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CORRIGENDA

- p. 4 edentum l. edendum
 p. 9 n. 2 l. 2 p. 00 l. pp. 15 f.
 p. 33 n. 4 l. 4 λύγ l. λύγ
 p. 34 l. 16 p. 00 l. p. 33
 p. 41 l. 12 αὐδα[v l. αὐδα[v
 p. 43 title -s/al l. -ś/al
 p. 43 l. 18 p. 00 l. p. 44
 p. 74 l. 5 (Il. 8,188-190) l. (Il. 8,188-190).
 p. 89 n. 3 l. 1 Vitas l. Vitae
 p. 101 l. 3 τύρν l. τύρν
 p. 107 n. 1 in nn. 1 and 5-6. l. p. 105 n. 1 and p. 106 nn. 4-5.
 p. 110 n. 1 n. 27 below. l. p. 115 n. 1.
 p. 115 n. 2 n. 25 above l. p. 112 n. 2
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 p. 119 l. 33 4,14:38 l. 4,14:1
 p. 119 n. 38 l. 1 38 l. 1
 p. 119 n. 38 l. 2 (see n. 1 above) l. (see p. 105 n. 1)
 p. 122 l. 29 delete line following the quotation
 p. 122 l. 32 p. 109 l. p. 108 f.
 p. 123 n. 4 l. 3 p. 106 fn 2 l. p. 109 n. 3
 p. 129 l. 18 ff. l.
 Z. 15 *eam* (sc. multitudinem) rebaptizationis sauciaret machera
 Homoioteleuton Antithese Homoiotel. Homoiotel. korrespondierende
 Metaphern
 Z. 16 *stolarum baptismatis (taetrae) nigredinis turparet iniuvie*
 und dazwischen Antithese
 Z. 17 *vino carnis suae purificans*
 korresp. Chiasmus
 Metaphern mit Alliteration
 und Homoioteleuton fecerat dealbatam
prelo exprimens crucis
 p. 135 n. 2 vgl. S. 00.1. vgl. S. 131.
 p. 140 l. 14 99. l. 99."
 p. 141 l. 3 šammu l. šamnu
 p. 141 l. 24 SIM l. ŠIM
 p. 141 n. 1 transfer note to p. 142, n. 1
 p. 142 l. 13 vor¹. l. vor².
 p. 142 l. 27 l l. 2
 p. 148 l. 30 delete line following "...Zeit zu schreiben." and
 insert after l. 23 "die Dative Grania,"
 p. 188 n. 1 l. 6 A. 4 l. A. 2
 p. 189 n. 3 l. 2 (o. 188,2 4) l. (o. 188,2)

ADAM OF BREMEN 4,14: *WIZZI, MIRRI*, etc.

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

A widely accepted opinion is that the names *Wizzi*, *Mirri*, *Lami*, *Scuti*, and *Turci*, enumerated by Adam of Bremen 4,14, refer to Finnish peoples. Since K. Zeuss in 1837 identified the *Wizzi* and *Mirri* with the *Wes* and *Merja* of the Russian Primary Chronicle (RPC), nobody has raised doubts about the justification of this interpretation. For the remaining three names the views of scholars are somewhat divided. The *Lami* Zeuss connected with the Baltic *Laemonii*, Müllenhoff with the Finnish *Jam* (*hämäläiset*) of the RPC, Vasmer with the Russian river *Lama*; the *Scuti* have been identified either with Nestor's *Czjud* or the eastern Slavs, the *Turci* with the Finnish city of *Turku*, if not with the province of *Tricatia* across the Dvina River, or with the Turco-Tatarian nomads of South Russia.¹ As I consider the Finnish origin of the *Wizzi* and *Mirri*, inspite of the prevailing *consensus doctorum*, as most suspect, and the explanations of the *Lami*, *Scuti*, *Turci* so far contradictory, I shall discuss the

¹ K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, München 1837, 681, 688–690; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* II, Berlin 1887, 71–74; III, 18; V, 310; S. Lönborg, *Adam af Bremen och hans skildring af Nordeuropas länder och folk*. Diss. Uppsala 1897, 110–113; W. Schlüter, *Die Ostsee und die Ostseeländer in der Hamburgischen Kirchengeschichte des Adam von Bremen*, *Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft* 1902, 25–26; A. Bjørnbo, *Adam af Bremes Nordensopfattelse*, *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighet og historie* 24, 1909, 161–163; B. Schmeidler in his edition of the text (*Mon.Germ.Hist.Script.rer.Germ.* 1917,242) and Fr. J. Tschann in his English translation (*Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies* 53,1959,196) repeat the views of Zeuss and Müllenhoff; J. Jaakkola, *Suomen varhaishistoria*, Porvoo 1956, 108; V.V. Pimenov, *Vepsy*, Moskva-Leningrad 1965, 27–28; M. Vasmer, *Schriften zur Slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde* (ed. H. Bräuer) I, 1971, 349 "Ich möchte mit Rücksicht auf die Reihenfolge *Wizzi*, *Mirri*, *Lami* in *Lami* die Anwohner des *Lama*-Flusses im Moskauer Gebiet vermuten ... *Turci*, d.i. turkotatarischen Nomaden Südrusslands ... *Scythi* [= *Scuti*] sind bei ihm (sc. Adam) unzweifelhaft Ostslaven, d.h. Russen." Vasmer (ib.) greatly disapproved of the assumption of J.J. Mikkola, who (*Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen* 15,1915,58 n. 1) conferred Adam's *Lami Scuti* with the *Ἰλλανοὶ Σκυθαί* of Ptolemy. In the light of the materials and results presented in this article, Mikkola, however, seems to have been the only one of the numerous scholars concerned with these names, who was on the right track. For a complete bibliography of the studies in which Adam's *Wizzi* and *Mirri* have been connected with the *Vasinabroncas* and *Merens* of Iordanes (*Get.* 116), I refer the reader to I. Korkkanen, *The Peoples of Hermanaric* (to appear in the *Ann.Acad.Scient.Fenn.* B).

passage concerned and put forward my own view and the evidence and considerations on which it is based.

In his description of the northern coast of the *Sinus Balticus* Adam says 4,14: *At vero a parte aquilonari revertentibus ad ostium Baltici freti, primi occurrunt Nortmanni, deinde Sconia prominet regio Danorum, et supra eam tenso limite Gothi habitant usque ad Bircam. Postea longis terrarum spatiis regnant Sueones usque ad terram feminarum. Supra illas Wizzi, Mirri, Lami, Scuti et Turci habitare feruntur usque ad Ruzziam. In qua denuo finem habet ille sinus. Itaque latera illius ponti ab austro Sclavi, ab aquilone Suedi possederunt.*

The key point of the passage is the question about the 'land of women'. The Wizzi, Mirri, etc. are said to live 'beyond the women' (*supra illas*) of the *terra feminarum* as far as Russia (*usque ad Ruzziam*). If we know for sure where Adam's land of women was, the peoples enumerated may be sought between it and Russia.

Most scholars think that *terra feminarum* is Finland. The first to have suggested this is Forster¹, who as early as 1784 explained that Adam translated as *terra feminarum* the name of the land of the Quaines, the Finnish *Kainuu*, which in King Alfred's Orosius (about 870) appears as *Cwénland*. The identity of the *terra feminarum* with *Cwénland* was accepted by Zeuss,² Müllenhoff,³ Lönborg⁴ and others,⁵ and in Finland this view has become so established that it is presented as a fact even in school textbooks of Finnish history.

An important argument in favour of the equation *terra feminarum* = *Cwénland* has been the alleged Finnish origin of the Wizzi and Mirri. On the other hand, it seems that the equations *Wizzi* = *Wes* and *Mirri* = *Merja* have also been used as arguments for the identity of *Cwénland* and *terra feminarum*.⁶ Thus one hypothesis has been argued with another so that the whole argumentation has the appearance of a *circulus vitiosus*.

Although Adam's land of women is considered to be in Finland, it is, however, generally admitted that in his description of it in 4,19 he drew material from sources concerning the ancient Amazons:⁷

¹ Geschichte der Entdeckungen 75–76.

² Die Deutschen 687.

³ Deutsche Altertumskunde II, 10.

⁴ Adam af Bremen 134–136.

⁵ J. Svennung, Belt und baltisch. Ostseeische Namenstudien mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Adam von Bremen, Uppsala 1953, 29, 31; idem, Jordanes und Scandia, Stockholm 1957, 95; J. Jaakkola, Suomen varhaishistoria 133.

⁶ Cf. particularly Müllenhoff II, 71–72.

⁷ Cf. Schlüter, loc.cit.

Sunt et aliae in hoc ponto insulae plures, ferocibus barbaris omnes plenae, ideoque fugiuntur a navigantibus. Item circa haec littora Baltici maris ferunt esse Amazonas, quod nunc terra feminarum dicitur; eas aquae gustu dicunt aliqui concipere. Sunt etiam, qui referunt eas fieri pregnantes ab his, qui pretereunt, negociatoribus, vel ab his, quos inter se habent captivos, sive ab aliis monstris, quae ibi non rara habentur, et hoc credimus etiam fide dignius. Cumque pervenerint ad partum, si quid masculini generis est, fiunt cinocephali, si quid feminini, speciosissimae mulieres. Hae simul viventes spernunt consortia virorum, quos etiam, si advenerint, a se repellunt viriliter. Cynocephali sunt, qui in pectore caput habent; in Ruzzia videntur sepe captivi, et cum verbis latrant in voce. Ibi sunt etiam, qui dicuntur Alani vel Albani, qui lingua eorum Wizzi dicuntur, crudelissimi ambrones; cum canitie nascuntur; de quibus auctor Solinus meminit; eorum patriam canes defendunt; si quando pugnandum est, canibus aciem struunt. Ibi sunt homines pallidi, virides et macrobii, id est longi, quos appellant Husos; postremo illi, qui dicuntur Antropofagi et humanis vescuntur carnibus. Ibi sunt alia monstra plurima, quae recitantur a navigantibus sepe inspecta, quamquam hoc nostris vix credibile putetur.

It has been supposed that Adam or his informants, having heard about *Cwénland*, misunderstood the name as 'land of women', and identified it with the ancient *patria Amazonum*, and having heard about the Finnish *Wes*, understood their name as 'the White', cf. OHG (*h*)wīz, MHG wīz, and therefore identified them with the ancient *Albani*, whose name was similarly explained by Solinus and others.¹ This argumentation may sound quite reasonable, but I cannot help regarding it as unnecessarily complicated. When Adam himself says that *Wizzi* was another name of the *Albani* and expressly refers to Solinus, why should the Finnish *Wes* enter into the question? When he says that the land of women was that of the Amazons (4,19), why should the Quaines and *Cwénland* have anything to do with it? It is true that Adam's *terra feminarum* was *circa littora Baltici maris*, but it is likewise a fact that he (4,20) regarded *Sinus Balticus* as meaning the same as *paludes Maeoticae (Meoticae)*, the well-known ancient name of the Sea of Azov, on the eastern shores of which the traditional abodes of the Amazons were. To understand this view of Adam's it is not at all necessary to assume the confusion of *Cwénland* – *patria Amazonum*, for Martianus Capella, to whom Adam *expressis verbis* refers as his authority (4,20 *quod Martianus ait*), has a similar opinion and says: 6,619 *palus vero Maeotica eiusdem sinus habetur (sc. septentrionalis) Oceani*; cf. Plin.nat. 2,168 *sive ea (sc. Palus Maeotica) illius Oceani sinus est, ut multos adverte credidisse, sive angusto*

¹ See the literature mentioned in nn. 1 and 5–6.

*discreti situ restagnatio.*¹

Let us now examine the question of the Wizzi, Mirri, etc. in an unbiased manner leaving aside the speculations on *Cwénland* and basing our argumentation on the evidence given by Adam himself. Since Adam (4,19) explains the land of women to be that of the Amazons, can any more reasonable conclusion be drawn from his words than that the names he enumerates from the area beyond this land (*supra illas sc. feminas*) are those of peoples living somewhere beyond the land of the Amazons? Further, as Adam bases his description of this land on ancient literature and in the very chapters 4,19–20 mentions Solinus and Martianus Capella as his sources, is it not the first thing to do to examine whether any of the peoples enumerated by these two authors might be identified with the peoples known by Adam from the same area? Doing so, we fairly easily arrive to the equations presented below.

1. *Mirri* = **Cimirri*, *Cimerrii*, *Cimmerii*

The Amazons are often mentioned together with the Cimmerians in ancient literature.² It was thought that the Cimmerians participated in the raid of the Amazons of Asia,³ and in geographical texts the lands of these two peoples join each other:

Mart.Cap. 6,665 *Si autem laevorsum post Riphaeos montes redeas per Oceani septentrionalis tractus, te denuo per Germaniae Galliarumque et Hiberos populos in Gaditanum ostium revocabis. Arimphaei quippe iam in Asia constituti parilem Hyperboreis vitam degunt cunctis gentibus venerandi, ut ad eos velut ad quoddam asylum confugiant metuentes. ultra hos Cimmerii et Amazones ad Caspium mare, quod in confinio ortus aestivi Scythicum perrumpit Oceanum.*

Sol. 17,1 *Altera in Asia gens est ad initium orientis aestivi, ubi deficiunt Riphaeorum montium iuga. Hyperboreis similes dicunt Arimphaeos. et ipsi gaudent frondentibus arbustorum: bacas edunt. iuxta viros et feminas taedet crinium: uterque sexus comas tondet. amant quietem, non amant laedere. (2) sacri habentur attractarique eos etiam a ferocissimis nationibus nefas ducitur. quicumque periculum a suis metuit, si ad Arimphaeos transfugerit, tutus est, velut asylo tegatur. (3) ultra hos Cimmerii et gens Amazonum porrecta ad*

1 Cf. Schlüter, art.cit. 14.

2 Cf. RE s.v. Kimmerier c. 414 § 29, c. 419 § 39.

3 Hier.chron. a. Abr. 940 *incursus in Asiam Amazonum pariter et Cimmeriorum; Oros.hist. 1,21,2 tunc etiam Amazonum gentis et Cimmeriorum in Asiam repentinus incursum plurimam late diu vastationem stragemque edidit.*

Caspium mare, quod dilapsum per Asiaticae plagae terga Scythicum inrumpit Oceanum.

Plin. nat. 6,34 *Ab extremo aquilone ad initium orientis aestivi Scythae sunt. extra eos ultraque aquilonis initia Hyperboreos aliqui posuere, pluribus in Europa dictos. Primum inde noscitur promunturium Celticae Lytharmis, fluvius Carambucis, ubi lassata cum siderum vi Ripaeorum montium deficiunt iuga, ibique Arimphaeos quosdam accepimus, haut dissimilem Hyperboreis gentem. (35) sedes illis nemora, alimenta baccae, capillus iuxta feminis virisque in probro existimatus, ritus clementes. itaque sacros haberi narrant inviolatosque esse etiam feris accolarum populis, nec ipsos modo, sed illos quoque qui ad eos profugerint. Ultra eos plane iam Scythae, Cimmerii, Cissi, Anthi, Georgi et Amazonum gens. Haec usque ad Caspium et Hyrcanium mare.*

Mela 1,12 *illic Caspiani Scythis proximi sinum Caspium cingunt. ultra Amazones ultraque eas Hyperborei esse memorantur. (13) interiora terrarum multae variaeque gentes habitant, Gandari et Pariani et Bactri, Sugdiani, Pharmacotrophi, Chomarae, Choamani, Propanisadae, Dahae super Scythas Scytharumque deserta, ac super Caspium sinum Comari, Massagetae, Cadusi, Hyrcani, Hiberi, super Amazonas et Hyperboreos Cimerrii, Cissianti, Achaei, Georgili, Moschi, etc.*

Most striking is the similarity between Adam and Mela: *supra illas ... Mirri – super Amazonas ... Cimerrii*. It is important to notice that *Cimerrii* is the reading of Mela's codex A (saec. IX), in regard to which all his other MSS. only have the value of conjectural emendations.¹ The similarity of expression between Adam and Mela need not necessarily imply a direct dependence of Adam on Mela, who otherwise does not figure among Adam's geographical sources.² That Adam, however, drew his information about the Cimmerians from a source representing the same geographical tradition as Mela 1,13, is beyond all doubt. Of the representatives of this tradition he certainly knew and used Martianus Capella and Solinus, from whom alone he could read that there were Cimmerians near the land of the Amazons. Martianus and Solinus, following the description of Pliny, first mention the Rhiphaean Mountains (*Riphaei montes*) with the Arimphaei, and beyond the latter (*ultra hos*) the Cimmerians and the Amazons. Adam, who thought that the Swedes occupied all the land in the north as far as the Rhiphaean Mountains,³ instead of the

¹ See my review of Ranstrand's edition in *Gnomon* 45, 1973, 154ff.

² Ph. W. Kohlmann, *Adam von Bremen. Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Textkritik und Kosmographie*. Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen 10, 1908, 109.

³ 4,21 *De Sueonia vero non tacent antiqui auctores, Solinus et Orosius, qui dicunt plurimam partem Germaniae Suevos tenere nec non montana eius usque ad Ripheos montes*

mountains mentions in 4,14 the land of the Amazons and 'above them' (*supra illas*) the Cimmerians (*Mirri*). When he says in 4,14 *regnant Sueones usque ad terram feminarum*, this is fully equivalent to his words in 4,25 *Sueonia ... Ripheos montes attingit ... Ibi sunt Amazones*; and when he continues 4,14 with *supra illas ... Mirri*, this perfectly corresponds to the statements of Martianus Capella (6,665) and Solinus (17,1–3), according to which the Cimmerians were the nearest neighbours of the Amazons in the region of the Rhiphaean Mountains.

Martianus and Solinus say that the Cimmerians and the Amazons together (*Cimmerii et Amazones/gens Amazonum*) dwelt beyond the Arimphaei (*ultra hos* sc. *Arimphaeos*), Adam that the Cimmerians were 'above' the Amazons (*supra illas*). This is the only detail that shows that Adam knew about the Cimmerians more than he could find in Solinus and Martianus, for from the coordinated names *Cimmerii et Amazones/gens Amazonum* it is not possible to conclude that the Cimmerians were 'above' the Amazons, *supra illas*, as Adam says. That the use of *supra*, however, was not Adam's own invention, but based on the ancient geographical tradition, is proved by Mela, who like Adam locates the Cimmerians 'above' the Amazons saying 1,13 *super Amazonas ... Cimerrii*.

Another detail in which Adam 4,14 is reminiscent of Mela 1,13 is the form *Mirri* compared with Mela's *Cimerrii*. In both authors the name appears to be corrupted similarly, both *Mirri* and *Cimerrii* have *-rr-* instead of the *-r-* of the regular spelling *Cimmerii*, *Κιμμέριοι*. The principal codex (A) of Mela also gives in 3,3 *Cimerrica*, which in *v* has been corrected into *Cimmerica*. In the MSS. of other authors too, *Cimmerii* and the geographical names *Cimmerium*, *Cimmerius Bosporus* etc.¹ have often been corrupted in different ways, e.g. in Mart.Cap. 6,665 the MSS. offer the various readings *cimmerii*, *cimmeri*, *cimerii*, *cimeri*, *cymeri*, and ib. 6,689 we find *chimmeris*, *chimeris* for the correct *cimmerio*; cf. further Ravenn. 4,3 *Chimerion*, ib. 5,10 *Chimerium*, Tab.Peut. 8,2 *Chimerium* (= *Cimmerium*); in Greek the name of the Cimmerians could also be understood and explained as *Χεμέριοι* by popular etymology.² I have not, however, succeeded in finding the spelling with *-rr-* in any other source except Mela and Adam. Nor have I found in Schmeidler's apparatus criticus of Adam's *Gesta* other examples of *-rr-* for *-r-*. The reverse, *-r-* for *-rr-*, appears p. 193,10

extendi; 4,25 *ab oriente autem (sc. Sueonia vel Suedia) Ripheos montes attingit, ubi deserta ingentia, nives altissimae, ubi monstruosi hominum greges ultra prohibent accessum. Ibi sunt Amazones, ibi Cynocephali, ibi Ciclopes etc.*

¹ Cf. ThLL s.v. and n. 27 below.

² Cf. Etym.M. (s.v. *Κιμμέριοι*) Πρωτέας δὲ ὁ Ζευγματίτης χεμερίουσ γράφει· αἰεὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν χεμῶνι εἰσῶ; RE s.v. c. 426 § 52.

Amoreorum – *Amorreorum*. In the authors of the vulgar Latin period, however, *-rr-* for *-r-* is common, e.g. Iordanes¹ has *Arrianus* = *Arianus*, *tyrranicus* = *tyrannicus*, *tyrranus* = *tyrannus*; of the name *Hiberi* the *Chronica minora*² offer the variants *Ibiri*, *Birri*.

The interchange of *e* and *i* is very frequent in the mediaeval MSS, e.g. in the *Chronica minora* *Bretti* for *Britti*, *Midi*, *Midii* for *Medi*, *Medii*, etc., in Adam's *Gesta* p. 239,1 *Fresos* – *Frisos*, 276,10 *Fresia* – *Frisia*, 255,6 *Wermilani* – *Wermelani*, 266,8 *Scritefinni* – *Scritifinni*, etc.

For the missing initial syllable *Ci-* there are two possible explanations that may be presented. It may be that it is merely due to haplology, for in *Wizzi***Cimirri* the mediaeval pronunciation of *-zi* could not be much different from that of *Ci-*. In which case it is possible that Adam himself still wrote the name with *Ci-*, which, however, was soon dropped, as it is missing in all his MSS.³ On the other hand, it is also possible to explain the loss of *Ci-* in reference to the vulgar Latin pronunciation of words beginning with *hi-*. As we see from the examples given above, it was not unusual to write *Chime-*, *Chimme-* instead of *Cime-*, *Cimme-*. In many texts from the Late Empire or the Middle Ages the hypercorrect *ch* also appears for the regular *h*, e.g. *nichil*, *michi* for *nihil*, *mihī*⁴ and *Chuni*, *Chunni* for *Huni*, *Hunni*.⁵ Analogously, the attested *Chimeri* allows the reconstruction of **Himeri*, from which *Mirri* might have developed in the vulgar Latin pronunciation in the same manner as *Birri* (see above) from *Hiberi*.⁶ If we prefer this explanation to haplology, it is likely that the corruption had already taken place before Adam.

2. *Wizzi* = *Albani qui ... Wizzi dicuntur*

After we have identified the *Mirri* with the Cimmerians we have a more solid basis than before for deciphering the remaining four names. It is now perfectly clear that it is by no means in Finland or around the Gulf of Finland, but in the neighbourhood of the ancient Amazons and Cimmerians that we must also

¹ Cf. the index III, 171 of Mommsen's edition.

² Ed. Mommsen, vol. III, index VIII, 660.

³ On Adam's MSS. and the complexity of their genealogy, see the introduction to Schmeidler's edition.

⁴ Cf. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr I § 126.

⁵ Many examples may easily be found in the indices of the *Mon. Germ. Hist.*

⁶ Cf. Italian *Spagna* < *Hispania*, *storia* < *historia*, and G. Rohlfs, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti* (1966) §§ 137,157,187; V. Väänänen, *Introduction au Latin vulgaire* p. 57.

collocate the Wizzi, Lami, Scuti, and Turci.

Ever since Theophanes of Mytilene related that Pompeius in his war against the Albani also had to fight the Amazons (Plu.Pomp. 35), the view that the abodes of the Amazons were in the Caucasus near Albania soon established itself. The numerous ancient sources to prove this are enumerated by Heeren,¹ so I shall limite myself to quoting some of the passages in which the two names *Albani* – *Amazones* appear together:

Mela 3,39 *intus sunt ad Caspium sinum Caspii et Amazones sed quas Sauromatidas appellant, ad Hyrcanium Albani et Moschi et Hyrcani.*

Iust. 42,3,7 *Albanis vicinae Amazones sunt, quarum reginam Thalestrim concubitum Alexandri petisse multi auctores prodidere.*

Isid. orig. 9,2,65 *Albani autem vicini Amazonum fuerunt.*

Exord. Scyth. chron, II p. 321,31 *Inde reversus (sc. Alexander) Albaniam expugnavit, qui iuxta Amazonis eo tempore regnus esse videbantur.*

Lib.gener. a. 334 chron. I p. 98,88 *Media, Albania, Amazonia, Armenia minor.*

Chron. Alex. chron. I p. 98,62 *Midia, Albania, Amazonia, Armenia parva.*

This very tradition is continued by Adam: 4,19... *Amazonas, quod nunc terra feminarum ... Ibi sunt etiam, qui dicuntur Alani vel Albani, qui lingua eorum Wizzi dicuntur; 4,14 ... ad terram feminarum. Supra illas Wizzi etc.* There is not the least doubt that the Wizzi in 4,14 are the same as those in 4,19.² The name is the same, and in both passages the Wizzi are expressly mentioned in connection with the *terra feminarum*.

By late Latin authors the name *Albani* was connected with the Latin adjective *albus* 'white'. It was thought that the Albani were born with white or grey hair, after which they were so named. It is interesting to follow the development of the story. Pliny, quoting Isigonus of Nicaea, is the first to tell in Latin that in Albania certain people were born with blue eyes and grey hair from childhood, who saw better by night than in the daytime: nat. 7,12 *idem (Isigonus Nicaeensis prodidit) in Albania gigni quosdam glauca oculorum acie, a pueritia statim canos, qui noctu plus quam interdiu cernant.* In Solinus' compilation from Pliny, the Albani in general are described as white-haired: 15,5 *at Albani in ora agentes ... albo crine nascuntur, canitiem habent auspiciam capillorum: ergo capitis color genti nomen dedit. glauca oculis inest pupula: ideo nocte plus quam die cernunt.* It seems that Solinus, when he substituted *Albani*

¹ De chorographia a Valerio Flacco adhibita. Diss. Göttingen 1899, 30–31.

² The scepticism of Schlüter, when he says art.cit. 25 "Ob die hier (sc. 4,14) genannten Wizzi mit den 4,19 erwähnten Alani oder Albani, die in ihrer Sprache Wizzi genannt werden, identisch sind, möchte ich bezweifeln", is to me incomprehensible.

... *albo crine nascuntur* for the Plinian *in Albania gigni quosdam... a pueritia statim canos*, did so because he came upon the idea of a connection between the name *Albani* and Latin *albus*. Thus he became the inventor of the etymology and the conclusion *ergo capitis color genti nomen dedit* is his own addition. A further element of the story is found in Isidorus, whose contribution is that the white hair of the *Albani* was due to the permanent snow of their country: Isid.orig. 9,2,65 *In partes Asiaticae Scythicae gentes ... albo crine nascuntur ab adsiduis nivibus; et ipsius capilli color genti nomen dedit. Et inde dicuntur Albani. Horum glauca oculis, id est picta, inest pupilla, adeo ut nocte plus quam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonum fuerunt;* ib. 14,3,34 *Albania a colore populi nuncupata, eo quod alba crine nascantur. Haec ab oriente sub mare Caspium surgens, per ora Oceani septentrionalis usque ad Maeotides paludes per deserta et inculta extenditur.* From Isidorus the story was repeated in the *Cosmography* (c. 63) of the so-called Aethicus Istricus, in the map of Beatus and that from Ebstorf (Miller, *Mappae mundi* 1,48 and 5,31), by Hrabanus Maurus, *de universo* 16,2 and Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum historiale* 5 and 2,69. Of these, worth quoting is Aethicus *Cosm.* 63: *Quae Albania nomen suarum gentium vocabulo(m) traxit ob candorem populi, nuncupata quia albo crine nascuntur. Procera statura, ad proeliandum crudelis, etc.*

Nobody can deny that Adam, when he wrote 4,19 *Albani ... de quibus auctor Solinus meminit*, knew the passage (15,5) in which Solinus proposes his popular etymology. That he in accordance with this etymology connected *Albani* with Latin *albus* and understood it as 'the White' is a matter of course. A further point that cannot be contradicted, is that Adam also understood *Wizzi* as 'the White', cf. OHG *(h)wīz*, MHG *wīz*, for unless he did so, he could not have said *Albani qui ... Wizzi dicuntur*. This being the state of affairs, can there be anything else to do than to establish the fact that Adam, when saying *Albani qui lingua eorum Wizzi dicuntur*, only wanted to tell his readers what he had read in his sources about the name *Albani* and to be more comprehensible translated it as *Wizzi* 'the White'?

In ancient times it was not uncommon to derive names of barbaric peoples from Greek or Latin without any deeper consideration. E.g. Isidorus offers several examples of this kind of etymologizing:

orig. 9,2,49 *Sabaei dicti ἀπὸ τοῦ σέβεισθαι, quod est supplicari et venerari, quia divinitatem per ipsorum tura veneramus;* ib. 57 *Saraceni dicti ... quod ex origine Syrorum sint, quasi Syriginae;* 92 *Gipides pedestri proelio magis quam equestre sunt usi, ex hac causa vocati;* 93 *Sarmatae patentibus campis armati inequitabant*

... *atque inde ob studio armorum Sarmatae nuncupati existimantur; 102 Brittones quidam Latine nominatos suspicantur, eo quod bruti sint; 104 Galli a candore corporis nuncupati sunt. Γάλα enim Graece lac dicitur.*

Solinus, deriving *Albani* from Latin *albus*, presented the etymology without any comments on the language of the Albani themselves. So did Isidorus, but those who read the explanation might easily think that the people whose name was thus explained was Latin-speaking. In Aethicus 63 this idea is expressed in plain words: *Quae Albania nomen suarum gentium vocabulo(m) traxit ob candorem populi, nuncupata quia albo crine nascuntur; cf. Isid.orig. 14,3,34 Albania a colore populi nuncupata, eo quod alba crine nascantur.* Aethicus' *ob candorem populi nuncupata quia* is only a modification of Isidorus' *a colore populi nuncupata eo quod*, but *nomen suarum gentium vocabulo(m) traxit* presents a conclusion drawn from the etymology and must be regarded as an addition of the author of the *Cosmography*. In Adam 4,19 we find the very same conclusion, for in accordance with the mediaeval Latin usage *lingua eorum dicuntur* is here equivalent to *lingua sua dicuntur*, 'are called in their (own) language'.¹ It is of course possible that Adam could draw on the basis of Sol. 15,5 the same conclusion as Aethicus from Isid.orig. 14,3,34. There is, however, a further detail that makes me assume a dependency, direct or indirect, between Adam and Aethicus: both emphasize the cruelty of the Albani, Adam's *crudelissimi ambrones* corresponding to *ad proeliandum crudelis* of Aethicus. A third connecting link between the two sources will be discussed later in connection with the name *Turci*.

3. *Lami/Lani = Alani*

On the basis of the identifications 1–2, the next name, which in Adam's MSS. appears in the two forms *Lami* (A 1–2) – *Lani* (A 3), must belong to a people that lived or was thought to live somewhere not far from the Amazons, the Albani, and the Cimmericians. Ammianus Marcellinus is the author who tells us that the neighbours of the Amazons in the east were the *Halani*, i.e. the Alans: Amm. 31,2,16 *parte alia prope Amazonum sedes Halani sunt orienti adclines*. He also says that the Alans, robbing and hunting, roved as far as the Maeotis, the Cimmerician Bosphorus, Armenia, and Media: ib. 21 *Proceri autem Halani paene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis ... latrocinando et venando ad*

¹ Cf. the translation of Schlüter in the previous note; J. Svennung, *Från senantik och medeltid* II,15 § 46. — As regards Schol. 124 (120), in which the Wizzi have been confused with the Wilzi, I agree with Lönborg (*Op.cit.* 110 n. 4) that it is not from Adam himself.

usque Maeotica stagna et Cimmericum Bosporum, itidemque Armenios discurrentes et Mediam. For our theme it is useful to remember in this connection that the Cimmerician Bosporus had since Herodotus been understood to have got its name from the Cimmericians.¹ Finally, when we look at what Ammianus knew about the Albani, we find that he mentioned even them with the Alans: 23,5,16 *namque ut Lucillum transeam vel Pompeium, qui per Albanos et Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hac quoque natione perrupta vidit Caspios lacus, Ventidium novimus Antoni legatum strages per hos tractus innumeras edidisse.* Cf. ib. 31,2,12 *ad usque Halanos pervenit, veteres Massagetas.* In this way the Alans, being geographically connected not only with the Amazons but also with the Cimmerician Bosporus and the Albani, fulfill all the requirements for being identified with the Lami/Lani.

As a matter of fact, in our case Adam himself is the most important witness to show that he was familiar with the tradition according to which the Alans were regarded as neighbours of the Amazons. Had he not been, he could not have mentioned their name in 4,19 after his description of the land of the Amazons. As he considered the Dog-heads (*Cynocephali*) as the offspring of the Amazons, it was natural that he described them together and only then continued with *Alani vel Albani qui ... Wizzi dicuntur.* To 4,14 *ad terram feminarum ... Wizzi ... Lami/Lani* corresponds 4,19 *terra feminarum ... Alani ... Wizzi.* In 4,14 the Wizzi and the Lami/Lani are clearly separated from each other, in 4,19, however, *Alani vel Albani qui ... Wizzi dicuntur* has generally been understood in the sense that Adam considered *Alani* as an alternative name for the *Albani/Wizzi*.² But did he really? In mediaeval Latin *vel* is quite often used in the sense of *et*, and that Adam was well familiar with this usage is seen from Schmeidler's word-index. I shall give a few examples in which *vel = et* is used by Adam between two proper names (the references are to the pages and lines in Schmeidler's edition):

10,2 *Thuringi vel Saxones itemque ceterae ... nationes.*

58,24 *ad quam stationem ... solent omnes Danorum vel Nortmannorum itemque Sclavorum ac Semborum naves ... convenire.*

104,12 *tantos habemus in Dania vel Sclavania martyres, ut vix possint libro comprehendi.*

¹ Cf. Hdt. 4,11 τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων; ib. 12 Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμήια Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρα οὖνομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος.

² Cf. Schmeidler's index of names s.v.; Lönborg 110; Schlüter 25 (quoted n. 25 above); the translations of Schmeidler-Siedler and Tschan.

110, 12 *archiepiscopus etiam alios viros doctissimos ordinavit in Norvegiam vel Suediam.*

116,22 *cum rege Danorum vel Anglorum ... fecit pacem.*

118,20 *in occidentali Gothia, quae Danis proxima est vel Nortmannis.*

147,24 *Expeditiones vero, quas in Ungriam, Sclavianiam, Italiam vel in Flandriam cum cesare pontifex egit, multae sunt.*

162,20 *omnes Sclavorum populi ... hoc est Waigri et Obodriti vel Reregi vel Polabingi.*

168,1 *pontifex noster in Suigiam vel Norvegiam et in insulas maris ad messem dominicam operarios misit.*

237,5 *parrochiam, quae est in Lundona vel Dalboia.*

245,8 *tercia est illa (sc. insula), quae Semland dicitur, contigua Ruzzis vel Polanis; hanc inhabitant Sembi vel Pruzzi.*

255,8 *in confinio Sueonum vel Nortmannorum contra boream habitant scritefini.*

It is a matter of course that in cases of this kind the context and the names concerned decide how *vel* must be understood. From the stylistic point of view the interpretation *vel* = *et* would be very satisfactory in 4,19, for the sense "There, too, are those who are called Alani, and the Albani, who in their language are named Wizzi 'the White'" is better than the one we get substituting 'or' for 'and'. When the two relative clauses *qui dicuntur Alani* and *Albani qui lingua eorum Wizzi dicuntur* are coordinated with *vel* = *et*, the whole period is more balanced than it would be if *Alani vel Albani* is understood as *Alani sive Albani*, which makes the predicate complement of the former clause (*qui dicuntur Alani vel Albani*) to become the correlative of the latter (*qui lingua eorum Wizzi dicuntur*). In favour of 4,19 *vel* = *et* is also the fact, pointed out above, p. 115, that in 4,14 the Wizzi and the Lami/Lani were understood as two separate groups, so – provided that *Lami/Lani* was substituted for the original *Alani* or *Halani* after Adam and not in his source – it would be natural that the two groups (*Alani* – *Albani/Wizzi*) were presented separately in 4,19 too.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the two names *Alani* – *Albani*, because of the vulgar Latin pronunciation of *b*,¹ could easily be confused. E.g. Isid.orig. 19,23,7 *nitent Albani albertibus crinibus*, manuscript C offers the variant *Alani* for the correct *Albani*, and vice versa, Iord.Get. 236 *Albanos* appears as a variant of *Alanos*. From this kind of orthographic confusion² together with the fact that the Alans and the Albani lived close to each other, the opinion could easily arise that *Alani* and *Albani* were variants of the same

1 Cf. Prob.app.gramm. IV 198 *alveus non albeus*, and Väänänen, Introduction p. 51 f.

2 Cf. also RE I cc. 1284–5, 1306.

name and referred to the same people. Another source of confusion might be a statement like Amm. 23,5,16 *per Albanos et Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus*, which may easily be misunderstood in the sense that *Alani* was a later name, not only of the Massagetae, but of the Albani too.

The question of the meaning of *vel* in 4,19 is difficult to decide and, as we saw, there are view-points that may be presented to support either interpretation (*vel = et* or *vel = sive*). Personally, I am inclined to understand Adam's *Alani vel Albani* in the sense of *Alani et Albani*, but at the same time I think that maybe Adam himself had no clear idea of the mutual relationship between the two peoples. Finding the two names *Alani* and *Albani* mentioned in connection with the Amazons, he just presented them in 4,19 one after the other and additionally offered the traditional popular etymology of *Albani*, translating it as *Wizzi*; in 4,14 he mentioned the same peoples, the Albani, by the translated name (*Wizzi*) alone, the Alans (*Lami/Lani*) unambiguously separated from them by the name of the Cimmerians (*Mirri*). For our main thesis, the identity of the *Lami/Lani* with the Alans, the ambiguousness of Adam's wording in 4,19 is not of fundamental importance.

It is more important to establish the mutual relationship between the forms *Lami/Lani – Alani (Halani)*. The earliest Latin spelling is *Alani* (Sen.Thy. 630), of which *Halani*, found in Ammianus and other late authors, is a hypercorrect variant.¹ In Adam's MSS. *Lani* of A 3 is more correct than *Lami* of A 1–2. In Latin MSS. of all periods the letters *m* and *n* were easily confused.² Other examples from Adam's *Gesta* are e.g. (ed. Schmeidler) p. 162,24 *Chizzini* B 2 – *Chizzimi* A 1, 243,10 *Noyland* A 3a – *Moiland* C, 246,19 *Enundum* C 1 – *Emundum* C 2. It should be noticed that the manuscript A 1 also offers p. 162,24 the incorrect spelling with *m* (*Chizzimi*) instead of *n* (*Chizzini*).

The absence of the initial *A-* may be just a mistake of some copyist, for the variant *Lani* instead of *Alani* is otherwise unknown, except that Isidorus derives the name from that of the River *Lanus*, which in the scholia on Lucanus is called *Alanus*.³ There are, however, other names of Iranian origin, of which doublets like *Lani – Alani* are documented, e.g. in the Geography of Ptolemy *Μοδόκοι (Μοδάκαι), Μάρδοι, Πάρνοι, Παροῦται, Πασίκαι,*

Παρατωκτηνή, Τροπατηνή, , corresponding to *Ἀμάδοκοι, Ἀμαρδοι, Ἀπαρνοι,*

¹ On the etymology of *Alani*, see J. Harmatta, *Studies in the History and Language of the Sarmatians*, Szeged 1970, 78 f.

² Cf. also the examples presented by me in *Arctos*, Suppl. I, 26.

³ Isid.orig. 9,2,94 *Lanus fluvius fertur ultra Danubium, a quo Alani dicti sunt*; Schol. Lucan. 8,223 *Alani sunt populi, qui diu restiterunt Romanis ... gens ultra Danuvium ab Alano fluvio nominata*.

Ἀπαρύται, Ἀπασιάκαι, Ἀπαραρκτικηνή, Ἀτροπατηνή of earlier writers. According to Harmatta,¹ the forms without *a-* represent the later phonetic development explained by the fact that in one part of the Iranian languages in the Middle-Iranian period the initial *a-* disappeared. Correspondingly, *Lani* might represent the later development of *Alani*.

The fact that in the names of Iranian origin the variants without the *a-* need not always be later than those with it, is proved by Iord.Get. 74 *Aroxolani* instead of the earlier normal spelling *Roxolani*. I think Iordanes' *Aroxolani*, if it is not due to the analogy of the doublets like *Mardi/Amardi*, may have come about by agglutination of the preposition *a, ab*, i.e. *a Roxolanis* was at a previous stage understood as a nominative and then written as *Aroxolani*.² Similarly, *Lani* may be due either to analogy or incorrect deglutination (*Alanis* understood as *a Lanis*, whence the nominative *Lani*)³ and thus independent of the Iranian phonetic development.

4. *Scuti* = *Scythae*

After the conclusions presented in 1–3 above, it stands to reason that *Scuti* is a variant of *Scythae*, a name which had since Herodotus been used as a generic designation not only of the Iranian nomads of Eastern Europe, but also to denote all those peoples that were under their political dominion or lived in the area for which the name *Scythia* established itself.⁴ To show the connection between the terms *Scythae* – *Amazones*, *Scythae* – *Albani* (*Wizzi*), *Scythae* – *Cimmerii* (*Mirri*), I shall content myself with presenting some examples from Latin writers, the number of which could easily be multiplied:

Mela 1,12 *illic Caspiani Scythis proximi sinum Caspium cingunt. ultra Amazones ultraque eas Hyperborei esse memorantur. (13) interiora terrarum multae variaeque gentes habitant ... Dahae super Scythas Scytharumque deserta ... super Amazonas et Hyperboreos Cimmerii etc.* (for the context, see p. 109 above): *ib.*

¹ Acta Ant.Hung. 2, 1954, 296.

² Cf. loc.cit. *haec Gotia, quam Daciam appellavere maiores, quae nunc, ut diximus, Gepidia dicitur, tunc ab oriente Aroxolani, ab occasu Iazyges, a septentrione Sarmatae et Basternae, a meridiae amnis Danubii terminabant. nam Iazyges ab Aroxolanis Aluta tantum fluvio segregantur.*

³ An example of similar deglutination is *a Vignone* (<*Avignone*) used by some old Italian authors, e.g. Boccaccio. Cf. Rohlf's, Op.cit. § 342 p. 479.

⁴ Cf. the present author, *Arctos*, Suppl. I,21.

3,38 *ad introeuntium dextram Scythae Nomades freti litoribus insident. intus sunt ad Caspium sinum Caspii et Amazones sed quas Sauromatidas adpellant, ad Hyrcanium Albani et Moschi et Hyrcani etc.*

Plin.nat. 6,35 *Ultra eos (sc. Arimphaeos) plane iam Scythae, Cimmerici, Cissi, Anthi, Georgi et Amazonum gens.* (for the context, see p. 109 above)

Avien. orb.terr. 244 ff. *Scytha late barbarus oras / incolit, et matrem ponti cognominat undam. / Sola parens ponto, genetrix haec sola fluento est: / hoc se fonte trahunt vaga glauci marmora ponti, / Cimmericio prolapsa sinu; nam Bosphorus illic / Cimmericus fauces aperit: circumque superque / Cimmerici, gens dura, colunt; ib. 905 ff. hic vada propter / Caspia versatur Scytha belliger; hicque feroces / degunt Albani: trux illic arva Cadusus / dura tenet, Mardi celeres, Hyrcani Apyrique.*

Paneg. 12,11 *dicam interdictum Scythis Tanain et inbelles arcus etiam fugientis Albani?*

Amm. 23,6,13 *(Persis) ab arctoo cardine usque ad Caspias portas Cadusiis conterminat et Scytharum gentibus multis et Arimaspiis hominibus luscis et feris. ab occidua plaga contingit Armenios et Niphaten et in Asia sitos Albanos.*

Prisc. periheg. 154 ff. *quam Scythiae gentes circumdant undique ripis, / et matrem Ponti perhibent Maeotidis undam; / scilicet hinc Ponti vis exit gurgite multo / Cimmericum torrens per Bosporum; hic ubi Taurum / Cimmerici gelidis habitant sub finibus imum.*

Isid.orig. 9,2,62 *Limes est Persicus, qui Scythas ab eis dividit, Scytha cognominatus, a quo limite Scythae a quibusdam perhibentur vocati, gens antiquissima semper habita. Hi Parthos Bactrianosque, feminae autem eorum Amazonum regna condiderunt. (63) Massagetae ex Scytharum origine sunt. Et dicti Massagetae quasi graves, id est fortes Getae. Nam sic Livius argentum grave dicit, id est massas. Hi sunt, qui inter Scythas atque Albanos septentrionalibus locis inhabitant. (64) Amazones dicti sunt etc.* Cf. Amm. 23,5,16 and 31,2,12 quoted p. 115 above.

Ravenn. 5,28 *qui oceanus tangit Sythiam (Scythiam P) heremosam. iterum Amazones, ubi eas, postquam egressae sunt de montibus Caucasus, fuisse legimus.*

The relation *Alani – Scythae* is of special interest, for in many sources the two names appear in the same mutual order as in Adam 4,14:³⁸

Sen.Thy. 629 ff. *an feris Hister fugam / praebens Alanis, an sub aeterna nive / Hyrcana tellus, an vagi passim Scythae?*

Lucan 10, 454f. *quem non violasset Alanus, / non Scytha etc.*

³⁸ The only scholar to have previously noticed the similarity *Lami Scuti – Alani Scythae* is J.J. Mikkola (see n. 1 above), who, however, only referred it to Ptolemy.

Ios. Bell. Iud. 7,7,4 τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ὅτι μὲν εἰσι Σκύθαι περὶ τὸν Τάναϊν καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην κατοικοῦντες, πρότερόν που δεδηλώκαμεν.

Ptol. Geog. 3,5,7 καὶ παρ' ἄλλην τὴν πλευρὰν τῆς Μαιώτιδος Ἰάζυγες καὶ Ῥωξολανοί, καὶ ἐνδοτέρω τούτων οἳ τε Ἀμαξόβιοι καὶ οἳ Ἀλανοὶ Σκύθαι;

ib. 6,14,9 κατανέμονται δὲ ταύτης τῆς Σκυθίας τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἄρκτους πᾶσαν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀγνώστου οἳ κοινῶς καλούμενοι Ἀλανοὶ Σκύθαι.

Lucian, Tox. 51 ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ Μακέντης ὁμόσκευος καὶ ὁμόγλωττος τοῖς Ἀλανοῖς ὢν· κοινὰ γὰρ ταῦτα Ἀλανοῖς καὶ Σκύθαις, πλὴν ὅτι οὐ πάνυ κομῶσι οἳ Ἀλανοὶ ὡσπερ οἳ Σκύθαι. ἀλλὰ ὁ Μακέντης καὶ τοῦτο εἴκαστο αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπεκεκάρκει τῆς κόμης ὅποσον εἰκὸς ἦν ἔλαττον κομᾶν τὸν Ἀλανὸν τοῦ Σκύθου (Makentes is Scythian and plays the role of an Alan).

Avien. orb.terr. 443 f. *acer Halanus, / incola Taurisci Scythia litoris.*

Amm. 22,8,42 *In medio autem spatium arcus ... Europaei sunt Halani et Costobocae gentesque Scytharum innumerae.*

The map of Ebstorf (13th century), *Mappae mundi 5,24 Alani Schite et Daci etc.*

Seneca, Lucanus and Ammianus regard the Alans and the Scythians as two different peoples; so does Lucianus, emphasizing, however, their similarity of equipment and language. Iosephus, Ptolemy and Avienus plainly explain the Alans as Scythians.¹ It seems that Adam's *Lani Scuti*, like the *Alani Schite* of the Ebstorf *mappa mundi* is directly derived from this tradition, in which, ever since the first testimony of the Alans (Sen. Thy. 629 f.) it became customary to connect them with the Scythians, so that Ptolemy's Ἀλανοὶ Σκύθαι, occurring in the same way in two different connections, already has the appearance of having become crystallized. Therefore, it is neither necessary nor appropriate to ask whether Adam understood *Lani Scuti* (= *Alani Scythae*) in the sense of 'Alans and Scythians' or 'Scythian Alans'. He most probably did not even think of it, but took the two names together directly from his source, in which he found them mentioned in connection with the Amazons, the Albani, and the Cimmerians.

That *Lani Scuti* represents a crystallized combination, mechanically taken from the earlier literary tradition, is also suggested by the spelling *Scuti*. Adam often speaks of 'Scythia' and 'the Scythians', using these terms sometimes in

¹ To these may be added Oros.hist. 7,34,5 (sc. *Theodosius*) *maximas illas Scythicas gentes formidatasque cunctis maioribus ... hoc est Alanos, Hunos et Gothos ... vicit*; cf. Marcell.chron. II p. 60,379,2 *Halanos, Hunnos, Gothos, gentes Scythicas*; Bedae Chron. chron. III p. 298,452 *Scithicas gentes, hoc est Halanos, Hunos et Gothos etc.*

their ancient meaning about the lands and peoples to the north of the Black Sea, sometimes about Scandinavia and Northern Europe in general with their inhabitants. The latter usage must no doubt be connected with the fact that he (4,20) had confused the Baltic Sea with the 'Scythian or Maeotic swamp' of the ancients.¹ In both cases he uses the spellings *Scythae*, *Scytae*, *Scitae* about the people, *Scythia*, *Scytia*, *Scitia* about the land, and *Scythicum*, *Scithicum*, *Sciticum* as the adjective.² Apart from 4,14 *Scuti*, the spelling *Scut-* does not occur in Adam. Among the variants of the other names in his *Gesta*, I have found only one example of the confusion *u – y*, viz. Schmeidler p. 115,12 *Gude – Gythe* B 2. That this phenomenon was not uncommon in earlier authors is evident from e.g. Iordanes' *Lysitania = Lusitania*, *Sylla = Sulla*, *Thyle = Thule*, *Thyringi = Thuringi*,³ cf. further Tac.ann. 12,30 *Iazuges – Plin.nat. 4,80 Iazyges*, Mela 1,116 *Thyssagetae, Turcae – Plin.nat. 6,19 Thussagetae, Tyrcae*, from Hdt. 4,22 *Θυσσαγέται ... Ἰύρκαι* and, last but not least, Plin. nat. 4,14 *Scythae (scuthe A)*.

An additional thing to be noticed in Adam's *Scuti* is the ending *-i* instead of the regular *-ae*. It is true that less common barbaric names often show inconsistency in their declension, and examples like *Venethae – Venethi*, *Bulgares – Bulgari*, *Antes – Anti* are not difficult to point out.⁴ In *Σκύθαι*, *Scythae*, however, the ending *-αι, -ae* became from the very beginning so well established that exceptions are extremely rare and only occur in late vulgar texts, for example Lib.gener a. 334 chron. I p. 105,181 *Scythii*. Adam, writing *Scythae*, *Scytae*, *Scitae*, was well familiar with the normal usage of the ancients. When he only once deviated from it writing 4,14 *Scuti*, he probably just reproduced the form he found in his source and did not even think of the identity of the *Scythae* and *Scuti*. Similar inconsistency is shown by Adam when he writes 1,3 *Dacae*, but 4,20 *Daci*. The latter form is taken from Martianus Capella (6,663), to whom Adam explicitly refers, for the former his source is unknown.⁵

1 Cf. p. 107 above.

2 See Schmeidler's index of names 316 and his critical apparatus for the relevant pages and lines.

3 Cf. the index III, 175 of Mommsen's edition.

4 Cf. the present author, *Arctos*, Suppl. I, 146.

5 Cf. Schmeidler ad locum.

5. *Turci* = *Turcae*, *Tyrcae* < Ἰούρκαι

Since all the names, discussed in 1–4 above, refer to peoples that in ancient literature are connected with the Amazons (cf. Mart.Cap. 6,665 *Cimmerii et Amazones*; Iust. 42,3,7 *Albanis vicinae Amazones sunt*; Amm. 31,2,16 *Prope Amazonum sedes Halani sunt*; Plin.nat. 6,35 *Scythae, Cimmerii ... et Amazonum gens*), it is reasonable to expect that the name *Turci* is no exception to this rule. That we need not be disappointed in our expectations, is confirmed by the following passages of Mela and Pliny, in which we find *Turcae/Tyrcae* as the designation of a people living between the Amazons and the Arimphaei (Aremphaei):

Mela 1,115 *ipse Tanais ex Riphæo monte deiectus adeo praeceps ruit, ut cum vicina flumina, tum Maeotis et Bosphorus tum Ponti aliqua brumali rigore durentur, solus aestus hiememque iuxta ferens idem semper et sui similis incitatus decurrat. (116) ripas eius Sauromatae et ripis haerentia possident, una gens aliquot populi et aliquot nomina. primi Maeotidae Gynaecocratumenoe regna Amazonum, fecundos pabulo ad alia steriles nudosque campos tenent. Budini Gelonion urbem ligneam habitant. iuxta Thyssagetæ Turcaeque vastas silvas occupant alunturque venando. (117) tum continuis rupibus late aspera et deserta regio ad Aremphaeos usque permittitur. his iustissimi mores, nemora pro domibus, alimenta baccae, et feminis et maribus nuda sunt capita. sacri itaque habentur, adeoque ipsos nemo de tam feris gentibus violat, ut aliis quoque ad eos confugisse pro asylo sit. ultra surgit mons Riphæus ultraque eum iacet ora quae spectat oceanum.*

Plin.nat. 6,19 *dein Tanain amnem gemino ore influentem incolunt Sarmatae, Medorum, ut ferunt, suboles, et ipsi in multa genera divisi. primi Sauromatae Gynaecocratumenoe, Amazonum conubia; dein Naevazae, Coitae, Cizici, Messeniani, Costoboci, Zecetae, Zigae, Tindari, Thussagetæ, Tyrcae usque ad solitudines saltuosis convallibus asperas, ultra quas Arimphaei qui ad Ripaeos pertinent montes.*

That *Turcae/Tyrcae* is the same name as Adam's *Turci*, is also confirmed by the fact that the Arimphaei, in whose neighbourhood they are located, in Mart.Cap. 6,665, Sol. 17,3 and Plin.nat. 6,35 (quoted on p.109 above) are mentioned as the neighbours of the Cimmerians = the Mirri of Adam. In

Amm. 22,8,38 we find the same Arimphaei together with the Alans¹ = Adam's Lani.

The Thyssagetae (Thussagetae), Turcae (Tyrcae) and Arimphaei (Aremphaei) that appear together in Mela 1,116–117 and Plin.nat. 6,19, are the same as the *Θυσσαγέται*, *Ίύρκαι* and *Ἀργιππαῖοι* described in Hdt. 4,22–23. Herodotus, however, does not connect them with the Rhiphaean Mountains nor compare the Argippaioi (= Arimphaei) with the Hyperboreans. Therefore, it has been assumed that Mela's and Pliny's description of them is derived from Hecataeus of Abdera, who had confused Herodotus' tale about the Argippaioi (Arimphaei) with that of Aristeas of Proconnesus about the Rhiphaean Mountains and the Hyperboreans.² Because of this confusion, the Argippaioi (Arimphaei) were transferred to the Rhiphaean Mountains and the Iyrkai followed them to appear in Mela and Pliny as Turcae/Tyrcae. That Adam's Turci trace their origin from this tradition (Pliny, Mela < Hecataeus of Abdera < Herodotus), is clearly seen from his own words, according to which the land of the Amazons (4,19 *Amazonas quod nunc terra feminarum dicitur*), beyond which the Turci dwelt (4,14 *ad terram feminarum. Supra illas ... Turci*), was in the region of the Rhiphaean Mountains (4,25 *ab oriente [sc. Sueonia] Ripheos montes attingit ... Ibi sunt Amazones*).

In the Cosmography of Aethicus, which in its description of the Albani provides details in common with Adam,³ we find the name *Turchi* (c. 29, 32), *Durchi* (c. 31), *Tulchi* (c. 57, 62–64) as that of a people that lived between the Hyperborean Mountains, the Albani and the Alans:

c. 29 (following the description of the Dog-heads⁴ in c. 28) *Turchos, Alanos meotas etc.*

c. 31 *Griphas gentes proximam oceani partem, unde ait vetusta fama processisse Saxonum subolem et ad Germaniam proeliorum feritate peraccessisse – gentes stultissimas, velud ferarum et stru[c]thionum vel crocodillorum et scorpionum genera sunt. Inter alias gentes, ad aquilonem iuxta, hiperboriis montibus*

¹ Loc.cit. *Ergo in ipso huius compagis exordio, ubi Riphaei deficiunt montes, habitant Arimphaei iusti homines, placiditateque cogniti, quos amnes Chronius et Visula praeterfluunt; iuxtaque Massagetae Halani et Sargetae, aliique plures obscuro, quorum nec vocabula nobis sunt nota nec mores.*

² Cf. Tomaschek, RE s.v. Argippaioi.

³ See p. 114 above.

⁴ Cf. Adam 4,19 (quoted p. 107 above), where the Dog-heads (*Cynocephali*) are described after the Amazons and before the Alans, and 4,25 *Ibi sunt Amazones, ibi Cynocephali* (for the context, see p. 106 fn 2).

habitant, ubi Tanais amnis exoritur. Nimio frigore undequae circumvallata inter oceanum et Tanaim gens inquieta ... Inhabitant enim oceanum borreum. Quorum finitima barbarica inaudita et abdita, in qua Durchi inhabitant. (32) Turchos enim alia scriptura omittit.

c. 63 *ad Tulchos usque extenta (sc. Albania). Quae Albania nomen suarum gentium vocabulo etc.* (see p. 113 above).

c. 64 *Haec Albania Tulchis a septentrione ex parte maxima intercluditur.*

That *Durchi* and *Tulchi* are variants of *Turchi*, has been established by Wuttke in the preface (p. 31) to his edition of Aethicus. The Griffins and the Hyperboreans are already mentioned together in Hdt. 4,13, where Aristeas of Proconnesus is given as the source. In the later tradition the Rhiphaean Mountains were connected with them (cf. Aeth. 31 *hiperboriis montibus habitant, ubi Tanais amnis exoritur*; Mela 1,115 *ipse Tanais amnis ex Riphaeo monte deiectus*; Iul.Hon. 30 *Hyperborei Ripaei mons*; Steph.Byz. s.v. Ῥιπαῖα, ὄρος Ὑπερβορέων), so that the Hyperborean Mountains near to which the *Turchi* of Aethicus dwell, are the same as the Rhiphaeans, with which the *Iyrkai*, *Turcae*, *Tyrcae* had been connected since Hecataeus of Abdera.

Whether in Aethicus the *Alani* and *Albani* are the same, as suggested by Wuttke (l.c.), I cannot decide. So much is perfectly clear that Aeth. 29 *Turchos Alanos* are the same as Adam 4,14 *Lani ... Turci* and that Aethicus and Adam in these names, as is the case with the *Albani* (see p. 114 above), represent the same literary tradition.

Nevertheless, in the geographical location given by Adam 4,14 to the *Turci*, there is one important detail that cannot be derived from the classical literature nor does it appear in Aethicus. When he says that the *Wizzi*, *Mirri*, *Lani*, *Scuti*, *Turci* "are said to live as far as Russia", *habitare feruntur usque ad Ruzziam*, he cannot have found this information in any of the ancient sources, for the name *Rhos* is not attested until the *Annales Bertiniani* for the year 839 (Mon.Germ.Hist. Scriptores I,434), and the earliest testimonies of its derivatives *Rosia*, *Ruzzia* etc. are much later than that.¹ It seems to me that Adam, when placing the *Turci* near Russia, has identified the *Turci* (= *Iyrkai*) of the ancient sources with a homonymous people of his own time, of which he also tells in Schol. 122: *De quarum (sc. gentium) laude Horatius (carm. 3,24) in lyricis suis ita meminit: 'Campestres' inquit, 'Scitae melius vivunt et rigidi Getae, quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos, nec cultura placet longior annua. Dos est*

¹ See A. V. Soloviev, *Le nom Bysantin de la Russie*, The Hague 1957, 9–13.

magna parentum virtus; et peccare nefas, aut precium est mori'. Usque hodie Turci, qui prope Ruzzos sunt, ita vivunt, et reliqui Scithiae populi. In my opinion, the nomadic Turci are none other than the *Τοῦρκοι* of the Byzantine sources of the 9th – 11th centuries, in which this name is frequently used as an alternative designation of the *Οὐγγροι*.¹ Therefore, Adam's location of the Turci in 4,14 must be due to the anachronistic application of two different sources referring to two homonymous peoples: in the geographical tradition based on ancient literature he found the information that the Turci (= Turcae, Tyrcae, Iyrkai) lived beyond the Amazons not far from the Rhiphaean Mountains, in a contemporary source – either oral or literary – that there were also Turci (= *Τοῦρκοι*) near to Russia.

CONCLUSION

The principal results of this contribution appear *in nuce* in the headings of paragraphs 1–5. It remains for me to return to the very popular equation *terra feminarum = Cwénland*. The alleged Finnish origin of the *Wizzi, Mirri, etc.* has always been the main argument to support it, but I hope to have definitely established that these names have nothing to do with the Finnish *Wes, Merja, Jam* and *Czjud* of the RPC, to say nothing of the city of *Turku*! The main argument being thus refuted, the question arises whether there are any other viewpoints to be put forward in favour of the equation mentioned? I regret that the limits of this article do not allow me to go into details in this interesting question, but I hope to publish a separate contribution on it in the near future. In addition to what was said above (p. 106), I would only point out that Adam's expression 4,19 *Amazonas quod nunc terra feminarum dicitur* is reminiscent of his words 1,2 *Wisara qui nunc Vissula vel Wirraha nuncupatur*. *Wisara* and *Wirraha* are latinized names of the River *Weser*, also known by the Latin name *Visurgis*. *Vissula*, explained by Adam as the modern name of the same river, in reality is the ancient well-known designation of the *Weichsel (Vistula)*. In the same manner, with *quod nunc ... dicitur* in 4,19 he has given something like a contemporary designation to the name *terra feminarum*, which, as it seems to me, only represents the same tradition as *Ravenn. 1,12 Amazonum patria* and *Sol. 52,31 gens feminarum*.

¹ For the sources on the *Τοῦρκοι*, see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II, 1958² s.v., for the origin of the name *Οὐγγροι*, see the present author, *On the Oldest Relationships between Hungarians and Sarmatians*, *Ural-Altische Jahrbücher* 45, 1973, 48–57.