to the Romans. Jordanes contrasts Hernac, Emnetzur, and Ultzindur and their followers to the Huns who, "swarming everywhere, rushed into Romania." He also makes a distinction between the Hunnic leaders and the Alanic and Germanic fugitives—the Huns *seized* land, the others *received* it. Incidentally, the list of the Germanic refugees, Sciri, Rugi, and the Goths at Castra Martis, is rather instructive; had they fought against the Huns, they would not have fled across the Danube. Jordanes was so vague about the origin of Blivila, Froila, and Bessa because had he openly said they were Goths, he would have admitted that Goths did fight under Attila's sons.

After 455, there existed two Hunnic pockets within the empire: one under Hernac, in the Dobrogea, and the other one in Dacia ripensis. Of the former one we hear nothing before the second half of the 460's. The western Huns, however, having overcome the first shock, soon became active again. This we learn from Jordanes and the Nordic *Hervararsaga*.

The First Gotho-Hunnic War

The lines 119-122 of the Old English poem *Widsith*[752] allude briefly to a war between Huns and Goths:

> Wulfhere I sought and Wyrmhere: there full oft war was not slack, what time the Hræde with sharp swords must defend their ancient seat from the people of Ætla by the Wistlawood.[753]

The Hraede are the Ostrogoths, Ætla is Attila, Wistlawood is Vistula Wood or the wood of the Vistula people.

Another, much later version of the same tradition is preserved in the "Lay of Angantyr," the oldest part of the Icelandic *Hervararsaga*. Heusler and Ranisch gave the "Lay" the first place in their edition of *Eddica minora*.[754] Some of its stanzas have such an archaic ring that Heusler and Genzmer dated the original (from which the "Lay" derives and of which it still contains so much) in the middle of the first millennium. Once it was imbedded in the *Hervararsaga*,[755] the Icelandic redactors tried to fit the "Lay" into the framework of the saga; a number of verses were dissolved into prose. But even in its diluted form the "Lay"[756] stands closer to the heroic epic of the Migration Period than any other Germanic poem.

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[752] Composed in the second half of the seventh century.

[753] In R. W. Chambers' translation.

[754] Pp. 1-2.

[755] Malone 1925, 772-773, and H. Schneider 1934, 96-99, give an outline of the *Hervararsage*.

[756] See fn. 754 and Jonsson 1915, 2, 252-255. The translation is taken from Hollander 1936; for a German translation, see F. Genzmer in *Edda* 1 (Jena, 1920), 24-32.

Heithrek, king of the Goths, had two sons, Angantyr and, from a Hunnic wife, Hloth. Hloth was brought up by his maternal grandfather, Humli, king of the Huns. After Heitrek's death, Hloth claimed an equal share of the inheritance:

> The half will I have / of what Heithrek owned
> of awl and of edge, / of all the treasure,
> of cow and of calf, / of quern harsh-grinding,
> of thrall and of bond-maid, / and those born of them,
> the mighty forest / which is Myrkwith height,
> the hallowed grave / which in Gotland stands,
> the shining stone / which a stodum Danpar stands,
> half of the war-weeds / which Heithrek owned,
> of land and lieges / and of lustrous arm-rings.

Angantyr was willing to compromise, but his counsel Gizur, leader of the Grythings, objected that too much was offered to a bond-woman's son. Enraged, Hloth returned to the Huns. When spring came, King Humli and Hloth drew together so great a host that there was dearth of fighting men in Hunland. They rode through Myrkwith. As they came out of the forest, they saw a castle. There ruled Hervor, Angantyr's and Hloth's sister, and with her, Ormar, her foster father. In the ensuing battle Hervor was killed. Ormar escaped and made report to Angantyr; "From the South am I come / to say these tidings: / burned is the far-famed/ forest Myrkwith / all Gotland drenched/ with the gore of the fallen." Angantyr sent Gizur as herald to challenge the Huns to battle. The place should be

> at dylgiu and in the Dun-heath
> and all the Iassar mountains,

where the Goths so often had won victory. The battle lasted eight days. At last the Huns were forced to give way; Angantyr slew both Hloth and Humli. The Huns took to flight, and the Goths slew so many that the rivers were dammed up and overflowed their banks, and the valleys were filled with dead men and horses.

The *Widsith* and the "Lay of Angantyr" refer to the same struggle: (1) the Goths fight the Huns: (2) they defend their ancient seat, "the hallowed grave which in Gotland stands"; (3) there they had often won victories; (4) the Goths defeat the Huns; (5) Wyrmhere is Ormar.

One should think that these data, in combination with the personal and place names, would make it comparatively easy to determine when and where the battle was fought, provided, of course, that the "Lay" is not pure fiction. The vast literature shows the opposite. For awhile, Heinzel's

interpretation was widely accepted—the kernel of the story was supposed to be the victory of the allied Visigoths and Romans over the Huns in Gaul in 451.[757] After this view was abandoned, the battlefield was located near the Waldai heights in Russia, in southern Silesia, somewhere in the Ukraine, and near the Marchfeld in Lower Austria. The dates suggested ranged from the first to the middle of the fifth century. There understandingly arose the question whether the problem could be solved at all. Was it not an equation with too many unknowns? The majority of the Germanic scholars seem now inclined to regard the Battle of the Huns *nicht als die dichterische Formung eines geschichtlichen Ereignisses, sondern einer geschichtlichen Zuständigkeit*,[758] whatever that means. But it was not so much the intricacy of the problem and the ambiguity of the poetic language that seemed to defy all attempts to date and place the battle as the wild guesses of the philologists. If the Dun of the Dun-heath is identified with the Don, the Iassar Mountains with Jasaníky (the stretch of hilly country which forms the broad gap between the Sudeten and the Carpathians), Gizur with the Vandal Geiseric, and Heithrek with the Gepid Ardaric, the Battle of the Huns becomes a geographic and historical monstrosity.[759]

Johannson[760] proved that the names Harwaða[761] and Grafá in the *Hervararsaga* have nothing to do with the original "Lay." Arnheimár, "river home," is not a real place name; anyway, it cannot be placed. Dylgia, v. 11, Dilgia and Dyngia, means "struggle, enmity."[762] Myrkwiðr, "murky wood," can be as little found on a map[763] as *der schwarze wald* in Stefan George's "Waffengefährten": *er zog mich heut aus manchen fesseln. Im schwarzen wald wo unheil haust war ich verstrickt in tiefen nesseln.* There

[757] Heinzel 1887.

[758] Schneider 1934, 114.

[759] These equations are by no means the most farfetched ones. N. Luckman (*Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1946, 103-120) identified the Huns with the Greuthungi who in 386 Odotheus led across the Danube, and the Goths with the Romans who fought with the Greuthungi. The correspondences between the *Hervararsaga* and the war in 386 are exactly nil. Settegast's interpretation in *Quellenstudien zur gallo-romanischen Epik* is best passed over in silence.

[760] *Acta Phil. Scandin.* 7, 1932-33, 100-101.

[761] If this is the correct form; the MSS have also *Handa* and *Hanada*. The identification with the Carpathian Mountains is doubtful, cf. J. Mikkola, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* 42, 1928, 87-88; G. Schütte *Acta Philol. Scandin.* 8, 1933, 256; W. Mohr, *Altgerman. Altertumskunde*, 56.

[762] R. Much, *ZfDA* 33, 1889, 5; C. C. Boer in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1911, 59; H. Rosenfeld, *PBB*, 1955, 235.

[763] Heinzel (1887, 467) took it for the Sylvia Hercynia, Markwart (1903, 109) for the Erzgebirge.

remain Danpar, Dun, and Iassar. In spite of Heinzel's doubts,[764] partly repeated by Schramm,[765] Danpar is certainly the Dnieper. Duna is the Danube.[766] Iassar will be discussed later. Except for Grytingaliði, "leader of the Grytings—Greutingu," the personal names are obscure.

It seems, the only reasonable approach to the problem of the Battle of the Huns is to look for a historical event that fits the geographical setting of the "Lay." When and where did the Ostrogoths win a decisive victory over the Huns? Not in South Russia. There in the fourth century they were attacked, defeated, and, except those who succeeded in fleeing, remained loyal to their Hunnic lords to the very end. Nevertheless, Baesecke[767] and Altheim[768] indulge in wild speculations about the Iassar Mountains, which they connect with the Ossetes in the Caucasus. Baesecke, again followed by Altheim, brings together Dylgia and Kossa dolgjana, near Mariupol in the Ukraine. *Kosa dolgaya*—this is the correct form—is good Russian and means "a long narrow tongue of land."[769] The sandy Kosa dolgaya on the southeastern shore of the Azov Sea[770] is nowhere wider than 500 meters, as fit for a battle between horsemen as the top of the Matterhorn. Schramm's assumption that sometime before 375 the Goths clashed with nomads whom later tradition turned into Huns is sheer arbitrariness.[771] Malone, disregarding all other place names, makes the Vistula in the *Widsith* the basis of a peculiar hypothesis[772]—after overrunning the southern part of Ermanaric's Ostrogothic kingdom, the Huns are supposed to have tried to conquer the Ostrogoths in the Vistula Valley; the often renewed struggle has a happy ending. Needless to say, the Vistula woods were impenetrable to the Hunnic horsemen.

Jungandreas thinks the poet localized the battle on the Vistula because in Old English poetry the seats of the Goths were traditionally in the northeast.[773] Schramm assumes that the Vistula took the place of the Dnieper because no one in England in the eighth century had ever heard of the river in South Russia.[774] Linderski gives what I think to be the

[764] Heinzel 1887, 473.

[765] G. Schramm 1965, 4-5.

[766] H. Rosenfeld, *PBB*, 1955, 236; G. Schramm 1965, 15.

[767] *Vor- und Frühgeschichte des deutschen Schrifttums* 1, 177.

[768] Altheim 1951, 65.

[769] H. Rosenfeld, *PBB*, 1955, 236.

[770] *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia* 1, map opposite p. 532; 15, 12.

[771] G. Schramm 1965, 4.

[772] *Widsith* in *Anglistica* 13 (Copenhagen), 1962, 103.

[773] "Umlokalisierung in der Heldendichtung," *ZfDPh* 59, 1934, 236.

[774] G. Schramm 1965, 12.

best explanation of the alleged mistake:[775] King Alfred's Wislelond is taken from ancient maps; both in the *Divisio orbis terrarum* and the *Dimensuratio provinciarum*, "*Dacia finitur ab occidente flumine Vistula.*" *Wislelond* lies east of Moravia and west of Dacia. The Goths did not fight the Huns in Silesia but somewhere in the Carpathian Basin. It must be left to the philologists to decide how Vistula got into the *Widsith* or what it meant.

The Battle of the Huns reflects the wars which the Goths waged against the Huns *after* the collapse of Attila's kingdom.[776] We are well informed about them by Jordanes:

> Let us now return to the tribe with which we started, namely the Ostrogoths, who were dwelling in Pannonia under their king, Valamir, and his brothers Thiudimer and Vidimer. Although their territories were separate, yet their plans were one [*consilia tamen unita*]. For Valamir dwelt between the rivers Scarniunga and Aqua nigra, Thiudimer near Lake Pelso, and Vidimer between them both. Now it happened that the sons of Attila, regarding the Goths as deserters from their rule, came against them as though they were seeking fugitive slaves [*velut fugacia mancipia requirentes*] and attacked Valamir alone, when his brothers knew nothing of it. He sustained their attack, though he had but few with him, and after harassing them a long time, so utterly overwhelmed them that scarcely a portion of the enemy remained. The remnant turned in flight and sought the parts of Scythia which border on the stream of the river Danaber, which the Huns call in their own tongue the Var. Whereupon he sent a messenger of good tidings to his brother Thiudimer, and on the very day the messenger arrived he found even greater joy in the house of Thiudimer. For on that day Theoderic was born.[777]

The passage poses a number of difficult problems. Where, for instance, are the two rivers between which Valamir dwelt? Neither Scarniunga nor Aqua nigra is mentioned elsewhere. Alföldi identified Aqua nigra with Karasica, a tributary of the Drava, assuming that Karasica goes back to Karasu, in Turkish, "black water."[778] This has been rejected by

[775] "Alfred the Great and the Tradition of Ancient Geography," *Speculum* 39, 1964, 434-439.

[776] This has long been recognized by G. Schütte, *Arkiv. f. nord. filol.* 21, 1904, 30-44; H. Schück, *Uppsala Univers. Årsskrift* 3:2, 1918, 17-18; H. de Boor, *ZfDPh* 50, 1924, 192; A. Johannson, *Acta Phil. Scandin.* 7, 1932-1933, 111-112.

[777] *Getica* 268-269. Except for minor changes, I have followed Mierow's translation.

[778] Alföldi 1926, 103-104.

Moór.[779] There are so many Black Waters between Vienna and Belgrad that if the name of the river were the only thing to go by in localizing Valamir's territory, it might have been anywhere. It is true that Aqua nigra cannot be the Raab, as has been so long assumed and is now assumed again, but in northwestern Hungary alone there are the Schwarza, the Schwarzbach, the Schirnitzbach, and the Csörnöpatak, a now obsolete, originally Slavic name of the upper Herpenyö, a tributary of the Raab.[780] Other Black Waters can be found all over Pannonia secunda. Lake Pelso is Lake Balaton (in German, Plattensee). If Vidimer lived between Thiudimer at Lake Balaton, followed, evidently in the south, by Valamir, then Valamir must have lived near the Drava. Alföldi, though wrong in detail, was basically right.[781]

The Goths lived in Pannonia, but they did not occupy the two Pannonias from border to border. This follows not only from the previously quoted account—the Huns attacked Valamir "when his brothers knew nothing of it," which precludes a compact Gothic settlement—but also from the account of the second Hunnic attack: a part of inner Pannonia was held by the Sadagis. Two passages in the *Vita s. Severini* show that easternmost Noricum Mediterranense was Gothic.[782] The small Ostrogothic fibulae found in Slovakia north of the Danube[783] point to Ostrogoths, who did not follow the Amali princes.

When and under what circumstances the Goths settled in Pannonia either is not known. That they did not move there after Attila's death is by now almost generally agreed. Although Jordanes may have maintained that the Goths "received" Pannonia from Marcian merely in order to stress the bonds between them and the Eastern Romans, he probably was right. Avitus did try to make an agreement with them, but it evidently came to nothing. Whereas his finances were in such a bad state that he was forced to melt down the bronze statues of Rome and sell the metal in order to pay the soldiers, the rich East could afford to pay the Goths subsidies, not as much as to the Gepids, but enough to keep them quiet for a few years.

When did the Huns attack the Goths? Ensslin, who first dated the war in the winter of 456/7,[784] later took this overexact date back.[785] It would seem that the date of Theoderic's birth determines also the date

[779] *UJb* 6, 1927, 167.

[780] E. Moór, *Acta Universitatis Szeged* 10, 1936, 23.

[781] Cf. Egger 1962, 1, 117.

[782] *Ibid.*, 118.

[783] J. Werner 1959, 428-429.

[784] Ensslin 1947, 12.

[785] Letter to me, February 17, 1956.

of the Gothic victory. Unfortunately, the historians cannot agree on the year. It might be 454, 455, and even 456.[786] Besides, the connection between the Gothic victory and Theoderic's birth could very well be due to the wish to let the heroic life of the great king start with a propitious event, auguring his later greatness. In any case, the battle on the Nedao cannot have been fought many years before the Huns attacked the Goths. The war is probably to be dated about 455.

Where did the Huns come from and where did they flee? The objections to the alleged trek of the Goths from the Pontus to Pannonia are equally valid for the march of a Hun army from the Black Sea to Hungary. How came the Huns to ride clean through the intervening nations, asks Macartney rightly.[787] He spoils his case by tampering with the text in the *Getica*. The Huns, he maintains, not only came from their center between the Danube and the Theiss, they also returned there after their defeat by the Goths, to the Danube, not the Dnieper.

The text in Jordanes translated previously runs as follows: *pars ostium . . . in fuga versa eas partes Scythiae peteret, quas Danabri amnis fluente praetermeant, quam lingua sua Hunni Var appellant.*

The *variae lectiones* of the name of the river are bewildering. For *danabri* in *H, PVO* have *danubri*, and *XYZ danapri; danubii* occurs only in the codex Ambrosianus, which teems with misspellings; *danubri* is obviously a cross between *danabri* and *danubii*. The scribes were not sure what to write. This is not so surprising. The names of the two rivers, Danubius and Danaper, sounded so similar that they easily could be confused, and actually often were. Jordanes himself wrote in *Getica* 54 Hister= Danubius where he should have written Danaper. Tanais and Danubius similarly were mixed up. In his account of Decius' campaign against the Goths in I, 23, Zosimus wrote three times Tanais instead of Danube= Hister. The seven mouths of the Danube are many times named in Greek and Latin literature, but Horace, *Troades* 8-9, has the seven mouths of the Tanais. In his commentary on Horace, Pseudo-Acro (fifth century?) stated explicitly that "a river of Scythia is called Tanais, which is the same as Danube" (*Tanais flumen Scythiae dicitur, qui et Danubius est*).

Still, Jordanes must have written Danabri, not Danubii. The river is in Scythia, not in Pannonia. *Var*, is, indeed, the Dnieper. The whole relative clause from *quam* to *appellant* cannot be a later addition either.

When the Huns attacked the Goths in Pannonia a second time, they again could not and did not ride all the way from the Danaber-Dnieper in the southern Ukraine to Hungary. There is only one explanation of

[786] See A. Nagl, *PW* 5a, 1746; and Skrzhinskaia 1960, 338, n. 679.

[787] Macartney 1935 [*1934? 1953?-Ed.*], 108.

the passage on the flight of the Huns after the first attack: Jordanes *proleptically* located the Huns of the later 450's where they were at his time. He displays the same cavalier treatment of geography in the account of the second Gothic war with the Huns. But before we deal with it, we have to look closer at the Huns in the northeastern Balkans. It was from there that they rode against Valamir.

Late in the year 457,[788] Emperor Leo sent a *sacra* to all metropolitan and many other bishops asking for their opinions on the validity of the consecration of Timothy Aelurus as bishop of Alexandria and on the point of upholding the Council of Chalcedon.[789] The list of the provinces to which the letter was sent as well as the answers to it[790] permit some conclusions about the situation in the Balkan peninsula in the first year of Leo's reign.

All provinces of the Thracian diocese were again firmly under Roman rule. Whereas none of the bishops of Moesia inferior had been present either at the Robber Synod of 449 or at the Council at Chalcedon in 451, now not only Marcianopolis, Nicopolis, and Odyssus, but also Novae, Abrittus, Appiaria, and Durostorum on the Danube[791] could freely communicate with Constantinople. Even the bishop of Tomis in the "Scythian region" received and answered the circular letter.[792]

It was different in eastern Illyricum. The bishops of Dyrrhachium, Scampa, Lychnidus, Bullis, Apollonia, and Aulona in Epirus nova assured the emperor of their unshakable orthodoxy.[793] A similar letter was sent from Dardania.[794] The answer of Zosimus, metropolitan of Dacia mediterranea, has not been preserved, but the fact that Leo wrote to him[795] shows that Serdica, which eight years ago was in ruins, had to some extent regained its former importance.[796] But the emperor did not send letters to the metropolitan bishops in Dacia ripensis, Moesia superior, and Praevalitana.[797] Evidently there were no bishops in those provinces to whom he could write.

[788] *ACO* II, 95: *maximam propter hiemis vehementiam.* Cf. G. Krüger, *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 13, 377-378.

[789] *ACO* II: V, 24-98. Cf. R. Haake in *Das Konzil von Chalcedon* 2, 109 f.

[790] Eduard Schwartz, *ACO* II: V, praef.

[791] *ACO* II: V, 32.

[792] *Ibid.*, 31. In the list p. 24, which, as Eduard Schwartz, praef. xiii, pointed out, *accurate secundum imperii dioceses dispositus est*, Tomi is not among the metropolitan sees of Thrace. This, and the term *Scythiae regio*, show that the former Scythia minor was no longer a province; it probably was joined to Moesia inferior.

[793] *Ibid.*, 95-96.

[794] Signed by the bishops of Scupi, Ulpiana (?), and Diocletiana (*ACO* II: V, 88).

[795] *ACO* II: V, 24, n. 62.

[796] Priscus, *EL* 123_{15}.

[797] C. Moeller in *Das Konzil von Chalcedon* 2, 668, note.

One could presume that communications with Ratiaria and Viminacium, or such an important place as Naissus, were interrupted because those bishoprics were in a war zone. But 457 had been a year of peace for the Balkan provinces. The "war-loving nation,"[798] "rebels,"[799] elusive bands "now so utterly crushed that not even their name could be found anymore,"[800] were probably Lazic marauders.[801] The letters from the bishops in Moesia inferior, Dardania, Epirus nova, and the "Scythian region" mention no military operations in their regions.[802] If anything bigger than occasional clashes with *latrunculi* had taken place, the bishops would have been likely to hint at it.

In 449, eight years before, there still existed Christian hostels in Naissus.[803] Shortly afterward the Huns evacuated the strip of territory south of the Danube they had occupied in 447.[804] One should, therefore, expect that since then the Roman population had come back, and with them the clergy. But if they did, they had fled again. They fled from the Huns who, after the collapse of their kingdom, seized not only the three places in Dacia ripensis which Jordanes names, but, to repeat his words, "swarming everywhere betook themselves into Romania."[805] There is no other explanation of the breakdown of all ecclesiastical life in the northwestern Balkans.[806] If small Christian communities still existed, which is unlikely though not impossible, they were cut off from the churches farther east. They were not in Romania but in Hunnia.

This does not necessarily mean that the whole, rather large territory was held by the Huns only. Between the Timok and the Arčer lived Sarmatians, Cemandri, and some Huns. As late as the end of the 460's, Goths lived side by side with Huns. But the political power lay nevertheless with the Huns, the same who about 455 had tried to reconquer Pannonia.

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[798] *ACO* II: V, 29.

[799] *Ibid.*, 71.

[800] *Ibid.*, 581; cf. also p. 64 (in the beginning of Leo's reign).

[801] *Propterea siquidem alienigarum quidam populus, qui pridem nostram provinciam veluti suam invaserat, non magno labore subiectus est* (letter of the metropolitan of Pont Polemoniacus, *ACO* II: V, 79). The Lazi were defeated in 456 (Hydatius, *CM* II, 29_{177}): *orientalium naves Hisplaim venientes per Marciani exercitum caesos Lazas nuntiunt* (Priscus, *EL* $152_{9\text{-}10}$).

[802] *Virtute tua cunctas regno vostro* [*deus*] *subdidit barbaras nationes* (*ACO* II: V, 88) in the letter of the bishop from Dardania is an empty phrase.

[803] Priscus, *EL* 124_{13}.

[804] *Ibid.*, 150_{8}.

[805] *Getica* 266.

[806] *Ces provinces étaient probablement désorganisées par les invasions barbares* (Bardy 1952, 282, n. 2).

By 456 at the latest, the government in Constantinople must have realized that it lacked the power to reconquer the Hunnic territories south of the Danube. It kept the peace, or, rather, the silent truce, and so did the Huns. In 457, Hunnia was still inaccessible to the Romans. The change came in 458.

Tuldila

The "very considerable" army which, early in 458,[807] the Western emperor Majorian (451-461) collected in preparation for the campaign against the Vandals consisted almost entirely of barbarians. In the panegyric which Sidonius Apollinaris addressed to the emperor in Lyon at the end of the year,[808] he named the tribes which followed the imperial standards:

> Thou dost carry off to the war the frozen army of the seven-mouthed Danube. All the multitude that the sluggish quarter of the north doth produce in the Sithonian region beneath the Parrhasian bear . . . Bastarna, Suebus, Pannonius, Neurus, Chunus, Geta, Dacus, Halanus, Bellonotus, Rugus, Burgundio, Vesus, Alites, Bisalta, Ostrogoths, Procrustes, Sarmata, Moschus . . . the whole Caucasus and the Tanaitic drinker of the Scythian water.[809]

This is one more of those lists of names in which Sidonius liked to indulge. Most names he borrowed from earlier poets,[810] others were obsolete,[811] adduced to impress the listener with his erudition. Among the names retained is Chunus, as the following verses show:

> Now thou wert moving thy camp and around thee thronged thousands under diverse standards. Only one race denied thee obedience, a race who had lately, in a mood even more savage than their wont, withdrawn their untamed host from the Danube because they had lost their lords in warfare, and Tuldila stirred in that unruly multitude a mad lust for fight which they must needs pay dear.[812]

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[807] Seeck, *Geschichte* 6, 342; Stein 1959, 1, 558.

[808] On the date, see Coville 1930, 61, n. 2; Loyen 1942, 59, n. 1.

[809] Vv. 471-479.

[810] Bastarna, Neurus, Halanus, Bellonitus, Bisalta, Sarmata from Valerius Flaccus (*Argon.* VI, 42, 48, 96, 122, 161, 232, 507); Moschus from Lucian III, 270. *Scythicae potor Tanaiticus undae* is patterned on Claudian's *Alanus bibens Maeotim* (*In Ruf.* I, 312), which, in turn, goes back to Horace's *Rhodani potor* (*Carm.* II, 20, 20).

[811] Dacus, Pannonius; *Suebus* is used by Claudian as a vague term for northern barbarians. Procrustes seems to be Sidonius' own invention.

[812] Vv. 484-488.

The verses refer to the Huns.[813] They had lost Ellac and other *domini*; the battle on the Nedao was fought only a few years before, *nuper*; they had withdrawn from the Danube, and their sites had been occupied by their former Germanic subjects.

Although Sidonius did not say where Tuldila's Huns lived, it is clear that Majorian could not have recruited them in the Pontic littoral; Tuldila could not have come from the Dnieper. His Huns must have lived close to the borders of the Western empire. Priscus says, indeed, that Majorian "brought the peoples *near his domains* to his side, some by arms, some by words."[814] There were no Huns at the borders of Noricum; Pannonia was held by the Goths, the greater part of the regions east of the Danube by the Gepids. We are, thus, led to the same areas from which the Huns had moved against the Ostrogoths, that is, Moesia superior and Dacia ripensis. Whether Majorian had won the Huns "by words" or "by arms" we do not know.

Two pieces of information, so far not used by the students of the Huns, throw more light on the situation in 458. The year before, Moesia superior, Dacia ripensis, and Dacia mediterranea had been inaccessible to the messengers sent from Constantinople to the bishops in the Balkan provinces. But in the summer of 458, the body of Sancta Anastasia was transferred from Sirmium to Constantinople and buried *ἐν τοῖς Δομνίνου ἐμβόλοις*.[815] The routes from the capital to Pannonia secunda were open again. This presupposes the pacification of the northwestern Balkan provinces, the establishment of a modus vivendi with the barbarians there. The East gained from the peace the body of a martyr, the West auxiliaries and many women and young people who had been given up for lost. In the spring of 458 the first prisoners of war, carried off by the Huns in 452, came back to Aquileia. They were released by the Huns, the same, as we now may say with confidence, who joined Majorian's army and let the East Romans through their land to Sirmium.

The Second Gotho-Hunnic War (463/4-466)

In the years following the pacification of the northwestern Balkans (before 458), the Huns were at peace with the East Romans but, as we

[813] Loyen's objections are unconvincing. Stevens (1933, 45) transforms the mutiny of the Huns into an invasion of the Huns.

[814] Priscus, *EL* 585_{2-4}.

[815] Theodor Lector, *Hist. eccles.* II, 65, *PG* 86, 1216 (= Theophanes A.M. 5951, C. de Boor 1883, 111). According to Theodor Lector, this happened under Patriarch Gennadius (458-471), thus at the earliest in the later part of 458; cf. Diekamp 1938, 55. Cedrenus (*PG* 121, 661) gives the first year of Emperor Leo, February 457-458, as the date of the translation. Diekamp (1938, 63-64) decides on the summer 458.

learn from Jordanes, and only from him, they once again, as in around 455, attacked the Goths in Pannonia.

> Now after firm peace was established between Goths and Romans, the Goths found that what they received from the emperor was not sufficient for them. Furthermore, they were eager to display their wonted valor, and so began to plunder the neighboring peoples around them, first attacking the Sadagis, who held the interior of Pannonia. When Dintzic, king of the Huns, a son of Attila, learned this, he gathered to him the few who still seemed to have remained under his sway, namely, the Ultzinzures, the Angisciri, the Bittugures, and the Bardores. Coming to Bassiana, a city of Pannonia, he beleaguered it and began to plunder its territory. When the Goths learned this, they abandoned the expedition they had planned against the Sadagis and turned upon the Huns and drove them so ingloriously from their own land that those who remained have been in dread of the arms of the Goths from that time down to the present day.[816]

There follows the description of the war between the Goths and the Sciri.

What Jordanes' source was is difficult to decide, if it can be decided at all. Mommsen suggested that Jordanes followed Priscus.[817] The endings of the Hunnic tribal names point, indeed, to a Greek author, but why should Jordanes have changed Priscus' Dengizich into Dintzic? Priscus certainly did not praise "the wonted valor" of the Goths either. This sounds more like Cassiodorus. If Jordanes followed Cassiodorus, the strange sentence at the end of his account becomes understandable. In 551, the year he wrote the *Getica*, the Goths had been in Italy for more than seventy years and therefore could not be dreaded by the Huns "to the present day." By the middle of the sixth century there were no Huns even near Totila's kingdom. For a moment one might think of a passage in the letter which in 476 Apollinaris Sidonius wrote to his friend Lampridius, full of the most extravagant eulogies for Euric, king of the Visigoths in Gaul.[818] To him as the *arbiter mundi* came ambassadors from everywhere, even from Persia and the Ostrogoths who, with Euric's help, pressed hard on the Huns.[819]

[816] *Getica* 272-273.

[817] Mommsen 1882, p. xxxv, no. 65.

[818] *Istis Ostrogothus viget patronis | vicinosque premens subinde Chunos | his quod subditur, hinc superbit illis* (VIII, 91). Mommsen (1905, 136) thought it quite credible that the Ostrogoths sought the help of their racial relatives in the West; so does Stevens (1933, 165-166), but Dalton (1915, p. xlvi, n. 1) is, I believe rightly, sceptical.

[819] The Huns who in 474 crossed the Danube and devastated Thrace (Evagrius III, 2; Theophanes, A.M. 5966) may very well have clashed with the Goths.

From 475 on, Theoderic had his headquarters in Novae in Moesia secunda.[820] Sidonius' letter confirms our thesis about the prolonged stay of Huns in the Balkans, but neither Cassiodorus nor Jordanes could refer to the 470's as to "the present day." The phrase makes sense if the Huns were the Bulgars of 505, when Pitzia and his Goths defeated Sabinian's army, which consisted of ten thousand Bulgarian horsemen. Cassiodorus, writing his Gothic history in the 520's or early 530's, and Ennodius († 521) repeatedly calls the Bulgarians "Huns." It seems that Jordanes copied Cassiodorus without changing the text itself, a text which, with slight changes, was based on Priscus.

When did the Huns attack? The first two sentences in Jordanes' report give the answer.[821] In 459, the Goths, led by Valamir, took Dyrrhachium (Durazzo).[822] The Romans were under Anthemius, the future emperor.[823] In 461, Valamir concluded a *foedus* with the Romans and received a yearly subsidy of 300 pounds of gold.[824] It is unlikely that the Goths broke the treaty after only one year.

The war between the Huns and the Goths preceded the war between the Goths and the Sciri. Priscus dealt with its beginnings in *EL* 17. He wrote about the visit of Gobazes, king of the Lazi. In the preceding excerpt he described Gobazes' visit to Constantinople after the big fire. Emperor Leo, who had fled from the burning city,[825] met him in Chalcedon. The second Gotho-Hunnic war, therefore, falls between 463/4 and 466.

The Huns came from the south. The first fortified place which stood in their way was Bassiana, the *respublica coloniae Bassianorum* of the local inscriptions, between Sirmium (now Mitrovica) and Singidunum (now Belgrade). The tribal names lead likewise to the south of the Danube as the region from where the Huns marched against the Goths. The Ultzinzures lived between Utus (now Vit) and Almus (now Lom), both in Dacia ripensis, and the Bittugures joined the Ostrogoths on their trek from Moesia secunda to Italy in 488. The theater of both Gotho-Hunnic wars was Pannonia secunda. Of course, the Huns did not respect the borders of the former Roman provinces; the fighting certainly spread to the province of Savia, between the rivers Drava and Sava.

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820 Ensslin 1947, 135 (with references to the sources).

821 *Getica* 270-271.

822 *CM* II, 492.

823 Sidonius, *Paneg. on Anthemius* 223-234.

824 Priscus, *EL* 9. In the following excerpt he speaks about Geiseric's raids into Sicily after the death of Emperor Majorian on August 7, 461.

825 Seeck 1919, 413; Malalas 372; "Life of Daniel the Stylite" in *Analecta Bollandiana* 32, 1913, 169-170.

And now we come back to the "Lay of Angantyr." Was southern Pannonia the ancient land of the Goths (as mentioned in *Widsith*), where the former kings lay in the hallowed grave? Were there mountains the name of which sounded like Jassar? Cassiodorus, inscriptions, and ancient geographers give the answer.

Theoderic, who in 504 had conquered Sirmium from the Gepids, sent there Colossaeus, *vir illustris* and *comes*. In the letter of appointment which Cassiodorus wrote and found so good that he included it in his *Variae*,[826] we read:

> You are sent with the dignity of the illustrious belt to Pannonia secunda, the former seat of the Goths [*quondam sedem Gothorum*]. Protect the province committed to you with arms, so that she can gladly receive her old defenders [*antiquos defensores*], as she used gladly to obey our fathers [*quae se nostris parentibus feliciter paruisse cognovit*].

Sirmium, says Ennodius, was in ancient times the border of Italy where *seniores domini* kept guard against the barbarians.[827]

The name Ias is well attested in the ancient land of the Goths.[828] North of the mountainous country between the Sava and the Drava, which might be the Myrkwiðr of the "Lay," lived the Iasi of Pliny. Iasi served in the Roman army. Aquae Iasae, the present Varazdinske Toplice, was a flourishing city as late as the fourth century. Constantine ordered a bath destroyed by fire to be rebuilt there. At the time the Goths moved into Pannonia the name Ias must still have been quite alive. It cannot be separated from the Iassar Mountains.

In the Germanic tradition the two wars were merged. That so much of the actual events and place names like the Danube heath and the Iassar Mountains has been preserved in it is truly remarkable.[829]

The End

In 465 or, more probably, 466, Dengizich and his brother Hernach sent ambassadors to Constantinople. They wanted to make peace, pro-

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826 *Variae* III, 23; *MGH AA* XII, 91.

827 *Paneg. on Theoderic* XII, Vogel 1885, 210.

828 For the following, see A. Graf 1936, 16.

829 The best on the Danpar shore has been said by Johannsen, *Acta Phil. Scandin.* 7, 1932-1933, 104: *Die Danparstadir fallen völlig aus dem Rahmen des Bildes, und ich kann mir des Auftauchen dieses Names hier nur durch die Annahme erklären, dass bei der dichterischen Behandlung des gotischen Sagenstoffes durch einen Nordmann, dem auch dunkle Kunde von den Schwarzmeer-Goten zugekommen war, dem aber schwerlich eine klare Vorstellung über Ort und Zeit vorgeschwebt hat, dieser in seiner Herzenseinfalt geographische und historische Verhältnisse verschiedener Jahrhunderte zu* einem *Bild gestaltet hat.*

vided that a market place be established at the Danube where "according to the ancient custom" Romans and Huns could exchange "what they needed." The emperor rejected their demands.[830]

After his last attempt to reconquer at least some land in Pannonia had failed, Dengizich had crossed into Wallachia. The Bittugures and apparently other tribes had left him and stayed south of the Danube. Under what circumstances Hernach gave up the Dobrogea is not known. In any case, the remnants of Attila's Huns were no longer anywhere in the border provinces; otherwise their demand for a market place on the Danube would not have made sense.[831]

When Hernach, engaged in disputes in his own country presumably with the Saraguri,[832] refused to join his brother, Dengizich moved his own hordes closer to the Danube, threatening to break into Thrace unless the emperor granted him and his people land and subsidies. Scorning the offers of Anagastes, "to whom the defense of the river was entrusted," to negotiate with him, Dengizich sent his envoys directly to the emperor. Leo "answered that he would readily do all these things if they would be obedient to him, for he rejoiced in men who came into alliance with him from his enemies."[833] At this point Priscus' text breaks off.

Gordon thinks that Constantinople's willingness to come to terms, contradicting her earlier attitude, may be accounted for by the necessity of protecting her northern frontiers in preparation for the approaching expedition against the Vandals in Africa.[834] He may be right. That the negotiations with the Huns eventually broke down had, I believe, another reason. The situation was, on a minor scale, a repetition of 376, though with the essential difference that the Huns, unlike the Goths, needed wide pastures for their flocks and herds, not land for the plough. To accommodate them in the empire would have necessitated the expulsion of the peasants from a large territory, including many of those Goths in the Thracian dioceses on whose support Aspar, for many years the nearly all-mighty major domus, brother-in-law of the Gothic leader Theoderic the Squinter, depended.

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[830] Priscus, *EL*, p. 160, ll. 20 ff. [*This reference, and those in notes 833 and 836, were missing in the original manuscript and have been supplied from the edition by B. G. Niebuhr, Bonn,* 1829. —*Ed.*]

[831] "According to the ancient custom" is not the same as "at the same place as before," as suggested by Macartney (1935, 109), who built on this interpretation his queer theory of the sites of the post-Attilanic Huns in Hungary.

[832] Thompson (1948, 157) made him Master of the Soldiers in Thrace, a position held at that time by Basiliscus.

[833] Priscus, *EL*, p. 162, ll. 5ff.

[834] Gordon 1960, 135.

Dengizich crossed the frozen Danube. He evidently expected that the Huns still south of the river would join him. Some probably did. But large groups of barbarians acted on their own, using the chance to back their demands with arms:

> Anagastes, Basiliscus, Ostryis, and other generals penned up and blockaded the Goths in a hollow place. The Scythians, hard pressed by starvation and lack of necessities, sent an embassy to the Romans. They said they were ready to surrender, if only they were given land. The Romans answered that they would forward their requests to the emperor. But the barbarians said that they must come to an agreement right away; they were starving and could no longer wait. The Roman generals took counsel and promised to supply food until the decision of the emperor came, provided the Scythians would split themselves into just as many groups as the Roman army was divided into. In this way the Roman generals could better care for them. The Scythians accepted the terms brought by their ambassadors and drew their forces up in as many sections as the Roman army. Chelchal, a man of Hunnic race, the lieutenant general of those in charge of Aspar's forces, came to the barbarian horde allotted to them. He summoned the prominent Goths [*logades*], who were more numerous than the others, and began a speech to the following effect: The emperor would give land, not for their own enjoyment but to the Huns among them. For these men did not care for tilling the soil and, like wolves, attacked and plundered the provisions of the Goths. They themselves, the Goths, were treated like slaves and forced to feed the Huns, although there never had been concluded a treaty between the two peoples, and the Goths had been pledged by their ancestors to escape from an alliance with the Huns. Thus, the Goths thought lightly of their ancestors' oaths and the loss of their own property. He, Chelchal, was a Hun and proud of it, but he was saying these things to the Goths from a desire of justice, so that they should know what must be done.
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> The Goths were greatly disturbed by this and, thinking that Chelchal had said these things with good will toward them, attacked the Huns in their midst and killed them. Then, as if at a signal, a mighty battle rose between the races. When Aspar[835] learned of this, he and the commanders of the other camps drew up their troops and killed the barbarians they came upon. When the Scythians preceived the intent of the trick and the treachery, they gathered together and turned against the Romans. Aspar's men anticipated them and killed the barbarian horde allotted to them to the last man. But the fight was not without

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[835] Read Anagastes.

danger for the other generals, as the barbarians fought courageously. Those who survived broke through the Roman formations and escaped the blockade.[836]

The date is 467. Basiliscus, brother of Empress Verina, was still *magister militum per Thraciam*;[837] in the spring of 468 he was commander in chief of the African expedition. It throws an interesting light on the Byzantine armies of the late fifth century that Basiliscus was the only Greek among the commanders. Anagastes, *Anagasts, the son of Arnigisclus, and Ostrys were, as their names indicate, Goths.[838] Chelchal kept his Hunnish name; evidently he was not yet baptized. As his high rank shows, he had served a long time in the Roman army. Chelchal may have been one of those Huns who deserted to the Romans in Attila's time or joined them after 455.

The fact that Aspar sent a large contingent of his *buccellarii* against the barbarians shows their strength. Although the Romans had some successes,[839] the war dragged on for two more years. In 468, the greater part of the army was sent to Africa.

The end came only in 469. Marcellinus Comes has the short entry "The head of Dinzic, son of Attila, king of the Huns, was brought to Constantinople."[840] The *Chronicon Paschale* gives more details: "Dinzirichus, Attila's son, was killed by Anagastes, general in Thrace. His head was brought to Constantinople, carried in procession through the Middle Street, and fixed on a pole at the Wooden Circus. The whole city turned out to look at it."[841]

The few Huns south of the Danube who did follow the Ostrogoths, like the Bittugur, gradually lost their ethnic identity or joined the Bulgarian raiders.

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[836] Priscus, *EL*, p. 162, l. 18 to p. 164, l. 19.

[837] According to Theophanes, Basiliscus was appointed *mag. mil. per. Thraciam* in A.M. 5956, *i.e.*, between August 29, 463, and August 28, 464. The date might be right, although Theophanes placed the appointement of Zeno as commander of the troops in the Orient in the same year, which is wrong. Zeno was promoted when he married Ariadne, Leo's older daughter, Candidus (*HGM* IV, 136), presumably in 467/8 (Baynes and Dawes 1948, 81). He was *strategos* at the same time as Basiliscus (Zacharias of Mytilene V, 1; Ahrens-Krüger 59; Brooks, *CMH* 1, 145), thus before the fall of 468, when Basiliscus fell in disgrace; see also Ernest Schwartz, "Publizistische Aktenstücke zum Acacianischen Schisma," *Abh. München, N.F.* 10, 1934, 181. Fortunately it is not our task to straighten out the confused chronology of those years.

[838] Ὀστρύς (Theophanes, A.M. 5964, C. de Boor, 1883, 117_{26}; Malalas, *EI* 161_5) is the short form of a name which began with *Ostro-*. His loyalty to Aspar became proverbial.

[839] Theophanes, A.M. 5961.

[840] *CM* II, 90.

[841] Ed. Bonn, 598; *CM* II, 90.

III. Economy

THE WRITTEN sources contain little about the economy of the Huns before they made contact with the Roman world. It certainly changed in the eight or nine decades we can follow their history, though the change has been exaggerated. By the middle of the fifth century the great majority of the people lived almost the same nomadic life—with animal husbandry as the economic mainstay and hunting and fishing as subsidiary occupations—as their ancestors had lived.

Whether we realize it or not, when we speak of nomads, often Father Abraham, archetype of the Beduin sheikhs, comes to mind, pitching his tent one week here and the other there, constantly on the move from pasture to pasture. This is the way Ammianus described the Alans: "When they come to a place rich in grass they feed like wild beasts. As soon as the fodder is used up," they move to another place. It is the Chinese stereotype: "they follow water and grass." The mobility of the herders always has struck farmers—Greeks, Indians, and Chinese—as incomprehensible, uncanny, and inhuman. The archaeological evidence refutes Ammianus.

In the steppe and the wooded grassland from western Kazakhstan to the Carpathian Mountains many hundred kurgans have been excavated and thousands of graves of all Sarmatian periods opened. So far no traces of settlements have been found. One could think that the buildings, if the Sarmatians had any, were of perishable material, but then at least fireplaces and garbage pits should have been preserved. They were not. And yet two facts are incompatible with the idea of the restlessly wandering Sarmatians. First, the large grave fields. Sinitsyn was impressed by the many kurgans in the Sarmatian cemeteries on the Kolyshlei River; in some the burial mounds numbered fifty and more.[1] But they were in the

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1 Sinitsyn 1932, 68.