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C R I T I C A L A N D E X E G E T I C A L N O T E S
O N T A C . G E R M .

T u o m o P e k k a n e n

1. *licentia ioci*

In his critical note on Germ. 22,3 Robinson (1935, 298) says: "As the variants *loci: ioci* are at least as old as Hf., and probably older, it may be a matter of individual preference which is adopted." He himself decides for *loci* and is followed by Koestermann (1964) and Winterbottom (1975). Anderson (1938,⁴1970, 123) translates *licentia loci* as "in the freedom of the occasion" and regards the reading *ioci* as not suitable to the description. Gudemann (1916, 245) also thinks that "*ioci* hier völlig unhaltbar ist", but Much (²1967, 310), although he chooses *loci*, says that "sowohl *ioci* wie *loci* gibt einen guten Sinn".

As the manuscript tradition cannot here offer any solution and neither of the readings rightaway seems unsuitable to the passage, a further discussion of the problem remains fruitless, until new materials in favour of either of the variants is presented. I think that the decisive evidence to support *ioci* is to be found in the context, but has so far not been brought into the discussion even by those earlier editors (Reeb 1930, Lenchantin 1945, Perret 1949, Fehrle-Hünnerkopf 1959, Valmaggi 1962) who gave this variant the preference.

It is a well-known fact that Tacitus, particularly in the first part of Germania (cc. 1-27), contrasts German customs and institutions with Roman ways. Like every author who writes about

foreign peoples, he is more concerned with the differences between the Germans and his countrymen than with the resemblances, and therefore many passages of the monograph are ununderstandable, unless we keep in mind the Roman conditions, with which the Roman features are, directly or implicitly, compared.

Another characteristic, familiar to the readers of the *Germania*, is that the many topics discussed follow one another in a natural, well-thought order and are connected by elaborate transitions.¹ Various forms of antithesis are a much used stylistic device that serves the thematic contexture.²

The theme of c. 22 is the daily life of the Germans. The author follows the everyday routine of the Germans emphasizing features contrary to the Roman custom: morning wash (*statim e somno... lavantur*), breakfast (*lauti cibum capiunt*), the day's business (*negotia*), banquets (*convivia*). In contrast to the Romans who rose early in the morning, the Germans are told to prolong their sleep into the day (*e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt*); at meals they were seated apart, each at his own table (*separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa*), whereas the Roman custom was to recline on the *triclinium* round a common table. The *negotia*, as they are discussed in the other chapters of the monograph, are here passed over without comments, so that the reader is almost directly led from the morning meal to the banquet, about which the first novelty is that it began early in the day and might last all the night without reproach to anybody (*diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probrum*).³ The account of the German *convivia* forms the main part of c. 22, the theme of which thus is a natural continuation to c. 21 where their *convictus* and *hospitia* are described.⁴

The emphatic position of *armati* 'arms in hand' (*ad convivia*

1 Cf. E. Kraggerud, *SOslo* 47 (1972) 7-35 and Gudeman 37f.

2 Cf. also B.-R. Voss, *Der pointierte Stil des Tacitus*, 1963, 24ff.

3 Cf. *Ov. am.* 3,1,17 *nequitiam vinosa tuam convivia narrant*.

4 Cf. Kraggerud 27.

procedunt armati, cf. 11,1 *considunt armati*; 13,1 *Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt*) already shows that the presence of arms in feasts and banquets also was a strange feature to the Romans.⁵ Excessive drinking, uncommon in Italy, caused in the German banquets quarrels, which were often settled with wounds and bloodshed (*crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur*).

The verb *transigere* 'to carry through, to finish, to settle' (also used in Germ. 19,2) is a technical term of the iuridical and commercial language.⁶ By this verb we are reminded of the foregoing *negotia*, which word is often used together with it.⁷ In antithesis to *caede et vulneribus transiguntur* follows the mentioning of the more peaceful transactions, which were likewise performed in the banquets: the mutual reconciliation of enemies (*de reconciliandis invicem inimicis*), the forming of family alliances (*et iungendis affinitatibus*), the adopting of chiefs (*et asciscendis principibus*), and the matters of peace and war (*de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant*). The various topics of the negotiations are introduced with a climax proceeding from private to public affairs and culminating in the most important of all questions, viz. that of peace and war. That such serious things were discussed in banquets was very odd to Tacitus' Roman readers, for whom the *convivium* was a part of the *otium* (not *negotium*) and a merry entertainment.⁸ It is here that Tacitus breaks the plain narrative with

5 Cf. Hor. *carm.* 1,27,5 *vino et lucernis Medus acinaces / immane quantum discrepat*, and the note of Kiessling-Heinze ad locum.

6 Gudeman 127.

7 E.g. Cic. *fam.* 13,14 *Peto a te...ut negotium conficiendum cures, ipse suscipias, transigas*. Cic. *Phil.* 2,9,21 *negotiumque transegisses nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset*. Cf. Kraggerud 27 "Die Verbindung von *negotia* und *convivia* im selben Satz (22,1) erweist sich im Folgenden als eine durchaus sinnvolle. Denn bei dem germanischen Gastmahl werden auch Geschäfte von grösster Bedeutung erledigt."

8 Cf. Ter. *Ad.* 863 *ille suam semper egit vitam in otio, in conviviis*. Cic. *Cato* 45 *bene...maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt*. - Horace, when he was asked to praise the wars of Octavianus and Agrippa, declared himself unable to undertake the task, as his muse was *imbellis lyrae potens* and his themes rather were the *convivia* and *proelia virginum sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium* (*carm.* 1,6).

a subjective explanation of the strange custom: *tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad magnas incalescat. gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens.*

Catullus, speaking of dinner-parties (12,2), uses the expression *in ioco atque vino* (cf. 50,6 *per iocum atque vinum*).⁹ Cf. also Iuv. 9,10 *conviva ioco mordente facetus*; Sen. contr. 9,2,10 *numquid vobis videor describere convivales iocos*. In Sen. benef. 3,26,1 *ebrii* and *iocantes* appear in a synonymical function: *excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas iocantium*. Mela, describing the banquets of the Scythians, uses the word *iocantes* as a substantive in the same way: 2,13 *inter epulas quot quisque interfecerit referre laetissima et frequentissima mentio, binisque poculis qui plurimos rettulere perpotant. is inter iocantis honos praecipuus est (inter iocantis = inter epulantes or potatores)*.¹⁰ An interesting similarity with the Tacitean description of German banquets is found in Apul. met. 4,8,5, in which a barbarous dinner-party is described: *estur ac potatur incondite pulmentis acervatim, panibus aggeratim, poculis agminatim ingestis; clamore ludunt, strepitu cantillant, conviciis iocantur, ac iam cetera semiferis Lapithis euantibus Centaurisque similia.*

As the banquets - barbarian as well as Roman - are thus referred to by the authors as occasions of *ioci* and the banqueting guests as *iocantes*, it might seem that no more evidence to support the reading *licentia ioci* is necessary. There are, however, other facts that lead to the same result.

The chapters 23-24 of the Germania are thematically closely connected with c. 22, since c. 23 is an account of the drink and

9 For the expression, cf. Thuk. 6,28,1 *μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ οἴνου*; Long. 2,31,1 *ἐν πότῳ καὶ παιδιᾷ*.

10 Cf. further Petron. 26 *iam ebriae mulieres longum agmen plaudentes fecerant thalamumque incesta exornaverant veste, cum Quartilla quoque iocantium libidine accensa et ipsa surrexit*. Mart. 6,44 *Festive credis te, Calliodore, iocari...sic te convivam posse placere putas*. TLL s.v. *iocor* col. 283,25ff.

food of the Germans, c. 24 that of their amusements. Of the German articles of food and beverage Tacitus mentions only the ones that were strikingly different from Roman. He emphasizes the simplicity of the diet (*cibi simplices*), but also reminds here of the intemperance of the Germans in facing thirst (*adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. si indulseris ebrietati*, etc.). The amusements also were simple; in contrast to the variety of games at Rome, the Germans are told to have only one public game, viz. their spear-dance: 24,1 *genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem*. The words *in omni coetu*, 'in all festal gatherings', once again call to mind the *convivia*, precedently described. The German dance was performed by young men as a pastime (*iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est*), not for hire or gain (*non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem*), as might have been expected by a Roman reader. The other pastime of the Germans, described by Tacitus, was dice-playing, which the Romans also practised, but there was a surprising difference: in Rome the dicing was an after dinner amusement¹¹ accompanied with wine-drinking;¹² by the Germans, however, it was practised in all seriousness in their sober hours: 24,2 *Aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent*. It is here that we finally find the antithesis to 22,3 *licentia ioci*: Important matters were handled by the Germans in their drinking-parties (cf. 22,1 *diem noctemque continuare potando, inter vinolentos*, 23 *non eadem temperantia, ebrietati*), but dicing was one of the serious occupations of sober men. The nice antithesis *inter vinolentos, licentia ioci - sobrii inter seria* is badly spoiled, if

11 Plaut. Capt. 72 *nam scortum in convivio / sibi amator, talos cum iacit, scortum invocat*. Curc. 354 *postquam cenati atque appoti, talos poscit sibi in manum, / provocat me in aleam, ut ego ludam*. Cf. RE IV col. 616,47ff.

12 Titius or. frg. Macr. sat. 3,16,14 *ludunt alea studiose, delibuti unguentis, scortis stipati...inde ad comitium vadunt...dum eunt, nulla est in angiporto amphora quam non impleant, quippe qui vesicam plenam vini habeant*. Cic. Catil. 2,10 *quod si in vino et alea comissiones solum et scorta quaererent*. Cic. Phil. 13,24 *in lustris, popinis, alea, vino tempus aetatis omne consumpsisses*. Ov. Pont. 4,2,41 *nec vinum nec me tenet alea fallax*.

the variant reading *loci* is taken to the text.

Except for Germ. 22,3, the word *iocus* appears in Tacitus only once, and there it is also used to mark the contrast to *serius*: ann. 2,13,1 *cum hic nobilitatem ducis, decorem alius, plurimi patientiam comitatem per seria per iocos eundem animum laudibus ferrent*. In other texts this antithesis is rather common: Plaut. Amph. 906 *nec ioco nec serio*. Liv. 7,41,3 *ioco seriove*. Sen. contr. 3 praef. 17 *vel ioco vel serio*. Sall. Iug. 96,2 *ioca atque seria*. Sen. epist. 18,15 *non minus inter seria quam inter lusus et iocos*.¹³

2. The Transition 25,2 - 26,1

The theme of amusements (c. 24) is followed by the account of slaves and freedmen (c. 25) with an easy transition. As it is told about the German dicers that they might face voluntary slavery (25, 2 *victus voluntariam servitutem adit*) and that the slaves so acquired were disposed of by trade (*servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt*), the description of the slaves in general (25,1 *ceteris*¹⁴ *servis*, etc.) is a natural continuation of the foregoing subject. Then we come to the freedmen (25,2 *liberti non multum supra servos sunt*), and, in the next chapter, to usury (26,1 *Faenus agitare*, etc.) and agriculture (26,2 *agri pro numero cultorum*, etc.). The connection between the two topics of c. 26 is clear, as the exploitation of capital and that of land were intimately connected.¹⁵ There are, however, diverging opinions about the associations that connect 25,2 and 26,1.

13 For more examples, see TLL s.v. *iocus* col. 289,78ff. The expression *seriae curae*, 'serious affairs', is used by Pliny to point the contrast to dicing and other Roman vices of the leisure: paneg. 82,9 *Otio prodimur. An non plerique principes hoc idem tempus in aleam, stupra, luxum conferebant, cum seriarum laxamenta curarum vitiorum contentione supplerent*.

14 *ceteris* MSS., the correction *ceterum*, proposed by Ed. Wolff and accepted by Koestermann and Much, is unnecessary.

15 Cf. Tac. ann. 6,17 *senatus praescripserat, duas quisque faenoris partes in agris per Italiam conlocaret...faeneratores omnem pecuniam mercandis agris condiderant*.

Anderson (131) thinks that "the usual skilful transition to a new subject is missing here, but the description links on to the account of the condition of slaves on the land in c. 25,1." Kraggerud (31) suggests a connection between the two chapters in the way that "das Fehlen der Zinsen und des Geldgeschäftes ist ein weiteres Indiz für die Freiheit der Germanen - ein *libertatis argumentum*. Denn wo der Wucher herrscht, da steht auch der Mensch in Gefahr, die Freiheit zu verlieren." Much (331), although he regards the transition as unclear, offers two possible explanations: "Es könnte ja der Umstand, dass die germanischen Sklaven schon als zinspflichtige Katenleute geschildert werden, die landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse abliefern, auf die Feldbestellung im allgemeinen geführt haben. Zunächst ist jedoch von etwas anderem, Negativem, dem Fehlen der Geldwirtschaft die Rede und das könnte ein eingeschobener Gedanke sein, herbeigezogen durch den Gegensatz der Naturalwirtschaft. Aber ebensogut ist ein anderer Gedankengang möglich. Denn die in Rom gerade bei den Grosskapitalisten sehr ausgebildete Sklavenwirtschaft sowohl als auch das römische Kolonat, das Tac. streifte, konnten ihn an die von denselben Unternehmern betriebenen Geldgeschäfte und ihren Grossgrundbesitz erinnern und ihn auf die Frage führen, was dem bei den Germanen entspricht oder gegenübersteht."

It seems to me that the explanations quoted are rather forced or - to say it more politely - none of them quite hits the mark. In my opinion, the missing associative link between the two chapters is found in the words *liberti* (*libertini*) and *faenus*.

It is a well-known fact that in imperial Rome the freedmen entered into every phase of commercial life and gained a dominating position in trade and industry.¹⁶ Among the professions that were first of all condemned by true Romans and left to freedmen and their descendants, was that of the usurer (*faenerator*). In his account of vulgar occupations (off. 1,150), Cicero says: *Primum improbantur ii quaestus, qui in odia hominum incurrunt, ut portitorum, ut faene-*

16 See A.M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, 1928, 105ff.

ratorum. For this prejudice, usury (*faenus agitare*) became in Rome an important activity of the freedmen, who made by it great fortunes.¹⁷ In the account of his career, Trimalchio, the type of a successful freedman, tells (Petron. 75 and 76) how he, after buying up all the estates which had belonged to his patron, retired from active business and began to finance his own freedmen: 76,9 *postquam coepi plus habere quam tota patria mea habet, manum de tabula: sustulime de negotiatione et coepi libertos faenerare*.¹⁸ The expression *libertos faenerare*¹⁹ 'to finance freedmen', 'to exploit capital through freedmen', contains the two elements, *liberti* and *faenus*, that form the transition from Germ. 25 to 26. It was the role of the Roman freedmen as usurers that evoked in the mind of Tacitus the association between freedmen and usury, so that he felt it appropriate after his description of the German freedmen to point out that *faenus agitare et in usuras tendere* was unknown in German society.

3. *centum pagis habitantur*

Tacitus' chapter about the Semnones ends with a statement, which has grammatically been misunderstood by the modern editors: Germ. 39,3 *adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagis habitantur, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant*. "The prosperity of the Semnones gives them also prestige: their land is occupied by hundred cantons, and from their great number it results that they consider themselves the head of the Suebi."

¹⁷ For the wealth of the imperial freedmen, see Duff 124f.

¹⁸ Cf. Duff 91f. "A master frequently set up his slave in business, lent him capital, and the slave paid him interest; or the master made his slave his agent, took the profits for himself and encouraged the slave with wages or presents. In either case the slave might receive his freedom by free gift or by commercial transaction, but continue in the same occupation after as before manumission." For Trimalchio's career, cf. *ib.* 125.

¹⁹ Bücheler (1958) and Smith (1975) correct with Heinsius *(per) libertos faenerare*.

Here all the MSS. read *centum pagis habitantur*, but these words have generally been taken for corrupted and the editors have preferred either Brotier's (1771) correction *centum pagi (ii)s habitantur* (Koestermann 1964, Much ²1967, Valmaggi 1962, Fehrle-Hünnerkopf 1959, Reeb 1930, Persson 1929, etc.) or Ernesti's (1752) *centum pagis habitant* (Robinson 1935, Anderson ⁴1970, Perret 1949, Winterbottom 1975). Lenchantin (1945) modified Brotier's suggestion into *centum pagi (hi)s habitantur*. In my own edition of the *Germania* (1976), however, I restored the manuscript tradition *centum pagis habitantur* into the text, because I do not find any reason for mistrusting it.

The verb *habitare* is not infrequently used by the Latin authors with the construction *regiones habitantur domibus, oppidis, urbibus, vicis, etc.* The TLL s.v. *habito* col. 2479,77 gives of this use the following examples: Hor. epist. 1,14,2 (*agellum*) *habitatum quinque focis*. Sen. Tro. 826 *Olenos tectis habitata raris*. Curt. 8,2,14 *Scythiae confinis est regio habitaturque pluribus ac frequentibus vicis*. Mela 1,28 *regio ignobilis et vix quicquam illustre sortita parvis oppidis habitatur*. 2,112 *centum quondam urbibus habitata Crete*. Plin. nat. 3,146 *Noricis iunguntur lacus Pelso, deserta Boiorum; iam tamen colonia Divi Claudii Savaria et oppido Scarabantia Iulia habitantur*. 5,125 *extra sinum sunt Rhoetea litora, Rhoeteo et Dardanio et Arisbe oppidis habitata*. 5,132 *Rhodos ...habitata urbibus Lindo, Camiro, Ialyso, nunc Rhodo*. Tac. hist. 5,7,1 *Haud procul inde campi, quos ferunt olim uberes magnisque urbibus habitatos fulminum iactu arsisse*.²⁰ It appears from the quoted examples that this use of *habitare* mostly occurs in geographical texts and passages. That Tacitus was well familiar with

20 Amm. 21,10,4 (*planities*) *nullis habitetur obstaculis ad usque fretum*, added in the TLL to the examples quotes, is, however, of a different kind, for *nullis obstaculis* means 'without obstacles', 'uninterruptedly'. In his edition Seyfarth (1968) quite correctly translates "so dass sie (= die Ebene) bis zur Meerenge...ohne jede Unterbrechung bewohnbar ist."

the construction *campi urbibus habitantur*, is seen from hist. 5,7,1. His statement about the Semnones, *centum pagis habitantur*, must be understood in the same way. The only difference is that here the predicate *habitantur* is supplied with *Semnones* in the sense of *fines Semnonum*.

The use of the names of peoples to denote their lands is common in all the Indo-European languages and ultimately due to the fact that the names of lands are a relatively young phenomenon.²¹ There are in Latin numerous names of tribes and peoples, for which the corresponding landname is missing, e.g. *Aequi*, *Aurunci*, *Hernici*, *Marrucini*, *Marsi*, *Paeligni*, etc., from outside of Italy *Chatti*, *Chauci*, *Usipetes*, *Tencteri*, etc.

The name of a people could also be used to denote its lands in the case that the geographical name existed too. The first example of this kind is Plaut. Mil. 648 *post Ephesi sum natus, non enim in Apulis (= in Apulia)*.²² In Caesar we find e.g. Gall. 5,12,2 and 5,25,4 *ex Belgio*, 2,2,6 *ad fines Belgarum*, 4,38,4 *in Belgis*. The elder Pliny often uses the names of peoples for those of their lands or *vice versa* for stylistic variation: nat. 3,112 *Umbri eos expulere, hos Etruria, hanc Galli*. 8,32 *Elephantos fert Africa... ferunt Aethiopes et Trogodytae, ... sed maximos India*. 12,80 *ad Persas etiam prius... quam in Syriam aut Aegyptum*. 84 *India et Seres*. 104 *Indis atque Syriae*. 13,90 *Indorum atque Arabiae*. 115 *apud Medos aut in Achaia*. 21,11 *ab India aut ultra Indos*. 36,51 *Aethiopia usque... immo vero etiam in Indos*.²³

The Roman grammarians regarded the names of peoples, denoting their lands, as place names, *nomina locorum*: Varro ling. 5,32 *Europae loca nominata aut translaticio nomine ab hominibus, ut Sabini aut Lucani, aut declinato ab hominibus, ut Apulia et Latium*. Analogously, Caesar refers to *in* + tribal names with the word *loca*²⁴ and

21 E. Hermann, KZ 56 (1928) 139. H. Jacobsohn, KZ 57 (1929) 97.

22 Cf. Jacobsohn l.c.

23 Cf. J. Müller, *Der Stil des älteren Plinius*, 1883, 65.

24 Gall. 7,7 *praesidia in Rutenis provincialibus, Volcis Arecomicis, Tolosatibus circumque Narbonem, quae loca hostibus erant finitima, constituit*.

Ammianus enumerates the tribal names *Bactriani*, *Sogdiani* and *Sacae* in his list of the Persian *regiones*.²⁵

The local function of the ethnic names also appears from the fact that they could be used as correlates of the local adverbs *inde*, *unde*, *quo*: Caes. Gall. 4,21 *in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Italiam traiectus*. Cic. Flacc. 26,62 *Adsunt Athenienses, unde humanitas doctrina, religio fruges, iura leges ortae atque in omnes terras distributae putantur*. Sall. Iug. 66,2 *Vagenses, quo Metellus initio Iugurtha pacificante praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis neque antea voluntate alienati principes civitatis inter se coniurant*.²⁶

In Tacitus the juxtaposition of the names of peoples and territories is a much used means of achieving stilistic inconcinnity: dial. 10,2 *ex Hispania vel ex Asia - de Gallis*. Agr. 15,3 *Britanni - Germanias*. Germ. 1,1 *Germania - a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis... a Sarmatis Dacisque*. 37,3 *non Samnis, non Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem*. hist. 1,2,1 *Illyricum... Galliae... Britannia - Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes... Dacus... Parthorum arma*. 2,29,1 *spolia Galliarum - Viennensium aurum*. 2,81,2 *in Pontum et Armenios*. 3,59,1 *Samnis Paelignusque et Marsi - Campania*. 4,14,4 *Germanos - Gallias - Romanis*. 4,21,2 *Bructeri Tencterique et - Germania*. 4,57,2 *Aeduos - Galliasque*. 4,69,2 *Treveris Lingonibusque apud Gallias - 3 ad Treviros - nomine Galliarum*. ann. 2,5,3 *Germanos - Gallias*. 2,60,3 *Libya Aethiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha*. 3,46,1 *Germaniarum victores adversum Gallos... ducerentur*. 4,5,1 *Hispaniae - 2 Mauros - Africae... Aegyptus*. 14,29,1 *Britannia - 2 obtinebat Britannos (cf. Agr. 39,3 Britanniam obtinebat; hist. 1,79,5 Moesiam obtinens; ann. 4,13,3 Africam obtinuerat)*. 15,12,1 *regionem Commagenam, exim Cappadociam, inde Arme-*

25 23,6,14 *Sunt autem in omni Perside hae regiones maximae... Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Parthia, Carmania maior, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriani, Sogdiani, Sacae, Scythia (infra Imaum et) ultra eundem montem, Serica, Asia, Paropanisadae, Drangiana, Arachosia et Gedrosia*. Cf. H. Hagendahl, *Studia Ammianea*, 1921, 130.
26 Cf. E. Palmén, *Arctos* 2 (1958) 119.

nios petivit. The names of peoples and towns appear juxtaposed in ann. 2,47,3 *Temnios, Philadelphenos, Aegeatas, Apollonidenses, quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur, et Hierocaesariam, Myrinam, Cymen, Tmolium.*²⁷

In the *Germania*, the share of the territorial names is very small compared with those of tribes and peoples. The names denoting German tribes or tribal groups number in all fifty four, but, except for the generic names *Germania* and *Suebia*, the author has no separate names for their lands and habitations.²⁸ This is why he several times resorts to bold expressions, metonymically transferring to peoples such things that actually concern their territories: Germ. 29,1 *Batavi...pars Romani imperii fierent.* Cf. 29,3 *qui decumates agros exercent...sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.*²⁹ - 34,1 *Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubini et Chasuarii cludunt;* 43,1 *Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque cludunt.* Cf. ann. 2,20,3 *hostem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen aut montes claudebant;* 14,34,1 *deligitque locum artis faucibus et a tergo silva clausum;* Germ. 45,1 *mare...quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides.*³⁰ - 35,1 *Chaucorum gens...omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur.* Cf. Agr. 10,2 *Britannia...in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur;* ann. 2,16 *is (sc. campus) medius inter Visurgim et colles...inaequaliter sinuatur.* - 41,1 *Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur.* Cf. ann. 1,64,4 *nam medio montium et paludum porrigebatur planities.* - 45,2 *dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur.* Cf. hist. 2,81,2 *quidquid provinciarum adluitur mari.* 3,42,1 *Picenus ager Hadria adluitur.* Further, Manil. 4,599 *(pontus) Numidas Libyamque calentem adluit.* Sen. Oed. 475 *quas...Maeotis alluit gentes.* Mela 2,6 *Borysthenes gentem sui*

27 Cf. G. Sörbom, *Variatio sermonis Tacitei*, 1935, 11f.

28 Cf. Arctos, *Suppl.* 1 (1968) 70-71,77.

29 Anderson 150 "The grammatical subject is *ii qui...exercent*, the logical the lands themselves."

30 Cf. additionally ann. 2,19,2; 4,25,1; 14,14,2.

nominis adluit.

To the examples enumerated may be added *centum pagis habitantur*, "their land is occupied by hundred cantons", in which the *consensus codicum* offers a blameless construction of the Tacitean Latinity. As in 45,2 *gentes adluuntur* (= *fines adluuntur*), Tacitus also states in 39,3 about the people a fact that strictly speaking holds true about their land (*habitantur* sc. *Semnones* = *Semnonum fines*). The resorting to this kind of metonymy was the more natural as the use of tribal names for the territorial ones was old-established in Latin literature.