fortune had failed him in none of his undertakings, he turned his attention to making many necessary improvements, restoring the cities and defences, as we have said, and protecting the frontiers by sentinels and outposts. And so completely did he recover a province which had passed into the enemy's hands and restore it to its former condition, that, in the words of his report, it had a legitimate governor; and it was henceforth called Valentia, in accordance with the emperor's wish, who, one might almost say, celebrated an ovation in his joy on hearing the priceless news.³¹

Therefore, Theodosius proceeded to an overall recreation of the Diocese on every level, military and civilian, as he strengthened the administration and he created a mysterious new province or renamed the entire Diocese as Valentia.³² Regarding the military plane, Ammianus (28, 3, 8) just listed a measure: the suppression of the *areani/arcane*,³³ a reconnaissance unit placed presumably in the north to check Pictish activities that ‘had gradually become corrupted, and consequently he removed them from their posts. For they were clearly convicted of having been led by the receipt, or the promise, of great booty at various times to betray to the savages what was going on among us’.³⁴

Although it is always necessary to be careful to connect literary events and material records, archaeology confirms there were certain military changes contemporarily (Figure 2). On the subject of the reconstruction of static defensive structures, besides of the renewal works at the central core of the Hadrian Wall—even if this defensive line was not touched during the Barbarian Conspiracy—, it has been attributed to Theodosius both the adding of external towers to the Briton city walls and also the presence of regular troops inside.³⁵ Yet, regarding this paper there were others novelties more remarkable and concerning the maritime defence both in the eastern and western coasts of Britannia.³⁶ Consequently, the pre-existing chain of fortresses and hamlets placed from the Hadrian Wall's western end across the county of Cumbria's shores was deeply strengthened. Its obvious role was to protect the province against Pictish and Scot maritime raids.³⁷ Following this topic, D. C. A. Shotton (1973) supposed that practically every western Britannia's coastal defensive measure were reorganised by Theodosius. According to him, the very Cumbrian defences cited above were added with several coastal signal stations as Wreay Hill and Barrock Fell. These structures became part of a powerful defensive system characterised by the presence of land and maritime defences and possibly complemented by a *classis* created contemporarily and based mainly in Bristol Channel but connected with others shore military settlements in Cardiff and Caer Giby (Holyhead) and more places.³⁸ Its existence is corroborated by an inscription placed on a mosaic addressed to the Celtic god Nodens, concerning a *Praefectus Reliquationis Classis* and found in Lydney Park (Gloucestershire). Besides Nodens' connection with the sea, he was equalled to Mars as a military deity (*CIL* VII, 137). On the other hand, this god is also found in Lancaster in two little statuettes and also presumably in the following inscription (*RIB*, 601):

DEO

MART[II]

SABINVS[S]

P P ET MILIT[ES]

N BARC S C

EII EIVS Po[S].

³⁰ He said precisely: ‘Again, when the Britons could not resist the hordes of enemies that were overrunning their country, he restored them to freedom and quiet peace with the hope of better conditions, and allowed almost none of the plunderers to return to his home’. Certainly, Ammianus simplified overtly the narrative of the Conspiracy.

³¹ Regarding the military recovery, Ammianus (28, 3, 2) anticipated formerly some of Theodosius' measures: ‘he completely restored the cities and strongholds which had been founded to secure a long period of peace, but had suffered repeated misfortunes’.

³² Dornier (1982) placed Valentia in the West, from northern Wales till the Wall. She deemed this province was created by Constans. Bartholomew (1984, 178), who was followed by Thompson (1990, 9) thought that the southern province of *Maxima Caesariensis* was transformed into Valentia. On the other hand Frere (1987, 200) considered that the province of *Britannia Secunda*, whose capital was *Eboracum* (York), was divided in the year 369 in two provinces and one of them was Valentia. On the contrary, Birley (2005, 399-400; 416) placed its creation under the reign of Constans and its location in northern Britain around the Hadrian Wall. Hind (1975) argued that Theodosius renamed the entire diocese as Valentia.

³³ See Woolliscroft (2001, 88-92) about the Roman intelligence at the Hadrian Wall. He wrote (2001, 88) that the *areani* could be a part of the units of *exploradores* placed on this area.

³⁴ Incomprehensibly, for Bartholomew (1984, 179) the *arcani* / *areani* were not placed in northern Britain. Hanson (1983, 212) and Higham and Jones (1985, 125), held that their situation beyond the imperial

frontier provoked a progressive dissociation with the Roman authorities and consequently an approach to the current enemies.

³⁵ Frere (1987, 346-347); Salway (1981, 383-384); Johnson (1980, 127-130); Snyder (2003, 72). See the reasonable critic of this thesis in Casey (1983). Likewise, see the more recent analysis by Guest (2002, 76) concerning the future urban development in the island.

³⁶ Breeze and Dobson (1974, 16-18); Frere (1987, 342-348); Faulkner (2001, 164-168).

³⁷ About the military units placed in these forts and watchtowers according to *Not. Dig. Occ.* (40) and their defensive role against raiders see Richmond (1958, 127); Dornier (1974); Potter and Shotton (1977, 183); Mann (1989); Frere (1987, 344-345); Faulkner (2001, 166).

³⁸ Frere (1987, 345) and Casey (1979, 74). Caer Giby was a military naval base close to the ones placed at the Rhin and possibly created by Theodosius. On the other hand, Branigan (1971) suggested that Gatcombe could work as a ‘signal-station’. He is followed by Rahtz (1976, 228). On this, see also Faulkner (2001, 165-166).

From this epigraph and the evidence of the erection of the Lancaster coastal fort in the fourth century —extremely similar in its architectural design to the Saxon Shore forts—, Shotter thought that Lancaster was as a military harbour used by the *numeri barcariorum* and plainly involved in the maritime defence of this area so exposed to barbarian raiders. A similar role would have been played by the *numerus barcariorum Tigrisiensium* cited in the *Notitia* (40) and placed in South Shields (*Arbeia*), at the mouth of the river Tyne, under the *dux Britanniarum*'s command—that is, this *numerus* would have taken over Hadrian Wall's eastern limit.³⁹ According to Shotter (1973), both *numeri* could have taken profit of the light boats used by this kind of regiments to confront Celtic pirates in the shallow draught waters of Morecambe Bay and the Tyne estuary. If this was the case, the votive inscription of Mars/Nodens can be interpreted as a gratitude offering to the divinity because a successful confront with a barbarian raid. In parallel with these defensive improvements a system of signal-stations was erected on the north-eastern shore, around Yorkshire County, and named appropriately by J. C. Mann as a Pictish Shore because he compared it with the southerner Saxon Shore. According to Mann (1977, 15), this system depended also on the *dux Britanniarum*⁴⁰ but in the view of Sheppard Frere (1987, 344-345) these watchtowers were connected to the closest Saxon Shore forts to coordinate naval actions and the share of information concerning Britannia's eastern coast (Mattingly 2006, 243-244). I consider both options as complementary. These signal-stations (Huntcliff, Goldsborough, Ravenscar, Scarborough and Filey) were set on the coast not to confront directly pirates—but they could do it if the raiders were not strong enough and they penetrated deeply into land—but to make out them and to warn the closest military contingents given that they were not situated on the sea level but on the top of cliffs.⁴¹ Before Mann wrote his theory, Herman Ramm (1978, 125-129) considered that these signal-stations depended on the close fort of Malton (*Derventione*) that housed a military unit extremely mobile as the *supervenientes*, whose command was the *Praefectus numeri superuenientium Petueriensium* who reported to the *dux Britanniarum* (*Not. Dig. Occ.* 40; Drinkwater 1999, 69). Regarding the *Litus Saxonicum* it is possible that the Portchester fort was abandoned temporarily on behalf of Bitterne (Frere 1987, 345) and, on the other hand, it has been hypothesized that from this moment onwards there was a closer relationship between the fortified towns placed near the coast or navigable rivers' estuaries and the Saxon

Shore forts (Faulkner 2001, 166). Finally some scholars have thought that the definitive reorganization of the Roman military deployment in Britannia was designed by Theodosius the Elder in this moment as exposed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Hassall 1977, 10; Cunliffe 1977, 6).

On the other hand and interestingly enough, in view of the Roman withdrawal of the outposts placed beyond the Hadrian Wall—and the end of the *areani*— Sheppard Frere made use of the early medieval Welsh genealogies and considered that Theodosius could sign treaties with some of the barbarian *gentes* placed there and in consequence some buffer-states favourable to the Roman military affairs were created. So Theodosius could have agreed a treaty with the eastern *Votadini*, whom he could have conceded a status of Federate or Client Kingdom that in future days would be known as the Kingdom of Gododdin (Dumville 1989, 217). In fact, according to these genealogies Paternus, one of its fourth century leaders, was named Padarn Pesrut, i.e. 'he of the scarlet cloak', a fact that could suppose a kind of military authority granted by the Romans. On the West, Theodosius could have settled a similar treaty with the dynasty of Strathclyde given that on the very Welsh genealogies there are again two fourth century leaders with Roman names but celtified in a certain way as Cluim (Clemens) and Cinhil (Quintilus). If Frere (1987, 341-342) was right, Theodosius arranged a very worthy military resource used many times by the Romans around their history and especially in Late Antiquity to counter any possible menace from the British *Barbaricum*.⁴² Obviously as Frere (1987, 342) said, this decision strengthened land defence but also this meant that from this moment onwards Picts would use more than ever piracy as a way to gain access to Britannia to skip the new Roman defenders from beyond Hadrian Wall as later Gildas' *De excidio Britannorum* showed. Once Theodosius brought back Britannia to normality—or at least he quieted down the province—he went to the Imperial Court as we said above and he was received with triumphal honours, being rewarded as the new western *magister militum* (Amm. Marc. 28, 3, 9).

An outcome about *comes* Theodosius' campaigns in Britain according to Ammianus and other sources.

Concerning this matter, it is very difficult to achieve an overview because of the disappointing data provided by the scarce sources except Ammianus. However, his text is a very difficult one, biased, with frequent lacunae and

³⁹ According to Hodgson (1991, 88), the creation of the South Shields fort and the placing of the *numeri barcariorum*'s garrison could have been dated in the years 260-270 and connected to the Saxon Shore's development. See also Reddé's (1986, 286) doubts regarding Shotter's reading. For Casey (1993, 260) this *numeri* just served to transport. There is another similar *numerus* at the *Notitia* placed in *Ebruduni Sapaudiae*, at the Narbonense (*Not. Dig. Occ.* 42).

⁴⁰ Most scholars place the building of these forts under the command of Theodosius the Elder except Casey (1977, 121; 1979, 75-76; 1993, 264-265) who held Magnus Maximus responsible.

⁴¹ They were placed in high places, around 90-120 meters. Haverfield (1912, 206-207) specified this function in earlier times.

⁴² In the same line Higham and Jones (1985, 126) and before them Richmond (1958, 124-125) y Hughes (1966, 25-26). On the other hand Laing (1985, 273) deemed unconvincingly these characters as *praefectus gentium*. A critical view on this interpretation in Smyth (1984, 16-19) and Armit and Ralston (2003, 222). See also Rance (2001, 259-260) and Faulkner (2001, 165), who considered that the origin of the Pictish confederation could have arisen certain fears in the *Votadini* and consequently they allied to Rome. Faulkner linked with them the treasure of Trapain Law as he regarded it as a subsidy and not a booty as I suspected in my thesis. On the other hand, see the critic on this possibility by Dumville (1984, 63-64).

plainly characterized by an incessant praise about Theodosius, whom he qualified as a new 'Furius Camillus or Papirius Cursos' in account of his successes in Britannia (28, 3, 9) although, as it is going to be exposed, his military outcome cannot be described as such accomplishment. In fact it is very shocking the lack of the usual amount of barbarians massacred and booty recovered so frequent in Ammianus' tales on Roman victories. On the contrary, it seems rather that the result was just to thwart the attacks and put the pirates to flight and actually it is more emphasized the suppression of Valentinus, a former Praetorian Prefect exiled in the island (28, 3, 4-6).⁴³ This fact is not strange because of the Roman historiography features, more interested in the courtier dramas than even to the military affairs, especially when a regular army was not involved but *latrones* or *praedones*.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Ammianus Marcellinus' account about the Barbarian Conspiracy (367-369) is a very compressed one, very vague and relatively careless regarding the terrible reality he announced previously characterized by the harshness of a terrible situation provoked by the terrible penetration of Celtic and Germanic raiders into the western Roman coasts. However, in spite of this easy perception on the topic of the *Barbarica Conspiratio* there is a permanent contemporary historiographical controversy. As it happened with the third century Crisis in Hispania, the Conspiracy has been appealed as the perfect explanation *ad hoc* to every kind of archaeological and numismatic finds or historical novelties appeared contemporarily on the Late Roman Britain.⁴⁵ Both Ammianus' account and his omissions led several historians as A. S. Esmonde Cleary, E. A. Thompson, Anthony R. Birley, Phillip Rance or Phillip Bartholomew to consider that the historian did not tell all the truth but he embellished his account just to praise indirectly Theodosius the Elder's son, the emperor Theodosius I. On the other hand, some of these historians did not underestimate the Conspiracy effects as Esmonde Cleary (1989, 44-46) or E. A. Thompson did. Interestingly Thompson (1990, 10; 14-15) interpreted the attack into a context of continuous pressure.⁴⁶ Some other scholars have been more hypercritical as Phillip Bartholomew (1984, 177), who minimized completely both the *Conspiratio* and Theodosius' role; and Phillip Rance (2001, 244-245) who, as also did Neil Faulkner, deemed that the *Conspiratio* was a simple accumulation of unrelated events and he portrayed it more like a nuisance than a

serious menace.⁴⁷ In my opinion both Rance and Bartholomew went too far in their arguments, but the core of their thesis should be basically accepted because it is obvious to assert Ammianus' laudatory tone towards Theodosius the Elder (Blockley 1975, 15-16).

It is true that the Conspiracy did not appear in any other prominent source of the period in comparison with the less important Valentinus' episode, a low level contemporary usurpation happened in Britannia. However, the Conspiracy is present in other Theodosian or later sources. The eminent pagan senator Quintus Aurelius Symmachus is our first source through two *relationes* dated in 384. While in one of these he wrote to Theodosius I, his son Arcadius and Valentinian II the Senate decision of erecting statues honouring Theodosius the Elder, *Africanum quondam et Brittanicum ducem* (Símaco *Rel.* 9, 4). In a second *relation*, but necessarily previous, addressed to Valentinian II, he requested the emperor to communicate precisely to the very Theodosius I and Arcadius that 'their author and father... was given the distinction of equestrian statues of himself; our venerable order decreed them as a memorial of the Wars in Africa and in Britain; their intention was that the well-deserved inscriptions celebrating readers of earlier times should stimulate the present generation to be loyal to you' (Símaco *Rel.* 43, 2).⁴⁸ Obviously the reference to the *Africani et Brittannici belli* allude to Theodosius' British campaign and later African fight against the usurper Firmus. Fortunately, we have some inscriptions connected to these statues in Apulia, Ephesus and Dranovo (present Macedonia). The last is the most interesting and complete one because it is not only referred the British campaign but also the subsequent campaign against the Saxons that will be analyzed later. This is the text: [...] ὡ νόμ[α...], χάρμα / μέγα / Βριττανῶν καὶ / Μαυριτανίης μέγα δῦμα, Σαξονείης λυτῆ/ρα καὶ γένους Κελτῶν / ὄλετῆρα, χρυσίον [...] (*AE* 1931, 53).⁴⁹ That is, this epigraph emphasizes Britons' great enjoyment because of Theodosius exploits on their province and, on the other hand, he is described as conqueror of Saxony and destroyer of the Celts (Germans).

Additionally there are other extremely interesting but difficult references on three panegyrics, the first one written by Pacatus in 389 in honour of Theodosius I and later laudatory works of the same poet in commemoration of Honorius third (396) and fourth (398) consulates and likewise there is another reference in his 'In praise of Serena', the daughter of Honorius and wife of Stilicho. In the first place, Pacatus (*Pan. Lat.* 2 (15) 5, 1-2; 4) wrote:

⁴³ Surprisingly —or not, as I discuss above— Valentinus' rebellion appears in other sources as Zosimus (4, 12, 2), Jerome (*Chron.* s.a. 371) or Jordanes (*Rom.* 308). However, these sources did not mention at all the *Barbarica Conspiratio*.

⁴⁴ According to Thompson (1990, 12-13) Valentinus' attempted coup could be connected with a higher level of barbarian menace on the province. Following this theory, Anthony R. Birley (2005, 436-7) held that Valentinus' failure could derive from Theodosius' absence, because he was serving at that moment in Northern Britain. In fact, his usurpation was managed by Dulcitus.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the objections of Webster (1981, 343), Jones (1981, 401), Pearson (2005, 346) or Halsall (2008, 58). Likewise, although Esmonde Cleary (1989, 45) accepts the Conspiracy he warned about this historiographical danger.

⁴⁶ On the other hand, see also Thompson's monography on Ammianus (1947, 89-92).

⁴⁷ Although Rance (2001, 257) also judged positively the seriousness of the *Conspiratio*. In this line, for example, Webster (1983, 240-241). Faulkner (2001, 158) judged Ammianus' narrative almost as a hagiographic tale but well anchored in reality. On the other hand, Hines (1989, 26) deemed that the term *Conspiratio* can be understood as the simple coincidence of their attacks in time and space.

⁴⁸ Translated by Barrow (1973).

⁴⁹ See later bibliography on this and other related inscriptions in Birley (2005, 431).

What, I repeat, shall I do? Shall I begin with the events that the Rhine and Waal witnessed? Immediately the Danube, bloody with the slaughter of Sarmatians, confronts me. Shall I recall Batavia, trampled by infantry battles? Then the vision of the Saxon, annihilated in naval warfare, presents itself. Or shall I speak of the Scot, driven back into his own swamps? ... For he himself would be called Saxonicus, Sarmaticus and Alamannicus, and the one family would boast as many triumphs as the whole State has enemies (Trans. Nixon and Rodgers 1994).

In his customary tone, Claudian (*in III cos. Hon. 52-60; in IV cos. Hon. 19-33; c.m. 30, 39-46*) accentuated even more the praise on Theodosius the Elder:

And the more to inflame thy heart with love of battle he would recount to thee the deeds of thy grandsire, object of dread to Libya's sun-scorched shores and Thule whither no ship can sail. He conquered the fleet Moors and the well-named Picts; his roaming sword pursued the flying Scot; his adventurous oars broke the surface of the northern seas. Crowned with the spoils of triumphs won beneath the northern and the southern sky he trod the wave-swept strand of either Ocean (Panegyric on the Third Consulship of the emperor Honorius).⁵⁰

Hence [from the Ocean] came Theodosius, grandfather of Honorius, for whom, exultant after his northern victories, Africa twined fresh laurels won from the Massylae. 'Twas he who pitched his camp amid the snows of Caledonia, who never doffed his helmet for all the heat of a Libyan summer, who struck terror with the Moors, brought into subjection the coasts of Britain and with equal success laid waste the north and the south. What avail against him the eternal snows, the frozen air, the uncharted sea? The Orcades ran red with Saxon slaughter; Thule was warm with the blood of Picts; ice-bound Hibernia wept for the heaps of slain Scots. (Panegyric on the Fourth Consulship of the emperor Honorius).

Thou art famous for that thine uncle was an emperor, more famous by reason of the warlike deeds of thy grandsire who carried the Roman eagles across the British Channel and repulsed the armed bands of the Gaetulians. Cornelia, daughter of the Scipios, must cease to vaunt her high birth and to boast that she received for dower the spoils of Carthage. Thou [Serena, Theodosius' great-granddaughter] canst point to ancestral triumphs in either hemisphere; on thy brow sit two crowns, the one won by thy sires from Scotland, the other from the South. (In Praise of Serena).

To these two authors it is necessary to add a third one but extremely complicated to use because it is a Latin translation of Flavius Josephus' *Bellum Iudaicum* that it has been dated around the end of the fourth century. Not only is its date disputed but also its authorship. During some time it was believed to have been written by Saint

Ambrose but presently its anonymous author is just called Pseudohegesippus in account of the impossibility of determining the real author. This source is not just a mere translation but also contains several contemporary historical fragments crucial to this episode. Precisely the fact that Theodosius the Elder feats are described—and placed in a general discourse over the Imperial power—have settled on a *terminus post quem* date around the year 370, even if it is not possible to assure it with complete security. Pseudohegesippus comments in a triumphant tone that Britannia was returned to the Roman fold (*in orbem terrarum redactas*) and immediately he portrayed the main enemies confronted, Picts and Saxons, whose homeland (*Saxonia*) is depicted as a marshy one inaccessible even if from time to time contributed with a captive to the Roman triumphs. Likewise, he defined Saxons as 'the strongest race of men' even if they do not trust their strength but they do in piracy and their ships (*piraticis tamen myoparonibus*), more prepared for fight rather than battle (*fugae potius quam bello parata*) (Pseudohegesippo *De Bel. Iud. 5, 15, 2*).⁵¹

After reviewing these references we can note a remarkable progression on the consideration deserved by Theodosius' feats, from Symmachus' curtness till Claudian's impossible exuberance⁵² and the completely different view offered by the mysterious Pseudohegesippus. Unlike the other sources cited, he did not personalize on Theodosius but he just made an overview to sum up the power of the Empire. This is an extremely interesting fact because it precisely guarantees an early date to the writing. If it would have been written contemporarily to Ammianus or Claudian, the author would not have avoided a perfect occasion of connecting such a victory on Picts and Scots in Britain and the campaign against the Saxons to Theodosius I, one of the most idolatrised Christian emperors and the present emperor when the former authors cited wrote their works. Actually both Ammianus, Symmachus and Claudian references fall within the context of a permanent praise of Theodosius I and his dynasty. In consequence it is obvious to assert that if the son of Theodosius the Elder would not have got the purple probably none of these news would have been transmitted to posterity neither a statue would have been erected to an otherwise obscure general. Even Ammianus could have passed still more lightly over the Barbarian Conspiracy as Zosimus did or he would not have registered anything at all as Orosius. That is, concerning

⁵¹ *quid atexam Britannias, interfuso mari a toto orbe divisas, et a Romanis in orbem terrarum redactas? Tremet hos Scotia, quae terris nihil debet: tremet Saxonia inaccessa paludibus, et inviis septa regionibus. quae licet belli curam videatur augere, et ipsa frequenter captiva Romanis aecessit triumphis: validissimum genus hominum perhibetur, praestans caeteris: piraticis tamen myoparonibus non viribus nititur, fugae potius quam bello parata.*

⁵² In his kind of crusade against piracy in the fourth century, Phillip Bartholomew (1984, 177, n. 33) tried to dismiss Claudian's words as poetic rhetoric as he said that they 'are too deeply embedded in passages of poetical exaggeration to be allowed to count as historical evidence'. However, his persistence seems empty as, for example, he forgot to use the extremely important information from Pseudohegesippus.

⁵⁰ This and next fragments translated by Platnauer (1976).

the *Conspiratio* we are lucky of Theodosius I's enthronement who moreover accompanied his father into the British campaign.⁵³ However, this statement does not imply a refusal of the reality: the problems aroused in Britain were serious and Theodosius the Elder was granted the power to solve them.

Regarding Theodosius' military feats towards the barbarian raiders involved in the Conspiracy as told in these sources just cited, there are some references that apparently are hardly to admit but in contrast with Ammianus' reluctance they have to be born in mind. As regards the Picts, Claudian told that they were subjugated and that there were also military camps in the 'snows of Caledonia'. It is reasonable to interpret this allusion as a punitive expedition against them. A logical move because of their raids and also because we know the Hadrian Wall was refortified. Concerning the Scots, Pacatus, Claudian and Pseudohegesippus just mention the fear aroused by Theodosius' armies on Hibernia's inhabitants. On these references, and especially on Claudian and Pacatus, Phillip Freeman has considered the possibility that Theodosius could have employed the British Roman navy to pursue the Scot pirates to their homeland although this fact does not imply the existence of a regular Roman campaign on Ireland according to the evidence.⁵⁴ Although maybe Freeman is too optimistic on this subject, his thesis makes sense and opens an interesting way about the Roman navy role on western Britain in the suppression of piracy. In this way, although in a different scenario, it can be interpreted a very polemic information from Claudian and cited above where the panegyrist said that 'the Orcades ran red with Saxon slaughter'. Generally this reference has been rejected as a Claudian rhetorical piece but it could also reflect the use of the navy against Saxon raiders on Britain and the existence of a piratical base on these northern islands.⁵⁵

Regarding the military reaction against the continental Saxons, it can be inferred from the Dranovo inscription, and the testimonies of Claudian and Pseudohegesippus as well, that Theodosius carried out an until then original accomplishment: a naval campaign against the Saxons in their homelands of *Saxonia/Σαξωνεία*, that is in the area placed between the low watercourses of the Elba and Weser and the northern island located in Frisia. In my opinion, Phillip Bartholomew (1984, 183-184) is wrong when he assumed that this reference does not correspond

with the historical Old Saxony but Batavia according to Pacatus' reference to the river Waal (*Wachalis*)⁵⁶ or in Belgica II as Emilienne Demougeot (1969-1979, 110) argued, where she thought were confronted jointly Saxons and Franks in a campaign that allegedly implied the permanence of the emperor Valentinian I in Treveris and delayed his campaign against the Alamans —where he also was accompanied by Theodosius the Elder (Wood 1990, 95). This last reference can imply the existence of two different campaigns and not just one. Not in vain at the end of the year 369 or the beginning of 370, Valentinian I assumed the title of FRANCICVS (CIL VI, 1175 = ILS, 771).⁵⁷ Namely if we bear in mind that Ammianus wrote that both Franks and Saxons had focused on the continent —even if I consider this new as inconsistent— it is logical to conclude that the emperor should decide to punish not only the distant Saxons but also the nearer Franks who participated on this piratical wave. So, in spite of Ammianus' silence on this matter, it is reasonable to suppose that Theodosius participated on these operations after the end of the Briton campaigns and maybe before being awarded with the *magister militum* command. However, although Saxons and Franks were battled jointly and they participated together in piratical raids, they cannot be identified as a single opponent and also it cannot be mixed up an honour of FRANCICVS MAXIMVS with an honour of SAXONICVS MAXIMVS as I will argue later.⁵⁸ In fact, although the result of this punitive expedition cannot be qualified as successful —there is nothing to suppose it was—, the efforts implied on this campaign, that is the military resources deployed, the important distance from the Roman border and its originality, could be admired by Pacatus and Pseudohegesippus even if they did it because of different motivations.

After reviewing this evidence parallel to Ammianus, it is possible to assert some conclusions about the Barbarian Conspiracy. On one hand, I deem it cannot be denied the existence of the very *Conspiratio* and their terrible effects primarily on Britain according to the texts, in spite of its controversial archaeological record, and the huge efforts carried out by the Roman authorities to return to normality and to reorganise militarily the island. Certainly Ammianus is our best source for this event but it is also disappointing the shortage of details transmitted in his narrative and its sketchy structure. It is more than probable that Ammianus knew a lot more than what he referred in his *Res Gestae*,⁵⁹ nevertheless neither the barbarian piratical activities nor the Roman response

⁵³ As it can be deduced from Zosimus (3, 5, 3) according to Frere (1987, 341).

⁵⁴ Freeman (2001, 94) emphasized that Claudian's following verses concerning Theodosius' suppression on Scots piratical activities had a parallel on Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 2, 1), where the geographer placed the Hyperborean sea at the north of Ireland: 'his [Theodosius] roaming sword pursued the flying Scot; his adventurous oars broke the surface of the northern seas' / *edomuit Scottumque vago mucrone secutus fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas* (Claudian in *III cos. Hon.* 57-58).

⁵⁵ If Davis (2007) is right —although his historical knowledge is lesser than his philological one— in his analysis on the Saxon substratum on the island language. A regular opinion concerning this fragment is Chadwick (1958, 150), who explained these verses as typical from the author's ignorance.

⁵⁶ Nixon *et al.* 1994, 517-519; Detalle, 2002, 15.

⁵⁷ About its date, see Humphreys (1999).

⁵⁸ However it is more than probable that there was a phenomenon of synecdoche through the entire Roman Empire concerning the use of ethnonyms. The massive reference to Franks and Saxons as pirates could darken the participation of many different peoples in raiding activities, as it happened with the Cilician piracy. In this way, the preponderance of Franks at the end of the third century and the beginning of the Fourth and Saxons from this moment onwards is rather suspicious.

⁵⁹ I oppose to Thompson (1947, 90). Austin (1979, 46), deemed more interestingly that Ammianus' vagueness was motivated mainly on his indifference than in a lack of adequate sources.

were worthy enough to be told in a more precise way. After all, both processes —barbarian action and Roman counteraction— were just *minutias* according to Ammianus' 'principles of history': the barbarian raids were just mere depredatory deeds and not important actions from the military and politician point of view as well as Theodosius' campaigns. To be exact, to Ammianus these facts just deserved the vague narrative he used, as he did when he presented jointly the menaces that Valentinian I had to confront at the time of his enthronement.⁶⁰ Ammianus' historical thought —*los praeceptis historiae*— is well described by himself (26, 1, 1):

... the principles of history... for it is wont to detail the high lights of events, not to ferret out the trifling details of unimportant matters. For whoever wishes to know these may hope to be able to count the small indivisible bodies which fly through space, and to which we give the name of atoms.⁶¹

That is, Ammianus (27, 2, 11) just like any of the Graeco-Roman historians distinguished perfectly between the subjects he deemed as historiographically relevant from the unimportant. This preconception is observed through the use of *minutias* or any other similar circumlocution as he did in several occasions when he referred to less important barbarian attacks from a military point of view as well other piratical attacks or analogous raids.⁶² In fact Ammianus (28, 2, 12) did it when he described the Saxon and Frankish attacks cited above *inter per Gallias*, or likewise his digression about the Maratocupreni *latrones* from Syria also connected to these raids.⁶³

In consequence, if Theodosius the Elder would not have been the main actor in the repression of the *Conspiratio Barbarica* we almost would not have known anything about, in spite that Ammianus could have provided a fuller narrative because he understood this event should not have been kept in memory according mainly to the nature of the attacks. In the same way, the previous reference to Lupicinus and his campaign in Britain against Picts, Scots and Attacotti (Amm. Marc. 20, 1, 1-3) appeared in his *Res Gestae* and in the most compact way, without any detail about these barbarian activities and/or the very Roman general counterattack. This episode was just cited by Ammianus because it was useful to portray the ascension of the young Caesar Julian and not because the historian was interested in the

harassment of the province of Britannia by pirates. Due to this, his reference to the Frankish and Saxon activities cited above and connected to the Maratocupreni *latrones* is explained mainly because a relative of the emperor died.⁶⁴ However, it is useless to denigrate the work of the very best Late Antiquity historian because he just followed a well established tradition in the Roman world. Piracy was considered as an undeserving topic for a historian and even more for such an aristocratic historian as Ammianus himself was.⁶⁵ In fact, in contrast with the also cited later panegyrists —not only Claudian or Pacatus, but also Symmachus who desperately looked for the reconciliation with Theodosius I after the senator formerly supported the usurper Magnus Maximus. The case of Pseudohegesippus is different, because he only pretended to show the Roman power in a writing that did not pretend to praise personally to anybody but the Empire—, Ammianus showed a kind of intellectual honesty when he silenced the failure or the unimportance of Theodosius the Elder campaign in Saxony just to not praise falsely the present emperor. As Ammianus (26, 1, 1) inferred in a previous discourse, he had to be watchful to write about the Theodosian Dynasty.⁶⁶ 'having narrated the course of events with the strictest care up to the bounds of the present epoch, I had already determined to withdraw my foot from the more familiar tracks, partly to avoid the dangers which are often connected with the truth, and partly to escape unreasonable critics of the work which I am composing, who cry out as if wronged'.⁶⁷ In brief, Ammianus (28, 5, 1-8) did not have any moral teaching to show —as it happened with the Saxons betrayed by the Romans and

⁶⁴ The *tribunus stabuli* Constanciano was brother-in-law of the emperor Valentinian I (Amm. Marc. 28, 2, 10-14).

⁶⁵ On this, see the fantastic paper of Braund (1993) about piracy in the High Empire and the Roman historiography. His conclusions are perfectly fit to deal with a later period as the Later Roman Empire. In that way, Thompson (1947, 87) wrote that 'minor battles and minor victims of injustice will not be granted space in his history', because according to Ammianus, the *minutiae ignobiles* did not provide any lasting result. C. R. Whittaker (1993, 279) made a magnificent statement when he said that later historians preferred to emphasize larger military campaigns 'in comparison to the more banal but continual pressure of the small bands of infiltrator'. On Ammianus and his aristocratic tendency, see Alonso Núñez (1975, 92).

⁶⁶ In this way, it is very recommendable the great analysis written by Thompson (1947, 87-107; 110-111) on the relationship between Ammianus and Theodosius. Thompson argued that Theodosius I was very alert regarding the historical work written under his reign and consequently inhibiting historians as the very Ammianus. In his line, see Halsall (2008, 179). On the contrary, Matthews (1989, 10) considered that Theodosius was indifferent concerning the contemporary history.

⁶⁷ Undoubtedly, these words have to correlate with Theodosius I as Ammianus also did in a different fragment, where in a veiled way he made a critic to his religious politics (Amm. Marc. 30, 9, 5). On the contrary, I consider that Blockley (1975, 94) is wrong when he confined this reference just to the context of the Barbarian Conspiracy and linked it to the Valentinian Dynasty as, in Blockley's view, Ammianus just dared to write on this subject after Valentinian II's death. Obviously, concerning this last fact Blockley is right but also this critic has to be understood as a diatribe against the new reigning dynasty and the insecurity faced by those historians who attempted to analyse the present. In this way, Blockley (1975, 52) considered that the portrait of Valentinian I's cruelty could be an indirect accusation against Theodosius I in consequence of the slaughter he provoked in Thessalonica in 390. Similarly, Humphreys (1999, 124) deemed rightly that the praise of Valentinian I for his religious tolerance implied a critic to the later Theodosian prejudice.

⁶⁰ The biography concerning his historiographical trends is very wide. See, for example, Thompson (1947); Alonso Núñez (1975); Blockley (1975; 2001); Santos Yanguas (1976); Barnes (1998); Drijvers and Hunt (1999).

⁶¹ *discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines adsuetae, non humilium minutias indagare causarum, quas si scitari voluerit quispiam, individua illa corpuscula volitantia per inane, atomous, ut nos appellamus, numerari posse sperabit.*

⁶² *praeter haec alia multa narratu minus digna conserta sunt proelia per tractus varios Galliarum, quae superfluum est explicare, cum neque operae pretium aliquod eorum habuere proventus, nec historiam producere per minutias ignobiles decet* (Ammianus 27, 2, 11).

⁶³ *sed ne per minutias gesta narrando.*

cited subsequently, an allusion linked to the Ciceronian concept of the pirate as an enemy of mankind—neither a military teaching worthy to remember. He mentioned this episode because of the identity of the Roman commander in charge of the suppression of these pirates. On the contrary, as any other imperial historian he paid more attention to another episode linked to Theodosius the Elder as Firmus and his revolt in Africa (372-375) because it was an usurpation. However, in such a more complete account he did not give up the laudatory treatment of the very Theodosius the Elder, even though he showed some reprehensible features of his making, as he concealed his execution and a true historiographical judgement of his deeds. According to E. A. Thompson (1947, 92-95), Ronald Mellor (1999, 126; 106-107) and Jan Willem Drijvers (2007, 151-154), this last fact could mean that the father of Theodosius I could deserve his fatal fate and thus he had good reasons to keep the silence to avoid the wrath of a Christian emperor so extremely intolerable with the paganism that this historian professed.⁶⁸

The context of the *Barbarica Conspiratio*

Although we do not know exactly the details of the Conspiracy and less about the alliance between such different *gentes*, it is impossible to refute the brutal coincidence of these attacks and their result: the incapacitation of both the military and the civil administration of a whole province during two years till the situation was calmed down because of Theodosius the Elder. Concerning the fact that the southeast of Britain was hard pressed by the raiders, that is, where the *Litus Saxonicum* was placed, I consider there is enough evidence to consider that these barbarians planned the attack because they knew perfectly this was the most powerful Briton piratical deterrent. Similarly, the piratical nature of the Conspiracy cannot be argued due to the barbarian tribes involved, the inexistence of any damage in the Hadrian Wall and the refortification of its maritime flanks. Regarding Theodosius, it cannot be denied both his presence in Britain and his good work before the devastating situation of the island and the scarce resources he had at his disposal. However, concerning the suppression of the raiders he did not have at all such a sonorous success. According to Ammianus, and exaggerated largely by the panegyrists and the anonymous author of Flavius Josephus' *De Bellum Iudaicum*, Theodosius appealed to a guerrilla kind of tactic to confront the raiders and maybe with the very important help provided by some traitors I identify as Attacotti. In brief, except maybe some success it was impossible to eliminate the whole number of raiders as they were scattered in numerous *factiones* characterized, as any other good pirate in history, by mobility and surprise. Leaving aside the use of infantry, it is also very

probable to consider the role of the Roman navy in the piratical restraint. However, Theodosius' most important measure was to reorganise the island in both the military and administrative levels as he recovered the vanished Briton garrison and he refortified several key points in the island. As E. A. Thompson (1990, 9-10; 15) correctly argued this policy did not eliminate completely the piratical menace but it supposed the re-establishment of the imperial authority in Britannia. Precisely the absence of important military successes explains why Valentinian did not assume the honour of BRITANNICVS MAXIMVS as Constantius Chlorus or Constantine I did in view of presumably similar circumstances even if they were not as serious. In fact the subsequent campaign against the Saxons in the very Saxony must be beholden in a similar way and although Pacatus claimed a SAXONICVS MAXIMVS honour for Theodosius the Elder, Valentinian I did not assume it as he could have done if there would have been true motives to do it. Unquestionably this original and risky expedition deserved the praise as the authors cited did but its development was not manifestly satisfactory and in fact it did not have an effect on the later Saxon piratical activities. The silence kept by Ammianus on this matter is eloquent (26, 6, 1). However, in spite of this incomplete success, Theodosius' work in Britain was properly recognized and he was awarded by Valentinian I with the charge of *magister militum* and he was later entrusted with the important mission of repressing Firmus' usurpation. An episode as I have referred before more detailed by Ammianus than the Conspiracy according to the historiographical rules followed in his *Res Gestae*. In sum, Ammianus offered the best narrative concerning the Conspiracy but in a vague way and according to the historical conditions of his writing not because he believed he had to show any information about it. Although Ammianus tried to flatter Theodosius I narrating the feats of his father, he did not humiliate himself in praising the Count Theodosius excessively as other writers did contemporarily and always since a deep respect of his historiographical trends. In fact, he hid some of the evidence to avoid embarrassing the emperor and especially to avoid lying on historical facts—even if this implied not telling all the truth he could have handed down just on behalf of his own security.

⁶⁸ On the contrary, Matthews (1989, 382) regarded unconvincingly that Ammianus did not write his execution because this one surpassed the chronological limits established by the historian concerning the Western Roman Empire.

Reference List and Bibliography

- Abascal, J. M., Cebrián, R. and Trunk, M. 2004. Epigrafía, arquitectura y decoración arquitectónica del Foro de Segóbriga. In S. F. Ramallo (eds), *La decoración arquitectónica en las ciudades romanas de Occidente*, 219-256. Murcia.
- Abascal, J. M., Almagro, M., Cebrián, R. and Sanfeliú, D. 2006. Cronología y entorno urbano del teatro romano de Segobriga. In C. Márquez and A. Ventura (eds), *Jornadas sobre teatros romanos en Hispania. Córdoba 2002*, 311-337. Córdoba.
- Abascal, J. M., Almagro, M. and Cebrián, R. 2007. *Segobriga. Ciudad celtibérica y romana. Guía del Parque Arqueológico*. Toledo.
- Abascal, J. M., Almagro, M., Cebrián, R. and Hortelano, I. 2009. *Segóbriga 2008. Resumen de las intervenciones arqueológicas*. Cuenca.
- Abdy, R. 2006. After Patching: imported and recycled coinage in fifth and sixth century Britain. In B. Cook and G. Williams (eds), *Coinage and History in the North Sea World c. 500-1250 AD. Essays in Honour of Marion Archibald. The Northern World. North Europe and the Baltic c. 400-1700 AD. Peoples, Economies and Cultures*. Volume 19, 75-99. Leiden-Boston: E. J. Brill.
- Acconcia Longo, A. 1989. La vita di S. Leone vescovo di Catania e gli incantesimi del mago Eliodoro. *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici* 26, 1-98.
- Adamik, T. 2001. Flagitia Christianorum. *Wiener Studien* 114, 397-404.
- Agnello, G. 1952. *L'architettura bizantina di Sicilia*. Florence: La Nuova Italia.
- Agnello, G. 1969. Recenti scoperte di monumenti paleocristiani nel Siracusano. In *Atti Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana* (Trier 5-11 September 1965), 309-326. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana.
- Agnello, S. L. 1962. Architettura paleocristiana e bizantina della Sicilia. *Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 9, 53-108.
- Agnello, S. L. 1988. L'iscrizione di Proba. In L. Bernabò Brea, *Le Isole Eolie dal tardo antico ai Normanni*, 165-170. Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole.
- Agnello, S. L. 1990. Siracusa in età bizantina. In *Siracusa bizantina*. Syracuse: Associazione Russia Cristiana San Vladimir.
- Agosti, G. 2001. L'epica biblica nella Tarda Antichità greca. Autori e lettori nel IV e V secolo. In F. Stella (ed.), *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e Poesia in età medievale e umanistica*, 67-104. Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo.
- Agosti, G. 2003. *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi del Vangelo di Giovanni, Canto V*. Firenze: Università degli studi di Firenze.
- Agosti, G. 2004. *Nonno di Panopoli, Le Dionisiache (Canti XXV-XXXIX)*, Volume Terzo. Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli.
- Agosti, G. 2005. Sul ruolo e la valutazione dei 'minori' nella poesia greca tardoantica. *Incontri triestini di filologia classica* 5, 209-223.
- Agosti, G. 2006. La voce dei libri. Dimensioni performative dell'epica greca tardoantica. In E. Amato, A. Roduit and M. Steinrück (eds), *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique. Hommages à Jacques Schamp*, 33-60. Bruxelles: Latomus.
- Agosti, G. 2009. Niveaux de style, littérarité, poétiques: pour une histoire du système de la poésie classicisante au VIe siècle. In P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos and M. Hinterberger, *'Doux remède...' Poésie et Poétique à Byzance*, 99-119. Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, École des hautes études en sciences sociales.
- Agosti, G. and Gonnelli, F. 1995. Materiali per la storia dell'esametro nei poeti cristiani greci. In M. Fantuzzi and R. Pretagostini (eds), *Struttura e storia dell'esametro greco I*, 289-434. Roma: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.
- Agudo Cubas, R. M. 1992. *Suetonio, Vidas de las doce Césares*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Aja Sánchez, J. R. 2007. Tolerancia religiosa romana e intolerancia cristiana en los templos del Alto-Egipto. Raíces y huellas. *Gerion* 25, 417-470.
- Alba Calzado, M. 1996. Consideraciones arqueológicas en torno al siglo V en Mérida. *Memoria: excavaciones arqueológicas en Mérida* 2, 361-386.
- Alba Calzado, M. 1997. Ocupación diacrónica del área arqueológica de Morerías (Mérida). *Memoria: excavaciones arqueológicas en Mérida* 1, 285-315.
- Albornoz Portocarrero, N. 1909. *Historia de la Ciudad de Cabra*. Madrid.
- Alföldy, A. 1943. *Die Kontorniaten*. Budapest.
- Alföldy, G. 1969. *Fasti Hispanienses. Senatorische Reichsbeamte und Offiziere in den spanischen Provinzen des römischen Reichs von Augustus bis Diokletian*. Wiesbaden.
- Alföldi, M. R. 1976. Die Niederremmeler "Kaiserfibel": zum Datum des ersten Krieges zwischen Konstantin und Licinius. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 176, 183-200.
- Alföldi, M. R. 2001. *Gloria Romanorum. Schriften zum Spätantike*. Historia Einzelschriften 153. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.
- Allard, P. 1903. Lactance et le 'De mortibus persecutorum'. *Revue des Questions Historiques* 74, 543-552.
- Allevi, L. 1940. Eusebio di Cesarea e la storiografia ecclesiastica. *La Scuola Cattolica* 68, 550-564.
- Almagro, M. 1977. Excavaciones arqueológicas en las ruinas de Segobriga, Saelices (Cuenca), 1973. *Noticario Arqueológico Hispánico* 5, 11-22.
- Alonso Núñez, J. M. 1975. *La visión historiográfica de Ammiano Marcelino*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid.
- Álvarez-Jiménez, D. 2010 (unpublished PhD thesis). *Los piratería en la Antigüedad Tardía*. Madrid.
- Álvarez-Jiménez, D. (unpublished). *Sobre la irrelevancia de Hispania en la Antigüedad Tardía*. Madrid.
- Amerise, M. 2005. *Eusebio di Cesarea. Elogio di Costantino. Discorso per il trentennale. Discorso regale. Introduzione, traduzione e note di*. Milano: Paoline.
- Amores Carredano, F. 1982. *Carta arqueológica de Los*

- Alcores (Sevilla)*. Seville: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla.
- Amores Carredano, F. 1996. *Actualización del catálogo de yacimientos arqueológicos de Carmona*. Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y medio Ambiente, Dirección General de Bienes Culturales and Servicio de Protección del Patrimonio Histórico.
- Amores Carredano, F., Rodríguez-Bobada Gil, M. C. and Sáez Fernández, P. 2001. La organización y explotación del territorio de Carmona. In A. Caballos Rufino (ed.), *Carmona romana, Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Carmona*, 413-446. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Amores Carredano, F. and González Acuña, D. 2006. V fase de intervención arqueológica en el mercado de la Encarnación (Sevilla). Contextos tardoantiguos. *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 2003*, III.2, 197-206.
- Amores Carredano, F., García Vargas, E., González Acuña, D. and López, P. 2007. Cerámica de cocina y comunes tardoantiguas en Hispalis (Sevilla, España). Primera tipología y sus contextos (La Encarnación, ss. V-VI). In *LRCW 2. Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and Archaeometry*, 147-163. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1662 (I). Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Anderson, G. 1994. *Sage, Saint and Sophist. Holy Men and their Associates in the Early Roman Empire*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Andron, C. 2008. Ploutarchos of Athens. In G. Irby-Massie and P. Keyser, *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists*. London: Routledge.
- Aquilué, X. 1993. *La seu del Col·legi d'Arquitectes: una intervenció arqueològica en el centre històric de Taragona*. Tarragona.
- Arbeiter, A. 1997. Der kaiser mit dem christogrammmimbus zur silbernen largitionsschale valentinians in genf. *Antiquità tardive* 5, 153-167.
- Arcaria, F. 1997. Sul potere normativo del prefetto del pretorio. *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 63, 301-341.
- Arce Martínez, J. 1978. La crisis del siglo III d.C. en *Hispania* y las invasiones bárbaras. *Hispania Antiqua* VIII, 257-269.
- Arce Martínez, J. 1982. *El último siglo de la España romana: 284-409*. Madrid.
- Arce Martínez, J. 1988. *España entre el mundo antiguo y el mundo medieval*. Madrid: Taurus.
- Arce Martínez, J. 1998. Teodosio I sigue siendo Teodosio I. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 71, 169-179.
- Arce Martínez, J. 2000. El *missorium* de Teodosio I: problemas históricos y de iconografía. In M. Almagro-Gorbea, J. M. Álvarez Matinez and J. M. Blázquez Matinez (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 281-288. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Arce Martínez, J. 2005. *Bárbaros y romanos en Hispania. 400-507*. Madrid: Marcial Pons.
- Arce Martínez, J. 2008. La Hispania de Teodosio, *Antigüedad Tardía* 16, 9-18.
- Arce Martínez, J. 2011. Fana, Templá, Delubra Destruí Praecipimus: The End of Temples in Roman Spain. In L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds), *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*. Late Antique Archaeology 7, 195-208.
- Arcifa, L. 2009. La città nel medioevo: Sviluppo urbano e dominio territoriale. In L. Scalisi (ed.), *Catani. L'identità urbana dall'antichità al settecento*, 73-111. Catania: Domenico Sanfilippo Editore.
- Arcifa, L. 2010. Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia orientale. In A. Neff and V. Prigent (eds), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, 15- 49. Paris: De Boccard.
- Ardizzone, F. 2010. Nuove ipotesi a partire dalla rilettura dei dati archeologici: la Sicilia occidentale. In A. Neff and V. Prigent (eds), *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*, 51- 76. Paris: De Boccard.
- Ariño Gil, E. and Gurt Esparraguera, J. M. 1994. Catastros romanos en el entorno de *Augusta Emerita*. Fuentes literarias y documentación arqueológica. In J. G. Gorges and M. Salinas de Frías (eds), *Les campagnes de Lusitanie romaine*, 45-66. Madrid-Salamanca: Casa de Velázquez.
- Ariño Gil, E. and Díaz, P. C. 1999. La economía agraria de la Hispania romana: colonización y territorio. *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua* 17, 153-192.
- Ariño Gil, E., Gurt Esparraguera, J. M. and Palet i Martínez, J. 2004. *El Pasado Presente: arqueología de los paisajes en la Hispania romana*. Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona.
- Armit, I. and Ralston, I. B. M. 2003. The Iron Age. In J. Edwards and I. B. M. Ralston (eds), *Scotland after the Ice Age. Environment, Archaeology and History*, 169-194. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Arnaud-Lindet, M. P. 1990-1991. *Orose. Histoires (contre les païens)*, I-II. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Arribas, A. and Tarradell, M. 1987. El fórum de Pollentia. Noticias de las primeras investigaciones. In Aranegui Gasco, C., *Los foros romanos de las provincias occidentales*, 121-136. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.
- Assman, J. 1992. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich.
- Athanassiadi, P. 2002. Byzantine Commentators on the Chaldean Oracles: Psellos and Plethon. In K. Ierodiakonou (ed.), *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, 237-252. Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press.
- Ausbüttel, F. 1988. Die Dedition der Westgoten von 382 und ihre historische Bedeutung. *Athenaeum* 66, 604-613.
- Austin, N. J. 1979. *Ammianus on warfare. An investigation into Ammianus' military knowledge*. Bruxelles: Latomus.
- Bacchelli, B. and Pasqualucci, R. 1998. Lucerne dal contesto di VII secolo della Crypta Balbi. In L. Sagui (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo. Atti del Convegno in onore di John W. Hayes, (Roma, 11-13 Maggio, 1995)*, 343-50. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Baena Escudero, R. and Amador, G. I. 2009. El registro geoarqueológico del sector sur de la Puerta de Jerez (Sevilla): últimos 4000 años en la sedimentación

- fluvial del Guadalquivir. *VII Reunião de Cuaternario Iberico*, 175-180. Faro.
- Baglioni, R. and Bouzas, A. 1999. El Hypnos de Almedinilla: Metodología y proceso de investigación, intervención y montaje. *Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico* 28, 43-63.
- Bagnall, R. S., Cameron, A., Schwartz, S. R. and Worp, K. A. 1987. *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*. Atlanta.
- Baird, J. A. 2013. Dura deserta: the death and afterlife of Dura-Europos. In N. Christie and A. Augenti (eds), *Urbes Extinctae. Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, 307-329. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Bakker, J. 1993. Raetien unter Postumus - Das Siegesdenkmal einer Juthungenschlacht im Jahre 260 n.Chr. aus Augsburg. *Germania* 71, 369-386.
- Baldassarri, S. U. 2000. *Leonardo Bruni, Laudatio florentine urbis*. Florencia: SISMEL, Del Galluzzo.
- Baldwin, B. 1983. *Suetonius: Biographer of the Caesars*. Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert.
- Baldwin, B. 1986. Nonnus and Agathias: Two Problems in Literary Chronology. *Eranos* 84, 60-61.
- Balil, A. 1965. Aspectos sociales del Bajo Imperio (s. IV-s. VI). Los senadores hispánicos. *Latomus* 24, 886-904.
- Balsdon, J. P. V. D. 1962. *Roman Women: Their History and Habits*. London: Barnes and Noble.
- Banchich, T. M. 1987. On Goulet's Chronology of Eunapius' Life and Works. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107, 164-167.
- Baratte, F. 1996-1997. Observations sur la vaiselle d'argent et ses possesseurs à la fin de Antiquité. *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* 36, 63-79.
- Barceló, P. 1991-1992. Trajan, Maxentius und Constantin. Ein Beitrag zur Deutung des Jahres 312. *Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie* 14/15, 145-156.
- Barceló, P. 2002. Monoteísmo y monarquía en el Imperio romano. In C. Rabassa and R. Stepper (eds), *Imperios sacros, monarquías divinas*, Vol. 10, 17-37. Castellón: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I.
- Barceló, P. 2002a. Reflexiones sobre el tratamiento de las minorías religiosas por parte del emperador romano: Trajano y los cristianos. In C. Rabassa and R. Stepper (eds), *Imperios sacros, monarquías divinas*, Vol. 10, 57-78. Castellón: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I.
- Barceló, P. 2008. Konstantins Bekehrung zum Christentum. *Historicum. Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, 32-41.
- Barceló, P. 2011. The Deconstruction of the Emperor in the IVth Century. In D. Hernández de la Fuente (ed.), *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 23-39. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Bardy, G. 1955. La théologie d'Eusèbe de Césarée d'après l'Histoire Ecclésiastique. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50, 5-20.
- Barnes, T. D. 1975. Patricii under Valentinian III. *Phoenix* 29, 155-170.
- Barnes, T. D. 1978. *The Sources of the Historia Augusta*. Bruxelles: Latomus
- Barnes, T. D. 1987. Himerius and the Fourth Century. *Classical Philology* 82, 206-225.
- Barnes, T. D. 1998. *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Barnish, S. J. B. 2001. 'Religio in stagno': Nature, Divinity and the Christianisation of the Countryside in Late Antique Italy. *Early Christian Studies* 9, 387-402.
- Baron, H. 1966. *Crisis of the Early Italian Humanism*. Princeton University Press.
- Barone-Adesi, G. 1979. Primi tentativi di Teodosio in Grande per l'unità religiosa dell'Impero. *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana* 3, 49-55.
- Barroso, A. and Morín, J. 1994. La ciudad Arcávida en época visigoda: fuentes literarias y testimonios arqueológicos. In *I Congreso de Arqueología Peninsular (Porto, 1993)*, 287-306. Porto.
- Barrow, R. H. 1973. *Prefect and Emperor: the 'Relationes' of Symmachus, A.D. 384*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bartholomew, P. 1984. Fourth-Century Saxons. *Britannia* 15, 169-185.
- Basile, B. and Mirabella, S. 2003. La costa nord-occidentale di Ortigia (Siracusa): nuovi dati dagli scavi urbani. In G. M. Bacci and M. C. Martinelli (eds), *Studi classici in onore di Bernabò Brea*. Quaderni del Museo archeologico regionale eoliano Luigi Bernabò Brea, Supplemento 2, 295-243. Palermo.
- Bateson, T. D. 1976. Further finds of Roman material from Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 76C, 171-180.
- Bayliss, R. 2004. *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1281. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Beard, M., North, J. and Price, S. 1998. *Religions of Rome, Volume 1: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beard, M., North, J. and Price, S. 1998. *Religions of Rome, Volume 2: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beckwith, J. 1970. *Early Christian and Byzantine art*. London: Penguin Books.
- Beierwaltes, W. 1994. *Eriugena*. Frankfurt: Klostermann.
- Beierwaltes, W. 2005. Centrum tocius vite. Sobre el significado de la 'Theologia Platonis' de Proclus en el pensamiento del Cusanus. In W. Beierwaltes, *Cusanus. Reflexión metafísica y espiritualidad*, 67-88. Pamplona: Eunsá.
- Belke, K. 2002. Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Un progetto di topografia storica e le sue prospettive per la Sicilia. In R. M. Carra Bonacasa (ed.), *Byzantino-sicula IV. Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia della Sicilia Bizantina (Corleone, 28 luglio - 2 agosto 1998)*, 73-88. Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici.
- Beltrán, M. 1993. El teatro de Cesaraugusta. Estado actual del conocimiento. In S. F. Ramallo and F. Santiuste (eds), *Teatros romanos de Hispania. Cuadernos de Arquitectura* 2, 94-106. Murcia.
- Beltrán de Heredia, J. 2008. Inhumaciones privilegiadas

- intramuros durante la Antigüedad Tardía: El caso de *Barcino*, *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 19, 231-260.
- Benakis, L. 1987. Neues zur Proklos-Tradition in Byzanz. In G. Boss and G. Seel (eds), *Proclus et son influence*, 247-259. Zürich: Gran Midi.
- Benveniste, E. 1938. *Les Mages dans l'Ancien Iran*. Paris: Librairie orientale et américaine G.-P. Maisonneuve.
- Bergk, T. 1882. *Poetae lyrici Graeci*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Bergmeier, R. 2010. *Kaiser Konstantin und die wilden Jahre des Christentums. Die Legende vom ersten christlichen Kaiser*. Aschaffenburg.
- Bering, K. 2007. Das Kirchenbauprogramm Kaiser Konstantins d. Gr. In F. Schuller and H. Wolff (eds), *Konstantin der Große. Kaiser einer Epochenwende*, 179-184. Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink.
- Bernabé, A. 1979. *Textos literarios hetitas*. Madrid: Editorial Nacional.
- Bernabé, A. 2008. El mito órfico de Dioniso y los Titanes. In A. Bernabé and F. Casadesús (eds), *Orfeo y la tradición órfica: un reencuentro*, 591-607. Madrid: Akal.
- Bernal, D. 2006. *Carteia* en la Antigüedad tardía. In L. Roldán et al. (ed.), *Estudio Histórico-arqueológico de la ciudad de Carteia (San Roque, Cádiz) 1994-1999*, 417-464. Sevilla.
- Bernard-Pradelle, L. 2000. L'influence de la Seconde Sophistique sur la Laudatio Florentinae Urbis de Leonardo Bruni. *Rhetorica* 18.4, 355-387.
- Bestem, F., Becker, H. J. and Spigo, U. 2007. Studio e rilievo sull'anfiteatro romano di Catania. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 113, 595-613.
- Bianchini, M. 1986. Cadenze liturgiche e calendario civile fra IV e V secolo. Alcune considerazioni. In *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana. VI Convegno Internazionale*, 241-263. Perugia.
- Bidez, J. 1924-1932. *Julian, Emperor of Rome*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Bidez, J. and Cumont, F. 1938. *Les Mages Hellénisés*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Bidez, J. and Cumont, F. 2007. *Les mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Bieler, L. 1935-1936. ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ. Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen". In *Spätantike und Frühchristentum*, I-II. Wien: Höfel [repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1967].
- Bing, P. 1988. *The Well-Read Muse. Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Bintliff, J. and Snodgrass, A. 1988. Off-site pottery distributions: a regional and inter-regional perspective. *Current Anthropology* 29, 506-513.
- Bird, H. W. 1984. *S. A. Victor. A Historiographical Study*. Liverpool: Francis Cairns.
- Bird, H. W. 1988. Eutropius: His Life and Career. *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 32.7, 51-60.
- Bird, H. W. 1993. *Eutropius, Breviarium* (Translated Texts for Historians 14). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Bird, H. W. 1994. *Aurelius Victor, De Caesaribus* (Translated Texts for Historians 17). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Birley, A. R. 2005. *The Roman government of Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Black, E. W. 1987. *The Roman Villas of South-East England*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 171. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Blackburn, B. 1991. *Theios Aner and the Markan Miracle Tradition: A Critique of the Theios Aner Concept as an Interpretative Background of the Miracle Traditions Used by Mark*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.
- Blanco, A., García, J. and Bendala, M. 1972. Excavaciones en Cabra (Córdoba): la casa del Mitra (primera campaña, 1972). *Habis* 3, 297-320.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 1989. Influencia de la Iglesia de Cartago en las iglesias hispanas. *Gerión* 7, 277-287.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 1990. *El nacimiento del cristianismo*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 1995. Aspectos del ascetismo de Melania la Joven. *Kolaios* 4, 437-456.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 1996. *España romana*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 1997. Las élites de la Hispania romana en el Bajo Imperio. *Antiquitas*, 22, 7-19.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 1998. *Intelectuales, ascetas y demonios al final de la Antigüedad*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 2000. Aspectos cronológicos del disco de Teodosio. In M. Almagro-Gorbea, J. M. Alvarez Matinez and J. Blázquez Matinez (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 253-272. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 2008. La violencia religiosa cristiana en la "Historia Eclesiástica" de Sócrates durante el gobierno de Teodosio II y en la "Historia Eclesiástica" de Teodoreto de Cirro. *Gerion* 26, 453-490.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M. 2010. La violencia religiosa en la Historia Eclesiástica de Teodoreto de Cirro. Violencia contra los paganos. Violencia de unos cristianos contra otros. *Gerión* 28. 1, 331-390.
- Blázquez, J. M. and López, G. 1990. Destrucción e mosaicos mitológicos por los cristianos. In A. González and J. M. Blázquez (eds), *Cristianismo y aculturación en tiempos del Imperio Romano. Madrid, 13-15 de octubre de 1988*, Antigüedad y Cristianismo 7, 353-365. Murcia.
- Blázquez Martínez, J. M., Martínez-Pinna, J. and Montero Herrero, S. 1993. *Historia de las religiones antiguas: Egipto, Grecia y Roma*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Bloch, H. 1963. The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century. In A. Momigliano (ed.), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, 193-218. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Blockley, R. C. 1975. *Ammianus Marcellinus. A study of his historiography and political thought*. Bruxelles: Latomus.
- Blockley, R. C. 1980. The Date of the 'Barbarian Conspiracy'. *Britannia* 11, 223-225.
- Blockley, R. C. 1981-1983. *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*.

- Liverpool: Francis Cairns.
- Blockley, R. C. 2001. Ammianus and Cicero on truth in Historiography. *The Ancient History Bulletin* 15.1, 14-24.
- Boas, G. 1948. Fact and Legend in the Biography of Plato. *Philosophical Review* 57, 439-457.
- Bollansée, J. 1999. *Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Continued. Part Four: Biography and Antiquarian Literature*, edited by G. Schepens. IV A: Biography. Fascicle 3: Hermippos of Smyrna. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Bóna, I. 2002. *Les Huns Le grand empire barbare d'Europe, IVe-Ve siècles*. Errance.
- Bonacasa Carra, R. M. 1987. Testimonianze e monumenti del primo cristianesimo a Palermo. *Kokalos* 33, 305-326.
- Bonacasa Carra, R. M. (ed.) 1995. *Agrigento. La necropoli paleocristiana sub divo*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Bonamente, G. 1977. La biografia di Eutropio lo storico. *Annali della Facoltà dei Filosofia e Lettere dell'Università di Macerata* 10, 159-210.
- Bonamente, G. 2000. Chiesa e Impero nel IV secolo: Constanza II fra il 357 e il 361. In L. Pani Ermini and P. Siniscalco (eds), *La comunità cristiana di Roma. La sua vita e la sua cultura dalle origini all'Alto Medioevo*, 113-138. Ciudad del Vaticano.
- Bonamente, G. 2007. Prefetti del pretorio, vescovi e governatori all'opera nell'applicare la legislazione antipagana. In L. Di Paola and D. Minutoli, *Poteri centrali e poteri periferici nella tarda antichità, confronti conflitti*, 13-34. Firenze: Gonnelli.
- Bonamente, G. 2009. Politica antipagana e sorte dei templi da Costantino a Teodosio II. In U. Criscuolo and L. De Giovanni (eds), *Trent'anni di studi sulla Tarda Antichità: bilanci e prospettive*, 25-59. Napoli: M. D'Auria.
- Bonamente, G. 2010. Sviluppo e discontinuità nella legislazione antipagana: da Costantino il grande ai figli. In G. Bonamente and R. Lizzi Testa, *Istituzioni, carismi ed esercizio del potere (IV-VI secolo d. C.)*, 61-76. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Boone, G. C. 1950. The Roman Villa in Kingsweston Park (Lawrence Weston State) Gloucestershire. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 69, 5-58.
- Borja Barrera, F. and Barral Muñoz, M. A. 2007. Aproximación a la evolución post-romana del sector occidental de la vega urbana de Sevilla. *Resúmenes XII Reunión Nacional de Cuaternario*, 97-98. Ávila.
- Borja Barrera, F. and Borja Barrera, C. 2007. Geoarqueología urbana de Sevilla. Evolución de la vaguada del arroyo Tagarete durante el Holoceno (llanura aluvial del Guadalquivir). *Resúmenes XII Reunión Nacional de Cuaternario*, 99-100. Ávila.
- Bormann, K. (ed.) 1986. *Cusanus-Texte, III, 2, 2. Marginalien. Proclus Latinus. Die Exzerpte und Randnoten des Nikolaus von Kues zu den lateinischen Übersetzungen der Proclus-Schriften.2.2: Expositio in Parmenidem Platonis*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Bosch, F., Macías, J. M., Menchon, J. J., Muñoz, A. and Teixell, I. 2005. La transformació urbanística de l'acrópolis de Tarragona: avanç de les excavacions del Pla Director de la Catedral de Tarragona (2000-2002). In J. M. Gurt and A. Ribera (eds), *VI Reunió d'Arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica. Les ciutats tardoantigues d'Hispania: cristianizació i topografia (València, 8 al 10 de mayo de 2003)*, 167-174. Barcelona.
- Bowden, W., Lavan, L. and Machado, C. (eds) 2004. *Recent research on the late antique countryside*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Boyancé, P. 1937. *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs. Études d'histoire et de psychologie religieuses*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Bradbury, S. 1995. Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice. *Phoenix* 49, 331-356.
- Bradley, K. R. 1991. *Discovering the Roman Family: Studies in Roman Social History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Branciforti, M. G. and Guastella, C. (eds) 2008. *Le terme della rotonda di Catania*. Palermo: Assessorato dei Beni Culturali.
- Branciforti, M. G. and Pagano G. (eds) 2008. *Il complesso archeologico del Teatro e dell'Odeion di Catania*. Palermo: Assessorato dei Beni Culturali.
- Branigan, K. 1971. Gatcombe. *Current Archaeology* 25, 41-44.
- Branigan, K. 1972a. The Romano-British Villa at Brislington. *The Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 116, 78-85.
- Branigan, K. 1972b. The End of the Roman West. *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 91, 117-128.
- Branigan, K. 1976. Villa settlement in the West Country. In K. Branigan and P. J. Fowler (eds), *The Roman West Country. Classical culture and Celtic society*, 120-141. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.
- Braund, D. C. 1993. Piracy under the Principate and the ideology of the imperial eradication. In J. Rich and G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Roman World*, 195-212. London: Routledge.
- Bravo, G. 1996. Prosopographia theodosiana (I):en tomo al llamado «clan hispano». *Gerión* 14, 381-398.
- Bravo, G. 1997. Prosopographia theodosiana (II). El presunto «clan hispano» a la luz del análisis prosopográfico. In R. Teja and C. Perez (eds), *I Congreso Internacional la Hispania de Teodosio*, 21-30. Salamanca.
- Bravo, G. 2002. Prosopografía civil. In R. Teja (ed.), *La Hispania del siglo IV Administración, economía, sociedad, cristianización*, 97-116. Bari.
- Bravo, G. 2006. Nuevas aportaciones al debate sobre las élites provinciales en la Hispania Romana. *Gerión* 24, 21-30.
- Breeze, D. J. and Dobson, B. 1974. The development of the northern frontier in Britain from Hadrian to Caracalla. In D. M. Pippidi (ed.), *Actes du IX^e Congrès International d'Études sur les frontières romaines (Mamaia, 6-13 septembre 1972)*, 321-326. Bucarest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romana.
- Brelich, A. 1958. *Gli eroi greci. Un problema storico-*

- religioso*. Roma: Ateneo and Bizzarri.
- Bremmer, J. 1999. The birth of the term 'Magic'. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126, 1-12.
- Bremmer, J. and Veenstra, J. R. (eds) 2002. *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Brenk, B. 1994. La cristianizzazione della città Tardoantica. In *La ciudad en el mundo romano. Actas del XIV Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Clásica (Tarragona, septiembre de 1993)*, 129-135. Tarragona.
- Brisson, L. 2008. El lugar, la función y la significación del orfismo en el neoplatonismo. In A. Bernabé and F. Casadesús (eds), *Orfeo y la tradición órfica: un reencuentro*, 1491-1516. Madrid: Akal.
- Brogio, G. P. 1999. Ideas of the town in Italy during the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. In G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (eds), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, The Transformation of the Roman World, Vol. 4, 99-126. Leiden-Boston-Cologne: E. J. Brill.
- Brogio, G. P. 2011. *Le origini della città medievale*. Post-Classical Archaeologies Studies 1. Mantua: SAP Società Archeologica srl.
- Brogio, G. P. and Gelichi, S. 1996. *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale*. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Brogio, G. P. and Gelichi, S. 1998. *La città nell'alto medioevo italiano. Archeologia e storia*. Rome-Bari: Laterza.
- Brogio, G. P. and Ward-Perkins, B. (eds) 1999. *The Idea and Ideal of towns between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Brogio, J. P. and Chavarría, A. 2008. El final de las villas y las transformaciones del territorio rural en occidente. In C. Fernández Ochoa, V. García-Entero and F. Gil Sendino (eds), *Las villae tardorromanas en el occidente del Imperio: arquitectura y función*, 193-213. Gijón.
- Brown, P. 1971. The rise and function of the holy man in late Antiquity. *Journal of Roman Studies* 61, 81-101.
- Brown, P. 1971a. *The World of Late Antiquity*. London.
- Brown, P. 1981. *The Cult of Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.
- Brown, P. 1982. *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Brown, P. 1989. *El mundo de la Antigüedad tardía*. Madrid: Taurus.
- Bruns, G. 1937. Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel. *Gnomon* 13, 413-427.
- Bruun, P. 1961. *Studies in Constantinian Chronology*. New York: The American Numismatic Society.
- Bruun, P. 1993. The *Bellum Cibalense* of AD 316. In M. Price, A. Burnett, R. Bland (eds), *Essays in honour of R. Carson and K. Jenkins*, 247-261. London.
- Buchanan, J. and Davies, H. 1967. *Zosimus, Nea Historia*. London.
- Buckley, R. and Lucas, J. 1987. *Leicester Town Defences. Excavations 1958-1974*. Leicester: Leicestershire Museums, Art Galleries and Records Service.
- Buero Martínez, M. S. and Florido Navarro, C. 1999. *Arqueología de Alcalá de Guadaíra (Sevilla): prospección arqueológica superficial del término municipal*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Alcalá de Guadaíra.
- Buller, J. L. 1981. The Pathetic Fallacy in Hellenistic Pastoral. *Ramus* 10, 35-52.
- Buora, M. (ed.) 2002. *Miles Romanus dal Po al Danubio nel Tardoantico (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Pordenone - Concordia Sagittaria, 17-19 Marzo 2000)*. Pordenone: SA.GE Print.
- Burckhardt, J. 2004. *La cultura del Renacimiento en Italia*. Madrid: Akal.
- Burdeau, F., Charbonnel, N. and Humbert M. 1964. *Aspects de l'Empire Romain*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Burgess, T. C. 1902. *Epideictic Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Burgess, R.W. 1993. *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana. Two contemporary accounts of the final years of the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Burkert, W. 1962. *Weisheit und Wissenschaft: Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon*. Nüremberg: Verlag Hans Carl. [trans. 1972: *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press 1972].
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Burkert, W. 1987. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.
- Burkert, W. 1999. *Da Omero ai Magi. La tradizione orientale nella cultura greca*. Venezia: Claudia Antonetti Publisher [trans. 2002: *De Homero a los Magos, La tradición oriental en la cultura griega*. Barcelona: Acanalado 2002].
- Burns, T. S. 1994. *Barbarians within the Gates of Rome. A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, ca. 375-425 AD*. Bloomington-Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Burrows, M. S. 1988. Christianity in the Roman Forum. Tertullian and the apologetic use of history. *Vigiliae Christianae* 42, 209-235.
- Bury, J. B. 1919. Justa Grata Honoria. *Journal of Roman Studies* 9, 1-13.
- Caballos Rufino, A. 1990. *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania (siglos I-III), I: Prosopografía*. Écija, Sevilla.
- Cairns, F. 1972. *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Calero, M. A. 2000. El lugar del hallazgo. In M. Almagro Gorbea, J. M. Alvarez Matinez and J. M. Blázquez Matinez (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 99-106. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Cambiano, G. 1998. L'Atene nascosta di Leonardo Bruni. *Rinascimento* II, 38, 3-25.
- Cameron, A. 1970. *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cameron, A. 1983. Eusebius of Caesarea and the

- Rethinking of History. In E. Gabba, *Tria Corda. Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano*, 71-88. Biblioteca di Athenaeum.
- Cameron, A. 1991. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkeley-London: University of California Press.
- Cameron, A. 1993. *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600*. London-New York: Routledge.
- Cameron, A. 2011. *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cameron, A. and Garnsey, P. (eds) 1998. *The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume XIII: The Late Empire, AD 337-425*. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cameron, A. and Kuhrt, A. 1982. *Images of Women in Antiquity*. London.
- Cameron, A. and Long, J. 1993. *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cameron, A., Ward-Perkins, B. and Whitby, M. (eds) 2000. *The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume XIV: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600*. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Canellis, A. 2006. *Faustin (et Marcellin), Supplique aux empereurs (Libellus precum et Lex Augusta), précédé de Faustin, Confession de foi*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- Canivet, P. 1958. *Théodore de Cyr. Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, I-II. Paris: Sources Chrétiennes.
- Cantarella, E. 1996. *Los suplicios capitales en Grecia y Roma*. Madrid: Akal.
- Cantino Wataghin, G. 1992. Urbanistica tardoantica e topografia cristiana. Termini di un problema. In S. Chiesa and E. Arslan (eds), *Felix Temporis Reparatio*, 171-192. Milán.
- Cantino Wataghin, G., Gurt, J. M. and Guyon, J. 1996. Topografia della civitas christiana, tra IV e VI sec. In G. P. Brogiolo, *Early medieval towns in the western Mediterranean*, 17-41. Mantua.
- Canto De Gregorio, A. M. 1989. *Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita: consideraciones en torno a su fundación y territorio*. *Gerión* 7, 149-205.
- Canto De Gregorio, A. M. 2000. Las *Quindecennalia* de Teodosio I el Grande (19 de enero del 393 d.C.) en el gran clipeo de Madrid. In Almagro-Gorbea, M., Álvarez Martínez, J. M. and Blázquez Martínez, J. M. (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 289-299. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Canto De Gregorio, A. M. 2006. Sobre el origen bético de Teodosio I el Grande y su improbable nacimiento en Cauca de Gallaecia. *Latomus* 65.2, 388-421.
- Carcopino, J. 1926. *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure*. Paris: L'artisan du livre.
- Carlà, F. 2009. *L'oro nella tarda antichità: aspetti economici e sociali*. Turin: Zamorani.
- Carmona Berenguer, S. 1998. *Mundo funerario rural en la Andalucía tardoantigua y de época visigoda. La necrópolis de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)*. Córdoba: Diputación Provincial.
- Carr, K. E. 2002. *Vandals to Visigoths: rural settlement patterns in early Medieval Spain*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Carrillo, J. R., Hidalgo, R., Murillo, J. F. and Ventura, A. 1999. Córdoba. De los orígenes a la Antigüedad tardía. In F. García and F. Acosta (eds.), *Córdoba en la Historia, la construcción de la Urbe*, 37-74. Córdoba.
- Caruso, E. 2003. Lilibeo-Marsala: Le fortificazioni puniche e medievali di Lilibeo. In *Quarte Giornate di Studi sull'Area Elima (Erice, 1-4 Dicembre, 2000)*, 171-207. Pisa: Corretti Alessandro.
- Caseau, B. 2004. The fate of rural temples in Late Antiquity and the Christianisation of the countryside. In W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (eds), *Recent research on the late antique countryside*, 105-144. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Caseau, B. 2011. Religious intolerance and pagan statuary. In L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds), *The archaeology of late antique "paganism"*, 479-502. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Casey, P. J. 1977. Carausius and Allectus - Rulers in Gaul? *Britannia* 8, 283-301.
- Casey, P. J. 1979. Magnus Maximus in Britain: a reappraisal. In P. J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain: papers arising from a conference (Durham, 1978)*, British Archaeological Reports British Series 71, 66-79. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Casey, P. J. 1983. Imperial campaigns and 4th century defences in Britain. In J. Maloney and B. Hobley (eds), *Roman Urban Defences in the West*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 51, 121-124. London.
- Casey, P. J. 1993. The end of fort garrisons on Hadrian's Wall: a hypothetical model. In F. Vallet and M. Kazanski (eds), *L'armée romaine et les barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle*, 259-267. Paris: Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne.
- Castillo García, C. 1967. El Apologeticum de Tertuliano: estructura y composición. *Emerita* 35.2, 315-334.
- Castillo García, C. 1982. Los Senadores Béticos. Relaciones familiares y sociales. *Epigrafía ed ordine senatorio*, Tituli 4-5, II, 465-519. Rome.
- Castillo García, C. 2001. *Tertuliano, Apologetico. A los gentiles*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Castritius, H. 2007. *Die Vandalen. Etappen Einer Spurensuche*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Cavada, E. 2002. Militaria tardoantichi (fine IV-V secolo) dalla valle dell'Adige e dalle aree limitrofe. L'informazione archeologica. In Buora (ed.), *Miles Romanus dal Po al Danubio nel Tardoantico (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Pordenone - Concordia Sagittaria, 17-19 Marzo 2000)*, 139-162. Pordenone: SA.GE Print.
- Cavada, E. and Forte, E. 2011. Progetto 'Monte San Martino/Lundo-Lomaso'. L'oratorio. Evidenze, modifiche, significati. In G. P. Brogiolo (ed.), *Nuove ricerche sulle chiese altomedievali del Garda. 3° Convegno Archeologico del Garda (Gardone Riviera 6 November 2010)*. Documenti di Archeologia 50, 131-156. Mantua: SAP Società Archeologica srl.
- Celenza, Ch. S. 2001. Late antiquity and the Florentine Renaissance: Historiographical Parallels. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62.1, 7-35.
- Celenza, Ch. S. 2002. Late Antiquity and Florentine Platonism: The Post-Plotinian Ficino. In M. J. B.

- Allen, V. Rees and M. Davies (eds), *M. Ficino: His Theology, his Philosophy, his Legacy*, 71-97. Leiden-Köln-New York: E. J. Brill.
- Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres, E. 2004. La vía de la plata en Extremadura. Observaciones históricas y arqueológicas. In J. G. Gorges, E. Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres and T. Nogales Basarrate, T. (eds), *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: las comunicaciones*, 521-537. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.
- Cervera Pozo, L. and Domínguez Berengeno, E. 2006 (unpublished). *Informe Preliminar de la Actividad Arqueológica Preventiva en el yacimiento inventariado "Santa Lucía – Los Cercadillos" (Alcalá de Guadaíra, Sevilla)*. Seville: Delegación de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía.
- Chadwick, H. 1967. *The Early Church*. London: Penguin Books.
- Chadwick, H. 1999. Philosophical tradition and the self. In G. W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar (eds), *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press Reference Library.
- Chadwick, N. K. 1958. The name Pict. *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 8.2, 146-176.
- Chastagnol, A. 1965. Les Espagnols dans l'aristocratie gouvernementale de Théodose. In A. Piganiol and H. Terrasse (eds), *Les Empereurs romains d'Espagne*, 265-307. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Chastagnol, A. 1993. Quelques mises au point autour de l'empereur Licinius. In G. Bonamente and F. Fusco Macerata (eds), *Costantino il Grande dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico. Macerata, 18-20 dicembre 1990 I*, 311-323. Macerata: Università degli Studi di Macerata.
- Chavarría, A. 2006. Aristocracias tardoantiguas y cristianización del territorio (siglos IV-V): ¿otro mito historiográfico? *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* LXXXII, 201-230.
- Chavarría, A. 2007. *El final de las "villae" en "Hispania" (siglos IV-VIII)*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Chenoll Alfaro, R. 2002. Eucaristía y banquete mesiánico. In J. Martínez Pinna (ed.), *Mito y Ritual en el Antiguo Occidente Mediterráneo*, 161-182. Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Málaga.
- Chrétien, G. 1985. *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Tome IV. Chants IX-X*. Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Christie, N. 2001. War and order: urban remodelling and defensive strategy in late Roman Italy. In Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research on Late-Antique Urbanism*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 42, 106-122. Ann Arbor.
- Christie, N. 2006. *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300-800*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Christie, N. 2007. From the Danube to the Po: the defence of Pannonia and Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. In Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*. Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 141, 547-578. London: British Academy.
- Christie, N. 2011. *The Fall of the Western Roman Empire: An Archaeological and Historical Perspective*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Chuvin, P. 1991. *Chronique des derniers païens. La disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres/Fayard.
- Chuvin, P. 1992. *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Tome III. Chants VI-VIII*. Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Cirelli, E. 2008. *Ravenna: archeologia di una città*. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Cizek, E. 1977. *Structures et idéologies dans "Les Vies des XII Césars" de Suétone*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Claridge, A. 1998. *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks.
- Clark, M. L. 1973. The Garden of Epicurus. *Phoenix* 27, 386-387.
- Clark, G. 1993. *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life-styles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Clauss, M. 1996. *Konstantin der Grosse und seine Zeit*. Munich: Beck.
- Clay, D. 1972. Socrates' Mulishness and Heroism. *Phronesis* 17, 53-60.
- Clay, D. 1973. Epicurus' Last Will and Testament. *American Journal of Philology* 55, 252-280.
- Clay, D. 1986. The cults of Epicurus. *Cronache Ercolanesi* 16, 12-28.
- Clay, D. 1991. Lucian of Samosata: Four Philosophical Lives (Nigrinus, Demonax, Peregrinus, Alexander Pseudomantis). In H. Temporini and W. Haase, *Aufstieg und Niedergang des Römischen Welt*, Band II. 36. 5, 3406-3450. New York; Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Clay, D. 2004. *Archilochos Heros. The Cults of Poets in the Greek Polis*. Cambridge (Mass): Harvard University Press.
- Coarelli, F. 1986. L'urbs e il suburbia. In A. Giardina, *Società Romana e Impero Tardoantico II. Roma Politica Economia Paessaggio Urbano*, 1-58. Rome: Editori Laterza.
- Coarelli, F. 1999a. Porticus Triumphi. In E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae, Volume 4*, 151-158. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coarelli, F. 1999b. Spes, aedes. In E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae, Volume 4*, 336-337. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coarelli, F. 2007. *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coates-Stephen, R. 2002. Epigraphy as Spolia: The Reuse of Inscriptions in Early Medieval Buildings. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 70, 275.
- Codoñer, C. 1987. *Sulpicio Severo, Obras completas*. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Codou, Y. and Colin M-G. 2007. La christianisation des campagnes (IV^e-VIII^e s.). *Gallia* 64, 57-83.
- Colero, V. 1999. A estela do Código de Hammurabi: uma leitura semiótica. *Symposium* 3, 48-54.
- Colling, D. 2007. Perceptions chrétiennes des pratiques divinatoires romaines. *Revue Belge de Philologie et*

- d'Histoire* 85.1, 92-124.
- Collins, A. E. P. 1960. Two Romano-British finds from Rathlin Island. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* III, Vol. 23, 38-39.
- Colomer, E. 1975. *De la Edad Media al Renacimiento. Ramón Llull, Nicholas of Cusa, Juan Pico della Mirandola*. Barcelona: Herder.
- Colonna, A. 1951. *Himerii declamationes et orationes cum deperditarum fragmentis*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
- Colonna, A. 1961. Himeriana. *BollClass* 9, 33-39.
- Conniff, R. 2002. *Historia natural de los ricos*. Madrid: Taurus Pensamiento.
- Copenhaver, B. 2000. *Corpus hermeticum y Asclepio*. Madrid: Siruela.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Corrales, M. 2004. Fragmentos de la ciudad antigua través del museo Picasso y su entorno. In C. Giménez, *Arquitectura del museo Picasso, Malaga, desde el siglo VI a.C. hasta el siglo XXI*, 31-51. Málaga.
- Corrales, M. 2005. Aportaciones de la arqueología urbana para el conocimiento de la Málaga romana. *Mainake*, XXVII, 113-140.
- Corrales, M. 2007. El teatro romano de Málaga: evolución de un espacio. *Mainake* XXIX, 53-76.
- Corsaro, F. 1970. *Lactantiana. Sul "De mortibus persecutorum"*. Catania.
- Cortés Copete, J. M. 1995. *Elio Aristides. Un sofista griego en el imperio romano*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.
- Corzo Sánchez, J. R. (1976). 'In finibus emeritensium'. In *Actas del Simposio Internacional conmemorativo del Bimilenario de Mérida*, 218-233. Madrid: Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia y Patronato de la ciudad de Mérida.
- Cosentino, S. 2008. *Storia dell'Italia bizantina, VI-XI secolo: da Giustiniano ai normanni*. Bologna: Bologna University Press.
- Coskun, A. 2001. *Imperial Constitutions, Chronology and Prosopography, Towards a New Methodology for the Use of the Late Roman Law Code*. Oxford.
- Coulston, J. C. N. 2000. 'Armed and belted men': the soldiery in imperial Rome. In J. Coulston and H. Dodge (eds), *Ancient Rome. The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 54, 76-118. Oxford.
- Courtois, C. 1955. *Les Vandales en Afrique*. Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques.
- Cox, P. 1983. *Biography in late Antiquity. A quest for the Holy Man*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cracco Ruggini, L. 1980. La Sicilia tra Roma e Bisanzio. In E. Gabba and G. Vallet (eds), *La Sicilia Antica*, 1-96. Naples: Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia Società editrice.
- Cracco Ruggini, L. 1982. La città nel modo antico: realtà e idea. In G. Wirth, K. H. Schwarte and J. Heinrichs (eds), *Romanitas-Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur geschichte und literatur der römischen kaiserzeit*, 61-81. Berlin-New York.
- Cracco Ruggini, L. 1982-3. Sicilia nel III-IV secolo: il volto della non-città. *Kokalos* 28-29, 477-515.
- Cracco Ruggini, L. 1985. Dal ciuis romano al ciuis cristiano. In J. Delumeau, *Storia vissuta dal popolo cristiano*, 123-150. Torino: SEI.
- Cracco Ruggini, L. 1985a. Arcaismo e conservatorismo, innovazione e rinnovamento (IV-V secolo). In M. Mazza and C. Giuffrida (eds), *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità*, 133-156. Roma: Jouvence.
- Cracco Ruggini, L. 2008. *Gli ebrei in età tardoantica: presenze, intolleranze, incontri*. Roma: Storia e Letteratura.
- Crawford, F. M. 1901. The Epistle of the monk Theodosius to the Archdeacon Leo concerning the capture of Syracuse. In F. M. Crawford, *The Rulers of the South*, 79-98. London: Macmilland and Co.
- Creighton, O. H. and Higham, R. A. 2005. *Medieval Town Walls: An Archaeology and Social History of Urban Defence*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Cremer, F. W. 1969. *Die Chaldaïschen Orakel und Jamblich "De mysteriis"*. Meisenheim: Verlag von Hain.
- Criboire, R. 2007. *The School of Libanius in Late Antique Antioch*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Criboire, R. 2008. Vying with Aristides in the Fourth Century: Libanius and His Friends. In W. V. Harris and B. Holmes (eds), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, 263-278. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition. Leiden-Boston: E. J. Brill.
- Crisá A. 2012. *Numismatic and Archaeological Collecting in Northern Sicily during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 2411. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Crouzel, H. 1975. Le christianisme de l'empereur Philippe l'Arabe. *Gregorianum* 66, 545-550.
- Cuenda Durán, J. and Ruiz Delgado, M. M. 1989. Excavación de una villa romana en Las Canteras, Alcalá de Guadaíra (Sevilla). *XIX Congreso Arqueológico Nacional*, vol. 1, 779-802. Zaragoza.
- Cuffari, G. 1983. *I riferimenti poetici di Imerio*. Palermo: Università di Palermo.
- Cultera, G. 1954. Siracusa. Il bagno "Dafne". *Notizie di Scavi di Antichità*, 114-30.
- Cumont, F. V. M. 1929. *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain: conférences faites au Collège de France en 1905*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Cumont, F. V. M. 1987. *Las religiones orientales y el paganismo romano: conferencias pronunciadas en el Collège de France en 1905*. Madrid: Akal.
- Cuneo, P. O. 1997. *La legislazione di Costantino II, Costanzo II e Costante (337-361)*. Milan: Giuffrè.
- Cunliffe, B. 1977. The Saxon Shore: some problems and misconceptions. In D. E. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 18, 1-6. London.
- Curran, J. 2000. *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dagron, G. 1968. L'Empire romain d'Orient au IVe siècle

- et les traditions politiques de l'hellenisme, le témoignage de Thémistios. *Travaux et mémoire* 3, 1-242.
- Dagron, G. 1974. *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Daly, L. J. 1972. The Mandarin and the Barbarian: The Response of Themistius to the Gothic Challenge. *Historia* 21.2, 351-379.
- D'Alessio, G. B. 2004. *Callimaco*. Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli.
- D'Ancona, C. 1996. *La casa della sapienza. La trasmissione della metafisica greca e la formazione della filosofia araba*. Milan: Guerini e Associati.
- D'Ancona, C. and Taylor, R. C. 1994. s.v. Liber de causis. In R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire de philosophes antiques*, 599-647. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- D'Angour, A. 2011. *The Greeks and the New: Novelty in ancient Greek Imagination and Experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daniéliou, J. 1966. *Mythes païens, mystère chrétien*. Paris: Fayard.
- D'Anna, G. D. 1988. Recusatio. In *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* IV, 411-413. Rome: Istituto Della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani.
- Daraki, M. 1986. La sagesse des Cyniques grecs. In C. Mossé (ed.), *La Grèce ancienne*, 92-108. Paris.
- Dark, K. R. 1999. St Patrick's villula and the fifth-century occupation of Romano-British villas. In D. N. Dumville (ed.), *Saint Patrick A.D. 493-1993*, Studies in Celtic History 13, 19-24. Dublin: The Boydell Press.
- Daur, K. D. 2005. *Augustinus. Epistulae LVI-C*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- David, M. 2000. Aspetti e problemi della produzione pavimentale in Sicilia occidentale. I restauri antichi. In *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'Area Elima. (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23-26 Ottobre, 1997)*, 357-367. Pisa-Gibellina: Centro Studi e Documentazione sull'area Elima.
- Davis, G. 2007. *The early English settlements of Orkney and Shetland*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Davis, R. 1986. *The Book of the Pontiffs (liber pontificalis): the ancient biographies of the first ninety Roman bishops to AD 715* (Translated Texts for Historians 5). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Davis, R. 1992. *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): the ancient biographies of nine popes from AD 751 to AD 817* (Translated Texts for Historians 13). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- De Bonfils, G. 1989-1990. CTh 3, 1, 5 e la politica ebraica di Teodosio I. *Bullettino Dell'istituto di Diritto romano* 92-93, 47-72.
- De Bonfils, G. 2000. Considerazione sui quaestores e la questura tardoantica. Un confronto con The Law in the Crisis of Empire di T. Honoré. *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 66, 289-301.
- De Frankovich, G. 1970. *Il Palatium di Teodorico a Ravenna e la cosiddetta "architettura di potenza"*. Rome: De Luca.
- De Garay, J. 2007. La recepción de Proclo en Nicolás de Cusa. In S. Knuuttila, *Knowledge and the sciences in medieval philosophy: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Philosophy (SIEPM)*. SN Publishing Company.
- De Garay, J. 2011. La filosofía política de Proclo. In P. Roche Arnas, *El pensamiento político en la Edad Media*, 424-435. Madrid: Ramón Areces.
- De la Sierra Fernández, J. A. 1997. Cerámicas africanas de Oripippo. In F. Fernández Gómez, L. J. Guerrero Misa, J. J. Ventura Martínez (eds), *Oripippo en la Antigüedad. Las excavaciones arqueológicas de 1979 a 1983*, 157-186. Dos Hermanas.
- De Libera, A. 1992. Albert le Grand et le platonisme. de la doctrine des Idées à la theorie des trois états de l'universel. In E. P. Bos and P. A. Meijer (eds), *On Proclus and his Influence in Medieval Philosophy*, 89-119. Leiden-Köln-New York: E. J. Brill.
- De Miro, E. 1980. Agrigento paleocristiana e bizantina. *Felix Ravenna*, CXIX-CXX, 131-71.
- De Palol, P. (ed.) 1991. *Clunia O. Studia. Varia Cluniensia*. Burgos: Publicaciones de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de burgos, Servicios de Investigaciones arqueológicas.
- De Palol, P. and Guitart, J. 2000. *Los grandes conjuntos públicos. El foro colonial de Clunia*. Burgos: Diputación Provincial de Burgos.
- De Salvo, L. 2006. Élités dirigenti in trasformazione. La testimonianza di Libanio. In R. Lizzi Testa (ed.), *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica*, 141-154. Rome.
- De Stefani, C. 2002. *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, Canto I*. Bologna: Pàtron.
- Deichmann, F. W. 1939. Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern. *Jahrbuch des deutschen archdologischen Instituts* 54, 105-136.
- Deichmann, F. W. 1958. *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*. Baden-Baden: B. Grimm.
- Deichmann, F. W. 1982. *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten*. Wiesbaden.
- Delbrueck, R. 1929. *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, 3-5. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Delehaye, H. 1920. Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère. *Analecta Bollandiana* 38, 5-136.
- Delehaye, H. 1934. *Cinq Leçons sur la Méthode Hagiographique*. Subsidia Hagiographica 21. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.
- Delehaye, H. 1955. *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*. Subsidia Hagiographica 18. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.
- Delgado, A. 2000. Memoria histórico-crítica sobre el gran disco de Theodosio encontrado en Almendralejo. In M. Almagro-Gorbea, J. M. Alvarez Matinez and J. M. Blazquez Matinez (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 19-52. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Delmaire, R. 1989. *Largesses sacrées et res privata, l'aerarium impérial et son administration du IVe au VIe siècle*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome CXXI. Paris-Rome: École Française de Rome.
- Delmaire, R. 2004. La législation sur les sacrifices au IVe siècle. Un essai d'interprétation. *Revue d'Histoire de Droit Français et Étranger* 82.3, 319-334.
- Demandt, A. 1969. Der Tod des älteren Theodosius.

- Historia* 18, 598-625.
- Demandt, A. 1989. *Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian 284-565 n. Chr.* München: C. H. Beck.
- Demandt, A. 1998. *Geschichte der Spätantike.* München: C. H. Beck.
- Demougeot, E. 1969-1979. *La formation de l'Europe et les invasions barbares. De le avènement de Dioclétien (284) à l'occupation germanique de l'Empire romain d'Occident (début du VIe siècle)*, 2 Vol. Paris: Aubier Montaigne.
- Demougeot, E. 1974. Constantin III, l'empereur d'Arles. *Hommage à André Dupont. Études médiévales languedociennes*, 83-125. Montpellier.
- Demougeot, E. 1985a. L'évolution politique de Galla Placidia. *Gerión* 3, 183-210.
- Demougeot, E. 1985b. À propos des *Solidi Gallici* au Ve siècle apr. J. C. *Revue Historique* 270, 3-30.
- Demougeot, E. 1988. *L'empire romain et les barbares d'Occident (IVe-VIIe siècles). Scripta varia.* Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Deneke, F. 1886. Heros. In W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.* Leipzig: Teubner.
- Deonna, W. 1920. Notes d'archéologie suisse VI: Le missorium de Velentinen. *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 22, 18-32.
- Des Places, É. 1971. *Oracles chaldaïques. avec un choix de commentaires anciens.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Desman, C. M. 1949. *Ignis Diuinus.* Lund: Gleerup.
- Dessau, H., 1892-1916. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.* Berlin: Weidmann.
- Detalle, M.-P. 2002. *La Piraterie en Europe du Nord-Ouest à l'Époque Romaine*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1086. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Dewing, H. B. 1919-28. Procopius, *History of the Wars, The Gothic War.* New York-London: Loeb/Jeinemann.
- Dewing, H. B. 1953-1954. *Procopius, Wars: Volume I.* Harvard: Loeb/Harvard University Press.
- Dey, H. W. 2011. *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, A.D. 271-855.* Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Di Berardino, A. 1991. La cristianizzazione del tempo nel IV secolo: il caso della celebrazione della Pasqua. In Wilhelm Henkel (ed.), *Ecclesiae memoria. Miscellanea in onore del R. P. Joseph Metzler*, 133-147. Roma: Herder Editrice.
- Di Berardino, A. 1993. L'imperatore Costantino e la celebrazione della Pasqua. In Giorgio Bonamente and F. Fusco (eds), *Costantino il Grande dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico (Macerata, 18-20 Dicembre 1990)* I, 363-384. Macerata: Università degli Studi di Macerata.
- Di Berardino, A. 2002. La cristianizzazione del tempo nei secoli IV-V: la domenica. *Augustinianum* 42, 97-125.
- Di Berardino, A. 2003. Tempo cristiano e la prima amnistia pasquale di Valentiniano I. *Miscellanea in onore a Salvatore Pricoco*, 131-150. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino.
- Di Berardino, A. 2005. Tempo sociale pagano e cristiano nel IV secolo. In A. Saggioro, *Diritto romano e identità cristiana. Definizioni storico-religiose e confronti interdisciplinari*, 95-121. Roma: Carocci.
- Di Berardino, A. 2006. Cristianizzazione del tempo civico nel IV secolo. In B. Luiselli, *Saggi di storia della cristianizzazione antica e altomedievale*, 179-211. Roma: Herder Editrice.
- Di Gangi, G. and Lebole Di Gangi C. M. 1998. Anfore Keay LII e altri materiali ceramici da contesti di scavo nella Calabria centro-meridionale (V-VIII secolo). In L. Sagui (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo. Atti del Convegno in onore di John W. Hayes, (Roma, 11-13 Maggio, 1995)*, 761-768. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Di Maio, M., Zeuge, J., y Bethune, J. 1990. 'Proelium Cibalense et Proelium Campi Ardiensis': The First Civil War of Constantine I and Licinius I. *Ancient World* 21, 67-91.
- Di Pasquale Barbanti, M. 1993. *Proclo. Tra filosofia e teurgia.* Catania: Bonanno.
- Di Stefano, C. A. 1976-7. Marsala: Scoperte archeologiche effettuate negli anni 1972-1976. *Kokalos* 22-23, 761-774.
- Di Stefano, C. A. 1982-3. La documentazione archeologica del III e IV sec. d.C. nella provincia di Trapani. *Kokalos* 28-29, 350-367.
- Diarte, P. 2009. La evolución de las ciudades romanas en hispania entre los siglos IV y VI d. C.: los espacios públicos como factor de transformación. *Mainake* XXXI, 71-84.
- Díaz Martínez, S. 2000. Tratamiento de restauración. In Almagro-Gorbea, M., Álvarez Martínez, J. M. and Blázquez Martínez, J. M. (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 151-168. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Diehl, E. 1906. *In Platonis Timaeum Commentaria.* Lipsius: Teubner.
- Dieterich, A. 1925. *Abraxas: Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des spätern Altertums.* Leipzig: Teubner.
- Dijkstra, J. H. F. 2008. *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A regional Study of Religious Transformation (298-642 CE).* Leuven-Paris: Peeters Publishers.
- Dill, S. 1910. *Roman society in the last century of the western empire.* London: MacMillan and Co.
- Dillon, J. M. 1977. *The middle Platonists, 80 B.C. to A.D. 220.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Dimakis, D. P. 1987. Note al testamento di Epicuro. *Studi Biscardi* VI, 471-492.
- Dindorf, W. 1832. *Themistii Orationes, ex codice Mediolanensi emendatae, a Guilielmo Dindorfio.* Leipzig: C. Knobloch.
- Dodds, E. R. 1960. *Los griegos y lo irracional.* Madrid: Revista de Occidente.
- Dodds, E. R. 1963. *Proclus, The Elements of Theology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dods, M. 1887. St. Augustin's: City of God and Christian Doctrine. In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, II. Peabody (Mass.): Hendrickson Publishers, 1995.
- Dominguez Berengeno, E. 2007. La huella olvidada:

- Arqueología y territorio de la Marchena Andalusi. In E. Ferrer Albelda (ed.), *Arqueología en Marchena. El poblamiento antiguo y medieval en el valle medio del río Corbones*, 189-242. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Dorandi, T. 1991. Precisazioni sul testamento di Epicuro. *Labeo* 38, 55-62.
- Dorandi, T. 1994. De Zénon d'Élée à Anaxarque: fortune d'un topos littéraire. In J. Lagrée and D. Delatte (eds), *Ainsi parlaient les Anciens*, 27-37. Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille.
- Dornier, A. 1974. The Reorganization of the North-Western Frontier of Britain in A. D. 369: Ammianus Marcellinus and the *Notitia Dignitatum*. In E. Birley, B. Dobson and M. Jarrett (eds), *Roman Frontier Studies 1969. Eight International Congress of Limesforschung*, 102-105. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Dornier, A. 1982. The Province of *Valentia*. *Britannia* 13, 253-260.
- Downey, G. 1955. Education and Public Problems as seen by Themistius. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 86, 293-307.
- Downey, G. 1965, 1970, 1974. *Themistii Orationes*, vol. 1-3. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Drijvers, J. W. 2007. Ammianus on the revolt of Firmus. In J. den Boeft et al. (eds), *Ammianus After Julian. The Reign of Valentinian and Valens in Books 26–31 of the Res Gestae*, 129-155. Leiden: Brill.
- Drijvers, J. W. and Hunt, D. 1999. *The late Roman world and its historian. Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*. London: Routledge.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 1989. Patronage in Roman Gaul and the problem of the *bagaudae*. In A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 189-203. London: Routledge.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 1998. Julian and the Franks and Valentinian I and the Alamanni: Ammianus on Romano-Germano relations. *Francia* 24.1, 1-15.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 1999. Ammianus, Valentinian and the Rhine Germans. In J. W. Drijvers and D. Hunt (eds), *The late Roman world and its historian. Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus*, 127-137. London: Routledge.
- Drinkwater, J. F. 2007. *The Alamanni and Rome*, 213-496. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Du Toit, D. S. 1997. *Theios anthropos: zur Verwendung von "theios anthrōpos" und sinnverwandten Ausdrücken in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.
- Dübner, F. 1849. *Himerii sophistae declamationum quae supersunt*. Paris: Firmin Didot.
- Dufraigne, P. 1975. *Aurelius Victor. Le livre des Césars*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Dumville, D. N. 1984. The chronology of the *De Excidio Britanniae*, Book 1. In M. Lapidge and D. N. Dumville (eds), *Gildas: new approaches*, 61-84. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Dumville, D. N. 1989. The origins of Northumbria. In S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 213-222. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Dupré, X. 2004. Edificios de espectáculo. In X. Dupré (ed.), *Las capitales provinciales de Hispania. Tarragona. Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*, 55-72. Roma.
- Edwards, M. J. 1992. Some Christian Immoralities. *Ancient Society* 23, 71-82.
- Edwards, N. 1990. *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*. London: B.T. Batsford.
- Ehrhardt, A. 1964. The First Two Years of the Emperor Theodosius I. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 15, 1-17.
- Eitrem, S. L. 1947. *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike*. Zürich: Rhein.
- Eitrem, S. L. and Amundsen, L. 1956. Fragments from the Speeches of Himerios: P. Osl. inv. 1478. *Classica et Mediaevalia* 17, 23-30.
- Elia, F. 1979. Ancora sul cristianesimo di Filippo l'Arabo. *Quaderni Catanesi* I, 267-282.
- Elsner, J. 1998. *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire A.D. 100-450*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Elsner, J. 2004. Late Antique Art: The Problem of the Concept and the Cumulative Aesthetic. In S. Swain and M. Edwards (eds), *Approaching Late Antiquity*, 271-309. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enmann, A. 1884. Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser. *Philologus*, Supp. IV, 335-501.
- Ensslin, W. 1910. Placidia. *Real Encyklopaedia der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* XX, 2.
- Errington, R. M. 1996. Theodosius and the Goths. *Chiron* 26, 1-27.
- Errington, R. M. 1996a. The Accession of Theodosius I. *Klio* 78, 438-453.
- Errington, R. M. 1997. Church and State in the First Years of Theodosius I. *Chiron* 27, 21-72.
- Errington, R. M. 2000. Themistius and his Emperors. *Chiron* 30, 861-904.
- Errington, R. M. 2006. *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 1999. El *Edicto de Tesalónica* (C.Th. XVI, 1, 2. 380) y Teodosio: norma antiarrana y declaración programática. *Cassiodorus* 5, 35-65.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2000. Usurpación y defensa de las Hispanias: Dídimo y Veriniano (408). *Gerión* 18, 509-534.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2002. Ley religiosa y propaganda política bajo Teodosio I. In F. Marco Simón, J. Remesal Rodríguez, F. Pina Polo (eds), *Religión y propaganda política en el mundo antiguo*, 143-158. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2004. Graciano, Teodosio y el Ilírico: la *constitutio Nullus (locus) haereticis* (C. Th. 16, 5, 6. 381). *Revue d'Histoire des Droits de l'Antiquité* 51, 133-166.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2006. La Imagen del Herético en la *Constitutio XVI, 5, 6 (381)* del Codex Theodosianus. *Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 23, 475-498.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2007. Intolerancia y exilio, las leyes teodosianas contra los eunomianos. *Klio* 89, 184-208.

- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2008. Theodosius I and the Heretics: the Enforcement of the Laws in the libellus precum (384). *Antiquite Tardive* 16, 125-140.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2008b. *Caesaraugusta*. In J. Morín, J. López and A. Martínez (eds), *El tiempo de los "bárbaros". Pervivencia y transformación en Galia e Hispania (s. V- VI d. C.)*, *Zona Arqueológica 11*, 521-525. Madrid.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2009a. The Social Exclusion of heretics in Codex Theodosianus XVI. In J. J. Aubert and P. Blanchard (eds), *Droit, religion et société dans le Code Théodosien, Troisième Journées d'Études sur le Code Théodosien*, 39-66. Genève: Droz.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2009b. Uniones mixtas y adulterio en CTh III, 7, 2 = IX, 7, 5. 388. In *Il matrimonio dei cristiani: esegesi biblica e diritto romano, XXXVII Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità Cristiana. Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, CXIV 273-294. Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2010. Los emperadores repiensen sus leyes: rectificaciones y revocaciones en Codex Theodosianus 16,5. In G. Bonamente and R. Lizzi Testa (eds), *Istituzioni, carismi ed esercizio del potere (IV-VI secolo d. C.)*, 207-226. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2011. The Legislation De maleficis et mathematicis et ceteris similibus in the Codex Theodosianus XVI: Text and Context of Constantinian Laws regarding haruspices. In F. Marco and M. Piranomonte, *Contesti magici*. Roma.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2012a. Maternus Cynegius: un hispano en la corte teodosiana. In A. Caballos (ed.), *Actas del Congreso Internacional Del municipio a la corte: la renovación de las elites en la antigua Roma*, 311-331. Sevilla: Secretariado de publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla.
- Escribano Paño, M. V. 2012b. La limitación de los derechos testamentarios a los maniqueos en las leyes del Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 7 (381) y 16, 5, 9 (382). "Persona" e persone nella società e nel diritto della tarda antichità, XVIII Convegno Internazionale dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana, 113-142. Perugia.
- Esmonde Cleary, A. S. 1989. *The Ending of Roman Britain*. London: B.T. Batsford.
- Evans, E. C. 1935. Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 46, 43-83.
- Evans, E. C. 1969. *Physiognomics in the ancient world*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Faber, E. 2009. The Visigoths as an 'other'. *Revista Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 22, 287-296.
- Faber, E. 2010. Athanarich, Alarich, Athaulf. Zum Wandel westgotischer Herrschaftskonzeptionen. *Klio* 92, 157-169.
- Faber, E. 2011. *Römer, Christen, Goten. Religion und Politik in der Spätantike*. Potsdam.
- Faber, E. 2013 (Unpublished PhD thesis) Von Ulfila zu Rekkared. Die Goten und ihr Christentum. Potsdam.
- Faller, O. 1955. *Ambrosius, De obitu Theodosii*. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 73, 369-401.
- Fallico, A. M. 1971. Siracusa. saggi di scavo nell'area della Villa Maria. *Notizie di Scavi di Antichità* II, 581-639.
- Farnell, L. R. 1921. *Greek hero cults and ideas of immortality* [repr. 1970]. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Faro, S. 1984. Il questore imperiale. *Koinonia* 8, 133-159.
- Faulkner, N. 2001. *The decline and fall of Roman Britain*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing.
- Fear, A. T. 2010. *Orosius. Seven books of History against the Pagans* (Translated Texts for Historians 54). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Ferguson, E. 2009. *Baptism in the Early Church*. Eerdmans. Michigan-Cambridge.
- Fernández, C. 1975. Informe sobre las excavaciones en el anfiteatro romano de Carmona (Sevilla). In *XIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología (Huelva, 1973)*, 855-860. Zaragoza.
- Fernández Caro, J. J. 1992. *Carta Arqueológica del Término de Fuentes de Andalucía*. Écija.
- Fernández Galiano, D. 2000. De Arqueología teodosiana. In M. Almagro-Gorbea, J. M. Alvarez Matinez and J. M. Blazquez Matinez (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 315-324. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Ferrill, A. 2000. *La caída del Imperio Romano: las causas militares*. Madrid: Edaf.
- Festugière, A. J. 1950. *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, Vol. I: L'Astrologie et les sciences occultes*. Paris.
- Festy, M. 1999. *Pseudo-Aurélius Victor. Abrégé des Césars*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Ficino, M. 1995. *Opera 925, Carta a Pierleoni da Spoleto*. Valencia: Universitat de València.
- Ficino, M. 2001. *The Letters of Marsilio Ficino: De laude Platoniorum interpretum*. London: Shephard-Walwyn.
- Fink-Errera, G. 1954. San Agustín y Orosio. Esquema para un estudio de las fuentes del "De Civitate Dei". *La Ciudad de Dios* 167, 455-549.
- Fischer, S., López Sánchez, F. and Victor, H. 2011. The 5th Century Hoard of Theodosian Solidi from Stora Brunneby, Öland, Sweden. A Result from the LEO Project. *Fornvännen* 106, 189-204.
- Fitzgerald, A. 1926. *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Flaig, E. 1995. Römer werden um jeden Preis? Integrationskapazität und Integrationswilligkeit am Beispiel des Bataveraufstandes. In M. Weinmann-Walser (ed.), *Historische Interpretationen. Gerald Walser zum 75. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, 45-60. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Flasch, K. 2003. *Nicholas of Cusa*. Barcelona: Herder.
- Foley, R. 1981. Off-site archaeology: an alternative approach for the short-sited. In I. Hodder and N. Hammond (eds), *Pattern of the Past*, 157-187. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fontaine, J. 1968. *Aspects et problèmes de la prose d'art latine au III siècle*. Torino.
- Formisano, M. 2007. Towards an aesthetic paradigm of Late Antiquity. *Antiquite Tardive* 15, 277-284.
- Fowden, G. 1982. The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 102, 33-59.
- Fowden, G. 2002. Elefantiasi del tardoantico. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15, 681-686.

- Fowler, H. N. 1982. *Plato: Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Fraser, J. E. 2009. *From Caledonia to Pictland. Scotland to 795*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Frediani, A. 2001. *Gli ultimi condottieri di Roma*. Ariccia (Rome): Newton and Compton.
- Fredouille, J. Cl. 1992. L'apologétique chrétienne: naissance d'un genre littéraire. *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 38, 219-234.
- Freeman, P. W. M. 1993. 'Romanisation' and Roman Material Culture. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6, 438-445.
- Freeman, P. 2001. *Ireland and the classical world*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fremantle, W. H. 1893. *St. Jerome: Letters and Selected Writings*, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Vol. X [repr. 1995]. Peabody (Mass.): Hendrickson Publishers.
- Friend, W. H. C. 1992. Pagans, Christians, and 'the Barbarian Conspiracy' of A. D. 367 in Roman Britain. *Britannia* 23, 121-131.
- Friend, W. H. C. and Hadman, J. A. 1994. A Deposit of Roman Lead from North Lodge Farm, Barnwell, Northants. *Britannia* 25, 224-226.
- Frendo, J. D. 1975. *Agathias: The Histories*. Berlin - New York: W. De Gruyter.
- Frere, S. S. 1987. *Britannia. A History of Roman Britain*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fuentes Hinojo, P. 2004. *Gala Placidia*. San Sebastián: Nerea.
- Fuentes, N. 1991. Fresh thoughts on the Saxon Shore. In V. A. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson (eds), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, 58-64. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Gabba, E. 1962. L'Apologia di Melitone da Sardi. *Critica Storica* 1, 469-482.
- Gabrielli, Ch. 1995-6. L'aristocrazia senatoria ispanica nel corso del III e del IV secolo d. C., dall'avvento di Settimio Severo alla morte di Teodosio (193-395 d.C.). *Studia Historica. Historia Antiqua* 13-14, 331-377.
- Gagé, J. 1964. *La monteé des sassanides*. Paris.
- Galdi, M. 1922. *L' Epitome nella Letteratura Latina*. Naples: P. Federico & G. Ardia.
- Gallé Cejudo, R. 2010. *Filóstrato, Cartas de amor / Aristéneto, Cartas*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- García, M., Gómez, M. I. and Jaén, M. 2006. Actuaciones en las canalizaciones de las termas de *Carteia. Almoraima. Conclusiones de las I Jornadas de Arqueología del Campo de Gibraltar y protección del patrimonio* 33, 55-70.
- García Bazán, F. 1991. *Oráculos Caldeos. Con una selección de testimonios de Proclo, Pselo y M. Itálico*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- García y Bellido, A. 1949. *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- García Fernández, F. J. 2009. La colonización agrícola de las terrazas del Guadalquivir en época romana. El caso del arroyo de Las Culebras (Dos Hermanas, Sevilla). In R. Cruz-Auñón Briones and E. Ferrer Albelda (eds), *Estudios de Prehistoria y Arqueología en homenaje a Pilar Acosta Martínez*, 483-504. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- García Fernández, F. J. and Pliego Vázquez, R. 2004. Oppida Turdetanorum: Basilippo y el cerro del Cincho. *Zephyrus* LVII, 303-318.
- García Fernández, F. J. and Sánchez Velasco, J. 2011. Nuevas líneas de trabajo en el estudio de la Antigüedad Tardía en la Bética (I): la cristianización del paisaje rural. In D. Hernández de la Fuente (ed.), *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 188-205. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- García Fernández, F. J. 2003. *El poblamiento turdetano en el Bajo Guadalquivir*. Écija.
- García Fernández, M. 2005. Informe de la prospección arqueológica superficial en el Término Municipal de Dos Hermanas (Sevilla). *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 2002*, vol. III, 432-442.
- García Moreno, L. A. 1980. España y el Imperio en época teodosiana. A la espera del bárbaro. In G. Fatás (ed.), *I Concilio Caesaraugustano MDC Aniversario*, 27-63. Zaragoza.
- García Moreno, L. A. 1988. Nueva luz sobre la España de las invasiones de principios del s. V. La epístola XI de Consencio a S. Agustín, 153-174. *Verbo de Dios y palabras humanas. En el XVI centenario de la conversión cristiana de S. Agustín*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra.
- García Moreno, L. A. 1993. Las calzadas romanas desde fines del imperio a la invasión agarena: Un análisis sociológico. In M. Criado del Val (ed.), *Caminería hispánica* I, 41-50. Madrid.
- García Moreno, L. A. 1997. Teodosio y la Galaecia. Historia de una aristocracia tardorromana. In R. Teja and C. Pérez (eds), *Congreso Internacional La Hispania de Teodosio I*, 81-90. Salamanca.
- García Moreno, L. A. 2001a. El cristianismo y el final de los *ludi* en las Españas. In L. A. García Moreno and S. Rascón (eds), *Ocios y espectáculos en la Antigüedad Tardía. Actas del II Encuentro Hispania en la Antigüedad Tardía, (Alcalá de Henares, Octubre de 1997)*, 7-17. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.
- García Moreno, L. A. 2001b. Carmona en los tiempos visigodos (siglos V-VIII). In A. Caballos Rufino (ed.), *Carmona romana, Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Carmona*, 491-506. Carmona.
- García Moreno, L. A. 2002. Materno Cinegio, un noble hispano o un burócrata oriental. In J. M. Carrié and R. Lizzi Testa (eds), *Humana sapit, Études d'Antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*, 179-186. Paris.
- García Moreno, L. A. 2007. Transformaciones en la Bética durante la tardoantigüedad. *Mainake* XXIX, 433-471.
- García-Gasco Villarrubia, R. 2008. Orfeo y el orfismo en las Dionisiacas de Nono. In A. Bernabé Pajares and F. Casadesús (eds), *Orfeo y la tradición órfica: un reencuentro*, Vol. 2, 1575-1602. Madrid: Akal.
- García-Gasco Villarrubia, R. (forthcoming), Santuarios

- de adivinación. In A. Bernabé (ed.), *Religión griega*. Madrid: Akal.
- García Vargas, E. 2007. Oro y economía en la época de Constantino. Algunos aspectos. In G. Chic García and J. Guzmán Armario (eds), *Perdona nuestras deudas. Economía de prestigio versus economía de mercado II*, 187-204. Seville.
- García Vargas, E., Oria Segura, M. and Camacho Moreno, M. (eds) 2002. El poblamiento romano en la campiña sevillana. El Término Municipal de Marchena. *Spal* 11, 311-340.
- Garnsey, P. 2008. Gemistus Plethon and platonic political philosophy. In Ph. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (eds), *Transformations of Late Antiquity. Essays for Peter Brown*, 327-340. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate.
- Garrido González, P. 2005. *Análisis de redes urbanas en época romana; los casos de Sيارum y la Mesa del Gandul*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Garrido González, P. 2010. Muestreos superficiales en la finca Casaquemada. In F. Amores Carredano (ed.), *De la Tierra al Sol: los paisajes del Guadiamar a través de la Historia*, 83-87. Seville: Focus-Abengoa.
- Garzya, A. and Roques, D. 2000. *Synésios de Cyrène. Tome III, Correspondance. Lettres LXIV-CLVI*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Gascó, F. and Ramírez de Verger, A. 1987. *Elio Aristides, Discursos I*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Gasparini, N. 1972. La morte di Teodosio padre. In M. Sordi (ed.), *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica I*, 180-197. Milan.
- Gaudemet, J. 1990. La législation anti-païenne de Constantin à Justinien. In *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 11, 449-468.
- Gaudemet, J. 2000. La politique religieuse impériale au IV^e. siècle (envers les païens, les juifs, les hérétiques, les donatistes). In G. Barone-Adesi, J. Gaudemet and P. Siniscalco, (eds), *Legislazione imperiale e religione nel IV secolo*, 7-66. Rome: Istituto Patristico Augustinianum.
- Gauthier, N. 1999. La topographie chrétienne entre idéologie et pragmatisme. In G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward Perkins (eds), *The Idea and Ideal of towns between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, 195-207. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Geffcken, J. 1978. *The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism* [trans. S. MacCormack]. Amsterdam: North Holland.
- Giangrande, G. 1956. *Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum*. Rome: Academia Lynceorum.
- Gibbon, E. 2012. *Decadencia y Caída del Imperio Romano*. Vol. I. Nueva traducción castellana de J. Sánchez de León. Vilaur: Atalanta.
- Giese, W. 2004. *Die Goten*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Gigli Piccardi, D. 2003. *Nonno di Panopoli, Le Dionisiache (Canti I-XII), Vol. Primo*. Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli.
- Giglio, R. 2001. Problemi di Archaeologia urbana: marsala, il "parco archeologico" di Capo Lilibeo e le attività di ricerca. *Sicilia Archeologica* 99, 177-184.
- Giglio, R. 2007. La cristianizzazione di Lilibeo attraverso le recenti scoperte archeologiche. In R. M. Bonacasa Carra and E. Vitale (eds), *La Cristianizzazione in Italia fra tardoantico e Altomedioevo. Atti IX Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Agrigento, 20-25 Novembre, 2004)*, 179-814. Palermo: Carlo Saladino.
- Giglio, St. 1990. *Il tardo Impero d'Occidente e il suo Senato. Privilegi fiscali, patrocinio, giurisdizione penale*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
- Giglio, St. 2007. Il *munus* della pretura a Roma e a Costantinopoli nel Tardo Impero romano. *Antiquité Tardive* 15, 65-88.
- Gillett, A. 2001. Rome, Ravenna and the last western emperors. *Papers of the British School at Rome* LXIX, 131-167.
- Giorgetti, D. 2006. *Le fornaci romane di Alcamo: rassegna ricerche e scavi 2003/2005*. Rome: Aracne.
- Girardet, K. M. 1991. Kaiser Konstantin d. Gr. als Vorsitzender von Konzilien. *Gymnasium* 98, 548-560.
- Girardet, K. M. 2007. Vom Sonnen-Tag zum Sonntag. Der *Dies Solis* in Gesetzgebung und Politik Konstantins d. Gr. *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 11, 279-310.
- Girardet, K. M. 2008. L'invention du Dimanche: du Jour du Soleil au Dimanche. Le *dies Solis* dans la législation et la politique de Constantin le Grand. In J. N. Guinot y F. Richard (eds), *Empire chrétien et Église aux IV^e. et V^e. Siècles. Intégration ou concordat? Le témoignage du Code Théodosien*, 341-370. Paris.
- Gonnelli, F. 2003. *Nonno di Panopoli, Le Dionisiache (Canti XIII-XXIV), Vol. Secondo*. Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli.
- González Gálvez, A. 2005. *Libanio, Cartas I*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- González-Wagner, C. 1996. *El Próximo Oriente Antiguo, Vol. II*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Goodhue, N. 1975. *The Lucus Furrinae and the Syrian Sanctuary on the Janiculum*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
- Goodman, E. M. and Price, S. 1999. *Apologetics in the Roman Empire, Pagans, Jews and Christians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodman, P. 2011. Temples in Late-antique Gaul. In L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds), *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*. Late Antique Archaeology 7, 165-193. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Gordon, C. D. 1960. *The Age of Attila. Fifth-Century Byzantium and the Barbarians*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gorges, J. G. 1983. Implantation rurale et réseau routier en zone éméritaine: convergences et divergences. In *Les voies anciennes en Gaule et dans le monde romain occidental. Caesarodunum XVIII*, 413-424.
- Gorges, J. G. and Rodríguez Martín, F. G. 2004. De Lusitanie et Bétique: Regina et le réseau routier romain entre Gadiana et Sierra Morena'. In J. G. Gorges, E. Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds), *V Mesa Redonda Internacional sobre Lusitania Romana: las comunicaciones*, 98-128. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.
- Gorges, J. G. and Rodríguez Martín, F. G. 2005. Los territorios antiguos de Mérida. Un estudio del *territorium* emeritense y de sus áreas de influencia.

- Augusta Emerita. Territorios, espacios, imágenes y gentes en la Lusitania romana. *Monografías emeritenses* 8, 93-128.
- Gottlieb, G. and Barceló, P. 1993. Das Glaubensedikt des Kaisers Theodosius vom 27. Februar 380: Adressaten und Zielsetzung. In K. Dietz, A. Lippold, D. Hennig and H. Kaletsch (eds), *Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum. A. Lippold zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, 409-423. Würzburg: ans Kaletsch Publisher.
- Goulet, R. 1979. Eunape et ses devanciers: a propos de *Vitae Sophistarum* p. 5, 4-17 *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20, 161-172.
- Goulet, R. 1980. Sur la chronologie de la vie et des oeuvres d'Eunape de Sardes. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100, 60-72.
- Grabar, A. 1936. *L'Empereur dans l'art Byzantin*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Graf, F. 1994. *La magie dans l'Antiquité Gréco-Romaine*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Grant, R. M. 1972. The uses of history in the Church before Nicaea. *Studia Patristica* 2, 166-178.
- Grau, S. 2009. *La imatge del filòsof i de l'activitat filosòfica a la Grècia antiga. Anàlisi dels tòpics biogràfics presents en les Vides i doctrines dels filòsofs més il·lustres de Diògenes Laerci*. Barcelona: PPU.
- Grau, S. 2010. How to kill a philosopher. The narrating of ancient Greek philosophers' deaths in relation to their way of living. *Ancient Philosophy* 30, 347-281.
- Graziosi, B. and Haubold, J. 2009. Greek Lyric and Early Greek literary history. In F. Budelmann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, 95-113. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greco, C., Mammina, G. and Di Salvo, R. 1991. Necropoli tardoromana in contrada S. Agata (Piana degli Albanesi). In A. Marotta and C. A. Di Stefano (eds), *Di terra in terra. Nuove scoperte archeologiche nella provincia di Palermo*. Museo Archeologico Regionale di Palermo, 161-84.
- Greco, G. M. 1993. Fozio e Imerio. *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 14, 389-399.
- Greco, R. 1999. *Pagani e Cristiani a Siracusa tra il III e il IV secolo d.C.* Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- Gregg, R. C. 1980. *Athanasius of Alexandria. Life of Saint Anthony and the Letters to Marcellinus*. New York: Paulist Press.
- Grégoire, H. 1950. *Les persécutions dans l'empire romain*. Bruxelles: Academie Royale de Belgique.
- Grenfell, B. P. and Hunt, A. S. 1898-1920. *The Oxyrrynchus Papyri*, I-XIV. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Grimm, V. E. 1996. *From Feasting to Fasting: Attitudes to Food in Late Antiquity*. London: Routledge.
- Groß-Albenhausen, K. 1999. *Imperator christianissimus. Der christliche Kaiser bei Ambrosius und Johannes Chrysostomus*. Frankfurt: Marthe Clauss.
- Grodzynski, D. 1984. Tortures mortelles et catégories sociales. Les Summa Supplicia dans le droit romain aux IIIe et IVe siècles. In *Du Châtiment dans la cité. Supplices corporels et peine de mort dans le monde antique*, 361-403. Paris-Rome: École Française de Rome.
- Rome.
- Grumel, V. 1956. Du nombre des persécutions dans les anciennes chroniques. *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 2, 59-66.
- Grundmann, S. and Fürst, U. 1998. *The Architecture of Rome: An Architectural History in 400 Presentations*. Stuttgart: Edition Axel Menges.
- Grünhagen, W. 1954. *Der Schatzfund von Gross-Bodungen*. Berlin: W. De Gruyter.
- Guest, P. 2002. Manning the defences: the development of Romano-British urban boundaries. In M. Aldhouse-Green and P. Webster (eds), *Artefacts and Archaeology: Aspects of the Celtic and Roman World*, 76-89. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Guest, P. 2008. Roman Gold and Hun Kings: the use and hoarding of solidi in the late fourth and fifth centuries. In A. Bursche, R. Ciołek and R. Wolters (eds), *Roman Coins Outside the Empire - Ways and Phases, Contexts and Functions, Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop, Radziwi Palace, Nieborów (Poland), 3-6 September 2005*. *Moneta* 82, 295-307. Wetteren.
- Guidobaldi, F. 1993. Roma. Il tessuto abitativo, le «domus» e i «tituli». In A. Momigliano and A. Schiavone, A. (eds), *Storia di Roma. Volume Terzo. L'età tardoantica. II. I luoghi e le culture*, 69-83. Rome.
- Guidobaldi, F. 2000. Architettura e urbanistica: dalla città-museo alla città santa. In E. Lo Cascio (ed.), *Roma Imperiale. Una metropoli antica*, 324-325. Rome.
- Gurruchaga, M. 1994. *Eusebio de Cesarea. Vida de Constantino*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Gurt, J. M. 2000-2001. Transformaciones en el tejido de las ciudades hispanas durante la Antigüedad. *Zephyrus* LIII-LIV, 433-442.
- Gurt, J. M. and Sánchez, I. 2008. Topografía cristiana en Hispania durante los siglos V y VI. In J. Morín, J. López and A. Martínez (eds), *El tiempo de los "Bárbaros". Pervivencia y transformación en Galia e Hispania (ss. V-VI d.C.)*. Zona Arqueológica 11, 311-335. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.
- Gurt i Esparraguera, J. M. and Diarte Blasco, P. 2011. *Spolia et Hispania: alcuni esempi peninsulari*. *Hortus Artium Medievalia* 17, 7-22.
- Gutsfeld, A. 1998. Der Praetorianerpraefekt und der kaiserliche Hof im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr. In A. Winterling (ed.), *Comitatus. Beiträge zur Erforschung des spätantiken Kaiserhofes*, 75-102. Berlin.
- Guyot, P. and Klein, R. 1993. *Das frühe Christentum bis zum Ende der Verfolgungen. Vol 1: Die Christen im heidnischen Staat*. Darmstadt.
- Gwynn, D. M. 2010. Archaeology and the 'Arian Controversy' in the fourth century. In D. M. Gwynn and S. Bangert (eds), *Religious diversity in Late Antiquity*. *Late Antique Archaeology* 6, 229-263. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Gwynn, D. M. 2011. The 'End' of Roman Senatorial Paganism. In L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds), *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*. *Late Antique Archaeology* 7, 135-161. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Haas, C. 2006. *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography*

- and Social Conflict*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hacquard, G. 2008. *Guía de la Roma Antigua*. Madrid: Palas Atenea.
- Hadot, I. 1978. Bilan et perspectives sur les Oracles Chaldaïques. In H. Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy*, 703-720. Paris: Eludes Augustiniennes.
- Hahn, J. 2008a. The conversion of the cult statues: the destruction of the Serapeum 392 A.D. and the transformation of Alexandria into the Christ-loving city. In J. Hahn, S. Emmel and U. Gotter (eds), *From Temple to Church, Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, 335-365. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Hahn, J., Emmel, S. and Gotter, U. (eds) 2008. *From Temple to Church, Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*. Leiden-Boston: E. J. Brill.
- Halbwachs, M. 2004. *Los marcos sociales de la memoria* [trans. M. A. Baeza y M. Mujica]. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Halsall, G. 2008. *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamilton, W. 1986. *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Later Roman Empire (A.D. 354-378)*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hankins, J. and Bowen, W. (eds) 2001. *Marsilio Ficino, Platonic Theology*. Translation by M. J. B. Allen and J. Warden. Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press.
- Hannah, R. 2005. *Greek and Roman Calendars. Constructions of Time in the Classical World*. London: Duckworth.
- Hanson, W. S. 1983. *Rome's North West Frontier. The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Harries, B. 1994. The pastoral mode in the Dionysiaca. In N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus*, 63-85. Cambridge: The Cambridge Philological Society.
- Harries, B. 2006. The drama of pastoral in Nonnus and Colluthus. In M. Fantuzzi and Th. Papanghelis (eds), *E. J. Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*, 515-547. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Harries, J. 1993. The background to the Code. In J. Harries and I. Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code. Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, 1-16. London: Duckworth.
- Harries, J. 1998. The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II. *Journal of Roman Studies* 78, 148-172.
- Harries, J. 1999. *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hassall, M. W. C. 1977. The historical background and military units of the Saxon Shore. In D. E. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore*, 7-10. London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report 18.
- Haug, A. 2003. *Die Stadt als Lebensraum. Eine kulturhistorische Analyse zum spätantiken Stadtleben in Norditalien*, Internationale Archäologie 85. Rahden: Marie Leidorf.
- Haverfield, F. 1912. Notes on the Roman coast defences of Britain, especially in Yorkshire. *The Journal of Roman Studies* 2, 201-214.
- Hawley, R. and Levick, B. (eds) 1995. *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*. London: Routledge.
- Healy, P. J. 1905. *The Valerian Persecution. A Study of the Relations between Church and State in Third Century AD*. London: Burt Franklin.
- Heath, M. 2004. *Menander: A Rhetor in Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heather, P. 1996. *The Goths (Peoples of Europe)*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heather, P. 2007. Goths in the Roman Balkans c.350-500. In Poulter, A. (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*. Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 141, 163-190. London: British Academy.
- Heather, P. 2010. Liar in Winter: Themistius and Theodosius. In S. McGill, Ch. Sogno and E. Watts (eds), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman History and Culture, 284-450 CE*, 185-213. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heather, P. and Moncur, D. 2001. *Politics, Philosophy and Empire in the Fourth Century. Select Orations of Themistius* (Translated Texts for Historians 36). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Heijmans, M. 2006. La place des monuments publics du Haut-Empire dans les villes de la Gaule méridionale durant l'Antiquité tardive (IVe-VIe s.). *Gallia* 63, 25-41.
- Heikel, I. A. 1902. *Eusebius Werke*, I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Hekster, O. 2008. *Rome and Its Empire, AD 193-284*. Debates and Documents in Ancient History. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Helmuth, J. 2010. Streitkultur. Die Invektive' bei den italienischen Humanisten. In M. Laureys and R. Simons (eds), *Die Kunst des Streitens. Inszenierung, Formen und Funktionen öffentlichen Streits in historischer Perspektive*, 259-293. Göttingen.
- Henzen, G., De Rossi, I. B., Bormann, E., Huelsen C. H. R. and Bang, M. (eds) 1951. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum VI, Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Latinae*. Berlin.
- Hermensen, G. 1978. The population of imperial Rome: The Regionary. *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 27.1, 129-168.
- Hernández de la Fuente, D. 2002. Elementos órficos en el Canto VI de las Dionisiacas: el mito de Dioniso Zagreo en Nono de Panópolis. *Ilu* 7, 19-50.
- Hernández de la Fuente, D. 2008a. *Oráculos griegos*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Hernández de la Fuente, D. 2008b. *Bakkhos Anax. Un estudio sobre Nono de Panópolis*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Hernández Díaz, A., Sancho Corbacho, A. and Collantes De Terán, F. 1951. *Catálogo Arqueológico y Artístico de la Provincia de Sevilla*. Sevilla.
- Herrero de Jáuregui, M. 2010. *Orphism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*. Berlin-New York: W. De Gruyter.
- Herrmann-Otto, E. 2007. *Konstantin der Große*. Darmstadt: Primus Verlag.

- Hicks, R. D. 1925. *Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann.
- Higham, N. and Jones, B. 1985. *The Carvetii*. Gloucester: Alan Sutton.
- Hind, J. G. F. 1975. The British 'provinces' of Valentia and Orkney. *Historia* 24.1, 101-111.
- Hines, J. 1989. The military context of the *adventus Saxonum*: some continental evidence. In S. C. Hawkes (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, 25-48. Oxford: Oxford University Committee.
- Hinge, G. and Krasilnikoff, J. (eds) 2010. *Alexandria - A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Hodgson, N. 1991. The *Notitia Dignitatum* and the later Roman garrison of Britain. In V. A. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson (eds), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, 84-92. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, Exeter.
- Hohl, E. 1955. Die HA und die Caesares des A. Victor. *Historia* 4, 220-228.
- Holland, R. 1925. Zur Typik der Himmelfahrt. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 23, 207-220.
- Honoré, A. M. 1986. The making of the Theodosian Code. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 103, 133-222.
- Honoré, A. M. 1995. Theodosius and two Quaestors of his first decade as emperor (379-388 AD). In R. Feenstra, A. S. Hartkamp, J. E. Spruit, P. J. Sijepsteijn and L. C. Winkel (eds), *Collatio iuris Romani. Études dédiées à Hans Ankum à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire*, 141-157. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- Honoré, A. M. 1998. *Law in the Crisis of Empire 379-455 AD. The Theodosian Dynasty and its Quaestors. Palingenesia of Laws of the Theodosian Dynasty. Laws of Eastern Emperors 379-450 AD and of Western Emperors 383-455*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hopkins, K. 1999. *A World Full of Gods. Pagan, Jews and Christians in the Roman Empire*. London: Widenfeld and Nicolson.
- Hopkinson, N. 1994. Nonnus and Homer. In N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus*, 9-42. Cambridge: The Cambridge Philological Society.
- Hopkinson, N. and Vian, F. 1994. *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Tome VIII. Chants XX-XXIV*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Huck, O. 2009. Sur quelques textes "absents" du Code Théodosien. Le titre CTh I, 25 et la question du régime juridique de l'audience épiscopale. In S. Crogiez-Pétrequin and P. Jaillette (eds), *Le Code Théodosien. Diversité des approches et nouvelles perspectives*, 37-59. Rome: École Française de Rome.
- Hughes, K. 1966. *The Church in Early Irish Society*. London: Methuen and Co.
- Humphreys, M. 1999. *Nec metu nec adulandi foeditate constricta*. The image of Valentinian I from Symmachus to Ammianus. In J. W. Drijvers and D. Hunt (eds), *The Late Roman World and its Historians*, 117-126. London: Routledge.
- Humphreys, M. 2003. Roman senators and absent emperors in Late Antiquity. *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 17, 27-46.
- Hunt, E. D. 1985. Christians and Christianity in Ammianus Marcellinus. *The Classical Quarterly* 35.1, 186-200.
- Hunt, E. D. 1993. Christianising the Roman Empire: the evidence of the Code. In J. Harries and I. Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code: Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, 143-158. Ithaca: Duckworth.
- Hunter, R. 1999. *Theocritus. A Selection*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hylten, P. 1963. Critical notes on the "Chronica" of Sulpicius Severus. *Traditio* 19, 447-460.
- Igal, J. 1985. *Plotinus, Enéadas*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Iles-Johnston, S. 2008. *Ancient Greek Divination*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Iluk, J. 1985. The export of gold from the Roman Empire to Barbarian countries from the 4th to the 6th Countries. *Munstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 4, 79-102.
- Iremadze, T. 2004. *Konzeptionen des Denkens im Neuplatonismus. Zur Rezeption der proklischen Philosophie im deutschen und georgischen Mittelalter*. Amsterdam: Grüner.
- Isaacs, D. 1982. *Proclus, De malorum subsistentia*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Isbell, H. 1971. *Last Poets of Imperial Rome*. London: Penguin.
- Jacobs, I. 2011. *Aesthetic Maintenance of Civic Space. The 'Classical' City from the 4th to the 7th Century AD*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 193. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.
- Jaeger, W. 1985. *Cristianismo primitivo y paideia griega* [trans. E.C. Frost]. Mexico: FCE.
- Jacobitz, C. 1852. *Luciani Samosatensis opera*. Lipsiae: Teubner.
- Jacques, F. 1990. Un exemple de concentration foncière en Bétique d'après le témoignage des timbres amphoriques d'une famille clarissime. *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez* 102, 865-899.
- Jeanjean, B. and Lançon, B. 2004. *Saint Jérôme. Chronique. Continuation de la chronique de Eusèbe, années 326-378*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Jeffreys, M. 1981. Byzantine metrics: non-literary strata. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31, 313-334.
- Jiménez, J. L. and Martín, M. 1992. *La Casa del Mitra*. Cabra.
- Jiménez Garnica, A. 1983. *Origen y desarrollo del reino visigodo de Tolosa (a. 418-507)*. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid.
- Jiménez Sánchez, J. A. 2003. La cristianización del tiempo: la transformación del calendario lúdico en un calendario religioso durante la primera mitad del siglo V. In L. A. García Moreno, M. E. Gil Egea, S. Rascón Márquez and M. Vallejo Girvés (eds), *Santos, obispos*

- y reliquias, *Acta Antiqua Complutensia* 3, 209-215. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.
- Jiménez Sánchez, J. A. 2006. *La cruz y la escena. Cristianismo y espectáculos durante la Antigüedad tardía*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá.
- Jiménez Sánchez, J. A. and Sales, J. 2004. Termas e iglesias durante la Antigüedad Tardía: ¿reutilización arquitectónica o conflicto religioso? Algunos ejemplos hispanos. *Sociedad y Arqueología, Antigüedad Cristiana* XXI, 185-201.
- Johns, J. 2002. Sulla condizione dei musulmani di Corleone sotto il dominio normanno nel XII secolo. In R. M. Carra Bonacasa (ed.), *Byzantino-sicula IV. Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia della Sicilia Bizantina (Corleone, 28 luglio - 2 agosto 1998)*, 275-294. Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.
- Johnson, S. 1976. Channel Commands in the *Notitia*. In R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew (eds), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 15, 81-102. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Johnson, S. 1980. *Later Roman Britain*. London: Book Club Associates.
- Johnson, S. 1983. *Late Roman Fortifications*. London: Batsford.
- Johnson, T. M. and Guthrie, K. S. 1925. *Proclus' Biography, Hymns and Works: Commentary on the Chaldean Oracles*. New York: Platonist Press.
- Johnston, S. I. 2008. *Ancient Greek Divination*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Jones, A. H. M. 1964 [1973]. *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jones, A. H. M., Martindale, J. R. and Morris, J. (eds) 1971-1992. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (260-641)*, 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, C. 2008. Aristides' first admirer. In W. V. Harris and B. Holmes (eds), *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*. Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 253-262. Leiden-Boston: E. J. Brill.
- Jones, M. E. 1996. *The End of Roman Britain*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Jones, R. F. J. 1981. Change in the frontier: northern Britain in the third century. In A. King and M. Henig (eds), *The Roman West in the Third Century. Contributions from Archaeology and History*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 109, 393-414. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Jordan, H. (ed.) 1970. *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Just, P. 2003. *Imperator et Episcopus. Zum Verhältnis von Staatsgewalt christlicher Kirche zwischen dem 1. Konzil von Nicaea und dem 1. Konzil von Konstantinopel (381)*, Potsdamer Altertums Wissenschaftliche Beiträge 8. Stuttgart.
- Kahlos, M. 2007. *Debate and Dialogue, Christian and Pagan Cultures c. 360-430*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Kahlos, M. 2009. *Forbearance and Compulsion. The Rhetoric of Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Late Antiquity*. London: Duckworth.
- Kannengiesser, C. 2003. *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Kany, R. 2007. Kaiser Konstantin und das erste Konzil von Nizäa. In F. Schuller and H. Wolff (eds), *Konstantin der Große. Kaiser einer Epochenwende*, 95-124. Lindenberg.
- Keay, S. J. and Wheatley, D. 2002. Fortificaciones en el Bajo Guadalquivir a finales de la Edad del Hierro y comienzos de la época romana. *Congreso Internacional Fortificaciones en el entorno del Bajo Guadalquivir*, 91-107. Alcalá de Guadaíra.
- Keay, S. J., Wheatley, D. and Poppy, S. 2001. The territory of Carmona during the Turdetanian and Roman periods: some preliminary notes about visibility and urban location. In A. Caballos Rufino (ed.), *Carmona Romana, Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Carmona*, 397-412. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Keil, W. 1889. *Quellensammlung zur Religionspolitik Konstantins des Großen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Kelly, G. 2003. The New Rome and the Old: Ammianus Marcellinus' Silences on Constantinople. *The Classical Quarterly* 53.2, 588-607.
- Kennedy, G. A. 1983. *Greek Rhetoric Under The Christian Emperors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kent, J. P. C. 1994. *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol X. The division and the fall of the western parts 395-491*. London: Spink.
- Keresztes, P. 1966. Tertullian's "Apologeticus". A historical and literary study. *Latomus* 25, 124-133.
- Kiilerich, B. 1993. *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Killeen, J. F. 1976. Ireland in the Greek and Roman writers. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 76C, 207-215.
- Kinney, D. 1995. Rape or restitution of the past? Interpreting spolia. In S. C. Scott (ed.), *The Art of Interpreting*, 52-67. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Kislinger, E. 2002. Archeologia e storia: ricostruire insieme la Sicilia bizantina. In R. M. Carra Bonacasa (ed.), *Byzantino-sicula IV. Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia della Sicilia Bizantina (Corleone, 28 luglio - 2 agosto 1998)*, 89-104. Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.
- Kislinger, E. 2010. La città bizantina in Sicilia come centro amministrativo. In M. Congiu, S. Modeo and M. Arnone (eds), *La Sicilia bizantina: storia, città e territorio*, 147-167. Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia Editore.
- Kitzinger, E. 1984. *Byzantinische Kunst im Werden*. Cologne: Du Mont Buchverl.
- Klein, R. 1972. *Der Streit um dem Victoriasaltar: Die dritte Relatio des Symmachus und Briefe 17, 18 und 57 des Mailänder Bischofs Ambrosius. Einführung, Text und Übersetzung von*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

- Klein, R. 1995. Distruzione di templi nella tarda antichità. Un problema politico, culturale e sociale. *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana* 10, 129-151.
- Kolb, F. 1987. *Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie. Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft*. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.
- Kollwitz, J. 1941. *Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- König, I. 1987. *Origo Constantini imperatoris (Anonymus Valesianus)*. Trier: Trierer Historische Forschungen.
- Kotansky, R. 1991. Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets. In Ch. Faraone and D. Obbink, *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek magic and Religion*. New York-Oxford.
- Kotansky, R. 1994. *Greek magical amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae*. I. Köln: Opladen, Westdeutscher.
- Kraeling, C. H. 1967. *The Christian Building. Excavation at Dura Europos*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Krautschick, St. 2000. Zur Entstehung eines Datums. 375 - Beginn der Völkerwanderung. *Klio* 82, 217-222.
- Krieger, R. 1992. *Untersuchungen und Hypothesen zur Ansiedlung der Westgoten, Burgunder und Ostgoten*. Bern: Lang.
- Kristensen, T. M. 2009. Embodied images: Christian response and destruction in Late Antique Egypt. *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2.2, 224-250.
- Kristensen, T. M. 2010. Religious conflict in Late Antique Alexandria: Christian responses to "Pagan" statues in the fourth and fifth centuries CE. In G. Hinge and J. Krasilnikoff (eds), *Alexandria - A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot*, 158-175. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Kroll, W. 1894. *De oraculis chaldaicis* I. Breslau: Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen.
- Krüger, P. 1877. *Corpus Iuris Ciuilis, 2. Codex Iustiniani*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Krüger, P. and Mommsen, Th. 1904. *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis edidit*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Kulikowski, M. 2007. *Rome's Gothic Wars. From the Third Century to Alaric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lacam, G. 1983. *La fin de l'empire Romain et le monnayage d'or en Italie, 455-493*, Vol. II. Paris: Luzern. A. Hess.
- Lacroix, B. 1957. La importancia de Orosio. *Augustinus* 2, 5-13.
- Laing, L. 1985. The Romanization of Ireland in the fifth century. *Peritia* 4, 261-278.
- Lane Fox, R. L. 1988. *Pagans and Christians in the Mediterranean World from the Second Century AD to the Conversion of Constantine*. London.
- Larson, C. W. R. 1970. Theodosius and the Thessalonian Massacre revisited – yet again. *Studia Patristica* 10, 297-301.
- Latimer, S. 2010. 'Hoc est civitatis vel potius castris': city-walls and urban status in northern Italy (c. A.D. 493-774). In D. Sami and G. Speed (eds), *Debating Urbanism, Within and Beyond the Walls A.D. 300-700. Proceedings of a Conference held at the University of Leicester, 15th November 2008*. Leicester Archaeology Monograph 17, 29-50. Leicester.
- Latouche, R. 1965. *Grégoire de Tours, Histoire des Francs (Historia Francorum)*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Laubry, N. 2007. Le transfert des corps dans l'Empire romain. Problèmes d'épigraphie, de religion et de droit romain. *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 119.1, 149-188.
- Lauria, M. 1963. *Ius Romanum* I. Naples.
- Lausberg, H. 1975. *Manual de retórica literaria* [trans. J. Pérez Riesco]. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Lavan, L. (ed.) 2001. *Recent Research on Late-Antique Urbanism*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series No.42. Ann Arbor.
- Lavan, L. and Mulryan, M. (eds) 2011. *The Archaeology of Late Antique "Paganism"*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Le Roux, P. 1999. Le territoire de la colonie auguste de Mérida. Réflexions por un bilan. In J. G. Gorges and F. G. Rodríguez Martín (eds), *Économie et territoire en Lusitanie romaine*, 263-276. Madrid: Colección de la Casa de Velázquez.
- Cabrol, F. and Leclercq, H. 1777. *Dictionnaire d'Archaeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie*, IV [ed. 1924]. Paris: Letouzey et Ané
- Leclercq, H. 1777. Galla Placidia. In F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (eds), *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* VI, 248-275 [ed. 1924]. Paris: Letouzey et Ané.
- Lee, A. D. 2000. *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook*. London-New York: Routledge.
- Lee, A.D. 2002. Decoding Late Roman Law. *Journal of Roman Studies* 92, 185-193.
- Lee, A. D. 2003. *Plato: The Republic*. London: Penguin.
- Lee, A. D. 2007. *War in Late Antiquity. A Social History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lenski, N. 2002. *Failure of Empire. Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century AD*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lenz, F. W. 1959. *The Aristeides Prolegomena*, Mnemosyne, Supplement 5. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Lenz, F. W. 1964. *Aristeidesstudien*. Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 40.
- Leppin, H. 1999. Constantius II und das Heidentums. *Athenaeum* 87, 457-480.
- Leppin, H. 2003. *Theodosius der Große*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft [trans. R. Lizzi Testa 1996 and M. Villanueva 2008. Barcelona: Herder].
- Lévêque, P. 1995. *En Grèce, la religion des oracles*. Le Monde de Clio, January 2012. http://www.clio.fr/BIBLIOTHEQUE/en_grece_la_religion_des_oracles.asp
- Levi, A. 1935. *La patera d'argento di Parabiago*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato.
- Lewy, Y. 1956 [1978]. *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy; Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire*. El Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

- Lieberg, G. 1990. Zur Figur des handelnden Dichters bei Himerios. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 133, 180-5.
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. 1972. *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. 1979. *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. 1992. Alaric's Goths: nation or army? In J. Drinkwater and H. Elton (eds), *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?*, 75-83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. 2005. *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches* (Translated Texts for Historians 43). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Lilla, S. 1994. Denys l'Aréopagite (Pseudo-). In R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire de philosophes antiques* II, 727-732. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Lippold, A. 1980. *Theodosius der Grosse und seine Zeit*. München: Beck'sche schwarze Reihe.
- Lisi, F. L. 2011. How original was Neoplatonism in the Platonic tradition? In D. Hernández de la Fuente (ed.), *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 247-262. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Lisi, F. L. and Signes, J. 1995. *Pléthon, Tratado sobre las leyes*. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Livrea, E. 1989. *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, Canto XVIII*. Naples: M. D'Auria.
- Livrea, E. 2000. *Nonno di Panopoli, Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, Canto B*. Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniani Bologna.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 1990. Ambrose's contemporaries and the Christianisation of Northern Italy. *Journal of Roman Studies* 80, 156-173.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 1996. La politica religiosa di Teodosio I: miti storiografici e realtà storica. *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei* IX, 7, 323-361.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 1997. L'ascesa al trono di Teodosio I. In R. Teja and C. Pérez (eds), *Congreso Internacional La Hispania de Teodosio I*, 135-148. Salamanca: IE Universidad.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 2004. *Senatori, popolo, papi: il governo di Roma al tempo dei Valentiniani*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 2007. Alla corte dell'imperatore: Quino Aurelio Simmaco e i suoi amici quaestores. *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana* 16, 325-363.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 2009. Augures et Pontifices. Public sacral Law in late Antique Rome (4th to 5th centuries AD). In A. Cain and N. Lenski (eds), *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, 251-278. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 2009a. Legislazione imperiale e reazione pagana. I limiti del conflitto. *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 30, 385-409.
- Lizzi Testa, R. 2010. *Insula ipsa Libanus almae Veneris nuncupatur*: culti, celebrazioni, sacerdoti pagani a Roma, tra IV e VI secolo. In G. Bonamente and R. Lizzi Testa (eds), *Istituzioni, carismi ed esercizio del potere (IV-VI secolo d. C.)*, 273-303. Bari.
- Lloyd, A. C. 1970. The Later Neoplatonists. In A. H. Armstrong (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, 272-330. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lloyd, A. C. 1998. *The Anatomy of Neoplatonism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lobeck, C. A. 1829. *Aglaophamus sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis libri tres*. Regimontii Prussorum: Borntraeger.
- Lohse, E. 1980. Die Entstehung des Bischofsamtes in der frühen Christenheit, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 71, 58-73.
- Loi, V. 1983. Plemio Silvio. In A. Di Berardino (ed.), *Dizionario Patristico e dell'Antichità Cristiana*. Casale Monferrato: Marietti Editore [trans. 1992, 1817-1818. Salamanca: Sígueme].
- Lomas, F. J. 1990. Teodosio, paradigma de príncipe cristiano. Consideraciones de Ambrosio, Rufino de Aquileya y Agustín de Hipona sobre la imperial persona. *Studia Historica (Historia Antigua)* 8, 149-166.
- López, J. and Martínez, A. M. 2006. El destino de los templos paganos en Hispania durante la Antigüedad Tardía. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 79, 125-154.
- López Cruces, J. L. 2004. Sófocles, Diógenes y Cércidas. In A. Pérez Jiménez, C. Alcalde and R. Caballero (eds), *Sófocles el hombre, Sófocles el poeta. Congreso internacional con motivo del XXV centenario del nacimiento de Sófocles (497/6 a.C. - 2003/4), Málaga, 29-31 de mayo de 2003*, 245-257. Málaga: Charta antigua.
- López Sánchez, F. 2007. La serpiente androcéfala y la dependencia de Ravenna con respecto a los visigodos (425-465 d.C.). *Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi* 36, 309-344.
- López Sánchez, F. 2010. Suevic coins and Suevic kings (418-456): The Visigothic connection. In F. Curta (ed.), *Neglected Barbarians*. Studies in the Early Middle Ages 32, 625-672. Turnhout: Brepols.
- López Sánchez, F. (forthcoming). Why a Suevic kingdom in Galicia? In J. D'Emilio (ed.), *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia: A Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*. Boston-Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- López Torres, P. and De Dios Pérez, M. A. 2008 (unpublished). *Memoria preliminar de la Intervención Arqueológica Preventiva en "Altos De Valdeparrillos"* Bollullos de la Mitación, Sevilla. Sevilla.
- López Rosendo, E. 2007. El yacimiento arqueológico de Los Villares/Montealto y los orígenes tartésicos y romanos de la población de Jerez. *Revista de Historia de Jerez* 13, 9-34.
- Loraux, N. 1985. Socrate, Platon, Héraclès: Sur un paradigme héroïque du philosophe. In J. Brunshwig, Cl. Imbert and A. Roger (eds), *Histoire et structure, à la mémoire de V. Goldschmidt*, 93-105. Paris: J. Vrin.
- Lossky, V. 2009. *Teología mística de la Iglesia de Oriente*. Barcelona: Herder.
- Lott, J. B. 2004. *The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Luck, G. 1985. *Arcana Mundi. Magic and the Occult in*

- the Greek and Roman World*. Baltimore.
- Lugaresi, L. 2008. *Il teatro di Dio. Il problema degli spettacoli nel cristianesimo antico (II-IV secolo)*. Brescia: Morcelliana.
- Luschi, L. 1984. L'iconografia dell'edificio rotondo nella monetazione massenziana e il 'tempio del Divo Romolo'. *Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Rome* 89.1, 41-54.
- MacCormack S. 1975. Latin Prosa Panegyrics. In T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Empire and Aftermath*, Silver Latin II, 143-205. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MacMullen, R. 1984. *Christianizing the Roman Empire*. Yale: Yale University Press
- MacGeorge, P. 2002. *Late Roman Warlords*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Macías, J. M. 2000. *Tarraco en la Antigüedad Tardía: un proceso simultáneo de transformación urbana e ideológica*. In A. Ribera (ed.), *Los orígenes del cristianismo en Valencia y su entorno*, 260-261. Valencia.
- Maddalena, A. 1935. Per la definizione storica del 'de mortibus persecutorum'. *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 94.2, 557-588.
- Maenchen-Helfen, O. J. 1973. *The World of the Huns. Studies in their History and Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Maestre Borge, C. 2009 (unpublished PhD thesis). *Cerámicas tardoantiguas de Sevilla*. Seville.
- Maestre Borge, C., García Vargas, E., García García, M. A. and Vázquez Paz, J. 2011. Contextos cerámicos de mediados del siglo VI d. C. procedentes de la colmatación de un cisterna romana de Hispalis (Sevilla, España). In S. Santoro, M. Pasquanucci and S. Menchelli (eds), *LRCW 3. Late Roman Coarse Wares 3, Cooking Wares and Amphorae, Third International Congress: Archaeology and Archaeometry. Comparison between Western and Eastern Mediterranean*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 2185, 83-192. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Magnelli, E. 2008. I due proemi di Agazia e le due identità dell'epigramma tardoantico. In A. Morelli (ed.), *Epigramma longum. Da Marziale alla Tarda Antichità. From Martial to Late Antiquity*, 559-570. Cassino: Università degli Studi di Cassino.
- Maisano, R. 1995. *Discorsi di Temistio*. Turin: Unione Tipografica Editrice Torinese.
- Majercik, R. D. 1989. *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Leiden-Nueva York: E. J. Brill.
- Malte Ploumis, I. 1997. Gifts in the Late Roman Iconography. In S. Isager and B. Poulsen (eds), *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, 125-141. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Manacorda, D. 2001. *Crypta Balbi: Archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano*. Milan: Mondadori Electa.
- Manfredini, A. D. 1986. Ad ecclesiam confugere, ad statuas confugere nell'età di Teodosio I. *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana* 6, 39-50.
- Mann, J. C. 1977. *Duces and comites in the 4th century*. In D. E. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 18, 11-15. London.
- Mann, J. C. 1989. Birdoswald to Ravensglass. *Britannia* 20, 75-7.
- Mar, R., Roca, M. and Ruiz de Arbulo, J. 1993. El teatro romano de Tarragona. Un problema pendiente. In S. F. Ramallo and F. Santiuste (eds), *Teatros romanos de Hispania. Cuadernos de arquitectura romana*, Vol. 2, 11-23. Murcia.
- Marano, Y. A. 2012. Dopo Attila. Urbanesimo e storia ad Aquileia tra V e VI secolo d.C. In J. Bonetto and M. Salvadori (eds), *L'architettura privata ad Aquileia in età romana. Atti del Convegno di Studio (Padova, 21-22 febbraio 2011)*, 571-590. Padua: Padua University Press.
- Maraval, P. 2001. *Le christianisme de Constantin à la conquête arabe*. Paris: PUF.
- Marcos, M. 2001. El cristianismo y la caída del Imperio romano. In G. Bravo (ed.), *La caída del Imperio Romano y la génesis de Europa: Cinco nuevas visiones*, 139-150. Madrid: Universidad Complutense.
- Marcovich, M. 1999. *Diogenes Laertius. Vitae Philosophorum*, 2 vols. Stuttgart-Leipzig: Teubner.
- Maricq, A. 1958. *Classica et Orientalia. Res Gestae Divi Saporis. Syria* 35, 295-360.
- Marique, J. F. M. 1963. Spanish favourite of Theodosius the Great: Cynegius, Praefectus Praetorio. *Classical Folia* 17, 43-65.
- Martin, K. M. 1969. A reassessment of the evidence for the *comes Britanniarum* in the fourth century. *Latomus* 28.2, 408-428.
- Martín González, S. 2011. From *villae* to *villulae*: settlement and social organization in Late Antique Hispanic countryside. In D. Hernández de la Fuente (ed.), *New Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 173-187. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Martín González, S. 2012. Upon the *Conventus Emeritensis*: geographic, archaeological and cultural considerations. In D. Espinosa Espinosa, J. García Cardiel, P. González Gutiérrez, F. Notario Pacheco and R. Olmo López (eds), *Actas de los Encuentros de Jóvenes Investigadores en Historia Antigua (2010-11)*, 353-364. Madrid: Departamento de Historia Antigua, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Martín González, S. (in press). *Santas de Diciembre: Eulalia de Mérida, Melania la Joven y la transformación de las élites imperiales*. *Antesteria* 2.
- Martín Hernández, R. 2008. El lapidario órfico. In A. Bernabé and F. Casadesús (eds), *Orfeo y la tradición órfica: un reencuentro*, 365-378. Madrid: Akal.
- Martín Hernández, R. 2010. *Orfeo y los magos*. Madrid: Adaba.
- Martín Urdiroz, I. 2002. Enterramientos sarcogáficos de plomo en Corduba. In Vaquerizo, D. (ed.) *Espacios y usos funerarios en el Occidente Romano*, vol. II, 311-324.
- Martindale, J. R. 1967. Note on the consuls of 381 and 382. *Historia* 16, 254-256.
- Martindale, J. R. 1980. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Volume II, A.D. 395-527* [ed. 2006]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Martyn, J. R. C. 2004. *Gregory I, Pope, The Letters of Gregory the Great*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
- Martyn, J. R. C. 2004. *Leontius Abbot, Life of Saint Gregory. A Translation of Abbot Leontios' Life of Saint Gregory, Bishop of Agrigento*. Lewiston-Queenston-Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Masai, F. 1956. *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Mateos Cruz, P. 1995a. Arqueología de la Tardoantigüedad en Mérida: estado de la cuestión. In *Los últimos romanos en Lusitania. Cuadernos Emeritenses* 10, 127-152. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano.
- Mateos Cruz, P. 1995b. La cristianización en Lusitania (ss. IV-VII): Extremadura en época visigoda. *Extremadura arqueológica* IV, 239-264.
- Mateos Cruz, P. 1997. El urbanismo emeritense en época paleocristiana (ss. V-VI). In *La tradición en la Antigüedad Tardía. Antigüedad y Cristianismo* XIV, 601-616.
- Mateos Cruz, P. 2000. La basílica de Santa Eulalia de Mérida: arqueología y urbanismo. In *Anejos del Archivo Español de Arqueología*, XIX. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Mateos Cruz, P. 2005. Los orígenes de la cristianización urbana en 'Hispania'. In J. M. Gurt Esparraguera and A. V. Ribera i Lacomba (eds), *VI Reunió d'Arqueologia cristiana hispànica*, 49-62. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans.
- Matthews, J. F. 1967. A pious supporter of Theodosius I: Maternus Cynegius and his family. *Journal of Theological Studies* 18, 438-446.
- Matthews, J. F. 1975. *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, 364-425 A. D.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Matthews, J. F. 1989. *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*. London: Gerald Duckworth.
- Matthews, J. F. 2000. *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code*. New Haven-London: Yale University Press.
- Mattingly, D. 2006. *An Imperial Possession. Britain and the Roman Empire*. London: Penguin Books.
- Maurice, J. 1908. La véracité historique de Lactance. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres* 52.3, 146-159. Paris.
- Maurici, F. 1992. *Castelli medievali in Sicilia*. Palermo: Sellerio.
- Maurici, F. 2003. Sicilia bizantina: Il territorio della provincia di Trapani da VI al IX secolo. In A. Corretti (ed.), *Quarte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima (erice, 1-4 dicembre 2000). Atti II*, 885-931. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.
- Maurici, F. 2010. Le città della Sicilia bizantina: un problema aperto. In M. Congiu, S. Modeo and M. Arnone (eds), *La Sicilia bizantina: storia, città e territorio*, 113-146. Caltanissetta: Salvatore Sciascia Editore.
- Mazzarino, S. 1980. *Il basso impero. Antico, tardoantico ed era costantiniana*. Bari: Edizioni Dedalo.
- McGowan, A. 1994. Eating People: Accusations of Cannibalism against Christians in the Second Century. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2, 413-442.
- Mclynn, N. B. 1997. Theodosius, Spain and the Nicene Faith. In R. Teja and C. Pérez (eds), *Congreso Internacional la Hispania de Teodosio: Actas*, 171-178. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura; Universidad SEK.
- Mclynn, N. B. 1997a. The Voice of Conscience: Gregory Nazianzen in Retirement. In *Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana (in occasione del XVI centenario della consacrazione episcopale di S. Agostino, 396-1996), XXV Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana* II, 298-308. Rome.
- Mclynn, N. B. 2005. Genere Hispanus: Theodosius, Spain and Nicene Orthodoxy. In M. Kulikowski and K. Bowes (eds), *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, 77-120. Leiden-Boston: E. J. Brill.
- Mehus, L. 1741. *Leonardo Bruni, Epistolarum libri VIII*. Florence.
- Meier, H. R. 2001. Der Begriff des Modernen und das Ende der Antike. In F. A. Bauer and N. Zimmermann (eds), *Epochenwandel? Kunst und Kultur zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, 67-74. Mainz am Rhein: Ph. von Zabern.
- Meischner, J. 1996. Das Missorium des Theodosius in Madrid. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 111, 389-432.
- Meischner, J. 2000. El *missorium* de Teodosio: una nueva interpretación. In M. Almagro-Gorbea, J. M. Alvarez Matinez and J. M. Blazquez Matinez (eds), *El disco de Teodosio*, 233-252. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Mejer, J. 1994. Diògene Laërce. In R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* II, 824-833. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Mellor, R. 1999. *The Roman Historians*. London: Routledge.
- Metlich, M. A. and Arslan, E. A. 2004. *The Coinage of Ostrogothic Italy and A Die Study of Theodahad Folles*. London: Spink.
- Migne, J. P. (ed.) 1844-1864. *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*. Paris.
- Migne, J. P. (ed.) 1857-1866. *Patrologia Graeca et Cetera Graeca Scripta*. Paris.
- Miguélez-Cavero, L. 2008. *Poems in Context. Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200-600 AD*. Berlin-New York: W. de Gruyter.
- Miguélez-Cavero, L. 2009a. The Appearance of the Gods in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus of Panopolis. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies* 49, 557-583.
- Miguélez-Cavero, L. 2009b. Gesture and gestuality in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus. *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2.2, 251-273.
- Miguélez-Cavero, L. 2010. Invective at the Service of Encomium in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis. *Mnemosyne* 63, 23-42.
- Milin, M. 1997. Ammien Marcellin et la mort de Théodose l'Ancien. *Balkanica* 28, 121-129.
- Millar, F. 1971. Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third-century Syria. *Journal of Roman Studies* 61, 1-17.
- Milner, N. P. 1993. *Vegetius, Epitome of Military Science*

- (Translated Texts for Historians 16). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Mitchell, S. 2007. *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284-641*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mócsy, A. 1974. *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: a history of the middle Danube provinces of the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge.
- Mommsen, Th. 1848. Römische Urkunden. *Zeitschrift für geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft* 15, 287-371.
- Mommsen, Th. (ed.) 1882. *Iordanis Romana et Getica*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi 5.1. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Mommsen, Th. and Lucas, J. (eds) 1892. *Chronica Minora saec. IV-VII. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* 9, Vol. I, 336. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Moorhead, J. 1999. *Ambrose. Church and Society in the Late Roman World*. London: Longman.
- Moralejo Álvarez, J. L. 1979-1980. *Tácito, Anales*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Moralejo Álvarez, J. L. 1990. *Tácito, Historias*, Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Morán, J. 1964. *Agustín de Hipona, La Ciudad de Dios*. Madrid: BAC.
- Moreau, J. 1953. A propos de la persécution de Domitien. *La Nouvelle Clio* 5, 121-129.
- Moreno de Vargas, B. 1633. *Historia de la ciudad de Mérida*. Madrid: Concejo de Merida [ed. 2001. Merida: Biblioteca Pública Municipal Jaun Pablo Former].
- Moreno-Ferrero, I. 1997. Pragmatismo plutarquiano y dramatismo suetoniano en las *Vitae Caesarum*. In C. Schrader, V. Ramon and J. Vela (eds), *Actas del V Simposio Español sobre Plutarco*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza.
- Moreno-Ferrero, I. 2006. La caracterización en el *Epitome de Caesaribus*. In J. F. González Castro, G. Hinojo et al., *Actas del XI Congreso de la SEEC*, Vol. III, 141-151. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos.
- Moreno-Ferrero, I. 2007. El pasado en el presente: la perspectiva histórica en el Liber de Caesaribus de A. Víctor. *Estudios Clásicos* 132, 69-86
- Moreno-Ferrero, I. 2010. La percepción del cambio histórico en los Epitomadores del s. IV. Formas, fórmulas y léxico. In J. F. González Castro, G. Hinojo et al., *Actas del XI Congreso de la SEEC*, Vol. II, 991-998. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos.
- Moreno Resano, E. 2007. *Constantino y los cultos tradicionales*. Zaragoza: Departamento de Ciencias de la Antigüedad de la Universidad de Zaragoza-Grupo Hiberus.
- Moreno Resano, E. 2008. La política religiosa y la legislación sobre los cultos tradicionales del emperador Licinio (307-324). *Polis* 20, 167-207.
- Moreno Resano, E. 2009a. El *dies Solis* en la legislación constantiniana. *Antiquité Tardive* 17, 289-305.
- Moreno Resano, E. 2009b. La ley constantiniana del *Dies Solis* en su contexto político y legislativo. *Studia Historica. Historia Antigua* 27, 187-206.
- Moreno Resano, E. 2011. *La política legislativa de los sucesores de Constantino sobre los cultos tradicionales. Constantino II, Constante y Constancio II (337-361)*. Vitoria: Universidad del País Vasco.
- Morrás, M. 2002. El debate entre Leonardo Bruni y Alonso de Cartagena: las razones de una polémica, *Quaderns. Revista de traducció* 7, 33-57
- Mostalac, A. and Pérez, J. A. 1989. La excavación del Foro de Caesaraugusta. In *La Plaza de La Seo. Zaragoza. Investigaciones Histórico-Arqueológicas*, 81-155. Zaragoza.
- Mostalac, A. 2009. Los restos arqueológicos de los siglos IV y V. In A. Mostalac and V. Escribano (eds), *El cristianismo primitivo en Aragón, 75-135*. Zaragoza.
- Muhlberger, S. 1990. *The Fifth Century Chroniclers. Prosper, Hydatius and the Gallic Chronicler of 452*. Leeds: Francis Cairns.
- Mulyran, M. 2011. The Temple of Flora or Venus by the Circus Maximus and the New Christian Topography: The 'Pagan Revival' in Action? In L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds), *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*. *Late Antique Archaeology* 7, 209-228.
- Muñiz Jaén, I. 2007. Actividad arqueológica puntual en la villa romana de "El Ruedo", Almedinilla, Córdoba. 2002-2003: El *nymphaeum* y el culto a las ninfas en un ambiente aristocrático. In J. Aranda, J. Cosano and J. Criado (eds), *Almedinilla. Arqueología, Historia y Heráldica*, 15-44. Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, Ayuntamiento de Almedinilla, Real Academia de Córdoba.
- Muñiz Jaén, I. and Bravo, A. 2000. La necrópolis tardorromana y de época visigoda de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba): una reflexión crítica. *Antiquitas* 11-12, 175-188.
- Murillo, J. F., Moreno, M., Rodero, S. and Gutiérrez, M. I. 2009. El descubrimiento del anfiteatro de Corduba. *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 2004*, I, 664-681.
- Murray, A. T. 1995. *Homer. Odyssey. Books 1-12*. Cambridge (Mass.)-London: Harvard University Press.
- Murray, P. 1996. *Plato on Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Natal Villazala, D. 2010. 'Sed non totus recessit'. Legitimidad, incertidumbre y cambio político en el 'De obitu Theodosii'. *Gerión* 28.1, 309-329.
- Naude, C. P. T. 1987. Flavius Merobaudes and the Death of the Elder Theodosius. In L. Calliers and A. H. Snyman (eds), *Varia Studia in honorem W.R. Richards*, 388-399. Bloemfontein.
- Nautin, P. 1955. Une édition nouvelle du 'De mortibus persecutorum' de Lactance. *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 50, 892-899.
- Navarro, I. (forthcoming). Los contextos tardíos de Málaga y Estepona. In M. A. Cau, P. Reynolds and M. Bonifay (eds), *Late Roman Fine Wares in Spain and Portugal*. Barcelona.
- Neff, A. and Prigent, V. 2006. Per una nuova storia dell'alto medioevo siciliano. *Storica* 35-36, 9-63.
- Neff, A. and Prigent, V. (eds) 2010. *La Sicile de Byzance à l'Islam*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Neri, V. 1975. Un miliario liciniano ad Aquileia: ipotesi sui rapporti tra Costantino e Licinio prima del conflitto del 314. *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 5, 79-

- 109.
- Nigro, L. 1992. Per un'analisi formale dello schema compositivo delle Stele di Naram-Sin. *Contributi a materiali di Archeologia orientale* 4, 61-100.
- Nilsson, M. P. 1961-1967. *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2 vols. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Nixon, C. E. V. 1971. *An Historiographical Study of the "Caesares" of Sextus Aurelius Victor*. University of Michigan.
- Nixon C. E. V. 1987. *Pacatus, Panegyric to the Emperor Theodosius*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Nixon, C. E. V., Rodgers, B. S. and Mynors, R. A. B. 1994. *In praise of later Roman Emperors: the Panegyrici Latini*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Nock, A. D. 1972. Paul and the magus. In A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World, Selected and edited, with an introduction, bibliography of Nock's writings, and indexes by Zeph Steward*, Vol. I, 308-330 Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Noetlichis, K. L. 2006. Revolution from the Top? Orthodoxy and the Persecution of Heretics in Imperial Legislation from Constantine to Justinian. In C. Ando and J. Rüpke (eds), *Religion and Law in Classical and Christian Rome*, 115-125. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Norden, E. 1986. *La prosa d'arte antica dal VI secolo A. C. all'età della Rinascenza* [trans. Leipzig 1898]. Roma: Salerno Editrice.
- Norvin, W. 1987. *Olympiodori philosophi in Platonis Phaedonem commentaria*. Hildesheim: Olms Verlag.
- Notopoulos, J. A. 1942. Plato's Epitaph. *American Journal of Philology* 63, 272-293.
- Oost, S. I. 1968. *Galla Placidia Augusta: A biographical essay*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Optato de Mileve, Contra Parmenianum Donatistam III, 3. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* XXVI, 73.
- Ordóñez Agulla, S., Domínguez Berengeno, E., García-Dils De La Vega, S. and Sáez Fernández, P. 2002. Fortificaciones romanas de la provincia de Sevilla. *Castillos de España* 125, 15-26.
- Oria Segura, M. and García Vargas, E. 2007. La campaña de Marchena en época romana. In E. Ferrer Albelda (ed.), *Arqueología en Marchena. El poblamiento antiguo y medieval en el valle medio del Corbones*, 143-187. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Oria Segura, M., Mancebo Dávalos, J., Ferrer Albelda, E., Escobar Pérez, B., García Vargas, E., Rodríguez Morales, A., Velasco Carrillo De Albornoz, F., Sierra Alonso, F., Pérez Paz, A. and Oteromorán, P. 1990. *El poblamiento antiguo en la sierra sur de Sevilla: zona de Montellano*. Montellano: Ayuntamiento de Montellano.
- Orsi, P. 1909. Siracusa. Ipogei cristiani in contrada Cappuccini. *Notizie di Scavi di Antichità*, 355-374.
- Otranto, G. 1991. Linee di ricerca per la ricostruzione delle origini cristiane e della formazione delle diocesi nell'Italia Meridionale. In S. Pricoco, F. Rizzo Nervo, T. Sardella and S. Mannelli (eds), *Sicilia e Italia suburbicaria tra IV e VIII secolo. Atti del Convegno di studi (Catania, 24-27 Ottobre, 1989)*, 45-79. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore.
- Pace, B. 1935-49. *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*. IV vols. Milan: Editrice Dante Alighieri.
- Pacetti, F. 1998. La questione delle Keay LII nell'ambito della produzione anforica in Italia. In L. Sagui (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo. Atti del Convegno in onore di John W. Hayes (Roma, 11-13 Maggio, 1995)*, 185-205. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Padovese, L. 1988. *Lo scandalo della croce. La polemica anticristiana nei primi secoli*. Roma: Edizioni Dehoniane.
- Pajuelo Pando, A., Rodríguez Azogue, A. and Fernández Flores, A. 2008 (unpublished). *Intervención Arqueológica Preventiva en el yacimiento de Fuente Quintillos (Sevilla). Plan Parcial del Sector SUS-DBP-06 Villanueva del Pítamo. P.G.O.U. 2006 de Sevilla*. Seville: Delegación Provincial de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía.
- Palanque, J. R. 1933. *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Parello, M. C. and Rizzo, M. S. (forthcoming). Abitare ad Agrigento tra tardoantico ed alto medioevo. In *La Villa restaurata e i nuovi studi sull'edilizia residenziale tardoantica, Convegno internazionale, Pizza Armerina 7-10 Novembre 2012*.
- Parke, H. W. 1967. *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Parker, R. 1985. Greek States and Greek Oracles. In P. Cartledge, F. D. Harvey and G. E. M. De Ste. Croix, *Crux: essays presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th birthday*, 298-326. Exeter: Imprint Academic.
- Parmentier, L. and Scheidweiler, F. 1954. *Theodoretus, Kirchengeschichte, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 44. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Parsons, J. 1967. Philipus Arabs and Egypte. *Journal of Roman Studies* 57, 134-141.
- Paschini, P. 1958. La persecuzione di Valeriano (nel XVII Centenario). *Studi Romani* 6, 130-137.
- Paschoud, Fr. 1967. *Roma aeterna. Études sur le patriotisme romain dans L'occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions*. Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana VII. Rome: Institut Suisse de Rome.
- Paschoud, Fr. 1996. *Histoire Auguste, V 1, Vies d'Aurélien, Tacite*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Paschoud, Fr. 2001, *Vies de Probus, Firmus, Saturnin, Proculus et Bonose Carus, Numérien et Carin, V 2*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Paton, W. R. 1927. *The Greek Anthology*. London-New York: Harvard University Press.
- Paturet, A. 2007. Le transfert des morts dans l'antiquité romaine: aspects juridiques et religieux. *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 54, 349-378.
- Pavolini, C. 1998. Le lucerne in Italia nel VI-VII secolo d.C: alcuni contesti significativi. In L. Sagui (ed.), *Ceramica in Italia: VI-VII secolo. Atti del Convegno in onore di John W. Hayes (Roma, 11-13 Maggio, 1995)*, 123-39. Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio.
- Pearson, A. 2005. Barbarian piracy and the Saxon Shore. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24.1, 73-88.
- Peirce, H. and Tyler, R. 1932. *L'art Byzantin*. Paris: Librairie de France.

- Peixoto Cabral, J. M. and Metcalf, D. M. 1997. A Moeda Sueva. Swabianic coinage. *Anexos Nummus* 4. Porto.
- Penella, R. J. 1990. *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A. D. Studies in Eunapius of Sardis*. Leeds: F. Cairns.
- Penella, R. J. 2007. *Man and the Word. The Orations of Himerius*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
- Pensabene, P. 2000. Reimpiego e depositi di marmi a Roma e a Ostia. In S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pérez-Accino Picatoste, J. R. 2008. Estelas en el aire, palabras sobre el mar: Wenamón y el monarca fenicio. *Gerión* 26.1, 23-34.
- Perpillou-Thomas, F. 1993. Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque. *Studia Hellenistica* 31. Louvain: Peeters.
- Petit, P. 1951. Sur la date du Pro Templis de Libanius. *Byzantion* 21, 285-309.
- Petit, P. 1955. *Libanius et la vie municipale. Antiochie au IV^{me} siècle après J. C.* Paris.
- Petit, P. 1957. *Les étudiants de Libanius*. Paris.
- Philpot, J. H. 2004. *The Sacred Tree*. New York: Courier Dover.
- Pichlmayr, F. 1961. *Sexti Aurelii Victoris Liber de Caesaribus: praecedunt Origo gentis romanae et Liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae; subsequitur Epitome de Caesaribus*. Lipsius: Teubner.
- Picón, V. and Cascón, A. 1989. *Historia Augusta*. Madrid: Akal.
- Piètri, C. and Marschies, C. 1996. Eine neue Geographie. A: Der Orient. In C. and L. Piètri (eds), *Die Geschichte des Christentums. Religion, Politik, Kultur, Vol. II: Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, 55-117. Freiburg-Basilea-Viena: Herder.
- Pietrini, St. 1996. *Sull'iniziativa del processo criminale romano IV-V secolo*. Milan.
- Piganiol, A. 1972. *L'Empire Chrétien*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Platnauer, M. 1922. *Claudian*. New York-London: Loeb/William Heinemann.
- Platnauer, M. 1922. *Claudian: Volume II*. Harvard: Loeb/Harvard University Press.
- Platnauer, M. 1976. *Claudian: in two volumes*. Cambridge: Loeb/William Heinemann.
- Podskalsky, G. 1976. Nikolaos von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz (11./12. Jh.). *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XLII, 509-523.
- Pohlsander, H. A. 1969. Victoria: History of a Statue. *Historia* 18, 588-597.
- Pohlsander, H. A. 1995. The Date of the *Bellum Cibalense*: A Re-examination. *Ancient World* 26, 89-101.
- Pollard, N. 2000. *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor.
- Ponsich, M. 1974. *Implantation rurale antique sur le Bas-Guadalquivir*. Madrid: Laboratorio d'Archéologie de la Casa de Velázquez [and 1979; 1987; 1991].
- Ponsich, M. 1988. *Aceite de oliva y salazones de pescado: factores geo-económicos de Bética y Tingitania*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Porena, F. 2003. *Le origini della prefettura del pretorio tardoantica*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Porena, F. 2006. Trasformazioni istituzionali e assetti sociali: i prefetti del pretorio tra III e IV secolo. In R. Lizzi Testa (ed.), *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica*, 324-356. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Pórtulas, J. and Serna, C. 2000. *Corpus hermeticum y Asclepio*. Madrid: Siruela.
- Potter, T. W. and Shotter, D. C. A. 1977. The Biglands Milefortlet and the Cumberland Coast Defences. *Britannia* 8, 149-183.
- Poulter, A. (ed.) 2007. *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*. Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 141. London: British Academy.
- Poulter, A. (forthcoming). *An indefensible frontier: the claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*.
- Poveda, A. 2005. Aproximación al urbanismo de *Ilici Augusta* durante la Antigüedad Tardía. In J. M. Gurt and A. Ribera (eds), *VI Reunión de Arqueología Hispánica Cristiana (Valencia, 2003)*, 323-339. Barcelona.
- Presedo, F. and Caballos, A. 1987. Informe de la campaña arqueológica de 1985 en el yacimiento de *Carteia* (San Roque, Cádiz). *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 1985*, Actividades Sistemáticas 2, 387-393.
- Prete, S. 1953. Note storiche a Sulpicio Severo (*Chron. II 31-32*). *Paideia* 8, 245-259.
- Price, S. 2000. Religions of Rome. In J. Coulston and H. Dodge (eds), *Ancient Rome: The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, 290-305. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology.
- Pricoco, S. 1997-8. Studi recenti su alcuni aspetti e problemi del primo cristianesimo in Sicilia. *Kokalos* 43-44, 813-826.
- Rahtz, P. 1976. Irish settlement in Somerset. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 76C, 223-230.
- Rambaldi, S. 2009. *L'edilizia pubblica nell'impero romano all'epoca dell'anarchia militare (235-284 d.C.)*. Studi e Scavi 22. Bologna: Ante Quem.
- Ramm, H. 1978. *The Parisii*. Duckworth: Peoples of Roman Britain.
- Ramos Motta, M. A. 1954. S. Agostinho na obra de Paulo Orosio. *Filosofia* 1, 34-40.
- Ramsay, A. M. 1925. The Speed of the Roman Imperial Post. *Journal of Roman Studies* 15, 60-74.
- Rance, P. 2001. Attacotti, Déisi and Magnus Maximus: the case for Irish federates in Late Roman Britain. *Britannia* 32, 243-270.
- Reale, G. 2004. Rinascita del platonismo e del pitagorismo, Corpus Hermeticum e Oracoli caldaici. *Storia della filosofia greca e romana*, Vol. 7, 312-313. Milan: Bompiani.
- Reardon, B. P. 1971. *Courants littéraires grecs des II et III siècles après J. C.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Rebenich, S. 1985. Gratian, a son of Theodosius, and the Birth of Galla Placidia. *Historia* 34, 372-385.
- Reddè, M. 1986. *Mare Nostrum. Les infrastructures, le dispositif et l'histoire de la marine militaire sous l'empire romain*. Rome: École Française de Rome.
- Reece, R. 1994. 353, 367 or 357? Splitting the Difference

- or Taking a New Approach?. *Britannia* 25, 236-238.
- Reekmans, L. 1989. L'implantation monumentale chrétienne dans le paysage urbain de Rome de 300 à 850. In *Actes du XIe Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne (Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aosta 1986)*, Vol. II, 861-915. Vatican City.
- Ribera, A. 2008. La primera topografía cristiana de Valencia (Hispania Carthaginiensis). *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 83, 377-434.
- Ribera, A. and Rosselló, M. 1999. L'Almoína: el nacimiento de la Valentia cristiana. *Quaderns de Difusió Arqueològica* 5. Valencia.
- Richardson, L. 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore-London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Richardson, M. E. J. 2004. *Hammurabi's laws: text, translation and glossary*. London-New York: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Richmond, I. A. 1958. *Roman and Native in North Britain*. London: Nelson.
- Ridley, R. 1982. *Zosimus, Nea Historia*, Byzantina Australiensia 2. Canberra.
- Riemer, U. 2006. *Die Römische Germanienpolitik. Von Caesar bis Commodus*. Darmstadt: Primus.
- Ripoll, G. and Gurt, J. M. (eds) 2000. *Sedes regiae (ann. 400-800)*. Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres.
- Rizzo, F. P. 1988-9. Gli studi sul paleocristianesimo di Sicilia nel quadro della problematica sul Tardo-Antico. *Kokalos* 34-35, 451-468.
- Rizzo, F. P. 2005-6. *Sicilia cristiana dal I al IV secolo*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- Rizzo, G. E. 1898. Saggio su Imerio il sofista. *Rivista di filologia* 26, 513-63.
- Robertson, A. 1892. *Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria*. In P. Schaff and H. Wace, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Vol. IV [ed. 1995]. Peabody (Mass.): Hendrickson Publishers.
- Robinson, O. F. 2007. *Penal Practice And Penal Policy in Ancient Rome*. New York: Routledge.
- Roldán, L. 1992. *Técnicas constructivas romanas en Carteia (San Roque, Cadiz)*. Monografías de Arquitectura Romana. Madrid.
- Rolfé, J. C. 1935, 1939, 1940. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 3 vols. Cambridge (Mass.)-London: Harvard University Press.
- Rolfé, J. C. 1972. *Ammianus Marcellinus: in three volumes*. Cambridge: Loeb/William Heinemann.
- Romano, R. 1982. *In difesa dei templi*. Napoli: D'Auria.
- Ronning, C. 2007. Pontifex Maximus, charismatischer Herrscher, allen gemeinsamer Bischof oder, dreizehnter Apostel? Das römische Herrschaftsverständnis und der christliche Kaiser. In F. Schuller and H. Wolff (eds), *Konstantin der Große. Kaiser einer Epochenwende*, 125-149. Lindenberg: Kunstverlag Josef Fink.
- Rosenberg, V. 2001. *Griechische Orakel. Eine kulturgeschichte*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Rossi, S. 1961. Il concetto di storia e la prassi storiografica di Lattanzio e del 'De Mortibus persecutorum'. *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 14, 193-213.
- Rothus, R. M. 2000. *Corinth, the First City of Greece: An Urban History of Late Antique Cult and Religion*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Rouché, M. 1977. *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes (418-781): Essai sur le phénomène régional*. Lille: Service de Reproduction des Theses, Université de Lille III.
- Rouse, W. H. D. 1940. *Nonnos. Dionysiaca, Mythological introduction and notes by H. J. Rose. Notes on text criticism by L. R. Lind*. London-Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.
- Rouse, W. H. D. 1962. *Dionysiaca: Nonnus Panopolitanus*. London: Loeb/Rousseau, Ph. 1978. *Ascetic Authority and the Church in the Age of Jerome and John Cassian*, Oxford Historical Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roux, G. 1976. *Delphes, son oracle et ses dieux*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Royal, J. G. and Tusa, S. 2012. The Levanzo I Wreck, Sicily: a 4th-century AD merchantman in the service of the *annona*? *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 41.1, 26-55.
- Ruiz Bueno, D. 1979. *Padres Apologetas griegos (s. II)*. Madrid: BAC.
- Ruiz Delgado, M. M. 1985. *Carta arqueológica de la campiña sevillana: zona sureste I*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Ruiz Nieto, E. 2006. Informe-Memoria de la Intervención arqueológica en la calle Duque de Hornachuelos 8 (Córdoba). *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 3.1 (Actividades de urgencia), 254-265.
- Runia, D. T. 1997. Diogenes Laertios. In H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds), *Der neue Pauly* III, 601-603. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Rüpke, J. 1995. *Kalender und Öffentlichkeit. Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Rüpke, J. 2006. *Zeit und Fest. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Kalenders*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Russell, D. A. 1979. Rhetors at the Wedding. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 205, 104-117.
- Russell, D. A. 1990. Aristides and the Prose Hymn. In D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature*, 201-206. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Russell, D. A. and Wilson, N. G. 1981. *Menander Rhetor. A Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sáez Fernández, P. 2001. Los envases anfóricos como instrumentum fundi. In *Actas del Congreso Internacional Ex Baeticae Amphorae. Conservas, aceite y vino de la Bética en el Imperio Romano. Écija-Sevilla 18-20 de diciembre de 1998*, 1171-1181. Écija.
- Saffrey, H. D. 1981. L'hymne IV de Proclus. Prière aux Dieux des Oracles chaldaiques. In *Néoplatonisme. Mélanges offerts à J. Trouillard, Les Cahiers de Fontenay*, 297-312. Fontenay-aux-Roses: École Normale Supérieure.
- Saffrey, H. D. 1984. La théurgie comme phénomène

- culturel chez les Néoplatoniciens (IVe-Ve siècles), *Koinoonia* 8.2, 161-171.
- Saffrey, H. D. 1988. Connaissance et inconnaisance de Dieu: Porphyre et la théosophie de Tübingen. In J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (eds), *Gonimos: Neoplatonic and Byzantine studies presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75*. Buffalo-New York: Arethusa.
- Saffrey, H. D. 2002a. Notes platoniciennes de Marsile Ficin dans un manuscrit de Proclus. In H. D. Saffrey, *L'héritage des anciens au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, 69-94. Paris: Vrin.
- Saffrey, H. D. 2002b. Pietro Balbi et la première traduction latine de la Théologie Platonicienne de Proclus. In H. D. Saffrey, *L'héritage des anciens au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, 189-201. Paris: Vrin.
- Saffrey, H. D. and Westerink, L. G. 2003. *Théologie platonicienne / Proclus*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Sainte Croix, G. E. M. 1963. Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted? *Past and Present* 26, 6-38.
- Salway, P. 1981. *Roman Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Salzman, M. R. 1990. *On Roman Time. The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Salzman, M. R. 1999. The Christianization of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in Late-antique Rome. In W. V. Harris (ed.), *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 33, 123-134. Portsmouth: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*.
- Sami, D. 2010 (unpublished PhD thesis). *From Theodosius to Constans II: Church, Settlement and Economy in Late Roman and Byzantine Sicily (AD 378-668)*. University of Leicester.
- Samuel, A. E. 1972. *Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Sánchez, I. 2002. La incidencia del cristianismo en el mundo funerario romano cordubense. In D. Vaquerizo (ed.), *Espacio y usos funerarios en el Occidente romano : actas del Congreso Internacional*, vol. 2, 325-342. Córdoba.
- Sánchez, P. J., Melero, F. and Cumpián, A. 2005. Málaga y el Bajo Imperio. Evolución de la ciudad entre los siglos III y VII. *Mainake* XXVII, 169-186.
- Sánchez Salor, E. 2006. Literatura martirial latina. In *Eulalia de Mérida y su figura histórica*. Seville: Fundación El Monte.
- Sánchez Velasco, J. 2006. *Elementos arquitectónicos de época visigoda en el Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba. Arquitectura y Urbanismo en la Córdoba Visigoda*. Córdoba: Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico.
- Sánchez Velasco, J. 2011a. New lines of enquiry in the study of the Late Antiquity of Baetica (II): the archaeological topography of the city of Córdoba. In D. Hernández de la Fuente (ed.), *New perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 206-228. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Sánchez Velasco, J. 2011b. Corduba. In J. Acero and J. A. Remolá, *La Gestión de los Residuos Urbanos en la Hispania Romana. Homenaje a Xavier Dupré Raventós*, 123-143. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Sánchez Velasco, J., Moreno, A. and Gómez, G. 2009. Aproximación al estudio de la ciudad de Cabra y su obispado al final de la Antigüedad. *Antiqvitas* 21, 135-180.
- Sánchez Salor, E. 1982. *Orosio, Historias*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Sandwell, I. 2005. Outlawing Magic or outlawing Religion? Libanius and The Theodosian Code as Evidence for Legislation against Pagan Practices. In W. V. Harris (ed.), *Understanding the Spread of Christianity in the First Four Centuries: Essays in Explanation*, 87-124. Leiden-Boston: E. J. Brill.
- Sandwell, I. 2007. *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity, Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch*. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Santos Gener, S. 1950. *Corduba Marcelli Aedificium*. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba* 64, 37-64.
- Santos Yanguas, N. 1976. El pensamiento historiográfico de Amiano Marcelino. *Estudios clásicos* 20, 103-122.
- Santos Yanguas, N. 1994-5. Juliano y Teodosio. ¿La antítesis de dos emperadores? *Memorias de Historia Antigua* XV-XVI, 183-214.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 1986. Aproximación al estudio de los ejércitos privados en Hispania durante la Antigüedad Tardía. *Gerión* 4, 225-265.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 1995. Hacia un nuevo planteamiento del conflicto paganismo- cristianismo en la Península Ibérica. *Revista de ciencias de las religiones* 0, 237-248.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 1998. La destrucción de centros de culto paganos como forma de persecución religiosa en la Península Ibérica. In J. Mangas and J. Alvar (eds), *Homenaje a José María Blázquez*, 247-264. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 2003. *Paganos, adivinos y magos. Análisis del cambio religioso en la Hispania Tardoantigua*. Anejos *Gerión* VII. Madrid.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 2004. Extranjeras y mestizaje en el final del Impero de Occidente. In G. Bravo and R. González Salinero (eds), *Extranjeras en el mundo romano*. Anejos *Gerión* VIII, 101-123. Madrid.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 2006. *Gala Placidia*. Biblioteca de Mujeres 66. Madrid: Del Orto.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 2006a. Las migraciones del siglo V en la Península Ibérica: nuevas perspectivas. In G. Bravo and R. González Salinero (eds), *Minorías y sectas en el mundo romano*, 125-150. Madrid: Significer.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 2007. Aristocracias paganas en Hispania Tardía (S. V-VII). *Gerión* 25.1, 443-480.
- Sanz-Serrano, R. M. 2009. *Historia de los Godos. Una epopeya histórica de Escandinavia a Toledo*. Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros.
- Saradi-Mendelovici, H. 1990. Christian Attitudes toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, 47-61.
- Sargenti, M. 1986. *Studi sul diritto del Tardo Impero*. Padova: Cedam.

- Sargenti, M. 1995. Il Codice Teodosiano: tra mito e realtà. *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 61, 378-384.
- Sargenti, M. and Bruno Siola, R. B. 1991. *Normativa imperiale e diritto romano negli scritti di S. Ambrogio*. Milan: Giuffrè.
- Sauer, E. 2011. Religious rituals at springs in the Late Antique and Early Medieval World. In L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds), *The archaeology of late antique "paganism"*, 505-550. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Savage, S. M. 1940. The Cults of Ancient Trastevere. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17, 26-56.
- Savignac, J. P. 1989. *Les oracles de Delphes*. Giromagny: La Différence.
- Saxer, V. 1996. Die christliche Organisation im 3. Jahrhundert. In C. and L. Piétri (eds), *Die Geschichte des Christentums. Religion, Politik, Kultur, Vol. II: Das Entstehen der einen Christenheit (250-430)*, 35-42. Friburgo-Basilea-Viena: Herder.
- Scandaliato A. and Mulè, N. 2002. *La sinagoga e il bagno rituale degli ebrai di Siracusa*. Firenze: La Giuntina.
- Scharf, R. 1995. Aufrüstung und Truppenbenennung unter Stilicho. Das Beispiel der *Atecotti*-Truppen. *Tyche* 10, 161-178.
- Scharold, J. 1912. *Dion Chrysostomus und Themistius*. Burghausen.
- Schefer, B. 2001. La médiation de l'âme chez Marsile Ficin. In M. Ficin, *Les platonismes à la Renaissance*, 13-27. Paris: Vrin.
- Schenkl, H. 1913. Himerios 1. *Real Encyklopaedia der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* VIII.2, 1622-1635.
- Schlange-Schöningen, H. (ed.) 2007. *Konstantin und das Christentum, Neue Wege der Forschung*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Schlumberger, J. 1974. *Die Epitome de Caesaribus. Untersuchungen zur heidnischen Geschichtsschreibung des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* München: Beck.
- Schmiel, R. 1992. Nonnus' typhonomachy: an analysis of the structure of *Dionysiaca* II. *Rheinisches museum für philologie* 135, 369-375.
- Scholze, H. 1911. *De Temporibus Librorum Themistii*. Göttingen.
- Schramm, P. 1924. *Das Herscherbild in der Kunst des früher Mittelalter*. Hamburg: Bd. Werbung Vorträge.
- Schwarz, A. 1984 (Unpublished dissertation). *Reichsangehörige Personen Gotischer Herkunft. Prosopographische Studien*. Vienna.
- Scrofani, G. 2010. *La religione impura. La riforma di Giuliano imperatore*. Brescia: Paideia Editrice.
- Seeck, O. 1919. *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* Stuttgart: Minerva.
- Segura Arista, I. 1998. *La ciudad Ibero-romana de Igabrum (Cabra-Córdoba)*. Córdoba.
- Seston, W. 1985. La decadencia del Imperio Romano de Occidente. In G. Mann and A. Heuss (eds), *Historia universal IV, Roma: el mundo romano*, Vol. 2, 553-682. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Severyns, A. 1967. *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque*. Paris: Champion.
- Sgarlata, M. 1991. *Ricerche di demografia storica. Le iscrizioni tardo-imperiali di Siracusa*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
- Shahid, I. 1984. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library.
- Shaw, G. 1971 [1995]. *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus*. University Park Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.
- Shaw, G. 1995. *Theurgy and the Soul. The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus*. University Park Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.
- Sheppard, A. 1982. Proclus' Attitude to Theurgy. *Classical Quarterly* 32, 211-224.
- Sheridan, J. 1966. The Altar of Victory: Paganism's Last Battle. *Antiquité Classique* 35, 186-206.
- Sherwin-White, A. N. 1996. *The Roman Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Shorey, P. 1935. *Plato: The Republic*. London: Heinemann Ltd.
- Shotter, D. C. A. 1973. *Numeri Barbariorum*: A Note on *RIB* 601. *Britannia* 4, 206-209.
- Sillières, P. 1982. Centuriation et voie romaine au sud de Mérida: contribution à la délimitation de la Bétique et de la Lusitanie. *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez* XVIII.1, 437-448.
- Sillières, P. 1990. *Les voies de communication de l'Hispanie méridionale*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Sillières, P. 1990a. Voies romaines et limites de provinces et de cités en Lusitanie. In *Les villes de Lusitanie romaine: hierarchies et territoires (Table ronde internationale du C.N.R.S.; Talence, le 8-9 décembre 1988 - Collection de la Maison des pays ibériques)*, 73-88. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Simonetti, M. 1985. Vecchio e nuovo nell'esegesi patristica greca del IV secolo. In M. Mazza and C. Giuffrida (eds), *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità*, 385-411. Roma: Jouvence.
- Smyth, A. P. 1984. *Warlords and Holy Men. Scotland AD 80-1000*. Baltimore: Edward Arnold.
- Siniscalco, P. 2000. Gli imperatori romani e il cristianesimo nel IV secolo. In G. Barone-Adesi, J. Gaudemet and P. Siniscalco (eds), *Legislazione imperiale e religione nel IV secolo*, 67-120. Roma: Istituto Patristico Augustinianum.
- Sirago, V. A. 1961. *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell'Occidente*. Lovaina: Université de Lovaine.
- Sirago, V. A. 1989. La seconda sofistica come espressione culturale della classe dirigente del II sec. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II 33.1, 36-78.
- Sirks, A. J. B. 1993. The Sources of the Codex. In J. Harries and I. Wood (eds), *The Theodosian Code, Studies in the Imperial Law of Late Antiquity*, 45-67. London: Duckworth.
- Sirks, A. J. B. 2008. *The Theodosian Code, A Study*. Friedrichsdorf: Éditions Tortuga.
- Sivan, H. A. 1996. Was Theodosius I a Usurper? *Klio* 78, 198-211.
- Sivan, H. S. 2001. Why Not Marry a Jew? Jewish-

- Christian Marital Frontiers in Late Antiquity. In R. W. Mathisen, *Law, Society and Authority in late Antiquity*, 208-219. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, A. 1974. *Porphyry's place in the neoplatonic tradition*. La Hague: Nijhoff.
- Smith, A. 2004. *Philosophy in late antiquity*. London-New York: Routledge.
- Snyder, C. A. 2003. *The Britons*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Company.
- Sordi, M. 1962-1963. Dionigni d'Alessandria, Commodiano ed alcuni problemi della storia del III secolo. *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 35, 132-136.
- Sotinel, C. 2004. La disparition des lieux de culte païens en Occident. Enjeux et méthode. In M. Narcy and E. Rebillard (eds), *Hellénisme and Christianisme*, 35-55. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires Du Septentrion.
- Sotinel, C. 2012. From Belenus to Peter and Paul. Christianity and the Protection of the City in Late Antiquity. In T. Kaizer, A. Leone, E. V. Thomas and R. E. Witcher (eds), *Cities and Gods: Religious Space in Transition (Conference, Durham, 6-7 July 2007)*, 143-154. Bulletin Antieke Beschaving (BABesch) Supplement Series 22. Leuven.
- Stanford, W. B. 1944. Christianity and the Classics. *Greece and Rome* 13 (37), 1-9.
- Steel, C. G. 1978. *The Changing Self. A Study on the Soul in Later Neoplatonism: Iamblichus, Damascius and Priscianus*. Brussels: Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België.
- Steel, C. G. (ed.) 1982-1985. *Proclus, Commentaire sur le Parménide de Platon, Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Steel, C. G. 2006. Proklos über Selbstreflexion und Selbstbegründung. In M. Perkams and R. M. Piccione (eds), *Proklos. Methode, Seelenlehre, Metaphysik*, 230-255. Leiden-Köln-New York: E. J. Brill.
- Steidle, W. 1963. *Sueton un die antike Biographie*. Munich: Beck.
- Stein, E. 1914. Der Verzicht der Galla Placidia auf die Präfektur Illyricum. *Wiener Studien* XXXVI, 344-7.
- Stepper, R. 2002. Zum Verzicht Kaiser Gratians auf den Oberpontifikat. In C. Rabassa and R. Stepper (eds), *Imperios sacros, monarquías divinas*. Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, Vol. 10, 39-55. Castellón: Universitat Jaume I.
- Stern, H. 1953. *Le calendrier de 354. Étude sur son texte et sons illustrations*. Paris: Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth.
- Stertz, S. A. 1976. Themistius: A Hellenic Philosopher-Statesman in The Christian Roman Empire. *The Classical Journal* 71.4, 349-358.
- Stewart, P. 1999. The destruction of statues in Late Antiquity. In R. Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, 159-89. London-New York: Routledge.
- Stoessl, F. 1945. *Der Tod des Heracles*. Zurich: Rhein Verlag.
- Storoni Mayyolani, L. 1987. Una donna tra mondo antico e Medio Evo. *Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Studio su la donna nel mondo antico (Torino, 21-23 Aprile, 1986)*, 195-205. Turin: Assessorato ai Beni Culturali.
- Straub, J. A. 1942. Die Wirkung der Niederlage bei Adrianopel auf die Diskussion über das Germanenproblem in der spatromischen Literatur. *Philologus* 95, 255-286.
- Stroheker, K. F. 1963. Spanische Senatoren der spatromischen und westgotischen Zeit. *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 4, 107-132.
- Strong, D. E. 1966. *Greek and Roman gold and silver plate*. London: Methuen.
- Stroumsa, G. G. 2007. Religious Dynamics between Christians and Jews in Late Antiquity (312-640). In A. Casiday and F. W. Norris (eds), *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Constantine to c. 600*, 151-172. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sturlese, L. 1987. Il dibattito sul Proclus latino nel medioevo fra l'università di Parigi e lo studium di Colonia. In G. Boss and G. Seel (eds), *Proclus et son influence*, 141-170. Zürich: Gran Midi.
- Suárez de la Torre, E. 2002. Oráculos Sibílicos. In A. Díez Macho and A. Piñero Sáenz (eds), *Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento, III*, 445-603. Madrid: Cristiandad.
- Suchodolski, S. 1989. La silique du roi Rechiar et les autres monnaies des suèves. *Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classica* 18, 353-362.
- Swift, E. 2000. *The End of the Western Roman Empire. An Archaeological Investigation*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Syme, R. 1968. *Ignotus, the good biographer*. *Bonner Historiae Augustae Colloquium 1966/67*, 131-153. Bonn: Habelt.
- Syme, R. 1999. *The Provincial at Rome. Rome and the Balkans 80BC-AD14*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.
- Talbert, C. H. 1978. Biographies of Philosophers and Rulers as Instruments of Religious Propaganda in Mediterranean Antiquity. In H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang des Römischen Welt*, Band 16, 2, 1619-1651. New York-Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Tambrun-Krasker, B. 1987. *Pléthon, Traité des vertus*. Leiden-Köln-New York: E. J. Brill.
- Tambrun-Krasker, B. 2006. *Pléthon, le retour de Platon*. Paris: Vrin.
- Tarán, L. 1984. Plato's alleged epitaph. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 25, 63-82.
- TED'A, 1989. Un abocador del segle V dC al Fòrum provincial de Tàrraco. In *Memòries d'Excavació 2*. Tarragona: Taller Escola d'Arqueologia.
- Teja, R. 1982. *Lactancio, Sobre la muerte de los perseguidores*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Teja, R. 1999. *Emperadores, obispos, monjes y mujeres: protagonistas del cristianismo antiguo*. Granada: Editorial Trotta.
- Teuber, C. 1882. *Quaestiones Himerianae*. Diss. inaug. Phil. Breslau: G. Koebner.
- Thompson, E. A. 1947. *The historical work of Ammianus Marcellinus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, E. A. 1952. Peasant revolts in late Roman Gaul and Spain. *Past and Present* 2, 11-23.
- Thompson, E. A. 1990. Ammianus Marcellinus and

- Britain. *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 34, 1-15.
- Thompson, E. A. 1996. *The Huns* [original edition P. Heather, 1948]. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tilden, Ph. 2006. *Religious Intolerance in the Later Roman Empire: the Evidence of the Theodosian Code*. Exeter: University of Exeter.
- Tomlin, R. S. O. 1974. The date of the Barbarian Conspiracy. *Britannia* 5, 303-309.
- Tonelli, A. (ed.) 2008. *Oracoli caldaici*. Milan: Rizzoli.
- Toriello, A. G. 2012. Santa Maria Antiqua, October 2012. <http://archeoroma.beniculturali.it/santa-maria-antiqua/?q=en>.
- Toynbee, J. M. C. and Painter, K. S. 1986. Silver picture plates of Late Antiquity A.D. 300 to 700. *Archaeologia* 108, 15-65.
- Tranoy, A. 1974. *Hydace, Chronique, I-II*. Paris: Éd. du Cerf.
- Trento Musso, L. 1983. *Manifattura suntuaria e committenza pagana nella Roma del IV secolo: indagine sulla lanx di Parabiago*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- Trevisoi, M. 1908-1909. Diogene Laerzio. L'età in cui visse. *Rivista di Storia Antica* 12, 483-505.
- Trout, D. E. 2001. *Lex and iussio: the Feriale Campanum and Christianity in the Theodosian Age*. In R. W. Mathisen (ed.), *Law, Society and Authority in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tsantsanoglou, K. 1997. The First Columns of the Derveni Papyrus and their Religious Significance. In A. Laks and G. W. Most (eds), *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*, 93-128. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tuillier, A. 1997. La politique de Théodose le grand et les évêques de la fin du IVe siècle. In *Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana (in occasione del XVI centenario della consacrazione episcopale di S. Agostino, 396-1996)*, XXV *Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana* I, 45-71. Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum.
- Vallet, G. 1974. Le Stenopos des Muses à Métaponte. In P. Boyancé, *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à P. Boyancé*, 749-759. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Van Andel, G. K. 1976. *The Christian Concept of History in the "Chronicle" of Sulpicius Severus*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
- Van De Paverd, F. 1991. *St John Chrysostom: the Homilies on the Statues*. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium.
- Van Liefferinge, C. 1999. *La théurgie. Des oracles Chaldaïches à Proclus*. Liège: Centre International d'Etude de la Religion Grecque Antique.
- Van Stekelenburg, A. V. 1994. Some Statistics regarding the spolia columns in the Christian basilicas of Rome. In T. L. Heres (ed.), *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome: Antiquity*, 115-121. Rome: Nederlands Instituut te Rome.
- Vanderspoel, J. 1995. *Themistius and the Imperial Court: Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius to Theodosius*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Vaquerizo Gil, D. 1999. *La Cultura Ibérica en Córdoba. Un ensayo de síntesis*. Córdoba.
- Vaquerizo Gil, D. and Noguera Celdrán, J. M. 1997. *La villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba): decoración escultórica e interpretación*. Murcia: Servicio de publicaciones de la Universidad de Murcia.
- Vargas Jiménez, J. M. and Romo Salas, A. 2001. La villa romana de Doña Ana II (Dos Hermanas, Sevilla). *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía 1997* III, 545-556.
- Vasari, G. 1550. *Proemio delle vite*. Firenze.
- Vasoli, C. 1972. Bruni Leonardo. In *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Volume 14. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana.
- Vázquez Paz, J. 2008 (unpublished). *Memoria Ceramológica Final. Intervención Arqueológica en Altos de Valdeparillos, Bollullos de la Mitación*. Sevilla.
- Vázquez Paz, J. and Hunt Ortiz, M. 2006 (unpublished). *Informe de la intervención sobre los yacimientos afectados por la mina Las Cruces (Gerena, Salteras y Gillena, Sevilla)*. Sevilla.
- Vázquez Paz, J. and García Vargas, E. (forthcoming). Sigillatas africanas y orientales de pleno siglo VI d. C. procedentes de los rellenos de colmatación de una cisterna de Hispalis (Sevilla). Los contextos de la Plaza de la Pescadería. In M. A. Cau, M. Bonifay and P. Reynolds (eds), *Late Roman Fine Wares in Spain and Portugal*. Barcelona.
- Veillard, C. 2009. *Les Vies des philosophes* de Diogène Laërce: une réflexion sur l'histoire de la philosophie. *Dissertatio* 30, 73-92.
- Velasco-Delgado, A. 1973. *Eusebio de Cesarea, Historia eclesiástica*. Madrid: Biblioteca Clásica Gredos.
- Vera, D. 1981. *Commento storico alle "Relationes" di Quinto Aurelio Simmaco*. Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori.
- Vera, D. 1986. Teodosio I tra religione e politica: i riflessi della crisi gotica dopo Adrianopoli. *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana* 6, 223-239.
- Vera D. 1997-1998. Fra Egitto ed Africa, fra Roma e Costantinopoli, fra annona e commercio: La Sicilia nel Mediterraneo tardoantico. *Kokalos* 43-44, 33-74.
- Vera, D. 2006. Conclusioni. In R. Lizzi Testa (ed.), *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica*, 437-447. Roma.
- Vera Reina, M. 1998. *Maurur/Morón. Análisis arqueológico de un proceso histórico*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla.
- Vera Reina, M. 1999. La iglesia visigoda de Morón de la Frontera. *Spal* 8, 217-239.
- Verdugo, J. 2003. El cristianismo en Itálica: fuentes, tradiciones y testimonios arqueológicos. In L. A. García, E. Gil, S. Rascón and M. Vallejo (eds), *Actas del III Encuentro Hispania en la Antigüedad Tardía. Santos, obispos y reliquias. Alcalá, octubre 1998*, 353-389. Alcalá de Henares.
- Vian, F. 1976. *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Tome I. Chants I-II*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Vian, F. 1986. L'épopée grecque de Quintus de Smyrne à Nonnos de Panopolis. *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Bude*, 333-343.

- Vian, F. 1988. Les cultes païens dans les Dionysiaques de Nonnos: étude de vocabulaire. *Revue des études anciennes* 15, 399-410.
- Vian, F. 1991. Nonno ed Omero. *Koinonia* 15, 5-18.
- Vian, F. 1993. Préludes cosmiques dans les Dionysiaques de Nonnos de Panopolis. *Prometheus* 19, 39-52.
- Vian F. 1994. Théogamies et sotériologie dans les Dionysiaques de Nonnos. *Journal des Savants* 2, 197-233.
- Vian, F. 1995a. *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Tome V. Chants XI-XIII*. Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Vian, F. 1995b. 'L'invention' de la vigne chez Nonnos. In L. Belloni, G. Milanese and A. Porro (eds), *Studia classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata* I, 199-214. Milan: Vita e pensiero.
- Vian, F. 2003. *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques. Tome XVIII. Chant XLVIII*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Vigil-Escalera Guirado, A. 2000. Cabañas de época visigoda: evidencias arqueológicas del sur de Madrid. Tipología, elementos de datación y discusión. *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 73, 223-252.
- Vigil-Escalera Guirado, A. 2007. Granjas y aldeas altomedievales al norte de Toledo (450-800 d.C.). *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 80, 239-284.
- Vilella Masana, J. 1997. El 'ordo senatorius' en la 'Hispania' de Teodosio. In R. Teja and C. Pérez (eds), *Congreso Internacional la Hispania de Teodosio I*, 293-306. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León and Universidad Internacional SEK.
- Vilette, S. 1991. Hodos, le chemin: la genèse de la fonction oraculaire en Grèce ancienne. *Revue Historique* 285, 209-234.
- Villanueva, M. 2008. *Teodosio*. Barcelona: Herder.
- Vismara, G. 1990. Ambrogio e Teodosio: i limiti del potere. *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 56, 256-269.
- Vives, J. 1963. *Concilios visigóticos e hispanorromanos*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Voigt, G. 1893. *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, 2 vols. Berlin.
- Volbach, W. and Hirmer, M. 1958. *Früchristliche Kunst*. Munich: Hirmer.
- Völker, H. 2003. *Himerios. Reden und Fragmente*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Völker, H. 2006. Poesie in scheinbarer Prosa -eine zutreffende Charakterisierung der Reden des Himerios? In E. Amato (ed.), *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique. Hommages à Jacques Schamp*, 589-612. Bruxelles: Latomus.
- Volterra, E. 1971. Il problema del testo delle costituzioni imperiali. In *Atti II Congresso Internazionale della Società Italiana di Storia del Diritto* 2, 821-1097. Florence.
- Volterra, E. 1980. Intorno alla formazione del Codice Teodosiano. *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Diritto Romano* 83, 109-145.
- Von Falkenhausen, V. 2002. La presenza dei Greci nella Sicilia normanna. L'apporto della documentazione archivistica in lingua greca. In R. M. Carra Bonacasa (ed.), *Byzantino-sicula* IV. Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia della Sicilia Bizantina (Corleone, 28 luglio - 2 agosto 1998), 31-72. Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici
- Von Zabern, Ph. 1980. *Gallien in der Spätantike: von Kaiser Constantin zu Frankenkönig Childerich*. Mainz am Rhein: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.
- Walden, J. W. H. 1909. *The Universities of Ancient Greece*. New York: Macmillan.
- Wallraff, M. 1997. Il sinodo di tutte le eresie a Costantinopoli (383). In *Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana (in occasione del XVI centenario della consacrazione episcopale di S. Agostino, 396-1996), XXV Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana* II, 271-279. Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum.
- Walsh, J. 1970. The image of the Church in Lactantius 'De mortibus persecutorum'. In D. Patrick Granfield and J. Jungmann (eds), *Kyriakon* II, 521-526. Münster: Festschrift Johannes Quasten.
- Walsh, J. and Gottlieb, G. 1992. Die nichtchristliche Welt im Umgang mit den Christen - zehn Gründe für den Christenhaß. In G. Gottlieb and P. Barceló (eds), *Christen und Heiden in Staat und Gesellschaft des zweiten bis vierten Jahrhunderts*, 21-86. Munich: Verlag E. Vögel.
- Ward-Perkins, B. 1984. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages. Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy, AD 300-850*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ward-Perkins, B. 1999. Reusing the Architectural Legacy of the Past: entre ideologie et pragmatism. In G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (eds), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, 225-244. Boston: E. J. Brill.
- Ward-Perkins, B. 2005. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ward-Perkins, B. 2010. Where is the Archaeology and Iconography of Germanic Arianism? In D. M. Gwynn and S. Bangert, *Religious diversity in Late Antiquity*. Late Antique Archaeology 6, 265-289. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Warren Bonfante, C. 1964. Emperor, God and Man in the IV century. *Parola del Passato* 19, 401-427.
- Watkin, D. 2009. *The Roman Forum*. London: Profile Books.
- Watson, A. 1999. *Aurelian and the Third Century*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Watts, D. 1998. *Religion in late Roman Britain: forces of change*. London: Routledge.
- Watts, E. J. 2006. *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*. Berkeley, London: University of California Press.
- Watts, E. J. 2010. Three generations of Christian philosophical biography. In S. McGill, C. Sogno, E. Watts (eds), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman History and Culture, 284-450 CE*, 117-133. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, E. J. 2010a. *Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Pagan and Christian Communities*. Berkeley-London: University of California Press.
- Webster, G. 1981. The history and archaeology of Roman

- Britain in the third century. In A. King and M. Henig (eds), *The Roman West in the Third Century. Contributions from Archaeology and History*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 109 (2 Vols.), 343-351. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Webster, G. 1983. The Possible Effects on Britain of the Fall of Magnentius. In B. Hartley and J. Wachter (eds), *Rome and her Northern Provinces. Papers presented to Shepard Frere in honour of his retirement from the chair of the Archaeology of the Roman Empire, University of Oxford, 1983*, 240-254. Gloucester: Alan Sutton.
- Weitzmann, K. 1979. *Age of spirituality: late antique and early Christian art, third to seventh century*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Wernsdorff, G. 1790. *Himerii sophistae quae reperiri potuerunt*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Westerink, L. G. 1942. Proclus, Procopius, Psellus. *Mnemosyne* 10, 275-280.
- Wheeler, A. L. 1930. Tradition in the Epithalamium. *American Journal of Philology* 51, 205-223.
- Whitby, M. 1994. From Moschus to Nonnus: The Evolution of the Nonnian Style. In N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus*, 99-155. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
- White, D. A. 1961. *Litus Saxonicum*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.
- White, C. 1998. *Early Christian Lives*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Whittaker, C. R. 1993. Landlords and Warlords in the Later Roman Empire. In J. Rich and G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Roman World*, 277-302. Routledge: London.
- Wiegels, R. 1976. Zum Territorium der augusteischen Kolonie Emerita. *Madridier Mitteilungen* 17, 258-284.
- Wiemer, H. U. 1995. Die Rangstellung des sophisten Libanios unter den Kaisern Julian, Valens und Theodosius: mit einem Anhang über Abfassung und Verbreitung von Libanios' Rede für die Tempel (Or. 30). *Chiron* 25, 89-130.
- Wild, J. 1949. Plato and Christianity: a Philosophical Comparison. *Journal of Bible and Religion* 17.1, 3-16.
- Williams, S. and Friell, G. 1994. *Theodosius. The Empire at Bay*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.
- Wilson, R. J. A. 1990. *Sicily under the Roman Empire. The archaeology of a Roman province, 36 BC-AD 535*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Windau, B. 2006. Polemio Silvio. In S. Döpp and W. Geerlings (eds), *Dizionario di letteratura cristiana antica, 704-705*. Roma: Urbaniana University Press.
- Winkelman, F. 1975. *Eusebius Werke*, I, 1. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Winter, F. E. 1971. *Greeks Fortifications*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Wölfflin, H. 1902. Zur Latinität der Epitome Caesarum. *ALLG* 12, 445-453.
- Wolfram, H. 1990. *History of the Goths*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press.
- Wolfram, H. 1997. *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples* [trans. T. Dunlap]. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Wood, I. N. 1990. The Channel from the 4th to the 7th centuries AD. In S. McGrail (ed.), *Maritime Celts, Frisians and Saxons. Papers presented to a conference at Oxford in November 1988*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 71, 93-97. London.
- Woodhouse, C. M. 2000. *Gemistos Plethon. The Last of the Hellenes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woolf, G. 2003. *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Woolliscroft, D. J. 2001. *Roman military signalling*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Yonge, C. D. 1853. *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers, by Diogenes Laertius*. London: Henry G. Bohn.
- Zecchini, G. 1983. *Aezio: l'ultima difusa dell'Occidente romano*. Rome.
- Zeiller, J. 1956. À propos d'un passage énigmatique de Méliton de Sardes relatif à la persécution contre les chrétiens. *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 2, 257-265.
- Zelzer, M. 1978. Zum Osterbrief des hl. Ambrosius und zur römischen Osterfestberechnung des 4. Jh. *Wiener Studien* 91, 187-204.