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THE HELLUSII AND THE OXIONES OF TAC. GERM. 46,4

Tuomo Pekkanen

At present, there is general agreement among the Finnish scholars that the name *Fenni*, *Finni* (*Scridifinni*)¹ of the ancient and early medieval sources refers to the Lapps, not to the Finns,² for which it is used in the extant Latin sources only since 1171/1172 A.D.³ Tacitus knew the Fenni as the northernmost tribe between Germania and Sarmatia, and as he classes the Aestii of the Baltic coast still as *Germani*, it can be concluded that his information about the Fenni was ultimately drawn from a source concerned with the eastern parts of the historical area of the Lapps in Fenno-Scandia.⁴ The Hellusii and the Oxiones are mentioned immediately after the Fenni, and the short passage on them forms the conclusion of

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- ¹ For the sources and the variants of the name, see P. Aalto and T. Pekkanen, *Latin Sources on North-Eastern Eurasia* I, 181 and II, 118—119. To the authors enumerated there, must be added Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Lang.* 1,5 *Scritobini*, dropped by typographic error.
 - ² This view was clearly expressed and generally accepted in the multi-disciplinary symposium called "The Prehistoric Roots of the Finnish People", arranged by the Board of the Finnish Academies of Science on 17—19. 1. 1981. The papers of the symposium will be published in the series *Bidrag till kännedom om Finlands natur och folk* 1984.
 - ³ The earliest document in which *Finni* is used in its modern sense about the Finns that call themselves by the Finnish name *suomalaiset*, is the letter of Pope Alexander III, *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* I, 1910, 24: *Gravis admodum et difficilis est ad apostolicam sedem querela perlata, quod Phinni semper, imminente sibi exercitu inimicorum, fidem servare christianam promittunt et praedicatores et eruditores christianae legis desideranter requirunt, et recedente exercitu fidem abnegant, praedicatores contemnunt et graviter persequuntur.* Etc. Cf. also T. Pekkanen, *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* 44 (1972) 123—126.
 - ⁴ For the latest views of the original home of the Lapps, see N. Valonen, *Early Contacts between the Lapps and the Finns*, *Ethnologica Fennica* 1980, 124.

the Tacitean monography: *Cetera iam fabulosa: Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum vultusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere: quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam.*

Their Location

In the latter part of his *Germania*, Tacitus, describing the inhabitants of Germany proper (c. 29ff.), follows a clear and consistent geographical order: all the way through he proceeds in his narrative in such a way that after having described a tribe or a group of tribes he passes on to the one conceived by him as geographically next to the one last discussed. When he deviates from this order, he is most careful to give the reader a new geographical reference point.⁵ Considering the fact that for the Hellusii and the Oxiones no new reference point is given, they must be collocated in the neighbourhood of the Fenni in eastern Fenno-Scandia, i.e. in Finland and in Soviet Karelia. Furthermore, as the author proceeds in *Germ.* 43—46 from south to north and from west to east, it is probable that the Hellusii, mentioned first, belong more to the west, the Oxiones more to the east in this area.

As the two names refer to the earliest inhabitants of Finland known from the literary sources, I consider it important to emphasize that the geographical order followed by Tacitus leaves no doubt as to their location. In fact, this was already seen by K. Zeuss, who says: "In die Region der Finnen fallen die Namen, die Tacitus am Schlusse seines Buches über Deutschland nennt: *cetera iam fabulosa* etc."⁶

Cetera iam fabulosa

The expression *cetera iam fabulosa* is elliptic and it may be understood either *cetera iam fabulosa sunt* 'all from this point is fabulous' or *cetera iam fabulosa esse* 'all from this point is said to be fabulous'. Since Tacitus' words *quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam* imply that he did not consider the existence of the Hellusii and the Oxiones as positively

⁵ So *Germ.* 35,1; 41,1; 45,1; for a detailed analysis of the geographical order of the tribes, mentioned in the *Germania*, see *Arctos*, Suppl. I (1968) 70ff.

⁶ *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, München 1837, 275.

incredible, the latter alternative, however, seems to me more probable. Consequently, *cetera iam fabulosa* forms part of the *oratio obliqua* which then continues as *Hellusios et Oxionas ... gerere*. In this indirect speech Tacitus quotes his source of information, in which the account of the Hellusii and the Oxiones was held 'fabulous' (*fabulosa*). It is not possible to establish who the author, referred to by Tacitus, was, but it is clear that the author had taken a critical stand towards the story of the creatures with the faces of men and the bodies of beasts and considered it as *fabulosa*.

The Originator of the Story

There are several facts suggesting that the originator of the story, viz. the primary source of information quoted by Tacitus from a secondary source, cannot be anybody but Pytheas.

The military expeditions of the Romans were restricted in Northern Germany to the lands between the Rhine and the Elbe. In 12 B.C., Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, was the first Roman to sail in the North Sea; he fought several times against the Germans and extended his operations as far as the Elbe in 9 B.C. (Dio 55,1,2). The next to reach the river was L. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 2 B.C., who was the first to cross it (Dio 55,10a,2; Tac. ann. 4,44). More important was the expedition of Tiberius in 5 A.D., when the Roman navy sailed through the Skagerrak and the Kattegat for the first and only time:⁷ *Mon. Anc. Cla[ssis mea per Oceanum] ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad f[ines Cimbroru]m navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit, Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus alii Germanorum popu[l]i per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt. Plin. nat. 2,167 septentrionalis vero Oceanus maiore ex parte navigatus est, auspiciis Divi Augusti Germaniam classe circumvecta ad Cimbrorum promunturium et inde immenso mari prospecto aut fama cognito Scythicam ad plagam et umore nimio rigentia. Vell. 2,106,3 classis, quae Oceani circumnavigaverat sinus, ab inaudito atque incognito ante mari flumine Albi subvecta, plurimarum gentium victoria <parta> cum abundantissima rerum omnium copia exercitui Caesarique se iunxit. It*

⁷ Cf. R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae I*, Leiden 1944, 316—319, 331—343.

was the last one of these expeditions in particular that increased the knowledge of the Romans about Northern Germany, and although the campaigns were never extended to Scandinavia and the Baltic area, pieces of information were certainly gathered even about the lands beyond the actual objects of the operations. The defeat of Teutoburg in 9 A.D., however, put an end to Augustus' plan of conquering Germany as far as the Elbe, which was thence known in Rome 'only by hearsay' (Tac. Germ. 41,2 *nunc tantum auditur*).

The military influence of the Romans never extended to the eastern parts of the Baltic area. Nevertheless, the expeditions carried out in the age of Augustus are referred to by Tacitus in Germ. 1 as a recent source of information about the northern boundaries of Germany: *nuper cognititis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit*, 'where there have recently become known to us tribes and their kings, which war has disclosed to view'. If Tacitus had known later descriptions about these peripheral regions, e.g. reports of Roman traders, he would scarcely have called the operations executed more than 90 years ago a recent source (*nuper cognititis...*). I think that we are allowed to assume with some caution that those items of information about Northern Germany that cannot have been drawn from the military expeditions in Germany (cf. *quos bellum aperuit*), must have been gathered by Tacitus from earlier literary sources.

That this is true at least as far as the Hellusii and the Oxiones are concerned, is also evident from the fact that Tacitus uses in the name of the latter a Greek accusative in *-ās* (*Oxionas*), which points to a Greek literary source. In his commentary to Germ. 46,4, J. G. C. Anderson already says that "both names may well have come from an old Greek source".⁸

Except Pytheas, there is no other Greek author who could have had first-hand knowledge about the eastern parts of the Baltic area. Tacitus' indebtedness to Pytheas has earlier been established in ca. 45 of the Germania.⁹ The *mare pigrum* beyond the Suiones (Germ. 45,1) is the

⁸ Similar were the views of R. Much (GGA 1901, 462 and Hoop's Reall. III 390), who was the first to surmise that *Oxiones* might come from Pytheas. Cf. RE XVIII:1 (1942) c. 2006.

⁹ Arctos, Suppl. I, 33, 47f.

mare concretum of Plin. nat. 37,35 and the πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα of Pytheas. The comparison of Germ. 45,1 *mare pigrum ac prope immotum quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem*, Agr. 10,4 *dispecta est et Thule ... sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus* with Sen. Med. 375 *venient annis saecula seris, / quibus Oceanus vincula rerum / laxet et ingens pateat tellus / Tethysque novos detegat orbis / nec sit terris ultima Thule*, shows that Tacitus' idea of the Ocean girdling and bounding the world was also derived from the same tradition ultimately resting on Pytheas.¹⁰ With such probability that can be reached when an author does not himself mention his sources, it seems that the passage on the Hellusii and the Oxiones is indirectly derived from Pytheas. This conclusion also explains the cautious attitude of Tacitus in regard to the two tribes: the account of Pytheas of Northern Europe was so unbelievable that many ancient geographers considered him as a liar or a fabulist. So did the author quoted in Germ. 46,4 (*cetera iam fabulosa*), but Tacitus himself, who in Germ. 45,1 accepts Pytheas' description of the *mare pigrum*, does not share these views but leaves the question open (*in medium relinquam*).

Many scholars have even nowadays held the Hellusii and the Oxiones fabulous, because there has not been found a satisfactory explanation of their problem. The correct direction, however, was already indicated by K. Zeuss, who thought that the tale had arisen from seeing the Finns wrapped in skins.¹¹ This view was shared by K. Müllenhoff,¹² but it has remained just a hypothesis among others.¹³

¹⁰ Cf. H. J. Mette, Pytheas von Massalia, Berlin 1952, 8f.

¹¹ Die Deutschen 275 "Was Tacitus für Fabel hält, zeigt sich recht verstanden als Wirklichkeit in der Pelzkleidung der Finnen".

¹² Deutsche Altertumskunde II 354f.

¹³ Cf. e.g. Andersson p. 222 "it is more likely that they owed their origin to the same cause as the mermen and mermaids of popular fantasy". R. Much, Die Germania (31967) 536 "Die Namen *Hellusii* und *Oxiones* beziehen sich aber kaum auf Menschen in Pelztracht, die man mit Tieren verglich, sondern auf Seetiere, an die sich abergläubische Vorstellungen knüpfen. Gerade Seehunde erinnern durch ihr Gesicht an Menschen und haben im Volksglauben sicher ihr Teil beigetragen zum Bilde des Wassermanns und Meerweibes, oder wie diese Gestalten noch heissen".

The Etymology

In the etymological research it has mostly been assumed that the animal appearance of the *Hellusii* and the *Oxiones* should be taken as the starting-point of etymologizing and each of the two names should be connected with an animal name.¹⁴ This is quite reasonable, for the names of animals and their derivatives are commonly used as the names of persons and peoples in different cultures, e.g. among the North-American Indians, in Australia, among the bedouins and many Indo-Germanic peoples.¹⁵ R. Much, who has established the etymology of several names of this kind,¹⁶ connected *Hellusii* with the Indo-Germanic stem represented by Greek ἔλλός 'fawn', Lithuanian *élnis*, German *Elch* 'elk', *Oxiones* with German *Ochse* 'ox'.¹⁷ These etymologies are repeated in most commentaries of the *Germania*, although they have remained hypothetical for lack of further evidence.

R. v. Kienle marked Much's explanation of *Oxiones* as 'die Ochsen' as "wenig wahrscheinlich", because he thought that the form of the name was uncertain and, as those who carried the name were to be sought in the area of modern Finland, a German etymon was questionable.¹⁸ The former of the critical comments of v. Kienle is due to the fact that the MSS. of the *Germania* give the variants *Etionas*, *Exionas* and *Oxionas*, between which the earlier editors still hesitated. In this century, however, *Oxionas* has unanimously been accepted, because it already appears in the note-book of the papal secretary Pier Candido Decembrio,¹⁹ who copied the final words of the *Germania* in Rome in 1455 from the *Codex Hers-*

¹⁴ R. Much, op.cit. 535 "Zweifellos bezieht sich die Aussage über das tiergestaltige Aussehen auf beide Völker. Man wird also bei beiden Namen Beziehung zu Tiernamen suchen".

¹⁵ R. v. Kienle, Tier-Völkernamen bei indogermanischen Stämmen, WuS 1932, 25.

¹⁶ PBB 17, 1892, 1ff.; ZfdA 62, 1925, 122ff.; 57, 1920, 145ff.; 62, 1925, 123.

¹⁷ Die *Germania* 535; GGA 1901, 463.

¹⁸ Art.cit. 59 "Der Name ist nicht sicher überliefert. Ferner sind die Träger dieses Namens ungefähr im heutigen Finnland zu suchen, so dass es fraglich bleibt, ob hier wirklich germanisches Sprachgut vorliegt".

¹⁹ Decembrio writes *Helusios et Oxionas*. Cf. R. P. Robinson, *The Germania of Tacitus* (1935) 8.

feldensis, the archetype of all the extant MSS. of the minor works of Tacitus.

As to v. Kienle's latter comment, it must be remarked that a German etymology of a name belonging to the Finnish territory is not impossible as such, for nowadays the existence of a German element in Finland from the Bronze Age (1500—500 B.C.) onwards is generally accepted by the Finnish scholars.²⁰ I find Much's etymology of *Hellusii* fully acceptable, but that of *Oxiones* is semantically unsatisfactory. A better etymon is the Finnish *oksi*, genitive *ohden* or *ohen*, 'bear', which is not used in modern Finnish, but widely represented in Finnish names.²¹ It is first found in the *Chronicon Livoniae* of Henry of Lettland, who in connection with the events of 1208 A.D. mentions the South-Estonian castle *Odenpe*, translating the name as *caput ursi* 'head of the bear'. From Northern Estonia are the names *Ohepalu*, *Ohekatku*, *Ohesaare*, *Oheku*, in all of which *Ohe(n)* is the genitive 'of the bear'. From Finland are e.g. *Oksijoki* (in Ikaalinen) 'Bear-river', *Oksijärvi* (in Hämeenkyrö) 'Bear-lake', *Okslahti*, *Oksilahi* (in Tammela) 'Bear-bay', *Okslampi*, *Oksilampi* (in Alavus) 'Bear-pool', *Ohensaari* (in Masku) 'Isle of the bear', *Ohensalo* (in Kangasniemi) 'Backwoods of the bear'. Etymologically connected with *oksi* is Finnish *ohto* (*otso*) 'bear', which is known as a Tavastian family name since 1460. The Finnish *oksi* (*ohto*, *otso*)-names are rather evenly distributed all over the land from Soviet Karelia to the western coast and to Lapponia. Naturally, the area of the names must have shifted and expanded together with the population in the course of centuries. At all events, the word *oksi* is the oldest one for bear in Finnish and it has its etymological equivalent in the Baltic Finnic languages (Estonian *ott*, Livonian *okš*) and in Mordvian *ovto*, *ofto*, *oftä*. When we derive *Oxiones* from this Finnish word, *-ones* remains as the Greek-Latin suffix, frequently used in tribal names as *Suiones*, *Gothones*, *Frisiones*, etc.

It was already suggested by H. Ojansuu that the *oksi*-names may refer

²⁰ Cf. C. F. Meinander, *Die Bronzezeit in Finnland*, Helsinki 1954, 197—203.

²¹ These names have been enumerated and discussed by H. Ojansuu, *Suomalaista paikannimitutkimusta* I 1920, 161—162; P. Virtaranta, *Länsiyläsatokuntalaisten murteiden äännehistoria* I—II, 1946 and 1957, pp. 95, 115, 223, 507, 580; V. Nissilä, *Virittäjä* 1950, 190.

to the ancient cult of the bear.²² For *Ohensaari* this was proved by J. Rinne,²³ who identified it with *Lunda* (< Swedish *lund* 'grove'), which in the 13th century was still known as an ancient centre of idolatry.²⁴ Further evidence to confirm the identification was presented by T. Carpelan,²⁵ who pointed to the fact that in Ohensaari, near the modern mansion, there is a grovy hill called *Karhunmäki* 'Hill of the bear' (*karhu* is the modern Finnish equivalent of *oksi*) and a house called *Karhula* 'Home of the bear'. On the older maps, a grove near Karhunmäki is called *Kyrkbacken* (Swedish) 'Church-hill', which probably bears testimony of the fact that the first Christian church was built near by the pagan grove, where people were of old wont to gather.

The etymology of *Hellusii* and *Oxiones* leads to the conclusion that the oldest inhabitants of Finland, known from a literary source, were called 'the Elks' and 'the Bears'. In these designations there is nothing extraordinary, for the names of the two animals are still widely used as family names in Finland. Considering the Finnish conditions, the explanation is natural, because the elk and the bear have for thousands of years been the most important animals of the northern countries.

²² Op.cit. 160.

²³ Pyhä Henrik, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran toimituksia 32, Helsinki 1932, 76—81.

²⁴ On January 31st, in 1229, Pope Gregory IX confirmed to the Finnish Church the possession of the pagan groves and shrines which had voluntarily been given to the Church by the newly converted Christians: *lucos et delubra deputata olim ritibus paganorum que de novo per te conversi ad fidem ecclesie tue voluntate spontanea contulerunt* (Diplomatarium Suecanum I 251). On October 20th, in 1232, the Pope gave his consent to the petition of Wilhelm, presbyter rector of Nousis (Nousiainen), to get *Lunda* (*terram de maska que dicitur lunda*) to his possession (Dipl. Suec. I 267). The donation was confirmed by Thomas, Bishop of Finland, in 1234, who calls the area a place of ancient idolatry and adds to it one half of *Taipale*, an island next to Ohensaari: *notum facimus nos quandam terram in parrochia de maska cultibus ydolatrie olim deditam cappellano nostro willelmo iure perpetuo contulisse possidendam* (Dipl. Suec. I 290); *notum facimus nos quandam terram in parochia de maska cultibus ydolatrie olim deditam & medietatem cuiusdam insule que taypale dicitur cappellano nostro wilhelmo iure perpetuo contulisse possidendam* (Dipl. Suec. I 291).

²⁵ Genos, Sukutieteellinen aikakauskirja 6 (1935) 160f.

The Totemistic Origin of the Names

When the names of animals are used for clans and tribes, the origin of the appellation is in many cases totemistic: a family or a clan has as its symbol (totem) an animal, with which it identifies itself so that it calls itself by the name of the totem and considers it as its ancestor or relative, the killing or harming of which is taboo.²⁶ Among the arctic peoples, an example of this kind of appellation is found even in this century. K. Donner, who devoted himself to Samoyed studies in Siberia in 1911—1913 and 1914, met on the upper course of the River Ket a Samoyed tribe that called itself 'the tribe of the bear', because its members believed that they descended from that animal.²⁷ Ἀρκάδες is derived by v. Kienle from ἄρκος, the parallel form of ἄρκτος 'bear', and translated as 'die Bären' or 'die zum Bären gehörigen'.²⁸ Arkas, the ancestor of the Arkadians, was the son of the goddess Kallisto, changed into a bear,²⁹ which implies that the Arkadians thought themselves to be the descendants of the bear. Kallisto is explained to be just another name of Artemis,³⁰ who was worshipped as a female bear in different places; her priestesses were called ἄρκτοι 'female bears' and the cult ceremony ἀρκτεῖα.³¹ In the same way, the priests of Poseidon in Ephesos were called ταῦροι 'the bulls', the god himself ταῦρος or ταυρεῖος and the feast ταυρία.³² The fact that the priests / priestesses were called by the name of the god / goddess, can be understood by assuming that the worshippers imitated by their appearance and movements the worshipped animals, i.e. they were dressed up as bears or bulls.³³ About the Arkadians, who are known to have worshipped both the bear and the wolf, it is told that in the first Messenian war they wore skins of bears and wolves.³⁴ In this manner they evidently wanted to associate themselves with the sacred animals and to have the strength

²⁶ Cf. v. Kienle 26f.

²⁷ K. Donner, Siperian samojedien parissa, Helsinki 1979, 141.

²⁸ Art.cit. 28.

²⁹ Cf. RE s.v. *Kallisto* c. 1729,30ff.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ RE s.v. *Arkteia, arktoi*.

³² Hesych. s.v. ταυρία, ταῦροι, ταῦρος; cf. RE s.v. *Tauria*.

³³ Cf. v. Kienle 29.

³⁴ Pausanias 4,11,3.

of the divine bear and the wolf in the important battle.³⁵ From the 6th and 7th centuries is known the pagan practise to disguise oneself as a deer (*cervulum facere*),³⁶ which was considered as idolatry by the Christians and must be connected with the worship of the deer-like god also attested in Gaul by archeological remains.³⁷

It is evident that the assumed totemistic origin of the names *Hellusii* and *Oxiones* also provides a satisfactory explanation of the outward appearance of the two groups (clans, tribes). There is no need, however, to think that the members of the clans were always clothed as bears or elks in their daily life. More likely is that the animal disguise was used in the worship of the respective animals (cf. ἄρκτοι, ταῦροι above) or in exacting circumstances, when it was considered as important to have the strength or the other characteristics of the divine animals (cf. the Arkadians in the Messenian war). The practise of the northern peoples, related by

³⁵ v. Kienle 29.

³⁶ Pacian. paraen. 1 (PL 13,1082) *puto, nescierant cervulum facere, nisi illis reprehendendo monstrarem*. Epist. canon. (PL 56, 891B) *insipientes homines, qui ad fontes atque ad arbores sacrilegium faciunt, nec non diem Iovis aut Veneris propter paganorum consuetudinem observant, vel cervolum aut agniculas faciunt, hoc est suffitores, et cornua iactant ... quadraginta dierum spatio in pane et aqua sint contenti*. Ps. Aug. serm. 129,2 *Hinc itaque est quod istis diebus pagani homines perverso omnium rerum ordine obscenis deformitatibus teguntur; ut tales utique se faciant qui colunt, qualis est iste qui colitur. In istis enim diebus miseri homines, et, quod peius est, aliqui baptizati, sumunt formas adulteras, species monstrosas, in quibus quidem sunt quae primum pudenda, aut potius dolenda sunt. Quis enim sapiens poterit credere, inveniri aliquos sanae mentis qui cervulum facientes in ferarum se velint habitum commutare? Alii vestiuntur pellibus pecudum; alii assument capita bestiarum, gaudentes et exsultantes, si taliter se in ferinas species transformaverint, ut homines non esse videantur. Ex quo iudicant et probant, non tam se habitum belluinum habere quam sensum. Nam quamvis diversorum similitudinem animalium exprimere in se velint, certum est tamen in his magis cor pecudum esse quam formam*. Ib. serm. 265,5 *Et licet credam quod illa infelix consuetudo, quae de paganorum profana observatione remansit, iam nobis castigantibus et de locis istis fuerit, Deo inspirante, sublata; tamen si adhuc agnoscatis aliquos illam sordidissimam turpitudinem de hinnicula vel cervula exercere, ita durissime castigate, ut eos paeniteat rem sacrilegam commisisse*. For further testimonies, see Du Change s.v. *cervula, cervulus*.

³⁷ v. Kienle 46—50.

Olaus Magnus in his *Historia gentium septentrionalium* 4,11 (printed in 1555), to clothe young men and boys in dried skins of bears, is perhaps accounted for by a similar motive.

Folkloristic and Archeological Evidence

The conclusion that the Hellusii and the Oxiones should be regarded as totemic clans, gains strong support from Finnish folklore and archeological evidence. M. Sarmela, who has studied the Finnish bear rites, has observed that "bear rituals are not found in the last areas of Karelian hunting culture in Viena, Aunus or Ladoga Karelia. . . . The Viena Karelians did not hunt bear nor did they eat bear meat. The bear was said to be a relative of human beings".³⁸ On the other hand, Sarmela points out that "mythical Kalevala poetry related to elk and deer hunting has been collected from Ladoga Karelia to Viena", but among the western Finns this material is most scanty.³⁹ The results presented by Sarmela thus suggest that the ancient Finns were divided into two groups, one of which considered the bear its totem and the other the elk/deer. When this conclusion is applied to the Hellusii and Oxiones, the latter may be regarded as Karelians, the former as more western Finns. This is also in conformity with the order given by Tacitus, according to which the first-mentioned Hellusii belong more to the west.

The important position of the bear and the elk among the ancient Finns is also evident from the Stone Age finds of bear- and elk-heads in Finland and Soviet Karelia.⁴⁰ According to Chr. Carpelan, the bear- and elk-head works found in the zone extending from Scandinavia to the Ural Mountains number 71, the majority (48) of which are from Fenno-Scandia. The objects have been made of stone, horn, bone and wood, but the production of the stone heads has been limited to Finland and Soviet Karelia, where most (26) such objects have been found.

³⁸ The Finnish Bear-Hunting Drama, *Memoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 183, 1983, 293f.; *Karhunpeijaisten arvoitus*, *Kotiseutu* 1972, 164—170.

³⁹ *Art.cit.* 1972, 169; 1983, 294.

⁴⁰ *Älg- och björnhuvudföremål från Europas nordliga delar*, *Finskt Museum* 1975, 5—67. *Hirven- ja karhunpääesineitä Skandinaviasta Uralille*, *Suomen Museo* 1974, 29—88.

Several archeologists agree that, besides a decorative function, the elk and bear sculptures have a cultic function, i.e. they witness of the ancient cult of the respective animals.⁴¹ By reason of these objects, it has been conjectured that the Stone Age habitants of Finland were divided into two clans, one of which worshipped as its primordial father the bear, the other the elk.⁴² And as the worship of totem animals is associated with the feature that the worshippers call themselves by the name of their totem, it is to be expected even on the basis of the archeological finds that 'the Elks' (*Hellusii*) and 'the Bears' (*Oxiones*) appear as names of clans in the central area of the cult of these animals in Eastern Fenno-Scandia.

⁴¹ Carpelan 1975, 41. C. F. Meinander, *Die Kiukaiskultur*. *Finska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift* 53, 1954, 90.

⁴² M. Kuusi, *Suomen kirjallisuus I* (1963) 43. Sarmela 1972, 169; 1983, 294.