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ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

SUPPLEMENTUM I

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THE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE
ΔΟΥΔΟΣΠΟΡΟΙ

BY
TUOMO PEKKANEN

HELSINKI 1968

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To my wife

FOREWORD

It is a pleasure for me to record my thanks to my teachers and colleagues who have contributed advice and criticism during the years I have been engaged upon the writing of this book. My most sincere thanks are due to Professor Pentti Aalto, who has been my inspiring teacher not only in Sanskrit and Comparative Linguistics, but in Latin, too. This work was carried out under his guidance and the methods used were gradually developed in the innumerable discussions for which he always had time to spare. His friendship, and the interest he has always taken in my work, have been of inestimable value to me ever since I began my academic studies in 1955. To Professor Jaakko Suolahti, with whom I have regularly discussed much of the subject matter of this book, I am deeply grateful for his constant encouragement and numerous suggestions. I also owe thanks to Professor Igor Vahros for advice concerning Russian, to Mr. Kingsley Hart for improving and correcting the style of my book, and to Dr. Karl-Erik Henriksson, who helped to prepare it for publication.

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Finally, I must acknowledge a special debt to Professor J. Svennung, whose studies on Scandinavia and its tribes in ancient and medieval literature I hold in the greatest esteem. The theme of this book was in a way suggested by the fact that I found his views on the Sithones incompatible with my own conclusions arrived at while lecturing on Tacitus' *Germania* at Helsinki University.

Helsinki, May 1968.

T. P.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

OBJECT OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The object of the present study is to examine closely the problem of the Sithones; Tacitus describes them in his *Germania* c. 45, 6 as follows: *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.* The prevalent opinion is that knowledge of this group of tribes is limited to the passage quoted. Until recently it has either been located in Finland or regarded as Finnish; a study of its origin is, thus, important from the point of view of early Finnish history. Since Tacitus expressly mentions the Sithones as neighbours of the Suiones, the geographical location of these two groups is essentially one and the same problem. The extent of the habitat of the Suiones must remain unknown until the location of their neighbours can be established. Therefore, the whole of the second chapter of this book is devoted to the problem of the location of the Suiones. The question of the different tribes of the Sithones, their nationality, and Tacitus' statement about their female ruler and their degeneracy will be treated in separate sections. The title of this book has been suggested by the degeneracy of the Sithones, which provides a connection between them and the group of the *δουλοσπόροι* discussed in the last two chapters.

EARLIER VIEWS OF THE SITHONES

The first to have made a detailed examination of the Sithones was K. Müllenhoff (*DA* II [1887], 4—11; IV [1900], 511), who came to the conclusion that they should be located in Northern Scandinavia and identified with the Kvaens (Finnish *Kainulaiset*), a Finnish people known from the ninth century onwards by the name *Kvænir*, *Kveinir* (Old Nordic), *Cwénas* (Anglo-Saxon). This had even earlier been briefly suggested by A. L. Schlözer (*Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, Halle 1771, p. 489) and K. Zeuss (*Die Deutschen und die Nachbar-*

stämme, München 1837, pp. 57, 157, 686 f.). Müllenhoff thought that the name *Kvænir* had been associated with the German word for 'woman' (Gothic *qinô*, *qêns*, Old Nordic *kvæn*, Anglo-Saxon *cwên*, English *quean*) which may have given rise to a legend of an Amazon kingdom in the north. The name *Sithones*, *Sitones* (both forms appear in the MSS.) Müllenhoff (*DA II*, 9) explains as follows:

»es scheint fast in Sitones nur ein appellativ misverständlich als name aufgefasst zu sein, als berichtet wurde dass die jenseit der Suiones sitzenden von einer frau beherrscht würden. Sitones wäre got. sitans altn. setar ahd. sezzon und aus den compositis altn. atseti Forseti hâseti búseti (Aasen 91^b) ahd. anasezzon darf man auf ein simplex schliessen, das dem begriff von altn. seta sitzung, sitz und besatzung als personale und nomen agentis gegenüberstand, das auch das altn. personale femininum seta, dienerin die unmittelbar neben der herrin ihren sitz hat, hinlänglich belegt».

This etymology is already found in Zeuss, *op. cit.* p. 57. Müllenhoff also studied the geographical order in Tacitus' *Germania* very carefully and was led to the conclusion that the identity of the Kvaens and Sithones was possible only if Tacitus' paragraph on the Sithones (*Germ.* 45, 6) was transposed to the end of c. 44: *DA II*, 8

»denn wer wird dem Tacitus zutrauen, wenn er die Sitones für nördliche nachbarn der Suiones und folglich auch für die nächsten nachbarn des trägen polarmeeres hielt, dass er bloss aus kindischem verlangen, seine nicht einmal ganz neue kenntnis vom bernstein so bald als möglich vorzubringen, jene an der rechten, ihnen dem zusammenhange nach gebührenden stelle zu ende des c. 44 übersprungen habe, um sie dann in sachlich und stilistisch gleich widersinniger weise in einer nachschrift zu dem c. 45 über die Aestier nachzubringen?»

Although he realized that the transposition involved the change of c. 45, 1 *Trans Suionas* to *Trans Sithonas*, he thought that »ein triftiger grund gegen die umstellung wird sich daraus niemals entnehmen lassen». This drastic transposition suggested by M. has been rejected by all modern editors. The reasons for it being impossible have been summarized by A. Gudeman, *Taciti De Germania* (erklärt von A. G.), Berlin 1916, p. 253. Nevertheless, the influence of M. on later writers on the subject has been enormous. Although he himself was convinced that the location of the Sithones in Scandinavia depended on the change in the text, his view of their identity with the Kvaens has been widely accepted among the same scholars who have abandoned the textual transposition involved.

R. Much, »Germanische Matronennamen,» *ZfdA* 35, 1891, 323, makes the following remark:

»an. *seidr* m. 'zaubern'. daneben kennt das altnord. auch ein st.

verbum *sīda* 'zaubern', aus dem sich offenbar der name *Sitones*, *Sithones* . . ., die germanische bezeichnung der Quäenen, der skandinavischen Finnen also, herleitet);

in his book *Deutsche Stammeskunde*², Leipzig 1905, p. 31, and in Hoops' *Reallexikon* IV, 1918—19 s. v. *Sitones*, he repeats the same explanation.

The identity of the Sithones with the Kvaens has also been accepted by the following scholars:

— K. B. Wiklund, »Om kvänerna och deras nationalitet,» *Afnf* 12, 1896, 109.

— K. Ahlenius, »Die älteste geographische Kenntnis von Skandinavien,» *Eranos* 3, 1898—99, 36.

— M. Schönfeld (*Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*, Heidelberg 1911, p. 279 s. v.) accepts the etymology of Zeuss and Müllenhoff, which is also approved of by G. Schütte (»Noter til Schönfelds Navnesamling,» *Afnf* 33, 1917, 49), but later (*RE* III A [1929], 397) he regarded the explanation of Much as more satisfactory, »da die Finnen wegen ihres Schamanentums den Germanen als zauberkundig galten».

— In *Die Germania des Tacitus* published posthumously in 1937 (reprinted in 1959 and 1967) Much adopted a new derivation (1967 p. 516):

»Wahrscheinlich gehört das Wort aber, wie Karsten, *Germ.-finn. Lehnwortstudien* 1915, 233 gesehen hat, mit germ. **sīða*- 'herabhängend, demissus, niedrig' (bzw. einer stammbetonten Nebenform **sīþa*-) zusammen und besagt somit dasselbe wie das finn. *kainulaiset*, das sich aus *kaino* 'niedrig' erklärt».

— In his edition of the *Germania*, Oxford 1938 (reprinted 1958), J. G. C. Anderson repeats the views of Müllenhoff and Much.

— J. Perret, *La Germanie* (Texte établi et traduit par J. P.), Paris 1949, p. 99 »Peut-être n'ya-t-il là qu' une légende, née de l' interprétation d' un nom finnois *Kainulaiset* (habitants de la plaine) à travers le germ. *qeniz* (femme). Des vestiges de matriarcat ne sont pas non plus invraisemblables».

— G. Langenfelt, »Finns in Widsith,» *Svio-Estonica* 14, 1958, 12 »The *cwenas* are certainly behind Tacitus's information about 'femina dominatur'. Ib. n. 13 »I believe this confusion suitably explains the name of the Arctic Amazons».

— E. V. Saks, *Aestii, an Analysis of an Ancient European Civilization*, Montreal & Heidelberg 1960, p. 76 ». . k a i n u l a i s e t. Probably the same as the nation of Sitones».

— F. Galli, *Taciti De origine et situ Germanorum* (edidit et illustravit I. Forni, commentariolo instruxit F. G.), Roma 1964, p. 200.

— H. Fromm has worked up the cc. 45—46 in the third edition of Much's

commentary (1967), in which he is ready to accept the old standpoint: p. 516 »Von den beiden germ. Ableitungen, die Much bringt, halte ich im Hinblick auf die im Rufe der Zauberkunst stehenden Lappen und Ostvölker Muchs eigene, die er zugunsten der von Karsten zurückzustellen bereit war, für wahrscheinlicher. Als dritte Ableitung käme noch die aus dem Subst., das zu dem oben genannten Adj. gehört, in Frage. Stellt man den VN zu germ. **sīðōn-* 'Seite, Rand, bes. Strand, Küste', wären die *Sithones* als 'Küstenbewohner' aufzufassen»; ib. p. 518 »Die Möglichkeit dass der anord. VN *kvenir* mit seinen Ableitungen eine volksetymologisch entstellende Übernahme sei, kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden . . . Auf eine Weiberherrschaft bei den finn. *kainulaiset*, von der auch sonst nichts bekannt ist, kann dann freilich nicht zurückgeschlossen werden. Es könnte sich höchstens um eine bei den germanischen Stämmen entstandene ätiologische Fama handeln».

Serious objections to the above-mentioned theory have been raised:

— A. Hackman, *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland I*, Helsingfors 1905, p. 340 n. 1 »Dass Tacitus' Sitonen, die Nordnachbarn der skandinavischen Suionen, ein finnischer Stamm waren (Müllenhoff *DA* II, 9), erscheint mir unwahrscheinlich. . . . Dass sich die Finnen am Anfang unserer Zeitrechnung längs der Küste des Bottnischen Meerbusens bis nach Vesterbotten ausgebreitet haben, halte ich meinerseits für sehr wenig plausibel. Archäologische Belege hierfür fehlen gänzlich».

— T. E. Karsten, *Germanisch-finnische Lehnwortstudien*, Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae 45: 2, Helsingfors 1915, p. 232

»Die in der Vikingerzeit um das Nordende des Bottnischen Meerbusens wohnenden . . . Quänen können mit den Sithonen kaum identifiziert werden: dass die Finnen sich am Anfang unserer Zeitrechnung längs der österbottischen Küste bis nach Wästerbotten ausgebreitet hätten, dafür fehlen alle archäologische Belege. Ganz unwahrscheinlich ist ferner, dass Tacitus oder seine Quelle diejenige tiefe Kenntnis in der germanischen Sprache gehabt hätte, das er den Quänennamen mit germ. **qenō* hätte verwechseln können. Warum hat er überhaupt den Sithonennamen angewandt, wenn er den ersteren Namen kannte?»

— P. Persson, *Tacitus' mindre skrifter*, Stockholm 1929, p. 259.

— J. Svennung, »Die Swioneninsel und die Sithones bei Tacitus,» *Eranos* 61, 1963 (also in Swedish in *Fornvännen* 57, 1962), 139

»Die finnische Volksgruppe 'Kväner' (finn. *Kainulaiset*) am Bottnischen Meerbusen und in Nordnorwegen ist mit den Sithonen bei Tacitus nicht zu verbinden» . . . p. 142 »In den Tacitus-Kommentaren über die germanischen Sithonen haben, soviel ich sehe, diese finnischen Jäger und Fischer — von denen Tacitus' Quellen und Gewährsmänner noch nichts wussten — keinen berechtigten Platz».

Another theory which has existed for a long time along with that of Müllenhoff is that the Sithones were Germans of Scandinavian origin living in Finland. This was first suggested by Vilh. Lundström, »Sithonerna,» *Xenia*

Lideniana, Stockholm 1912, p. 269

»Tacitus' sithoner äro identiska med Finlands (och eventuellt den estländska kustens) germanska befolkning. Det är den första förhistoriska utvandrarströmmen från Sverige, som möter oss hos Tacitus under sithonernas namn». The standpoint of Lundström was disapproved of by P. Persson (»Om de af Tacitus Germ. k. 45 omtalade Sitonerna,» *Eranos* 13, 1913, 30—35), who considered that his suggestion did not solve all the problems connected with the interpretation of Tac. Germ. 45, 6. P. himself did not present any new solution, but arrived at the conclusion (p. 35): »Att komma till full klarhet om sithonerna torde ej vara möjligt».

Nevertheless, the view of Lundström about the location of the Sithones was shortly afterwards adopted by T. E. Karsten, *Germ.-finn. Lehnwortstudien* (1915) pp. 232 f.; K. was ready to accept Lundström's theory, above all because he thought that the oldest German loan-words in Finnish were of Swedish origin. For the name *Sithones* his complicated explanation reads as follows: p. 233

». . . aisl. *síða* 'Küste' f. 2) bei Fritzner: 'Kyst, fr. *côte*, nht. Küste (mlat. *costa maris*)'; vgl. aschw. *hafsidha* f. 'Küste' und nschw. dial. Österb. (Vendell, S. 790) *sidland* 'Küste' sowie aussernordisch as *síða*, afries. ags. *síde* (engl. *side*), ahd. *síta*, mhd. *síte*, nhd. *Seite*. Zugrunde liegt das Adj. aisl. *síðr* 'herabhängend, lang', afries. *síde* 'niedrig', mnd. *sít*, *síde* dass. u.s.w; vgl. den Dorfnamen *Sideby* (*sīdbȳ*) an der südösterbottnischen Meeresküste. Der fragliche Volksname *Sithones* enthält nun wahrscheinlich dieses Substantiv als Grundwort: urg. **sīpōn-* > **sīðōn-* (vgl. lit. *sėtuva* 'tiefe Stelle im Fluss'), bedeutet also 'Niederländer', 'Flachländer'. Das synonyme fi. *Kainulaiset* 'Tiefenlandbewohner' (vgl. fi. *kainu* 'Tiefenland', *kaino* 'niedrig'), das sich nur auf die Ostküste des Bottnischen Meerbusens bezieht, ist eine bewusste oder unbewusste Übersetzung der germ. Urform des Taciteischen *Sithones*».

K.'s etymology was accepted by Much (see p. 11 above), although the latter continued to regard the Sithones as Kvaens. Later K. repeated his views in a slightly modified and amplified form: *Zum Anfangsterminus der germanisch-finnischen Berührungen*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum Soc. Scient. Fennicae* I: 2, Helsingfors 1922, p. 9. — *Fragen aus dem Gebiete der germanisch-finnischen Berührungen*, *Översikt av Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar* 64 (1921—22), B: 3, Helsingfors 1922, p. 106. — *Germanerna*, *Natur och Kultur* 42, Helsingfors 1925, p. 177. — *Die Germanen*, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* 9, Berlin & Leipzig 1928, p. 214, where we find for the name the translation 'Küstenbewohner'. — »Zu den ältesten Völker- und Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer,» *Germanen und Indogermanen* II (1936), 481

»Die Ursage von einem Weiberlande

in ultima Germania könnte jedoch dadurch gewissermassen gestützt werden, dass das Weib in der finnländischen Landschaft Österbotten bis in unsere Tage hinein auch ausser dem Bereiche ihrer eigenen Aufgaben tatsächlich in gewissem Umfang (z.B. auf dem Gebiete der Feldarbeit) 'dominiert' hat»; ib. p. 487 »Die oben genannten 'Sithonen' besetzten wahrscheinlich die ganze westfinnländische Küstenstrecke, auch die österbottische, denn es ist kaum zufällig, dass die finnischen Namen *Kainulaiset* und *Lantalaiset*, wie auch der aus dem erstgenannten hervorgegangene Name der Kvänen, mit dem der Sithonen begrifflich zusammenfallen».

The views of Karsten were accepted by Th. Reche (Ebert's *Reallexikon* IV [1926], 283) and F. Hartmann (*AfdA* 40, 1920, 6—12, esp. 11), but the linguistic evidence on which he based his theory about the origin of the German loan-words in Finnish has since been sharply criticized. Cf. K. B. Wiklund in Ebert's *Reallexikon* III (1925), 371 and particularly A. D. Kylstra, *Geschichte der germanisch-finnischen Lehnwortforschung*, Diss. Utrecht 1961, pp. 107—152, 172. Nevertheless, it is of interest that E. Schwarz, *Germanische Stammeskunde*, Heidelberg 1955, p. 205 (quoted on p. 57 n. 2 below) still derives the oldest German loan-words in Finnish from the language of the Sithones.

E. Hjärne (*Fornvännen* 12, 1917, 223 f.) suggested that

»med sitonerna avses

just de handelsfaktorier, som de svenska köpmännen från Mälardalen anlagt på Bottniska vikens norra kuster . . . p. 225 »Kanske skulle man kunna gå ännu ett steg längre och säga, att om notisen om sitonerna härrör från deras handelspolitiska medtäflare i Estland, så är det förklarligt, huru denna notis har fått den nedsättande färg, som måhända bidragit att framkalla det romerska missförståndet om ett nordiskt germanfolk under nesligt kvinnovälde». Cf. id., *Bernstenriddaren och Tacitus*, Uppsala 1938, p. 19 n. 1.

A. Noreen («Nordens äldsta folk och ortnamn,» *Fornvännen* 15, 1920, 33) also thought that the Sithones were of Swedish origin, but lived on the southern coast of Finland. He tried to explain the riddle of their female ruler in the following manner:

»Men om vi . . . återge det dunkla uttrycket 'femina dominatur' helt enkelt med 'kvinnan dominerar', så finna vi kanske i dessa ord ett visserligen något överdrivet uttryck för Tacitus häpnad över den i hög grad gynnade ställning, som kvinnan intog enligt gammal svearätt, särskilt sådan den framträder i den för Finland i historisk tid gällande Hälsingelagen, i jämförelse med förhållandet i götarätten och den senare svenska rikslagstiftningen. Och det är ingenting som hindrar oss att anta, att denna motsats förefanns redan på Tacitus tid, och att kvinnans emancipation då var allra längst framskriden i Finland».

P. Persson (*Tacitus' mindre skrifter*, Stockholm 1929, p. 259) took a very sceptical stand towards Noreen's interpretation, pointing to the fact that the word *femina* never occurs in Tacitus in the meaning 'women', 'female sex'. P. himself had not even now any new solution to offer.

The latest to locate the Sithones in Finland is J. Svennung (*Eranos* 61, 1963, 121—142; cf. also *Scadinavia und Scandia*, Uppsala 1963, p. 13), who believes them to have been (p. 129) »Germanen, mit den *Suiones* verwandt . . . eventuell auch andere Germanen (Goten), die aus dem Weichselgebiet gekommen waren». In support of his view S. (pp. 123 ff.) refers above all to archaeological finds of a German nature in Western Finland. Since the article of S. is not only the last, but also the most comprehensive study of the Sithones since Müllenhoff, I shall offer a critical appraisal of it at a later stage.

All the scholars so far mentioned have located the Sithones either in Northern Scandinavia or in Finland. Views of a similar character, although expressed in a more cursory manner, are also to be found in the following books and articles:

— Y. Koskinen, *Tiedot Suomen suvun muinaisuudesta*, Helsinki 1862, p. 104.

— A. Baumstark, *Cornelii Taciti Germania* (besonders für Studierende erläutert von A. B.), Leipzig 1876, p. 143 n. 18 »Die *Sitones* erscheinen als die unmittelbarsten nördlichen Nachbarn der *Suionen*, und werden von unserer Ethnologie als Finnen erklärt, nicht als Germanen, wofür sie Tacitus durch sein *degenerant* offenbar geben will».

— E. Wolff, *Tacitus' Germania*³ (für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von E. W.), Berlin 1915, p. 119 »Die Sitonen werden von T. mit Unrecht zu den Germanen, und zwar den Sueben, gerechnet; es scheinen finnische Anwohner des bottnischen Meerbusens gemeint zu sein».

— A. Gudeman, *Taciti De Germania* (erklärt von A. G.), Berlin 1916, p. 230.

— B. Nerman, *Det svenska rikets uppkomst*, Stockholm 1925, p. 24 ». . . även om, vilket förefaller mig troligast, sitonerna äro att söka i Norrland, kunna vi icke avgöra, huru långt söderut deras område sträckt sig, och vi få alltså icke här någon möjlighet att begränsa svearikets utsträckning i norr».

— W. Reeb, *Tacitus Germania* (mit Beiträgen von A. Dopsch, H. Reis, K. Schumacher unter Mitarbeit von H. Klenk herausgegeben und erläutert von W. R.), Leipzig 1930, p. 171 »wahrscheinlich ein finnischer Stamm (mit Germanen gemischt?)».

— B. Collinder, »The Name Germani,» *Afnf* 59, 1944, 30 f. »the Teutonic tribes of the far North, e. g. the *Suiones* and the *Sithones*, who lived beyond the *Suiones*, all belong to the *Suebi*».

— A. Cordier, *La Germanie* (Texte et trad. par A. C.), Paris 1934, p. 247 n. 441 »Les Sitones habitaient le nord de la Suède, sur les bords du golfe de Bothnie».

— E. Fehrle, *Germania* (herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Erläuterungen versehen von E. F. Fünfte übergearbeitete Auflage besorgt von R. Hünnerkopf), Heidelberg 1959, p. 140 s. v. *Sitones* »finnisch-germanischer Stamm».

— R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen gentes*. Köln-Graz 1961, p. 292.

— L. Valmaggi, *Germania* (Commento e note di L. V.), Torino, 1962 p. 86 believes that the Sithones lived near the Suiones »forse in altra isola».

— S. Bolin, »Tacitus kartbild av norra Europa,» *Från Tacitus till Tage Erlander*, Lund 1963, pp. 9—14 (also in *Festskrift till A. Thomson*, Stockholm 1961, pp. 19—24), esp. p. 14 ». . . att svearna bodde på en halvö, som från sitonernas land öster- och norrifrån sköt fram mot Cimbriska halvön, Jylland».

Although the great majority of scholars have followed Müllenhoff in that they have looked for the Sithones in the neighbourhood of the Scandinavian Swedes, opposing views, however, have not been altogether lacking:

— S. E. Lönborg (*Adam af Bremen och hans skildring af Nordeuropas länder och folk*, Diss. Uppsala 1897, pp. 23, 135—136) doubted whether Tacitus thought of the Sithones as living on the islands of the Ocean or on the continent, but he finally inclined towards the latter alternative (p. 23):

»Om Tacitus tänker sig *Sitonernas stammar* också boende på öar i oceanen eller på fastlandet kan jag ej afgöra»; p. 136 »Som ofvan påpekadt torde det emellertid först och främst vara mycket ovisst, om Taciti Sitoner äro att söka invid Suionernas land och ej senare vid den södra Östersjökusten»; ib. n. 2 »Det är mycket troligt att Taciti Sitoner äro identiska med de Sitoner e. Sidiner som andra författare (Strabo, Ptolemaeus) omtala söder om Östersjön».

Before him, the same possibility had been pointed out by E. G. Geijer, *Svea Rikes häfder* I, Uppsala 1825, 81 f. Lönborg was rebuked by K. Ahlenius (*Eranos* 3, 1898—99, 35 f.) for this suggestion of his and as a result he was soon (*Eranos* 4, 1900, 25) prepared to recant:

»Något troligare synes mig då vara, att här föreligger en dubbelform af det svenska namnet, i likhet med hvad förhållandet är hos Jordanes, som omtalar tvenne folk, *gens Svehans* och *Svetidi*, hvilka båda tvefvelsutän åsyfta svenskarne, fastän Jordanes synes hafva uppfattat dem som tvenne olika folk».

This alternative is even to be found in E. G. Geijer, loc. cit.

— K. Miller, *Mappae mundi* VI, Stuttgart 1898, 111 made an attempt to reconstruct the map used by Tacitus when writing the *Germania*. In this recon-

struction (see p. 65 below) the Sithones appear on the continent between the Aestii and Fenni.

— D. Stichtenoth, »Abalus und die Nerthusinsel,» *ZfdA* 86, 1955—56, 177 (cf. also *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* 103, 1959, 91) arrives at the following conclusion concerning the Sithones and their neighbours: »Die Sithonen sind identisch mit den Σειδιωοί des Ptolemaeus in Hinterpommern, ihre 'Königin' ist Nerthus; die Suionen sind Anwohner der Swine, ihr Reichtum, Flottenbau, Waffenverschluss und ihre Muttergottheit sind allein an der Oder bzw. bei der Nerthusinsel verständlich».

Finally, it may be mentioned that E. Linkomies, *Keisari Augustus ja Rooman perintö*, Helsinki 1946, p. 197 f. thought that the female ruler of the Sithones might have some connection with *Pohjolan emäntä*, the female ruler of *Pohjola*, well-known in Finnish folklore. However, he did not produce any detailed arguments and later, in his Finnish translation of the *Germania* (1952), he contented himself with the statement that the Sithones were probably a Finnic people living on the eastern coast of the Baltic.

M A T E R I A L

My aim is to examine the Sithones primarily against the background of Greek and Latin geographical and ethnographical literature. In order to acquire an overall view of it I have gone through the following collections of primary sources:

— W. Capelle, *Das alte Germanien. Die Nachrichten der griechischen und römischen Schriftsteller*. Jena 1937.

— V. V. Latyšev, *Izvestija drevnich pisatelej grečeskich i latinskich o Skifii i Kavkaze* (sobral i izdal s russkim perevodom V. V. Latyšev). Tom I. *Grečeskie pisateli* (1893). Tom II. *Latinskije pisateli* (vyp. 1-j, 1904, vyp. 2-j, 1906). SPB.

— E. Bonnell, *Beiträge zur Alterthumskunde Russlands (von den ältesten Zeiten bis um das Jahr 400 n. Chr.) hauptsächlich aus den Berichten der griechischen und lateinischen Schriftsteller zusammengestellt I—II*, SPB 1882—97, reprinted in Amsterdam 1968.

— K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* (5—15. Jhd.), *Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde* 5, 1912.

The medieval Latin sources have been checked from the indices of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, ed. Societas aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum medii aevi, Hannover & Berlin 1826 ff. Still very useful is F. A. Ukert, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer von den frühesten Zeiten bis auf Ptolemäus I—III*,

Weimar 1816—1846, which partly supplies the indices missing in the collections of Latyšev.

A systematic study of the primary sources has given me the impression that in general the writers on peripheral areas stick to the literary tradition and are prone to fall back on older accounts. The names of tribes, known already to Herodotus and his predecessors, were handed down from century to century by a long series of Greek and Latin authors. Now and then, of course, new names appear, but the old tribes retain their places in lists of names among the new ones. Those writers who had access to firsthand knowledge of distant regions are relatively few in number. It is also common that the authors collected information from several sources of different epochs without comparing them critically with each other. The result of this wide-spread practice, typical particularly of the elder Pliny¹ and Ptolemy,² is that the same name may appear in different passages in the same source several times. If the name in one of the passages is corrupt, it can easily be mistaken for an entirely different one and thus a new, non-existent tribe appears from nowhere. This is also likely to happen when a nation was known by several names which had been given to it by its neighbours on different sides or at different times. The problems connected with the interpretation of these sources are many and difficult, and I fully agree with M. Rostovtzeff when he says: »die Kardinalfragen in Bezug auf die Geographie und die Ethnographie der Örtlichkeiten, welche in der Nachbarschaft der Skythen und Sarmaten lagen, sind so kompliziert und schwierig, ihre Lösung beim Fehlen jeder parallelen Überlieferung so individuell, dass zur Untersuchung dieses ganzen Komplexes von schwierigen, nach meiner Ansicht unlösbaren Problemen ein besonderes Buch geschrieben werden müsste ohne jede Hoffnung die Widersprüche ausgleichen und einen Ausweg aus diesen Kontroversen, zu deren Lösung es uns an Material gebracht, finden zu können».³

METHODS

The method of my approach to the problem of the Sithones is based on the following principles:

¹ Cf. Detlefsen, *Die Anordnung* pp. 147 ff.; *DA* III, 53 ff.; Harmatta, *Quellenstudien* pp. 44, 54.

² Schütte, *Ptolemy's Maps* pp. 26 ff.; Polaschek, *RE* Suppl. X, 718, 764; *DA* III, 95.

³ *Skythien und der Bosphorus* I, 15. Cf. also: Kretschmer, *RE* II A, 3—4; Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* p. 77.

1. Considering the character of ancient geographical and ethnographical literature I do not think it is probable that information about a large group of many tribes, like that of the Sithones, would have been preserved in only one source. If the name of a tribe or a group of tribes appears only once, on the whole it is likely that the same tribe or group is mentioned in the other sources by another name, which may be a parallel form, a translation or only a corruption of the former. It is also a well-known fact that the names used among nations themselves are different from those given to them by their neighbours.¹ In these circumstances one must strive to collect from different sources, or from different passages of the same source, those items of information which are possibly related to the same people. In *Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe* (Copenhagen 1917, p. 27), in its methods an instructive book, G. Schütte sets forth the following principle: »the distortion of peripheral names is rather the rule than the exception, and this observation is not limited to Ptolemy but also concerns other classical geographers such as Strabo and Tacitus. A 'hapax legomenon' from the periphery of the classical horizon is of very low value, — we might be tempted to say: generally worth nothing. Concerning such cases, we may set forth the following general rule: an identification with another name — even if only possible through violent emendation — is preferable to the assumption of two separate 'hapax legomena'.»

2. In order to collect the various items of information about the same people one must establish that the different sources refer to the people living in the same area at the same time. This, however, is too often rendered impossible by the fact that in many cases a geographical and chronological basis is totally lacking.² Despite this, one starting point for the identification of tribes mentioned in different sources is provided by the fact that in the same context names of several tribes usually appear, the relative order of which is based on

¹ Blüthgen, *Festschrift Ernst Schwarz* II, 393 »Es darf . . . darauf hingewiesen werden, dass Namensvielfalt für ein und dieselbe Volksgruppe nichts Ungewöhnliches ist — man vergleiche nur, wie man uns selbst bei anderen Völkern nennt (deutsch bzw. duitsh bzw. tysk bzw. tedesco, german bzw. germanski, allemand bzw. alemao bzw. aleman, nemezki, saksalainen usw.) oder die Finnen (finn. suomalaisen), die Eskimos (esk. = innuit), die Lappen (lapp. = same), die Schweden (finn. ruotsalainen), um nur einige geläufigere Beispiele anzuführen»; Šafařík, *Slawische Alterthümer* I, 80 »Die Geschichte sowohl als eigene Erfahrung lehrt, dass fast jedes unter Völkern anderer Herkunft angesessene Volk mehr als einen Namen führe, indem es sich selbst mit einem andern bezeichnet und wiederum mit einem andern von den Ausländern benannt wird».

² It is worth noticing that in his *Germania* Tacitus does not mention any geographical name east of the Elbe which might help to locate unambiguously the tribes described in the last three chapters.

their geographical position. This being the case, if two different sources mention four tribes, three of which are the same, it is also possible that the fourth pair of names relates to the same tribe. If either of the names in this pair is a *hapax legomenon* and also has a phonetic or semantic connection with its counterpart in the other source, it is even more than likely that the tribes concerned are identical. This principle is defined by Schütte (op. cit. p. 20) as follows: »If we examine each name separately, it would in many cases lead to nothing. Our chief key of identification must be a survey of the entire milieu. If . . . we take a whole series of names instead of the single ones, there is a certain amount of hope that we may solve the riddles. A skilful Procrustes may distort single names into complete obscurity, but will rarely be able to do the same with an entire complexus of them, if he does not at the same time disturb their mutual order».

3. The identity of tribes mentioned by different names in different sources may also be suggested by the subject matter, which is not exposed to distortion to the same extent as the names themselves.¹ If the subject matter and also the disposition and language in two different sources agree decidedly in character, it must be concluded that they represent the same literary tradition. If in texts of this kind names appear that are *hapax legomena*, there is every reason to try to connect them if it is paleographically possible to do so.

4. Maps were already in general use at the time of Herodotus and most ancient writers on geography and ethnography made frequent use of them.² Of these maps nothing survives save several copies of Ptolemy's chart appended to some of the extant manuscripts of his text³ and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a road-map of the Roman Empire, arranged in long, narrow strips so that it might be carried conveniently.⁴ The oldest medieval maps and Miller's reconstructions of their Roman prototypes,⁵ however, suffice to show how vague and diffuse the geographical conceptions of the Romans were — even of those parts of the world which they knew fairly well, not to mention the peripheral areas. Considering the fact that the relative order of the tribes

¹ This important aspect has been emphasized by Stichtenoth, *Pytheas von Marseille* p. 8, but it seems to me that in his efforts to collect the fragments of Pytheas he has applied his method too uncritically.

² Crone, *Maps and their Makers* pp. 15 ff.; Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* pp. 97 ff.

³ For the origin of these maps see Polaschek, *RE Suppl.* X, 832; Thomson, op. cit. pp. 346 ff.; Cary & Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* p. 226; Schnabel, *Text und Karten* pp. 94 ff.

⁴ Thomson, op. cit. pp. 379 ff.

⁵ *Mappae mundi* I—VI.

enumerated in our sources was based on maps which, compared with modern ones, were rather primitive, it is self-evident that we cannot follow this order at all, if we try to orient ourselves with a modern map. The warning of Miller against such a procedure reads as follows: »Man hat zunächst erkannt, dass m o d e r n e A n s c h a u u n g e n am allerletzten in der Geographie auf die Alten übertragen werden dürfen, und dass alle von der modernen Weltkarte ausgehenden und auf derselben beruhenden Kartenbilder, sofern sie die Anschauungen der Alten darstellen sollen, durchaus falsch und verwerflich sind. Wir müssen, um die Alten recht zu verstehen und die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Kartographie zu finden, unser heutiges Wissen von der Erde und den einzelnen Ländern vollständig abstreifen, und die Schriftsteller lediglich aus ihren eigenen Angaben zu verstehen suchen».¹ This principle of Miller's involves first establishing the extent of the geographical knowledge of each writer on the evidence of the extant texts. It is within this range — not outside it — that the relative position of the tribes mentioned by the same writer must be fixed.²

5. The problem of the nationality of the tribes mentioned in ancient literary records cannot be settled merely by establishing that they were e. g. Scythians, Sarmatians, Germans or Galatians, for the conceptions of nationality in ancient times cannot without further evidence be considered equivalent to those used in modern linguistics. The merchants and soldiers, on whose reports our knowledge about the barbarian tribes of Europe is based to a great extent,³ cannot have been well-trained specialists in comparative linguistics, a field of learning unknown before the 18th century. According to E. H. Minns »the word Scythian had no ethnological meaning even in the mouth of Herodotus. With him . . . it had a political meaning, whereas with the other authors who make use of the term it is merely geographical. For most Greeks a Scythian, Σκύθης, was any northern barbarian from the east of Europe, just as Γαλάτης was any such from the west».⁴ As for the conception *Germani*, the words of R. Hachmann deserve special attention: »Ganz

¹ Op. cit. VI, 3.

² Cf. also Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* p. 26 »The mistake made by most writers (scil. about Herodotus' description of the regions north of the Black Sea) is in striving to wrest the different geographical sections of Book IV., composed at various times from various sources and introduced in various connections, into a seeming consistency with each other and with the modern map — generally to the unfair treatment of the modern map».

³ See Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 14.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 35.

ohne Zweifel hat es in der Zeit um Christi Geburt Bevölkerungsgruppen gegeben, die germanische Dialekte sprachen. Aber sprachen sie alle germanisch, von den Germanen im Westen bis zu den Lugiern und Vandiliern im Osten? Hat man ein Recht, sie alle im Sinne der heutigen Germanistik als Germanen zu bezeichnen? Sprachliche Reste aus dem Raum zwischen Schelde und Weichsel aus der Zeit um Christi Geburt sind spärlich; der sprachwissenschaftliche Begriff der Germanen hat sich hauptsächlich an den sehr viel reichlicheren Sprachresten späterer Zeit entwickelt. Wohl haben diese germanischen Dialekte ihre nahe verwandten Vorformen in der Zeit um Christi Geburt gehabt. Aber deren Geltungsbereich zu erschliessen, stösst auf grosse Schwierigkeiten. Zwischen den Stämmen der jüngeren Kaiserzeit, der Völkerwanderungszeit und des frühen Mittelalters einerseits und denen der Zeit um Christi Geburt andererseits besteht keine klare Kontinuität. Waren die Goten des Wulfila mit den Gutonen des Plinius . . . und mit den Gothonen des Tacitus . . . identisch? Ist es erlaubt, Chatten und Hessen, Hermunduren und Thüringer, Markomannen und Baiuvaren schlicht gleichzusetzen? Ist es statthaft, in den Franken eine einfache Verschmelzung nordwestdeutscher, in den Sachsen eine solche norddeutscher Stämme zu sehen? Mit diesen Fragen verbinden sich mancherlei Probleme, die teilweise auch bis in den Bereich der Archäologie hineinreichen, und diese zeigen, wie vorsichtig zumindest der Archäologe hier vorgehen muss. Er sollte am besten zunächst die sprachwissenschaftliche Seite des Germanenproblems ganz ausser Betracht lassen».¹

¹ Hachmann & Kossack & Kuhn, *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten* p. 54.

CHAPTER II

THE LOCATION OF THE SUIONES

THE SUIONES OF TACITUS

The determining of the location of the Sithones must be based on the fact that they were neighbours of the Suiones. Accordingly the first thing to be established is how Tacitus himself conceived the boundaries of the latter. The relative order of the eastern tribes in Tacitus' *Germania* is as follows: Germ. 43, 2 *dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen . . .* 44, 1 *Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur . . . protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii . . .* 44, 2 *Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano*¹. . . 44, 3 *subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus . . .* 45, 1 *Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum . . .* 45, 2 *ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur . . .* 45, 6 *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur . . .* 46, 1 *Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinatorum Venethorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam dubito.*

The range of mountains north of which the Lugii, Gotones, Rugii, and Lemovii dwelt can be identified with the range separating Bohemia and Moravia from Silesia and that formed by the western Carpathians.² On the evidence of other literary sources and archaeological remains the Gotones (Goths) can be located on the lower Vistula.³ The Ocean, *Oceanus*, is not mentioned until in connection with the Rugii and Lemovii. The words *protinus deinde ab Oceano* denote that the two tribes bordered immediately on the Ocean. As Tacitus in c. 43, 2—45, 1 is all the time moving towards the north, the adverb *deinde* must be interpreted as pointing in the same direction as c. 43, 2 *ultra*, c. 44, 1 and c. 45, 1 *trans*. Consequently Tacitus thought

¹ The readings of the MSS. according to the edition of Koestermann are: *ipso* Y, *ipse* B, *ipsae* b E / *oceanum* B b¹, *occeanum* E. The possible combinations are *ipso in Oceano*, *ipsae in Oceano*, *ipsae in Oceanum*, the first of which is accepted by most editors, e. g. Koestermann, Much, Forni, Robinson, Anderson, Gudeman. Cf. also Robinson p. 176 n. 1.

² Much, *Die Germania* p. 478.

³ Wagner, *Getica* pp. 106 ff., 114 ff., 121; Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 83 f.

that the Rugii and Lemovii occupied the shore of the Ocean to the north of the Gotones.

The Rugii do not appear in literary sources after Tacitus until the fourth century.¹ As for their early habitat, an important indication is given by Jordanes, who tells how the Goths, arriving from Scandinavia, displaced the Ulmerugi, i. e. Holm-rugi, from their home in the country on the Ocean.² However, Jordanes does not mention the direction in which the Ulmerugi moved after having been expelled by the Goths. Nor has archaeology obtained consistent results in this matter.³ It seems to me that the other sources cannot make the conception of the location of the Rugii gained from Tacitus more accurate: his account allows us to look for their settlements only in an area between the Goths and the Ocean.⁴ If Tacitus had known that the Rugii lived either to the east or to the west of the Goths, he would have defined their habitat in a different way, e. g. *iuxta Gotones* (or *in latere Gotonum*) *protinus ab Oceano*, as c. 33, 1 *Iuxta Tencteros*, c. 36, 1 *In latere Chaucorum*, c. 42, 1 *Iuxta Hermunduros*.

As the shore of the Baltic at the mouth of the Vistula runs from west to east, bending gradually towards the north, it may be concluded, I think, that the Rugii, who are mentioned first, lived closer to the Goths than the Lemovii, and the Lemovii occupied the shore to the east and to the north of the Rugii. The relative position of these three tribes may be illustrated as follows:

LEMOVII
RUGII
GOTONES

In my opinion, this conclusion is justified by the fact that Tacitus in cc. 41—42 enumerates the tribes from west to east, then from c. 43, 1 onwards moves from south to north. The change of direction is clearly indicated by

¹ Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* p. 195.

² Iord. Get. 25 *Ex hac igitur Scandza insula quasi officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum cum rege suo nomine Berig Gothi quondam memorantur egressi: qui ut primum e navibus exientes terras attigerunt, ilico nomen loci dederunt. nam odieque illic, ut fertur, Gothiscandza vocatur. 26 unde mox promoventes ad sedes Vlmerugorum, qui tunc Oceani ripas insidebant, castra metati sunt eosque commisso proelio propriis sedibus pepulerunt, eorumque vicinos Vandalos iam tunc subiugantes suis aplicavere vicinias.* Cf. Wagner, *Getica* p. 154.

³ The latest publications on the subject are enumerated by Fritze, *ZfslPh* 32, 1965, 243.

⁴ The connection between the Ptolemaic names Geog. 2, 11, 12 *Ῥούγιον* and 2, 11, 7. 9 *Ῥουτίκλιοι* and the Tacitean *Rugii*, suggested by Much, *Die Germania* p. 488, is contested by Steche, *Altgermanien* p. 100.

c. 43, 1 *retro*, c. 43, 2 *ultra quod*, c. 44, 1 *trans* in contrast to c. 42, 1 *iuxta*. I do not see any reason to presume that Tacitus in c. 44, 1 all of a sudden and without a word of explanation should have changed his direction of advance from south to north to that from east to west, nor that the Lemovii should be located between the Rugii and the Oder.¹

The neighbours of the Lemovii, the Rugii, are known not only to have lived in the region round the mouth of the Vistula, but also as inhabitants of Scandinavia.² According to their own tradition, preserved by Jordanes in *Get.* 25—26, the Goths were also immigrants from Scandinavia. Although most Swedish archaeologists have taken a critical standpoint to this tradition,³ recent investigations carried out by Wagner have led in a pronounced manner to a positive attitude towards it.⁴ The most important arguments in favour of the Gothic migration are the Scandinavian tribal names, *Ptol. Geog.* 2, 11, 16 Γοῦται, *Iord. Get.* 22 *Vagoth*, *Gauthigoth*, 23 *Ostrogothae*, the connection of which with the name of the Goths cannot be denied.

The fact is that immediately before the Lemovii, Tacitus mentions two tribes, the Gotones and the Rugii, whose names have their counterparts in Scandinavia. Thus, in principle, it must also be permissible to look for a counterpart to the name of the Lemovii in Scandinavia. It is not difficult to recognize the similarity of the name of the Λεύωνοι, mentioned in *Ptol. Geog.* 2, 11, 16 as inhabitants of Central Scandinavia, with that of the Lemovii. As a matter of fact, the possible identity of these two names has often been suggested.⁵ It has also been observed that *Plin. nat.* 4, 96 *Hilleviones* might be connected with the Λεύωνοι.⁶ The emendations proposed, however, have for the most part been ignored and so far they have not been accepted by any of the editors.⁷ The fact that L. Weibull regards the name Λεύωνοι as a corruption

¹ Much, *Die Germania* p. 489 locates the Lemovii to the west of the Rugii and identifies them with the Σιδινοί and Φαροδινοί in *Ptol. Geog.* 2, 11, 7. The same location is given to them by Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 82 (cf. *idem*, *Goten* p. 179), but Noreen (*Fornvännen* 15, 1920, 37), Karsten (*Germ.-finn. Lehnw.* pp. 7, 77 n. 3; *Fragen aus dem Gebiete* pp. 47 ff.), and Kossinna (*IF* 7, 1897, 281) were already inclined to locate the Lemovii east of the Vistula.

² *Iord. Get.* 24.

³ See Wagner, *Getica* pp. 106 ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 214.

⁵ See Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* p. 154; Lundström, *Svensk Humanistisk Tidskrift* 1, 1917, 27; Karsten, *Germ.-finn. Lehnw.* pp. 7, 77 n. 3; Noreen, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Lundström, *loc. cit.*; *Plin. nat.* 4, 96 is quoted on p. 27, Ptolemy's passage on Scandinavia on p. 48.

⁷ Cf. Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 82 »Von der früher beliebten Gleichsetzung (scil. der Lemovii) mit den Λευῶνοι des Ptolemaeus in Schweden ist man abgekommen»; *ib.* p. 206 he regards the name *Hilleviones* as so far unexplained.

of *Suiones* is an example of the speculation about these names.¹ Since the name of the *Hilleviones* has also repeatedly been interpreted as being identical with that of the *Suiones*,² there is sufficient reason to examine in detail the possible identity of the *Lemovii*, *Λεβωνοι*, and *Hilleviones*. As far as I can see, the weak point of the earlier emendations is that they have not been adequately motivated palaeographically. For this reason I propose to examine these names especially from a palaeographical point of view.

The MSS. readings in Germ. 44, 1 *Lemovii*/*Lemonii* already indicate that the letters *N* and *V*, by reason of their similar appearance, were easily confused. Other examples of the same interchange are:³

34, 1 (117)	<i>chamanos</i> m L s	= <i>chamavos</i>
46, 1 (137)	<i>pencinorum</i> m	= <i>peucinorum</i>
46, 3 (118)	<i>pencini</i> m	= <i>peucini</i>

Errors in the letter *M* are also very common in the MSS. of the *Germania*:

<i>M</i> for <i>NI</i>		
	8, 9 (106)	<i>aurimam</i> l = <i>auriniam</i>
<i>NI</i> for <i>M</i>		
	42, 1 (181)	<i>marconiani</i> p M w (= r) = <i>marcomani</i>
<i>M</i> for <i>IN</i>		
	4, 8 (146)	<i>mediam</i> m = <i>inediam</i>
	40, 4 (161)	<i>uarmi</i> C m I s = <i>varini</i>
<i>M</i> for <i>N</i>		
	2, 13 (112)	<i>hermimones</i> = <i>herminones</i>
	34, 1 (148)	<i>dulcubimi</i> h s ² = <i>dulgubini</i>
<i>N</i> for <i>M</i>		
	4, 4 (123)	<i>tanquam</i> W = <i>tamquam</i>
<i>M</i> for <i>V</i>		
	40, 5 (317)	<i>smarines</i> m = <i>suarines</i>
<i>M</i> for <i>VI</i>		
	29, 1 (95)	<i>batami</i> m = <i>batauii</i>
	45, 1 (221)	<i>smuo-</i> c = (<i>suiuo-</i>), <i>suiuo-</i>

On the basis of the examples enumerated, it is allowable to read the *Lemovii* /*Lemonii* of the MSS. as both **Levonii* and **Levionii*. The former corresponds

¹ *Nordisk historia* I, 34 n. 19.

² For the different emendations see Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* pp. 137 f. Bremer, *Ethnographie* § 82 corrects *Hillevionum gente* > *illa Suionum gente*, which is also held possible by Much, *Die Germania* p. 494, and Nerman, *Sveriges rikets uppkomst* p. 33.

³ The references are to chapters and lines in *The Germania*, ed. Robinson. The numbers in brackets refer to pages of the same edition.

to the Ptolemaic Λεύωνοι, the latter to Pliny's *Hilleviones* — except for the syllable *Hil-*, which has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for.¹ It seems to me, however, that the key to the riddle lies in Plin. nat. 4, 96: *Mons Saevo ibi, inmensus nec Riphaeis iugis minor, inmanem ad Cimbrorum usque promunturium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur refertus insulis, quarum clarissima est Scatina a via incomptae magnitudinis, portionem tantum eius, quod notum sit, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis: quare alterum orbem terrarum eam appellant. nec minor est opinione Aeningia. 97 quidam haec habitari ad Vistlam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt, sinum Cylipeum vocari et in ostio eius insulam Latrim, mox alterum sinum Lagnum, conterminum Cimbris.*

Except for the *Hilleviones*, the name *Hirri* is otherwise unknown, too, whereas *Sciri* is well-known from other sources.² The MSS. variants of these three names are as follows: *hillevionum* ADFE, *illeuionum* R (Dic[ui]li liber de mens. orbis terrae ed. Parthey, Berolini 1870] codd. D V); *hirris* A, *hyris* ED, *hyrys* R, om. Dic., *hiris* a; *sciris* A, *scyris* E, *cyris* D, *ciris* R, *scirisque* Dic.³ As the *Sciri* are mentioned immediately before the *Hirri*, Zeuss⁴ and Müllenhoff⁵ have drawn the conclusion that the latter name is only a repetition of the former, being due to uncertainty about its orthography. Although both Detlefsen and Mayhoff retain the name *Hirri* in the text, the opinion of Zeuss and Müllenhoff is well founded. Provided that they are right, we may conclude that the uncertainty of the copyist in question found expression in the fact that he was not able to distinguish an initial *SC* from *H* and thus wrote the name in two different ways, *SCIRI* and *HIR(R)I*. Accordingly, in the handwriting that the copyist was reading and transcribing, initial *SC* and *H* could not easily be distinguished from each other. In these circumstances it is possible that the same person, or somebody else, also in other words — and more particularly in foreign proper names, the mean-

¹ Lundström, the last to have seriously considered the identity of the names in question, offers the following explanation: loc. cit. (p. 25 n. 5) »Plinius' illevioner (*h* spelar ju paleografiskt ingen roll) på Scandinavia . . . äro naturligtvis identiska med Ptolemaios' levoner — att namnet, då det passerat i folkmun på handelsvägarne ned till den antika kulturvärlden, fått ett prosthetiskt *i*, är ju ingenting märkvärdigt».

² Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* pp. 138 f., 200.

³ The readings have been taken from the editions of both Detlefsen and Mayhoff.

⁴ *Die Deutschen* p. 156 »Der Name *Hirri*, der nirgends vorkommt, ist wahrscheinlich aus übergeschriebnem *Scirri* (wie die Späteren schreiben) verderbt in den Text gerathen. Dicuil (8. Jahrh.), der diese Stelle in seinen Bericht über den Norden aufnimmt, hat ihn nicht und schreibt (ed. Walckenaer, p. 33): quidam haec habitari ad Vistulam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, *Scirisque* tradunt».

⁵ *DA II*, 87 n. 2 »dass die 'hirri'. . . lediglich dem orthographischen zweifel eines abschreibers entsprungen sind . . . muss jedem verständigen einleuchten».

ing of which was no guide to the reader — may have read *H* instead of *SC* at the beginning of a word. I think the name *Hilleviones*, which is found in the same context as *Sciri*, *Hirri* only a couple of lines earlier, is to be deciphered in the following manner: *HILLEVIONES* < *SCILLEVIONES* < *SCIL(icet) LEVIONES*. The beginning of the name, the baffling extra syllable, thus turns out to be an incidental remark by the one who dictated, which by the person who was taking down the dictation was interpreted as a part of the original text.¹

By virtue of the foregoing considerations my opinion is that Plin. nat. 4, 96 *Hilleviones*, Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 16 *Λεύωνοι* and Tac. Germ 44, 1 *Lemovii* /*Lemonii* are different forms of the same name. The form used by Pliny was **Leviones*, that of Tacitus either **Levionii* or **Levonii*. According to Ptolemy this tribe lived in Central Scandinavia (*τὰ δὲ μέσσα*) to which, therefore, the words of Pliny *portionem tantum eius* must also refer. Tacitus says that the tribe in question dwelt near the Rugii *protinus ab Oceano*, from which it may be concluded that it lived on the southern shore of the Baltic to the east and to the north of the Rugii.²

As to the location of the Suiones, particular attention must be paid to the fact that immediately before them Tacitus mentions three tribes, the Gotones, Rugii, Lemovii, the names of which have their counterparts in Scandinavia. In principle, it must be accepted as possible that there were even other tribes who lived on both sides of the Baltic, although their names might not have been preserved in our sources. Since the sources are extremely scanty and imperfect particularly concerning the peripheral regions, it is also possible that a tribal name which in reality was known on both sides of the sea appears in the surviving literary accounts on one side or the other, but not both. For the location of the Suiones of Tacitus this means that not only Scandinavia but also the southern and eastern coast of the Baltic must be accepted in principle as an area in which they may be sought.

The distance of the Suiones from the Lemovii depends on how c. 44, 2 *hinc* is to be interpreted. The expression *Suionum hinc civitates . . . classibus valent* is concise. As in c. 44, 1 *Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur*, which stands for

¹ For similar mistakes see Kantorowicz, *Einführung in die Textkritik* p. 32.

² Since the Tacitean **Levionii*/*Levonii*, living to the east of the Goths and the Rugii, belong to an area not far from the habitat of the Finnic Livonians (see Šturms, *Festschrift Ernst Wahle* pp. 68 f.), I am inclined to agree with Noreen when he says (*Fornvännen* 15, 1920, 37) : »De ursprungliga liverna voro i så fall . . . utvandrade från Sverige och ha . . . med tiden fått sitt namn överfört på ett finsk-ugriskt folk».

»beyond the Lugii live the Gotones and they are ruled by kings», Tacitus has even in c. 44, 2 amalgamated two statements into one: »hence come the Suiones . . . , who have strong fleets». It remains to some extent obscure whether Tacitus conceived the first settlements of the Suiones to be in the immediate neighbourhood of the Lemovii or at some distance from them, for the meaning of the adverb *hinc* allows of both alternatives.¹

Generally the words *ipso in Oceano* have been taken as a decisive argument that Tacitus conceived the Suiones as living on an island (or possibly several islands), which has (or have) been identified with modern Scandinavia.² Tacitus, however, does not say that the Suiones were living on an island, nor does he mention the name of Scandinavia. Nor do the ancient writers who knew Scandinavia mention the Suiones among its inhabitants, but they speak of entirely different tribes.³ It is not until the sixth century that Jordanes enumerates among the Scandinavian tribes the *Suehans* and the *Suetidi*,⁴ names which may be connected with the Tacitean form *Suiones*. Tacitus relates quite clearly and unambiguously that the Batavians were living on an island: Germ. 29, 1 *Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt*. Similarly, the centre of the Nerthus amphictyony is explicitly stated to be an island in the Ocean: c. 40, 3 *est in insula Oceani castum nemus*. When speaking of the Suiones, Tacitus apparently had some reason to avoid the word *insula*. He does not use the expression *in insula* or *insulis Oceani*, but he says *ipso in Oceano*. This expression does not imply that Tacitus thought that all the Suiones lived 'in the Ocean itself', for in my opinion it can equally well be translated 'even in the Ocean'. The fact is that the pronoun *ipse* is not at all uncommon in Tacitus in the meaning of 'even'.⁵ In this meaning the

¹ *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* s. v. *Hinc* p. 2792, 52 »(hin)c significat punctum, a quo incipit alqd.: 1 usu strictiore c. respectu certi cuiusdam initii: p. 2794, 77. 2 usu laxiore, i. q. 'deinde', 'tum', 'postea', 'mox': p. 2795, 61».

² Stenberger, *Det forntida Sverige* pp. 380, 387; Svennung, *Eranos* 61, 1963, 121 ff. (cf. idem, *Scadinavia und Scandia* p. 13); Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 205; Hjärne, *Bernstenriddaren och Tacitus* p. 14 ff. Bolin, *Från Tacitus till Tage Erlander* p. 14 (quoted on p. 16 above) thinks that the habitat of the Suiones was regarded by Tacitus as a peninsula, but is sharply criticized by Svennung, loc. cit.

³ Mela 3, 6, 54 *codannovia, quam adhuc Teutoni tenent* (cf. Svennung, *Scadinavia und Scandia* p. 12); Plin. nat. 4, 96 (quoted above, p. 27); ib. 8, 39 *septentrio fert et . . . alcen . . . item natam in Scadinavia insula . . . achlin*; Sol. 20, 7 *Gangavia insula e regione Germaniae mittit animal quale alce . . .* ib. 8 *de Germanicis insulis Gangavia maxima est*. The passage of Solinus goes back to Plin. nat. 8, 39 (cf. Svennung, op. cit. p. 14). For Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 16 on Scandinavia see below, p. 48.

⁴ Iord. Get. 21, 23.

⁵ Gerber & Greef, *Lexicon Taciteum* p. 693.

word is often found in the last part of a three-part rhetorical figure: dial. 21, 8 *temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit* (*membra — toris — ipsosque nervos*); Agr. 31, 1 *bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera et contumelias conteruntur* (*bona fortunaeque — ager atque annus — corpora ipsa ac manus*); hist. 1, 2, 2 *et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso* (*urbs — delubris — ipso Capitolio*). Fully comparable to these examples is Germ. 44, 1 *Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur . . . protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii . . . 2 Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano* (*Trans Lugios — protinus deinde ab Oceano — ipso in Oceano*).

The plural *civitates* implies that Tacitus considered the Suiones to be a group of settlements. We cannot presuppose that all these settlements were situated in similar geographical areas, either along the coast or on an island or a group of islands: on the contrary, all these possibilities must be taken into consideration unless excluded by the account of Tacitus. The adverbials *hinc* and *ipso in Oceano* allow the possibility that some of the Suionian communities may have been thought by Tacitus to border immediately upon the territory of the Lemovii, i. e. to be situated along the same coast.

It is not possible to decide from the words *ipso in Oceano* if Tacitus knew about Suionian settlements on one or several islands in the Ocean. The plural *civitates* seems to tally better with the latter alternative.¹ The fact that Tacitus comes to the Suiones by way of the tribes on the lower Vistula, then discusses the Aestii, and at the end of the passage on the Aestii again mentions the Suiones, indicates that he knew the Suiones to be closely connected with the south-eastern parts of the Baltic coast.

The next point is to examine what bearing the Tacitean statement that the Ocean protected the Suiones from sudden hostile attacks has on their localization: c. 44, 3 *nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis praeponere regia utilitas est*. In regard to this statement it should first be noticed that all the information collected in the *Germania* is not of the same factual value. The reflections and philosophic interpreta-

¹ This is also the view of Malone, *AJP* 46, 1925, 172; Svennung seems undecided about this matter: cf. *Eranos* 61, 1963, 131 and *Scandinavia und Scandia* p. 13. See also C. Weibull, *Källkritik och historia* p. 10; Nerman, *Det svenska rikets uppkomst* pp. 18 f.

tions of the author, which are not always to the point, can, however, easily be separated from the factual information.¹ The statement that the disarmament of the Suiones was due to the sense of security against sudden attacks which the Ocean afforded, is generally reckoned as one of the misunderstandings of Tacitus himself. It has been pointed out with reason that the explanation of the author cannot be right, because the sea in ancient times did not give protection against sudden invasions but rather favoured them.² Even the actual information on which the above mentioned misunderstanding is based must be considered at least partly a wrong one. We know from Tacitus himself that among the Germans it was prohibited to carry arms during religious festivals.³ The idea, however, that disarmament was a permanent rule among the Suiones is a misconception of either Tacitus or his informants. The mistake goes even further than this: not even during the festivals were all the Suiones affected by the disarmament but naturally only those who took part in the ceremonies.

The inclination of Tacitus to indulge in rhetorical exaggeration makes him sometimes offer statements which are inconsistent with his own account.⁴ When he gives as a second motive for the disarmament of the Suiones the fact that arms in idle hands easily lead to acts of violence, he is guilty of this kind of exaggeration. The account of the wealth and power of the Suiones does not tally with the idea of their idleness.⁵ It is perfectly clear that the information concerning leisure during religious festivals has been misinterpreted by the author as idleness in general.

Considering the fact that the statement about the Ocean providing protection against enemy attacks together with that about idleness has been represented as a motive for the disarmament of the Suiones, we have every reason to take a cautious attitude to it. There is no reason to suppose that all the Suiones always passed their time in idleness; it would be equally unwarranted to believe that all the Suionic communities were protected on every side by the sea. The factual basis of Tacitus' statement about the idleness of the Suiones is the leisure during the religious festivals; similarly, the words *subitos*

¹ Cf. Anderson, *Germania* pp. xxvi ff.

² Much, *Die Germania* p. 503.

³ Germ. 40, 3 *laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat.*

⁴ Cf. Much, *op. cit.* pp. 118, 237, 307, 311, 383, 398, 518.

⁵ Germ. 44, 2 *praeter viros armaque classibus valent . . . 3 est apud illos et opibus honos.*

hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus do not involve more than that some of the several Suionic communities were thought of as being situated on an island (or islands) in the Ocean.

In c. 45, 2 Tacitus proceeds in his narrative to the Aestii living on the *dextrum Suebici maris litus*. After the passage on the Aestii he once again mentions the Suiones and defines the habitat of the Sithones in relation to them, not to the Aestii. Considering the consistent geographical order manifested in the *Germania*, I think it is most unlikely that Tacitus in his narrative would have turned again from the coast to the sea. Even Müllenhoff considered this quite impossible.¹ However, since he wanted to place the Sithones in Scandinavia in order to identify them with the Kvaens, he transplanted the paragraph 45, 6 to the end of c. 44. This transposition involves the change of c. 45, 1 *Trans Suionas* to *Trans Sithonas*. The alteration of the text, which must be considered as most drastic and poorly motivated, has subsequently been unanimously rejected by scholars and all modern editors retain paragraph 45, 6 in the place given to it in the MSS. Nevertheless, the Suiones mentioned in c. 45, 6 have been located ever since as if the transposition proposed by Müllenhoff had been unanimously accepted. However, if we accept Müllenhoff's well-founded opinion that Tacitus cannot suddenly have deviated from his consistent geographical order and at the same time reject the violent transposition, I do not see any other choice than to establish that Tacitus conceived the Suiones as living not only *ipso in Oceano* but also near the Aestii *dextro Suebici maris litore*. This conclusion is not contradictory to the other facts about the Suiones gathered from Tacitus, for the words *Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano* do not imply that the author considered the Suiones to dwell only 'in the middle of the Ocean'.

Since Tacitus mentions the name *Suiones* in three connections, naturally each of these three paragraphs must be taken into equal consideration when trying to establish the location of the communities in question. On the basis of the first of the paragraphs examined separately, we may conclude that the Suiones were living either in the middle of the Ocean or both in the Ocean and along the coast, depending on whether we translate the words *ipso in Oceano* 'in the Ocean itself' or 'even in the Ocean'. When the third of the three paragraphs, which is completely unambiguous, is also considered, it becomes quite clear that only the latter alternative is correct. In these circum-

¹ *DA* II, 8, quoted above, p. 10.

stances it is easy to understand that in the first paragraph Tacitus used an ambiguous expression. He did not say that the Suiones were living on an island or islands, *in insula* or *insulis*, because he knew that there were also Suiones *dextro Suebici maris litore*.

When taking into consideration the first and the last of the three paragraphs in which Tacitus mentions the name of the Suiones it can be established that according to him there were Suiones living along the coast of the Aestii and 'also in the Ocean'. How far to the north the region occupied by them was thought to extend, depends on how the passage 45, 1 is interpreted: *Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adicit. illuc usque — et fama vera — tantum natura.*

First it is worth noticing that here Tacitus uses a Greek accusative *Suionas*. As a rule he avoids Greek case endings.¹ In the *Germania* the Greek inflection is found — apart from in this name — only once, viz. in c. 43, 2 *Helveconas*.² I think the form *Suionas* points to a Greek literary source.³ This view is also confirmed by the fact that the expression *mare pigrum* has certainly been derived from the Greek literary tradition and ultimately goes back to Pytheas of Massilia.⁴ *Mare pigrum* corresponds to the Greek expression *πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα*, as is evident from the following examples: Str. 1, 4, 2 *διὰ Θούλης — ἣν φησι Πυθίας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐγγὺς δ' εἶναι τῆς Πεπηγυῖας Θαλάττης*; Plin. nat. 4, 104 *A Tyle unius diei navigatione mare concretum a nonnullis Cronium appellatur*; Tac. Agr. 10, 4 *dispecta est et Thule . . . sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus*; Dion. Perieg. 30 ff. (GGM II, 106) *ἀντὰρ ὑπερθεν | πρὸς βορέην, ἵνα παῖδες ἀρειμανέων Ἀριμασπῶν, | πόντον μιν καλέουσι πεπηγότα τε Κρόνιον τε · | ἄλλοι δ' αὖ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐφήμισαν εἶνεκ' ἀφαιροῦ | ἠέλιον*; Prisc. periheg. 40 ff. (translation of the former) *At boreae qua gens feruens Arimaspa sub armis, | dicitur ille piger nec non Saturnius, idem |*

¹ Constans, *Étude sur la langue de Tacite* p. 12.

² Cf. Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 9 *Ἑλουαίωνες*.

³ Much (Hoops' *Reallexikon* s. v. *Helysii*) on the evidence of the readings *helysios*, *lygios* was inclined to assume that in his account of the Lugii (Germ. 43, 2—44, 1) Tacitus followed a Greek source; cf. also Reche's similar views in Ebert's *Reallexikon* IV, 283. These readings, however, may be later corruptions (see Robinson, *The Germania* pp. 98, 243, 319), but the form *Suionas* must be that used by Tacitus himself.

⁴ *DA* I, 412; Mette, *Pytheas von Massalia* p. 9; Stichtenoth, *Pytheas von Marseille* p. 91.

Mortuus ast aliis, minimo quod lumine solis | perfruitur. The examples above prove that πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα, πόντος πεπηγώς, π. Κρόνιος, π. νεκρός, *mare pigrum*, *m. concretum*, *m. Cronium*, (*Oceanus*) *piger*, *O. Saturnius*, *O. mortuus* are alternative interpretations of the same concept. There is, however, a difference between the conceptions of Tacitus and Dionysius, for according to the former *mare pigrum* surrounded the earth on every side, but Dionysius, on the contrary, thought that the Ocean (Ὠκεανός), which surrounded the earth, was in the north (πρὸς βορέην) called πόντος πεπηγώς etc. Tacitus speaks about two seas (*Oceanus — aliud mare*), Dionysius about only one and its different parts.

Now it must be recalled that Tacitus describes *mare pigrum* in the beginning of the very chapter (Germ. 45, 1) in which he speaks about amber and its collectors (Germ. 45, 2—5). The same items are also found in Dionysius and the elder Pliny: Dion. Perieg. 316 ff. (GGM II, 121) Τῶν δὲ παρὰ προχοῆσι πεπηγότος ἐγγύθι πόντου | ἠδουφαῆς ἤλεκτρος ἀέξεται, οἷά τις ἀδγῆ | μῆνης ἀρχομένης; Plin. nat. 37, 35 *Pytheas Guionibus, Germaniae genti, accoli aestuarium oceani Metuonidis nomine spatium stadiorum sex milium; ab hoc diei navigatione abesse insulam Abalum; illo per ver fluctibus advehi (scil. electrum) et esse concreti maris purgamentum; incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo proximisque Teutonibus vendere.* According to Dionysius amber was produced πεπηγότος ἐγγύθι πόντου, Pliny called amber *concreti maris purgamentum*.

The Guiones, who according to Pytheas were living only a day's journey from the amber island of Abalus situated in the *mare concretum*, have by many scholars been identified with the Gotones, i. e. the Goths, who even at that time would have lived round the mouth of the Vistula.¹ If that is so, the *mare concretum*, which is equivalent to the Tacitean *mare pigrum*, would be the south-eastern part of the Baltic. The question of the Guiones, however, is very complicated and, as I do not think that the identification of them with the Goths is relevant, I will examine this name in a more detailed manner later on.

The similarity between Tacitus, Pliny, and Dionysius, who all connect the amber with the πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα (i. e. *mare pigrum* or *concretum*) cannot be accidental and Tacitus must also have thought of the sea, which he mentions as situated *trans Suionas*, as closely connected with the amber. This being

¹ Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* p. 132; Bremer, *Ethnographie* § 51; Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* p. 122; Aly, *Strabon von Amaseia* p. 307; Saks, *Aestii* p. 29; Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 118. Cf. also Wenskus, *Stammesbildung* p. 286.

the case, the fact that Tacitus considers the Aestii to be the only collectors of amber implies that he did not think of the *mare pigrum* beyond the Suiones as being far from the Aestian coast.

My opinion is that it is evident from the Tacitean account of the Suiones that the author thought of them as being closely connected with the south-eastern coast of the Baltic and as living partly on this coast, partly on the islands. The part of the Baltic coast inhabited by the Suiones cannot be exactly defined as — apart from tribal names — Tacitus does not mention any geographical names from Northern Germany east of the Elbe. Since the Suiones are mentioned between the Lemovii and the Aestii and once again after the Aestii, this seems to imply that there were Suionian communities on the Baltic coast not only between the Lemovii and the Aestii but also among the latter. Since Tacitus does not mention any island in the Baltic by name, it cannot be established with which island or islands the words *ipso in Oceano* should be associated. K. Malone is inclined to think of the Ålands and the numerous islands along the coast of Uppland.¹ However, as the Suiones are also mentioned as inhabiting the same coast as the Aestii, in my opinion not even the numerous small islands along the south-eastern Baltic coast can be excluded from the islands possibly concerned.

My view of the location of the Tacitean Suiones is borne out by the fact that the Guiones in Plin. nat. 37, 35 and the Sulones in Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 8, who belong to the south of the Baltic, have — as regards their name — even earlier been connected with the Suiones. On the other hand, I have already established above that in Plin. nat. 4, 96 the name *Hilleviones* has no bearing on them and must be interpreted as identical with Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 16 *Αεύωνοι* and Tac. Germ. 44, 1 *Lemovii*.

THE GUIONES OF THE ELDER PLINY

Plin. nat. 37, 35, which includes the name *Guiones*, is quoted on p. 34 above. The best MS. of the concluding part (books 32—37) of Pliny's Natural History is the *Codex Bambergensis*.² The reading of this MS. is *Guionibus*, which has been accepted by both Mayhoff and Mette. Its variants are *gotonibus* d, *guttonibus* h, *gutonibus* cett. It is generally agreed that *Germaniae genti* is a later

¹ *AJPh* 46, 1925, 172.

² See Plin. nat. ed. Mayhoff, vol. V, p. v.

addition by Pliny himself.¹ Since a tribe by the name of *Guiones* is otherwise unknown, the reading of the *Codex Bambergensis* has been corrected in different ways. Müllenhoff² identifies the *Guiones* with the *Teutoni* and he has been followed by Schmidt³ and Schwarz.⁴ Detlefsen⁵ reads the name as *Inguiones* and considers it identical with *Inguaeones*, *Ingyaeones*, *Ingaevones* mentioned by Pliny and Tacitus.⁶ Zeuss, Bremer, Schönfeld, Aly, Saks, Gimbutas consider the form *Gutones* to be correct.⁷ Very little attention has been given to the suggestion of Müller, supported by Gudeman, that the name should be read as *Suiones*. In the following I will examine more closely the grounds for this hypothesis.

Müller writes as follows: »diversas de his (scil. Teutonis) sententias fuisse e Mela 3, 6, 7 (= ed. Frick 3, 6, 54) colligitur, qui de Codanovia sive Scandinavia dicit *quam adhuc Teutoni tenent*. Secundum haec igitur, quae cur brevi manu submoveantur non video, Teutonos proximos dicere licet Germanis Scandinaviae, quos Tacitus Germ. 44 *Suiones* vocat et inter Lemovios et Aestios in Oceano collocat. Jam quum Plinii codex Bambergensis, omnium ille longe optimus, pro *Gutonibus* praebeat *Guionibus*, proclivis conjectura est legendum esse *Suionibus*, quos Pytheas non modo in insulis Oceani, sed etiam in continente fuisse statuerit, sicuti sec. Melam Teutoni tum in continente tum in Scandia sunt».⁸ Gudeman points out that »it is quite possible that Pliny l. c. 35 wrote *Suionibus* (mentioned by T[acitus] immediately after his account of amber) instead of *Guionibus*».⁹ Gudeman considers the identity of the names *Guiones* and *Suiones* as possible, although he believes that the *Suiones* of Tacitus dwelt in Scandinavia and identifies the *aestuarium* inhabited by the *Guiones* as the shores of the North Sea!¹⁰ The points of view presented by Müller are in my opinion most significant, but as he has presented them in a cursory manner in his commentary on Ptolemy, they have escaped the notice they deserve. As far as I know, since Gudeman nobody has seriously taken into consideration the possible identity of the two names.

¹ Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 43; *DA* I, 479.

² Loc. cit. (n. 1).

³ *Die Ostgermanen* p. 5.

⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵ *Die Entdeckung des germ. Nordens* p. 6.

⁶ Plin. nat. 4, 96 and 99; Tac. Germ. 2, 2.

⁷ For the references see p. 34 n. 1.

⁸ Ptol. Geog. vol. I: 1, 423.

⁹ *De Germania* (1928) p. 354.

¹⁰ Op. cit. pp. 296, 354.

Palaeographically the reading of *Suionibus* for *Guionibus* is easy to understand. Mayhoff expressly points out that in the MSS. of Pliny the letters *G*, *C*, *S*, because of their similar appearance have often been confused.¹ As a proof of this fact I give the following examples:²

G for *C*

5, 96, 11	<i>galamitis</i> V R	= <i>calamitis</i>
5, 123, 2	<i>graterem</i> B	= <i>craterem</i>
5, 131, 18	<i>gallaeciam</i> r v	= <i>Callaeciam</i> J, <i>Calliae</i> - B ¹ , <i>Callia</i> - B ² , cf. 5, 132, 16 and 219, 9
5, 158, 11	<i>agragantis</i> B	= <i>Acragantis</i>
5, 162, 3	<i>mergatus</i> B ¹	= <i>mercatus</i>
5, 202, 4	<i>mergantur</i> B	= <i>mercantur</i>
5, 219, 16	<i>gamellis</i> r	= <i>caminis</i>
5, 230, 2	<i>igadas</i> B ²	= <i>icadas</i>
5, 265, 11	<i>gregi</i> V ¹	= <i>grece</i> B

C for *G*

5, 131, 14	<i>palacas</i> r v	= <i>palagas</i> B S
5, 134, 1	<i>corumgias</i> V R	= <i>Gorgias</i>
5, 182, 8	<i>hacetera</i> T	= <i>hagetera</i> B S
5, 183, 17	<i>confici</i> r v	= <i>configi</i>
5, 194, 8	<i>bicam</i> r	= <i>bigae</i> B v
5, 210, 21	<i>canraenas</i> B ²	= <i>gangraenas</i>

C for *S*

5, 158, 12	<i>hoc</i> B	= <i>hos</i>
5, 179, 1	<i>calano</i> B	= <i>Salano</i>
5, 280, 1	<i>lacus</i> d	= <i>Iasus</i>

S for *C*

5, 54, 12	<i>Surium</i> S	= <i>Curium</i>
5, 443, 12	<i>sollochates</i> B	= <i>corallachates</i>

S for *G*

5, 112, 5	<i>desunt</i> B	= <i>degunt</i>
5, 166, 1	<i>signetur</i> B	= <i>gigneretur</i>
5, 356, 8	<i>signitur</i> R	= <i>gignitur</i>
5, 398, 14	<i>signi</i> F	= <i>gigni</i>

G for *S*

1, 299, 9	<i>gipnis</i> r <i>gymnis</i> v	= <i>siphis</i> G <i>sipnis</i> A
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The suggestion of Müller implies that Pytheas already knew about the Suiones living both on the islands in the Ocean and on the continent (loc. cit.

¹ Plin. nat. vol. V, 479.

² The references are to volumes, pages, and lines in the edition of Mayhoff.

»non modo in insulis Oceani sed etiam in continente»). If that be so, it can be supposed that the Tacitean account of the Suiones might also go back to Pytheas. I think there is evidence in favour of this hypothesis. For the present, it can be considered as established that the description of the *mare pigrum* in Germ. 45, 1 rests ultimately on Pytheas.¹ When Tacitus, in connection with this very sea, mentions the name of the Suiones, and, furthermore, puts it in a Greek inflectional form,² these facts indicate that his information about at least those of the Suiones who were living near the *mare pigrum* was ultimately derived from the same Greek source. This hypothesis is made plausible by a fact not noticed by Müller: the *aestuarium oceani* occupied by the Guiones was situated only a day's journey (*diei navigatione abesse*) from the amber-island of the *mare concretum*, which indicates that the Guiones were thought to live at the junction of or between two seas, one of which was the *oceanus*, the other the *mare concretum*. In this respect, they correspond exactly with the Suiones of Tacitus, who were living *ipso in Oceano* but had beyond them *aliud mare pigrum*, identical with the *πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα* of Pytheas, the *mare concretum* of Pliny.³

According to the foregoing, the Guiones are so far comparable to the Suiones of Tacitus in that the *πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα* is expressly mentioned in both contexts, beyond the Suiones (*trans Suionas*) and a day's journey from the Guiones. It could well be said of the latter: *trans Guionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum*. I think there is enough reason to examine closely the wording *Guionibus . . . accoli aestuarium oceani*, for it cannot be considered as quite unambiguous.

Zeuss⁴ translates the word *aestuarium* »eine Einbuchtung des Meeres», Norden⁵ »Wattengebiet», Gutenbrunner⁶ »Flussmündung», »Strandsee», Mette⁷ »Meeresufer», »Meeresgestade», Stichtenoth⁸ »Haff», »Förde». According to Mette,⁹ Ptolemy uses as its equivalent the expression Ὠκεανοῦ εἰσχυσις. It is not possible to establish the exact meaning of the word in the passage in question, as we cannot be sure whether the word *aestuarium* signifies a

¹ See the literature mentioned on p. 33 n. 4 above.

² See p. 33 above.

³ See p. 34 above.

⁴ *Die Deutschen* p. 269.

⁵ *Die germ. Urgeschichte* p. 296 n. 2.

⁶ *Germanische Frühzeit* p. 67.

⁷ *Pytheas von Massalia* p. 2.

⁸ *Pytheas von Marseille* p. 24.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, cf. Norden, *loc. cit.*

certain point on the coast, the length of which was 6000 stadia, or the whole coast. The wording *aestuarium oceani Metuonidis nomine spatium stadiorum sex milium* allows of both interpretations.¹ Since Pliny lifted the passage of Pytheas from its original context, I do not think we can establish which of the interpretations is the right one. The name *Metuonis* is otherwise unknown.² 6000 stadia are equal to roughly 1100 kilometers, but we do not know from what place and to where they were measured. About the island Abalus we know for sure only that it was a day's journey from the *aestuarium Metuonis*.³ As a matter of fact, Abalus need not even have been an island, for Samland, Curonia, and Estonia were still taken for islands late in the Middle Ages.⁴ Therefore, Abalus can quite well also have been a place on the continent erroneously taken for an island.

Accolere = *iuxta colere* 'to live near';⁵ this verb is often used by Pliny when he speaks about peoples and places close to water.⁶ However, the verb itself

¹ Examples supporting the former interpretation are given by Aly, *Strabon von Amaseia* p. 441 n. 17; the latter alternative is supported by: Detlefsen, *Die Entdeckung des germ. Nordens* p. 5; Franke, *RE* XV, 1506; Müller, *Ptol. Geog.* vol. I: 1, 424.

² The MSS. readings are: *metuonidis* Fh, *metuonides* a, *metonidis* d, *meconomon* L, *metuonidis* — *spatium* om. B.

³ According to Timaeus, the same island was called *Basilis*: Plin. nat. 37, 36 *huic et Timaeus credidit, sed insulam Basiliam vocavit*. Even Pytheas knew the name *Basilis*: Plin. nat. 4, 95 *Xenophon Lampsacenus a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensae magnitudinis Balciam tradit, eandem Pytheas Basiliam nominat*. It may be presumed that Pytheas mentioned two islands, Abalus and *Basilis*, which Timaeus confused with each other (Aly, *Strabon von Amaseia* p. 306; Mette, *Pytheas von Massalia* p. 40). Abalus was a day's journey from *Metuonis*, *Basilis* a three-day journey from *litus Scytharum*. In another passage Pliny also mentions an amber island: nat. 4, 94 *Insulae complures sine nominibus eo situ traduntur, ex quibus ante Scythiam quae appellatur Baunonia unam abesse diei cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum eiciatur, Timaeus prodidit*. Linguistic similarities (cf. nat. 37, 35 *ab hoc diei navigatione abesse insulam Abalum; illo per ver fluctibus advehi* — nat. 4, 94 *ante Scythiam quae appellatur Baunonia unam abesse diei cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum eiciatur*) suggest that Pliny is speaking about the same island in both passages. The name *Baunonia* (*Baunonia* AE², *baunoniana* F², *raunonia* F¹E¹, *raunoniam* Da, *raunomiā* R) is otherwise unknown. *Scythia Baunonia* and *aestuarium Metuonidis nomine* correspond to each other, at least in that the amber island was the same distance from both of them. So far, attempts to decipher the names *Abalus*, *Basilis*, *Baunonia* have not yielded any consistent results: cf. Aly, *Strabon von Amaseia* p. 307; Hennig, *Terrae incognitae* I, 173, 333; Schulz, *F & F* 25, 1949, 231; Svennung, *Belt und baltisch* p. 14; Stichtenoth, *ZfdA* 86, 1955—56, 161 ff; idem, *Pytheas von Marseille* p. 86; Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 119; Mette, op. cit. pp. 39 f.

⁴ Adam of Bremen 4, 16 (*MG. SS. VII* [1846], 374) *Sunt et aliae (scil. insulae) interior, quae subiacent imperio Sueonum; quarum vel maxima est illa, quae Churland dicitur; ibid. 17 Praeterea recitatum est nobis, alias plures insulas in eo ponto esse, quarum una grandis Aestland dicitur, non minor illa, de qua prius diximus; ibid. 18 Tertia (scil. insula) est illa, quae Semland dicitur, contigua Ruzzis et Polanis*. Cf. also Svennung, *Eranos* 61, 1963, 135.

⁵ See *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* s. v.

⁶ Nat. 3, 9 *Baeticae primum ab Ossigitania infusus, amoeno blandus alveo, crebris dextra laevaue accolitur oppidis; 3, 12 Maenubam amnem, et ipsum navigabilem, haut procul accolunt Olontigi, Laelia, Lastigi; 3, 54 pluribus prope solus quam ceteri in omnibus terris amnes accolitur aspiciturque villis; 3, 108*

does not exclude those inhabiting the islands of the water in question. So, for instance, the Batavians, who lived on the islands of the Rhine, are nevertheless in Plin. nat. 4, 106 *Rhenum accolentes* and in Plin. nat. 4, 98 *accolunt gentes* refers to all the Germanian tribes both on the continent and on the islands extending along its coast. That being so, the Plinian wording *Guionibus . . . accoli aestuarium* does not even imply that the Guiones were living only on the shore and not on the islands. I think the expression is quite as ambiguous as the words *ipso in Oceano* used by Tacitus. Those who live *ipso in Oceano*, 'even on the islands of the Ocean', may equally well be considered as *aestuarium accolentes*.

The views of Müller, however, cannot be accepted in every respect. When he writes »Teutonos proximos dicere licet Germanis Scandinaviae, quos Tacitus Germ. 44 *Suiones* vocat» he seems to think that the inhabitants of Abalus were also Guiones. But this need not have been the case, for Pliny only says that the *aestuarium Metuonis* was inhabited by the Guiones and that Abalus was one day's journey from it. The inhabitants of the *aestuarium* and Abalus need not have been the same. When the inhabitants of Abalus are said to have sold amber *proximis Teutonis*, it does not necessarily mean that the Teutoni were also *proximi* to the Guiones. As a matter of fact, I think the word *proximi* has been misinterpreted both by Müller and the school of Müllenhoff. When the Teutoni are said to be *proximi* to the inhabitants of Abalus, I think the statement is valid only for the Graeco-Roman perspective and it need not tally with the facts as they appear on a modern map. Similarly, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* the Cimbri, Charudes, and Semnones are called *eiusdem tractus populi*, although in reality these three tribes cannot be considered as inhabitants of the same region.¹ The Teutoni, whom a Mas-

Sabini . . . Velinos accolunt lacus; 3, 135 ortus Rheni amnis accolunt; 3, 145 Nymphaeum (scil. promunturium) accolunt barbari Amantes et Buliones; 4, 40 amnem Strymonem accolunt; 4, 98 Toto autem mari ad Scaldim usque fluvium Germaniae accolunt gentes, haud explicabili mensura; 4, 106 Rhenum autem accolentes Germaniae gentium in eadem provincia Nemetes, Triboci, Vangiones, in Ubis colonia Agrippinensis, Guberni, Batavi et quos in insulis diximus Rheni; 5, 27 inde Syrtis maior . . . [inde] accolit gens Cisippadum; 5, 33 accolunt Marmaridae, a Paraetoni ferme regione ad Syrtim Maiorem usque porrecti; 6, 19 A Cimmerico accolunt Maeotici, Vali, Serbi, Serrei, Scizi, Gnissi; 6, 39 a Cyro Caspium mare vocari incipit; accolunt Caspi; 6, 77 Hinc deinde accolunt Indum; 6, 99 flumen Granis . . . dextra eius accolunt Deximontani; 6, 115 Persae Rubrum mare semper accollere; 6, 147 sinus Capeus, quem accolunt Gaulopes et Gattaei; 6, 155 Atramitis in mediterraneo iunguntur Minaei. mare accolunt; 9, 7 qui Arabim amnem accolunt.

¹ Mon. Ancy. 26 *Cla[ssis m]ea p[er Oceanum] ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad fl[nes Cimbrorum]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. Cf. Melin, *Die Heimat der Kimbern* p. 74 »Der Umstand, dass Augustus die Semnonen als Nachbarn der Kimbern darstellt, erklärt sich daraus, dass der Kaiser im Rom, die Ergebnisse der Operationen zusammenfassend, nicht imstande war, die Entfernungen des weit abgelegenen Raumes zu beurteilen».*

silian or a Roman might have called *proximi* to the amber merchants of Abalus, could in reality have lived several hundred miles away from the island in question. This view of mine gains additional support from the following considerations.

When discussing the northern coast of Germany from west to east, Pomponius Mela mentions only three tribal names: 3, 4, 32 *In eo* (scil. *Codano sinu*) *sunt Cimbri et Teutoni, ultra ultimi Germaniae Hermiones*. From the Roman viewpoint, such as we know it from Mela, the Teutoni and Hermiones seem to have been close neighbours. According to Plin. nat. 4, 100, the names of the different groups of the Hermiones are *Suebi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci*. Since in his *Germania* Tacitus includes the Suiones with the Suebi, and Pliny included the Suebi with the Hermiones, the Suiones, seen in a strictly Roman perspective, also belong to the group dwelling next to the Teutoni. I should also like to point out that the name of the Teutoni does not appear in our sources after Pytheas until some 300 years later.¹ The sources available do not even allow us to define unambiguously the original habitat of the tribe in question. Even if this were the case, it does not seem likely that the Teutoni, who were well known for their wanderings, would have continued to live in the same area in Northern Germany after the time of Pytheas. It is of interest that the Teutoni are not mentioned at all in Tacitus' *Germania*.

As the most important argument in favour of the identity of the Guiones and Suiones, I regard the fact, already pointed out by Gudeman, that both names appear in connection with amber. Tacitus mentions the Suiones both at the beginning and at the end of c. 45, which deals principally with amber, and the Guiones of Pliny belong to the most famous account of amber in Greek and Roman literature. Since the comparison of the parallels between the accounts of Tacitus and Pliny instituted by Gudeman² is far from complete, it is necessary to review the parallels in question:³

Tac. Germ. 45		Plin. nat. 37, 35—46	
1	<i>Trans Suionas</i>	395, 9	<i>Guionibus</i>
27	<i>Suionibus</i>		
1	<i>mare, pigrum</i>	395, 12	<i>concreti maris</i>
6	<i>maris litore</i>	396, 5	<i>in Germanorum litora</i>

¹ For the sources on the Teutoni see Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* s. v.

² *De Germania* (1916) pp. 22 ff.

³ The references for Plin. nat. are to pages and lines in Mayhoff's edition vol. V; for Tac. Germ. the references are to lines in Much, *Die Germania* pp. 504 f.

14	<i>in ipso litore</i>	397, 9—10	<i>in Carmaniae litoribus</i>
		399, 5—6	<i>certa in litora</i>
		400, 7	<i>litus id Germaniae</i>
		400, 10	<i>litora peragravit</i>
6	<i>Aestiorum gentes</i>	395, 10	<i>aestuarium(?)¹</i>
13	<i>sucinum</i>	397, 11—12	<i>sucinum</i>
24	<i>sucini</i>	399, 8	<i>sucinum</i>
		400, 3	<i>sucina</i>
		400, 11	<i>sucinis</i>
		401, 1	<i>e sucino</i>
13	<i>ipsi glesum vocant</i>	398, 15	<i>ab Germanis appellari glaesum</i>
		398, 16	<i>Glaesariam appellatam</i>
13—14	<i>inter vada</i>	399, 7	<i>in vado</i>
14	<i>legunt</i>	397, 3	<i>colligi</i>
17	<i>legitur</i>		
14	<i>quaeve ratio gignat</i>	396, 17	<i>nasci ratione</i>
		397, 13	<i>nascatur</i>
		397, 14	<i>gigni</i>
		398, 3	<i>feri</i>
		398, 14	<i>gigni</i>
		399, 2	<i>nascitur</i>
		401, 2	<i>nasci</i>
14—15	<i>nec . . . quaesitum compertumve</i>	In contrast, Pliny lists the inhabitants of the South who are well familiar with amber:	
		395, 9	<i>Pytheas</i>
		395, 14	<i>Timaeus credit</i>
		396, 1	<i>Philemon negavit</i>
		396, 2—3	<i>Nicias . . . voluit</i>
		396, 9	<i>Theochrestus</i>
		396, 11	<i>Xenocrates credit</i>
		396, 12	<i>Asarubas tradit</i>
		396, 14—15	<i>Mnaseas . . . appellat</i>
		397, 1	<i>Theomenes</i>
		397, 4	<i>Ctesias</i>
		397, 9	<i>Mithridates</i>
		397, 11	<i>Xenocrates</i>
		399, 7—8	<i>prisci nostri credidere</i>
		401, 2—4	<i>Archelaus . . . tradit</i>

¹ Stichtenoth, *ZfDA* 86, 1955—56, 177 connects the name *Aestii* with *aestuarium* and translates it as 'Haffenanwohner'; even Senn, *Handbuch der litauischen Sprache* I, 23 is inclined to regard the name as of Latin origin: »Ich kann mich des Eindruckes nicht erwehren, dass die von Tacitus verwendete Bezeichnung *Aestii* (tatsächlich spricht er von *Aestiorum gentes* 'die aistischen Völkerschaften') nicht ein echtes Ethnikon ist, also nicht ein Völkernamen, der den so Bezeichneten und ihren Nachbarn bekannt war, sondern eine in Rom aus lateinischem Wortgut (vgl. lat. *aestus* 'Hitze, Glut') entstandene Verlegenheitsbenennung».

15	<i>ut barbaris</i>	399, 1	<i>a barbaris</i>
16	<i>eiectamenta maris</i>	395, 12—13	<i>maris purgamentum</i>
16	<i>luxuria nostra dedit nomen</i>	Pliny refers expressly to the extravagant use of amber among the Romans: 400, 8—401, 2 <i>vivitque eques R. ad id comparandum misus ab Iuliano curante gladiatorium munus Neronis principis. qui et commercia ea et litora peragravit, tanta copia invecta, ut retia coercendis feris podium protegantia sucinis nodarentur, harena vero et libitina totusque unius diei apparatus in variatione pompae singulorum dierum esset e sucino. maximum pondus is glabrae attulit XIII librarum.</i>	
16—17	<i>ipsis in nullo usu</i> ¹	395, 13	<i>incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo</i>
17	<i>rude legitur, informe perfertur</i>	401, 4	<i>advehi rude</i>
		398, 10	<i>invehatur</i>
		399, 10—11	<i>adfertur</i>
		400, 7	<i>invehitur</i>
		400, 10—11	<i>invecta</i>
17—18	<i>pretium . . . accipiunt</i>	395, 14	<i>vendere</i>
		400, 10	<i>commercica</i>
18	<i>sucum tamen arborum esse intellegas</i>	396, 2—3	<i>sucum intellegi</i>
		397, 7	<i>arboribus electrum ferentibus</i>
		399, 7	<i>arboris sucum esse</i>
		399, 9	<i>arboris esse</i>
18—19	<i>terrena quaedam atque etiam volucra animalia plerumque interlucent</i>	401, 5—6	<i>quaedam intus tralucentia, ut formicae culicesque et lacertae</i>
19—20	<i>quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur</i>	401, 6—7	<i>quae adhaesisse musteo non est dubium et inclusa durescente eodem remansisse</i>
		399, 4	<i>umoris . . . densatur</i>
20—21	<i>fecundiora . . . nemora lucosque</i>	397, 10—11	<i>insulam . . . cedri genere silvosam</i>
		399, 4	<i>umoris abundantia</i>
21	<i>Orientis secretis</i>	396, 6	<i>in India</i>
		396, 7	<i>Indis; in Syria</i>
		397, 1—2	<i>iuxta maganm hortum Hesperidon</i>
		397, 4	<i>in Indis</i>
		397, 9—10	<i>in Carmaniae litoribus</i>
		398, 3	<i>ultra Indiam</i>
		398, 8	<i>Indos</i>
		401, 2	<i>in India</i>
21	<i>tura balsamaque</i>	396, 7	<i>ture</i>
21	<i>sudantur</i>	396, 4	<i>sudorem</i>
		401, 5	<i>destillare</i>

¹ Cf. Svennung, *Belt und baltisch* p. 15 n. 4.

22	<i>Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse</i>	396, 12	<i>iuxta Atlanticum mare</i>
		397, 10	<i>insulam esse</i>
		398, 14	<i>in insulis septentrionalis oceani</i>
22	<i>crediderim</i>	395, 14	<i>Timaeus credidit</i>
		396, 11	<i>Xenocrates credidit</i>
		397, 13	<i>alios putare</i>
		398, 4	<i>credidisse eum</i>
		398, 6—7	<i>quae . . . credat</i>
		399, 7—8	<i>prisci nostri credere</i>
		400, 4	<i>creditur</i>
22—23	<i>solis radiis expressa</i>	396, 2	<i>solis radiorum</i>
		396, 13—14	<i>sole excalfactum</i>
		399, 3	<i>erumpit</i>
23	<i>liquentia</i>	396, 14	<i>electrum fluitans</i>
		401, 5	<i>liquidum</i>
23	<i>in proximum mare labuntur</i>	396, 15—16	<i>in oceanum effluentem</i>
		397, 6	<i>fluere . . . in exortivum oceanum</i>
		397, 11	<i>defluere in petras</i>
		399, 2	<i>defluente medulla</i>
23—24	<i>vi tempestatum</i>	396, 4—5	<i>oceani . . . aestibus</i>
		396, 9—10	<i>oceanis . . . exaestuante</i>
		399, 5	<i>intumescens aestus rapuit</i>
24	<i>in adversa litora exundant</i>	395, 12	<i>illo . . . fluctibus advehi</i>
		396, 5	<i>in Germanorum litora eici</i>
		396, 10	<i>ad . . . promunturia adpelli</i>
		399, 5—6	<i>certa in litora expellitur</i>
24	<i>admoto igni</i>	395, 13	<i>ad ignem</i>
25	<i>in modum taedae accenditur</i>	399, 10	<i>accensum taedae modo ac nidore flagrat</i>
25	<i>alitque flammam</i>	396, 1—2	<i>flammam ab electro reddi</i>
25	<i>pinguem et olentem</i>	396, 4	<i>pinguem sudorem</i>
		399, 9	<i>pineus in adtritu odor</i>
26	<i>ut in picem resinamve</i>	399, 3	<i>ut . . . resina in pinis</i>

For the sake of clarity, I will set out the passages concerned complete so that the linguistic parallels stand out:

Germ. 45 *Trans Sui on a s aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adicit. illuc usque — et fama vera — tantum natura. ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. matrem deum venerantur. insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam*

inter hostis praestat. rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi glesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiecta menta maris iacebat, donec luxuria nostra dedit nomen. ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. succum tamen arborum esse intellegas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucra animalia plerumque interlucent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis ex pressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. si naturam succini admoto igni temptes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominantur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.

Nat. 37, 35 Pytheas Guionibus, Germaniae genti, accoli aestuarium oceani Metuonidis nomine spatium stadiorum sex milium; ab hoc diei navigatione abesse insulam Abalum; illo per ver fluctibus advehi et esse concreti maris purgamentum; incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo proximisque Teutonibus vendere. 36 huic et Timaeus credidit, sed insulam Basiliam vocavit. Philemon negavit flammam ab electro reddi. Nicias solis radiorum succum intellegi voluit hoc; circa occasum vehementiores in terram actos pinguem sudorem in ea relinquere, oceani deinde aestibus in Germanorum litora eici. in Aegypto nasci simili modo — vocari sacal —, item in India gratiusque et ipso ture esse Indis; 37 in Syria quoque feminas verticillos inde facere et vocare harpaga, quia folia paleasque et vestium fimbrias rapiat. Theochrestus oceano id ex aestuante ad Pyrenaei promunturia adpelli, quod et Xenocrates credidit, qui de his nuperrime scripsit vivitque adhuc. Asarubas tradit iuxta Atlanticum mare esse lacum Cephisida, quem Mauri vocent Electrum. hunc sole excafactum e limo reddere electrum fluitans. 38 Mnaseas Africae locum Sicyonem appellat et Crathin amnem in oceanum effluentem e lacu, in quo aves, quas meleagridas et penelopas vocat, vivere; ibi nasci ratione eadem qua supra dictum est. Theomenes Syrtim iuxta magnam hortum Hesperidon esse et stagnum Electrum, ibi arbores populos, quarum e cacuminibus in stagnum cadat; colligi autem ab virginibus Hesperidum. 39 Ctesias in Indis flumen esse Hypobarum, quo vocabulo significetur omnia bona eum ferre; fluere a septentrione in exortivum oceanum iuxta montem silvestrem arboribus electrum ferentibus. arbores eas psithachoras vocari, qua appellatione significetur praedulcis suavitas. Mithridates in Carmaniae litoribus insulam esse, quam vocari Seritam, cedri genere silvosam, inde defluere in petras. 40 Xenocrates non succinum tantum in Italia, sed et thium vocari, a Scythibus vero sacrium, quoniam et ibi nascatur; alios putare in Numidia ex limo gigni. super omnes est Sophocles poeta tragicus, quod equidem miror, cum tanta gravitas ei cothurni sit, praeterea vitae fama alias principi loco genito Athenis et rebus gestis et exercitu ducto. hic ultra Indiam fieri dixit e lacrimis meleagridum avium Meleagrum deflentium. 41 quod credidisse eum aut sperasse aliis persuaderi posse quis non miretur? quamve pueritiam tam imperitam posse reperiri, quae avium ploratus annuos credat lacrimasve tam grandes avesve, quae a Graecia, ubi Meleager periit, ploratum adierint Indos? quid ergo? non multa aequae fabulosa produnt poetae? sed hoc in ea re, quae cotidie invehatur atque abundet ac mendacium coarguat, serio quemquam dixisse summa hominum contemptio est et intoleranda mendaciorum impunitas.

42 Certum est gigni in insulis septentrionalis oceani et ab Germanis appellari glaesum, itaque et ab nostris ob id unam insularum Glaesariam appellatam, Germanico Caesare res ibi gerente classibus, Austeraviam a barbaris dictam. nascitur autem defluente medulla pinei generis arboribus, ut cummis in cerasis, resina in pinis erumpit umoris abundantia. densatur rigore vel tempore ac mari, cum ipsum intumescens aestus rapuit ex insulis, certa in litora expellitur, ita volubile, ut pendere videatur atque non sidere in vado. 43 arboris sucum esse etiam prisci nostri credidere, ob id succinum appellantes. pinei autem generis arboris esse indicio est pineus in adritu odor et quod accensum taedae modo ac nidore flagrat. adfertur a Germanis in Pannoniam maxime provinciam, et inde Veneti primum, quos Enetos Graeci vocaverunt, famam rei fecere proximique Pannoniae et agentes circa mare Hadriaticum. 44 Pado vero adnexa fabula est evidente causa, hodieque Transpadanorum agrestibus feminis monilium vice succina gestantibus, maxime decoris gratia, sed et medicinae; creditur quippe tonsillis resistere et faucium vitis, varie genere aquarum iuxta Alpīs infestante guttura hominum. 45 DC M p. fere a Carnunto Pannoniae abesse litus id Germania, ex quo invehitur, percognitum nuper, vivitque eques R. ad id comparandum missus ab Iuliano curante gladiatorium munus Neronis principis. qui et commercia ea et litora peragravit, tanta copia invecta, ut retia coercendis feris podium protegentia succinis nodarentur, harena vero et libitina totusque unius diei apparatus in variatione pompae singulorum dierum esset e succino. 46 maximum pondus is glabrae attulit XIII librarum. nasci et in India certum est. Archelaus, qui regnavit in Cappadocia, illinc pineo cortice inhaerente tradit advehirude polirique adipe suis lactentis incoctum. liquidum id primo destillare argumento sunt quaedam intus tralucencia, ut formicae culicesque et lacertae, quae adhaesisse musteo non est dubium et inclusa durescente eodem remansisse.

It is evident from the foregoing that the similarities concerning both language and disposition in the above passages cannot be denied. As the account of Tacitus is considerably shorter, it is natural that Pliny includes much that is missing in Tacitus. The latter, as his theme is the Germans, has naturally left out everything connected with the use and occurrence of amber among other peoples. Both writers agree it is *arboris sucus*. Pliny discusses in detail the opinions of the civilized southerners concerning the origin of amber; Tacitus contents himself with the establishment of the fact that the Aestii, being barbarians, were ignorant of its nature. This may, I think, be quite simply derived from the fact that all the authorities enumerated by Pliny were adherents of Graeco-Roman civilization. Pliny refers to the extravagant use of amber at the gladiatorial displays in Nero's time; as for the barbarians, he knows they used it instead of firewood. Tacitus, who likes to emphasize the simple way of life of the Germans in contrast to Roman luxury, characterizes this contrast in the use of amber with *luxuria nostra — ipsis in nullo usu*. Tac. Germ. 45, 18—20, 25 contains linguistic parallels with Pliny that cannot be due to similarity of subject matter. Even Müllenhoff held

the view that Tacitus took these items direct from Pliny.¹ Tacitus, who strives after antitheses, contrasts the remote regions of the East with the amber-producing countries and islands of the West: *Orientis secretis — Occidentis insulis terrisque*; Pliny is more particular, mentioning not only the Atlantic coast and the islands of the northern Ocean, but India, Syria, and the fabulous garden of the Hesperides as well.

My opinion is that it is evident from the identity of phraseology and disposition that when he wrote c. 45 of his *Germania*, Tacitus was familiar with Plin. nat. 37, 35—46.² He must, however, in the same chapter also have had other sources, as Pliny does not mention the Aestii. It has already been established earlier that the account of Tacitus of *mare pigrum* rests ultimately on Pytheas of Massilia, whom Pliny mentions by name as his source for the Guiones.³ That being so, Pytheas can be considered as one of the common sources of Pliny and Tacitus, although the latter need not have based his words on Pytheas direct. From this source Pliny derived the idea of amber being a product of the *πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα* (*mare concretum* or *pigrum*). Since Tacitus in c. 45 also connects *mare pigrum* with amber, this feature in his account must also be derived from Pytheas. In the light of these facts it seems to me inevitable that the view of Müller and Gudeman concerning the identity of the names *Guiones — Suiones* is correct and that this name — together with amber and the *πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα* — forms the third way in which the correspondence between Pliny and Tacitus is derived from their common source.

The arguments that support the identity of the Guiones and Suiones may be summarized as follows:

1) Palaeographically, *Suionibus* for *Guionibus* is very easy to explain in the light of the mistakes of a similar kind in Pliny's MSS.

2) The *πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα*, the accounts of which rest ultimately on Pytheas of Massilia, has been expressly mentioned close to both the Guiones and the Suiones.

3) Considering the ambiguous meaning of the word *aestuarium*, the Suiones living *ipso in Oceano* could quite well be described as *aestuarium Oceani accolentes*.

4) The wording of Pliny *incolas . . . proximis Teutonis vendere* does not imply

¹ *DA* IV, 508.

² This was even the opinion of Müllenhoff, *DA* II, 31 and IV, 508, but it has been contested by Gudeman (ed. 1928 p. 353 f.) and Anderson (p. xxv) in their editions of the *Germania*.

³ See p. 33 above.

that the Guiones would be located on a modern map in the vicinity of the Teutoni, for the adjective *proximi* expresses the distance between Abalus, the inhabitants of which need not have been Guiones, and the Teutoni only from the Graeco-Roman point of view. As Suebi, the Suiones also belong to the Hermiones group, which Mela mentions as next to the Teutoni.

5) The correspondence of disposition between Plin. nat. 37, 35–46 and Tac. Germ. 45, which is manifested in three items (1. amber, 2. πεπηγυῖα θάλαττα, 3. the name *Guiones* — *Suiones*) points to a common source of information, although Tacitus must also have known the Plinian passage.

6) Even the Greek inflection *Suionas* indicates that Tacitus derived at least a part of his information concerning the tribe in question from a Greek literary source. This source must have been the same on which his account of the *mare pigrum* is based, viz. Pytheas, although Tacitus need not have known the text of Pytheas himself.

7) Finally, I should like to stress the fact that if we are to eliminate the hapax legomenon *Guiones*, which as such is worth nothing, arguments similar to those enumerated above cannot be offered in favour of any of the other emendations proposed.

THE SULONES OF PTOLEMY

Ptolemy describes Scandinavia as follows: Geog. 2, 11, 16 ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν δὲ τῆς Κιμβρικῆς χερσονήσου δ' νῆσοι αἱ καλούμεναι Σκανδῖαι, γ' μὲν μικραὶ . . . μία δὲ μεγίστη καὶ ἀνατολικωτάτη κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Οὐιστούλα ποταμοῦ . . . καλεῖται δὲ ἰδίως καὶ αὐτὴ Σκανδία, καὶ κατέχουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν δυτικὰ Χαιδεῖνοι, τὰ δ' ἀνατολικά Φαρόναι καὶ Φιραῖσοι, τὰ δ' ἀρκτικά Φῖννοι, τὰ δὲ μεσημβρινὰ Γοῦται καὶ Δανκίονες, τὰ δὲ μέσα Λεύωνοι. Of the ancient writers, only the sixth-century historiographer Jordanes was more familiar with this area than Ptolemy. Therefore it is surprising that the Suiones do not appear among the seven Scandinavian tribes that Ptolemy enumerates. K. Müller, however, has pointed out that Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 8 Σούλωνες, the name of an otherwise unknown tribe on the eastern bank of the Vistula, may easily be emended to Σουίωνες.¹ Ptolemy's passage on the Sulones reads as follows: Ἐλάττονα δὲ ἔθνη νέμεται τὴν Σαρματίαν παρὰ μὲν τὸν Οὐιστούλαν ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦς Οὐενέδας Γύθωνες, εἶτα Φί ν ν ο ι, εἶτα Σ ο ὑ λ ω ν ε ς

¹ Ptol. Geog. vol. I: 1, 424.

ὑφ' οὗς Φρουγουδίωνες, εἶτα Ἀβαρινοὶ παρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Οὐίστουλα ποταμοῦ· ὑφ' οὗς Ὀμβρωνες κτλ.

In his argumentation, Müller refers to the fact that Ptolemy locates the Sulones south of the Finns. Since according to Ptolemy there were also Finns in Northern Scandinavia, Müller thinks that the conjunction *Φίννοι* — *Σούλωνες* on the Vistula belongs in reality to Scandinavia: »Ego in codicum scriptura *Σούλωνες* nescio an lateat *Σουίωνες*. Quemadmodum Finni, sic juxta eos Suiones in maxime septentrionali tabulae parte ponendi erant. His populis e falsa sua positione remotis, Phrugundiones, qui deinceps nominantur, locum obtinebunt juxta Burguntas ad sinistram Vistulae ripam collocatos, a quibus Phrugundiones (i. e. Burgundiones) nonnisi corrupta nominis forma differre censeo».

Schönfeld does not accept Müller's suggestion,¹ but his words — »Die *Sulones* . . . wohnten in der Nähe der Weichsel; daher ist eine Änderung in **Σουίωνες* (Müller) nicht empfehlenswert» — reveal that he had not even made himself familiar with the viewpoints of Müller, for the latter thinks that the location of the Sulones on the Vistula is merely Ptolemy's mistake.

After him Schütte has examined very closely the sources of Ptolemy's geographical work and also discussed the location of the Sulones and the origin of their name.² Schütte based his research on the assumption that Ptolemy's atlas was constructed mainly on the basis of already-existing maps — not mainly on the basis of descriptive works — and he set out to reconstruct the supposed original maps or 'prototypes' used by Ptolemy and his predecessor Marinus.³ He divides these prototypes into eleven groups.⁴ The passage containing the Sulones belongs to the tenth group (*E & F*), which comprises Eastern Germany, Sarmatia, and Scythia. Schütte characterizes the prototypes *E & F* as follows: »The prototypes are duplicates of each other . . . *E* has Latin marks . . . , but seems to have been translated into Greek before the stage of Ptolemy. *F* has only Greek marks. — *E & F* are executed after the introduction of a well established Roman amber trade with the Baltic regions under the reign of Nero . . . *E* is totally displaced, *F* is correctly localised . . . *E* has

¹ *Wörterbuch* pp. 217 f.

² *Ptolemy's Maps of Northern Europe*, Copenhagen 1917. Schütte already presented his views concerning the Sulones in »Die Quellen der Ptolemäischen Karten von Nordeuropa,» *PBB* 41, 1916, 10; later he repeats them in »A Ptolemaic Riddle Solved,» *Classica et mediaevalia* 13, 1952, 236—284. The »riddle» in question was for him the location of the Sulones and their neighbours.

³ *Ptolemy's Maps* p. 35.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 35—38.

been turned round, so that west becomes south, and east becomes north The displacement was to a great deal due to the misinterpretation that the Baltic coast was taken for the river Vistula. This fact appears clearly from the Ptolemaic tribes, localised east of the Vistula: Ombrones = Ambrones, the companions of the Cimbri and Teutones; Auarinoi = the Varines, a well-known tribe from Mecklenburg; Frugundiones = Burgundians, inhabitants of Pomerania». ¹ In this way he comes to the conclusion that the names on the eastern bank of the Vistula, Φίννοι, Σούλωνες, Φρουγουδίωνες, Αὐαρινοί, Ὀμβρωνες, enumerated from north to south, really belonged to the Baltic coast, the Ombrones being the farthest to the west, the Finns farthest to the east. He writes the names corrected *Finnoi, Gutones, Burgundiones, Ouarinoi, Ambrones*. ² This suggestion of Schütte is very interesting and it seems to be confirmed by many facts. When the Αὐαρινοί and Ὀμβρωνες are transferred to the western part of the Baltic, it is no doubt easy to indentify them with the historically well-known Varines and Ambrones. ³ The location of the Finns in the eastern part of the Baltic is also in accord with historical facts. Our earliest record of the Burgundians ⁴ is the mention of them in Plin. nat. 4, 99, where they are expressly located next to the Varines (*Varinnae*). ⁵ Furthermore, the emendations Αὐαρινοί > Οὐαρινοί, Φρουγουδίωνες > Βουργουνδίωνες, Ὀμβρωνες > Ἀμβρωνες are palaeographically very easy to understand. Only Schütte's identification of the name Σούλωνες with that of the Goths is too drastic.

Schütte pays no attention at all to the emendation of the name Σούλωνες proposed by Müller, but is nevertheless convinced that the Suiones must have appeared in the original Ptolemaic lists: »It would have been impossible in a detailed list of tribes . . . to omit mention of the Swedes, the only Scandinavian tribe of real Gothonic nationality noticed by Tacitus». ⁶ He tries to find the Suiones in the Scandinavian Φανόναι. The emendation, however, is much too drastic and must definitely be rejected.

The results of Müller and Schütte have been combined by Malone, ⁷ who like Müller regards the Sulones as Suiones, but agrees with Schütte in so far as he believes the Ptolemaic tribes from the Vistula actually to belong to the

¹ Op. cit. pp. 127 f.

² Op. cit. pp. 32, 128.

³ See e. g. Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 55, 114.

⁴ For the sources see Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* p. 55.

⁵ *Vandili, quorum pars Burgodiones, Varinnae, Charini, Gutones.*

⁶ Op. cit. p. 137.

⁷ »Ptolemy's Skandia,» *AJPh* 44, 1924, 362—364.

Baltic coast. In his argumentation for the emendation *Σούλωνες* > *Σουίωνες* Malone attaches importance to the fact that the Sulones appear in the list between the Finns and the Burgundians (*Φρουγουδίωνες*): »this emendation is compelling, for we know that the Suiones dwelt between the (Scrid-) Finns, i. e. Lapps, and the Burgundians (of Bornholm), the former being to their north, the latter to their south . . . In Ptolemy's day the Burgundians actually held lands on both sides of the Baltic, in Pomerania as well as in Bornholm. And tribes known as Finns likewise lived east as well as north of the Baltic. When the Ptolemaic sources were consolidated, then, and when there took place that elimination of duplicates which any consolidation involves, the Swedes, who actually lived between Burgundians and Finns, were by an easy error located between the Burgundians and Finns of the south-eastern Baltic coast, instead of in Skandia».¹

The views of Müller and Malone differ in that the former regards Ptolemy's location of the Finns to the south of the Baltic as completely false, but Malone admits that tribes known as Finns lived on both sides of the Baltic. In this his views must be accepted, for it cannot be denied that the Fenni of Tacitus belonged to the east of the Baltic, but the Scridifinns (*Σκριδιφίνοι*, *Screrefennae*) of Procopius and Jordanes to Scandinavia.² Much takes the Fenni for Baltic Finns and thinks that Tacitus erroneously connected reports with them that actually related to the Lapps.³ Fromm, however, presumes that the Fenni were in reality Lapps, who at that time extended far towards the south, possibly as far as Estonia.⁴ The Burgundians are mentioned in

¹ Art. cit. p. 363.

² For the sources on the Scridifinns see Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* pp. 684 ff.

³ *Die Germania* p. 533 »Die ganze Schilderung dieser Fenni passt schlecht auf die Finnen im heutigen Finnland, die damals wohl noch nicht in diesem Lande sassen, jedenfalls aber schon längere Zeit germanischen und baltischen Kultureinflüssen ausgesetzt gewesen waren. Vermutlich hat Tac. — gleichwie Ptolemaios — von Finnen an zwei Stellen Kunde erhalten. Für seine Darstellung passte es ihm aber besser, sie nur einmal zu nennen. Er tat dies, indem er die östlichen Finnen aufgriff, die skandinavischen fallen liess. Für seine Schilderung der Fenni verwertete er aber Mitteilungen, die sich auf letztere bezogen, für die ihm wohl allein ein Bericht zur Verfügung stand, wie uns ja auch eine Reihe späterer Gewährsmänner nähere Kunde nur über deren, d. i. der Skridefinnen, Lebensweise geben, weil allein diese auffällig und interessant war»; the same standpoint has also been adopted by: Linkomies, *Keisari Augustus ja Rooman perintö* p. 211; Setälä, *Suomen suku* I, 161 f.; T. I. Itkonen, *Suomen suku* II, 253; Vuorela, *Suomensukuiset kansat* p. 28.

⁴ In his supplements to Much's commentary (pp. 533 f.) Fromm points out: »Man muss annehmen, dass unter den *Fenni* Lappen zu verstehen sind, die damals noch weit nach Süden vorstiessen. (Über finnische ON lappischen Ursprungs und die Ausbreitung des *Lappen*-Namens — 'möglicherweise bis nach Estland' — jetzt zusammenfassend V. Nissilä, *Suomalaista nimistö-tutkimusta* . . . 1962. S. 112—15 . . .) . . . An skandinavische Lappen — Much sprach von

literary sources only as living to the south of the Baltic. From archaeological finds, however, it has been deduced that they may well have come there from Scandinavia by way of Bornholm.¹ Consequently the view of Malone is also in this respect in agreement with the modern standpoint. This being the case, it must be admitted that the historical habitat of the Scandinavian Swedes lay to the south of the Finns, but to the north of the Burgundians. On the other hand, the literary records show that there were both Burgundians and Finns on the other side of the Baltic, too. In these circumstances it is no doubt possible that in Ptolemy's lists of names the Suiones might by error have been located on the wrong side of the Baltic. It is understandable that Cary and Warmington fully accept the argumentation of Malone and regard the emendation $\Sigma\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma > \Sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ as convincing.²

All three scholars, Müller, Schütte, and Malone, agree that the Sulones of Ptolemy belonged in reality farther to the north.³ Müller and Malone, who support the reading * $\Sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, place them in Scandinavia, but Schütte, identifying them with the Goths, believes that they belonged to the southern shores of the Baltic. There remains a third possibility that, according to the view of Müller and Malone, the Sulones were Suiones, but, as Schütte believes, they dwelt on the south-eastern side of the Baltic. As far as I know, this possibility has not so far been taken into consideration by anybody. Yet it seems to me that the facts give support both to the location proposed by Schütte and to the emendation of Müller and Malone.

Schütte concluded from linguistic marks that the prototype *E*, to which the displaced names $\Phi\acute{\iota}\nu\nu\omicron\iota$, $\Sigma\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, etc. belonged, was originally Latin, but had been translated into Greek before Ptolemy.⁴ It is surprising that Schütte did not compare this result of his with those already reached earlier by Miller.⁵ The omission may be due to the fact that the main subject of

skandinavischen Finnen, die es erst seit der Neuzeit gibt — wird kaum gedacht sein, weil die Südbewegung der Lappen bis Härjedalen erst im 16. Jh. einsetzte». It seems to me that Fromm has misunderstood Much's explanation and forgotten the $\Phi\acute{\iota}\nu\nu\omicron\iota$ already mentioned in Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 16 (quoted on p. 48 above) in Northern Scandinavia. Much only means that the name *Fenni* (*Finni*) in Tacitus' time was already used by the Germans about both Lapps and Baltic Finns, and that Tacitus had confused the two groups, mentioning the habitat of the Baltic Finns but giving a description that referred to the Lapps.

¹ Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 74 f.; Bosch-Gimpera, *El Problema Indoeuropeo* p. 229.

² *The Ancient Explorers* pp. 145, 274 n. 67.

³ Müllenhoff, *DA* II, 23 also regards Ptolemy's location of the Sulones as incorrect and places them in the neighbourhood of the Goths.

⁴ *Ptolemy's Maps* pp. 127 f., quoted on p. 49 above.

⁵ *Mappae mundi* I—VI, Stuttgart 1895—1898.

Miller's research was medieval maps and their Roman prototypes, whereas Schütte confined his study to Ptolemy. In the last part of his work, Miller undertook the reconstruction of Roman maps.¹ He based his work partly on the oldest medieval maps published by himself, which he believed retained the characteristic features of their Roman predecessors, and partly on ancient literary records. Miller considered as the most important and reliable result of his work the establishment that in the Roman maps of the world the east was at the top: »Als ein vollständig gesichertes Ergebnis unserer Sammelarbeit betrachten wir, dass die römische Weltkarte Osten oben hatte. . . . Nachdem . . . jetzt das Material der mittelalterlichen mappae mundi gesammelt und gesichtet vorliegt, dürfte ein Widerspruch kaum mehr zu erwarten sein . . . Wenn die Römer eine andere Orientierung gehabt hätten als die mittelalterlichen Karten, dann müsste im frühen Mittelalter das eine oder andere Exemplar mit jener Orientierung sich in Abschrift erhalten haben, und es ist kaum denkbar, dass dieselben spurlos verschwunden wären. Wir sind jedoch nicht auf diesen indirekten Beweis beschränkt, sondern können Schritt für Schritt von Jahrhundert zu Jahrhundert bis zur Zeit des Augustus hinauf diese Art der Orientierung verfolgen und aus den alten Schriftstellern erweisen».² It was the most characteristic difference between the Greek and Roman maps that the former, as in modern ones, had the northern quarter at the top. This fact is already evident from the Ptolemaic maps.³ The reversion to the Greek type in modern times is attributed to the great influence of Ptolemy upon the cartography of the 15th and 16th century.⁴ When two kinds of maps were in circulation at the same time, confusion of the quarters easily occurred. A Greek, when reading a Roman map, could mistake the east for the north, the north for the west, etc. An example of this kind of confusion in Ammianus Marcellinus has been pointed out by Miller.⁵

In a Latin map of Eastern Germany, Sarmatia, and Scythia, such as ac-

¹ Op. cit. VI, *Rekonstruierte Karten*.

² Ibid. p. 143; Crone, *Maps and their Makers* p. 26 regards the question as still unsettled; Kejlbo, *Historisk kartografi* p. 13 is ready to admit that the so-called T—O maps of the Middle Ages, always oriented with the east at the top, represent the Roman tradition; the city map of Rome (*Forma urbis Romae*, the last edition by Carettoni & Colini & Cozza & Gatti, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*, Roma 1960, see esp. pp. 229 ff.) was oriented with the south-east at the top.

³ Specimens of these maps in Kiepert, *Formae orbis antiqui* pls. 35—36.

⁴ Miller, op. cit. VI, 145; cf. Crone, op. cit. p. 21.

⁵ Op. cit. VI, 84.

According to Schütte the Ptolemaic prototype *E* was, the Baltic coastline must, in conformity with the results of Miller, have been situated to the left of the viewer. In a Greek map corresponding to a modern one, the river Vistula was on the same side, i. e. to the left of the spectator. When the *Φίρροι*, *Σούλωνες*, etc., mentioned in the Latin source of Ptolemy, were transferred from the Baltic coast to the bank of the Vistula, the displacement is accounted for in a most natural way by the difference in orientation between the Greek and Roman maps. Schütte concluded that the prototype *E* »has been turned round, so that west becomes south, and east becomes north». I would like to make his conclusion more accurate putting it as follows: The map, from which the displaced names originate, was not turned round, although it should have been, when a Roman map was translated into Greek and included in a Greek atlas. The Sulones and their neighbours remained in their previous place, to the left of the spectator, although the west and not the north was now in this quarter. Since Schütte arrived at his solution of the »Ptolemaic riddle» quite independent of Miller, the results of these two scholars confirm one another in a surprising manner and explain the displacement of the Ptolemaic tribes in question quite satisfactorily.

If we agree with Schütte that the Sulones of Ptolemy originate from a Latin source, their name is also easy to explain. Müller and Malone, who held that the Sulones were Suiones, did not give any examples of the confusion of *L* and *I* in other words. However, it is easy to establish that these two letters in particular have most frequently been interchanged in Latin MSS. The following examples are from Pliny's Natural History:¹

L for *I*

90, 4	<i>fleri</i> B ¹ , <i>fluere</i> B ²	= <i>feri</i>
92, 21	<i>ungulum</i> B	= <i>unguium</i>
280, 1	<i>lacus</i> d r, <i>locus</i> R	= <i>Iasus</i>
284, 7	<i>praestreglatorem</i> V d	= <i>praestigiatozem</i>
284, 9	<i>lala</i> r v	= <i>Iaia</i>
308, 21	<i>lurgis</i> V d	= <i>iurgiis</i>
309, 10	<i>metallum</i> r	= <i>talium</i>
310, 1	<i>culus</i> V d h	= <i>cuius</i>
310, 7	<i>locorum</i> r	= <i>iocosam</i>
310, 13	<i>lasii</i> B S, <i>lasi</i> V d	= <i>Iasii</i>
357, 10	<i>follis</i> B	= <i>foliis</i>
398, 3	<i>fluere</i> B ¹ , <i>fluere</i> B ² S	= <i>feri</i>

¹ The references are to pages and lines in Mayhoff's edition vol. V.

I for L

85, 18	<i>pusuias</i> V	= <i>pusulas</i>
275, 8	<i>stephanopio cos</i> B	= <i>stephanoplocos</i>
280, 10	<i>muineratumo</i> B	= <i>vulnerato</i>
285, 11	<i>ilio</i> B	= <i>illo</i>
286, 20—21	<i>iusippi</i> B	= <i>Lysippi</i>
290, 4	<i>trailis</i> B	= <i>Trallis</i>
293, 6	<i>aliis</i> B	= <i>vallis</i>
294, 10	<i>trailibus</i> B	= <i>Trallibus</i>
297, 11	<i>dieique</i> r	= <i>oleique</i>
373, 15	<i>iucilianus</i> F	= <i>Lucilianus</i>
385, 18	<i>iussorium</i> B	= <i>lusorium</i>

This list of examples could easily be multiplied, but these already suffice to prove how easily in Latin MSS. the name *Suiones* could be distorted into *Sulones*. It is worth noticing that for this very name in Tac. Germ. 44 we have the readings *Suluonum* b, *Suiuonum* zeR instead of *Suionum*.¹ The most important argument, however, for the identity of the *Suiones* and the *Sulones* is, I think, the location of the latter in the vicinity of the Goths, as suggested by Schütte, for the *Guiones* of Plin. nat. 37, 35 also belonged to the same region, according to all those scholars who identify them with the Goths.² The names *Sulones* and *Guiones*, which have both been associated with the Goths, can be connected with each other only on the condition that the original form was *Suiones*.

If the *Sulones* are identified with the *Suiones* and the Finns, mentioned by Ptolemy as next to the *Sulones*, are located in Estonia, which was the centre of the Baltic-Finns at the beginning of the Christian era,³ there remains as the habitat of the Ptolemaic *Suiones* the Baltic coast to the west of the Baltic-Finns. This region corresponds fairly well to the *dextrum Suebici maris litus*, on which the *Aestii* and the *Suiones* were living together according to the account of Tacitus correctly interpreted.

THE LOCATION OF THE SUIONES IN THE LIGHT OF LOAN-WORDS AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

On the basis of the literary sources discussed above it seems to me evident that in the time of Pytheas and at the beginning of the Christian era there

¹ Robinson, *The Germania* p. 220.

² See p. 34 n. 1 above.

³ See e. g. E. Itkonen, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 32, 1960, 23.

were already Suiones living on the Baltic coast to the west of the Baltic-Finns. There is every reason to compare this conclusion with the results achieved by the investigation of loan-words and archaeology.

On the evidence of loan-words it must be taken as an established fact that the Baltic-Finns were in contact with the early Germans. According to Setälä, these contacts began at about the beginning of the Christian era, according to Ariste and Moora as early as the last millenium B.C.¹ The Teutonic influence on the Baltic-Finns was so strong that the cultural vocabulary of the Baltic-Finnic languages was enriched by it. In the Teutonic loan-words of these languages both Gothic and Scandinavian characteristics have been noticed. On the contrary, since no kind of influence from the Baltic-Finnic upon the Germanic languages has been established, it has been presumed that the Germans introducing the loan-words became incorporated with the Finnish population.² The variety of opinions about the origin of these loan-words is discussed in the thesis of D. A. Kylstra.³ At the moment, which of the words were taken over from the Goths, which from Scandinavia, remains unsettled, for, according to Kylstra, neither archaeology nor linguistics can be of help in this matter.⁴

It has, however, been established by archaeologists that on the Baltic shore among the Balts and the Finns in the first centuries of the Christian era there were numerous Teutonic colonies.⁵ These colonies were, according to

¹ For the references see E. Itkonen, *Tietolipas* 20, 1961, 44; cf. idem, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 32, 1960, 23.

² E. Itkonen, loc. cit.

³ *Geschichte der germanisch-finnischen Lehnwortforschung*, Utrecht 1961; rev. B. Collinder, *Studia neophilologica* 34, 1962, 166—167 and G. J. Stipa, *Kratylos* 9, 1964, 53—58.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 174 »Welche Wörter von den Goten und welche von den Skandinaviern übernommen wurden, ist eine Frage, die bei Fromm nicht beantwortet, aber auch nicht gestellt wird. Diese Frage ist müßig. Es wird kaum möglich sein, das Ergebnis Fromms zu präzisieren. Die Sprachen der Goten und der Skandinaviern waren, wie schon öfter bemerkt, in dem frühesten Stadium der Entlehnung nahezu identisch, so dass sprachliche Kriterien völlig fehlen. Archäologisch lässt sich weder feststellen, wann eine gotische Beeinflussung und wann eine skandinavische einsetzte, noch wie lange eine parallele Beeinflussung stattfand. . . . Wieder hat es den Anschein, als sei die Grenze erreicht, über die kein Weg hinausführt».

⁵ Hackman, *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland* I, 338 »In den Ostseeprovinzen werden die Finnen mehr nördliche, die Letten mehr südliche Sitze innegehabt haben. Mitten unter diesen Stämmen müssen sich aber zahlreiche germanische (gotische) Kolonien befunden haben, denn nur unter dieser Voraussetzung findet der in den Sprachen sowohl wie in der eisenzeitlichen materiellen Kultur der Finnen und Letten-Litauer zum Vorschein kommende starke germanische Einfluss eine annehmbare Erklärung. Diese germanische Elemente dürften jedoch schwerlich mit Waffengewalt verdrängt, sondern allmählich von der Hauptmasse der Bevölkerung aufgesogen worden sein»; Tallgren, *Rig* 1923, 133 f. »Den bärnstensrika ostpreussiska kusten erövrades redan omkring Kristi födelse av östgermaner, vilka invandrade

the standpoint adopted by Fromm,¹ founded principally for commercial purposes by the Goths coming from the Vistula region. Since it is not possible to make a difference between the Gothic and Scandinavian elements either in the archaeological remains or in the linguistic characteristics of the loan-words, it seems to me reasonable to relate the loan-words in question as well as the Teutonic colonies of the south-eastern Baltic area to the fact that Ptolemy mentions the Sulones (= *Suiones) next to the Finns and the fact that the Suiones of Tacitus also belong partly to the same region. Since the Suiones of the Baltic shore must by reason of their name be of the same nationality as the Scandinavian Swedes, the Germanic loan-words of the Baltic-Finnic languages should, on the evidence of ancient literary sources, be regarded as 'Scandinavian' rather than as Gothic.²

dels kanske från Skandinavien dels från Västpreussen. De fortsatte med föregångarens bärnstenhandel och även deras nordliga förbindelser till Östersjöprovinserna . . .»; cf. Kivikoski, *Suomen esihistoria* pp. 122 f.; Noreen, *Fornvännen* 15, 1920, 35; Blumfeldt, »Estlandssvenskarnas historia» pp. 65—68; Kiparsky, *SUST* 125, 1962, 227 f.; Karsten, *BL* I, 72 ff.; Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 204 ff.; idem, *Goten* pp. 46 f.; Wagner, *Getica* pp. 227 f.

— In this connection it may also be noticed that the German influence manifested in the archaeological remains of the Baltic coast has led several scholars to the conclusion that the Aestii of Tacitus were at least to some extent of German origin; Tacitus' words in *Germ.* 45, 2 *Aestiorum gentes . . . quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum* have been interpreted as literary evidence supporting this theory: Much, *Die Germania* p. 508 »vielleicht handelt es sich aber ursprünglich um die Namen germanischer Kolonisten und Eroberer, die den ganzen Uferstrich von den Goten bis zum Finnischen Meerbusen in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit unter ihre Herrschaft gebracht hatten, ähnlich wie sich später die schwedischen Waräger in Osteuropa ausbreiteten und ein sie bezeichnender Name wie Russen an ihren Untertanen haften blieb»; idem, *Deutsche Stammeskunde* p. 33; Ehrlich, *OV* p. 281 »Die Bevölkerung Ostpreussens stand also während der ganzen römischen Kaiserzeit und auch später noch vollständig unter dem Einfluss der germanischen Kultur. Und da Tacitus von den Aestii ausdrücklich sagt, dass sie in ihrer Kultur den germanischen Sueben nahe standen, so ist wohl als erwiesen anzusehen, dass diese durch und durch germanisch beeinflusste Bevölkerung Ostpreussens in der römischen Kaiserzeit mit den Aestii des Tacitus identisch war»; Karsten, *BL* I, 75 »Der Esten-Name dürfte eigentlich einem am Frischen Haff in Samland sesshaften germanischen Nachbarvolk von Bernsteinsammlern zugehört haben, bekam aber allmählich die Funktion eines zusammenfassenden baltischen Volksnamens» . . . *ibid.* p. 76 »Die ursprünglichen 'Aisten' waren vielleicht überhaupt keine reinen 'Balten' im sprachlichen Sinne des Namens, sondern, z. T. wenigstens, Germanen, wie aus Tacitus' Schilderung des Volkes in seiner *Germania* (Kap. 45) angenommen werden kann»; v. Barloewen, *AGAR* p. 61, 6 »Schon vorher greifbar werdende Beziehungen im Fundgut lassen vielleicht auf gotische Oberherrschaft (während der frühen Kaiserzeit) über die baltischen Aestier (Aisten im Samland östlich der Passarge) schliessen»; cf. also: Kiparsky, *BL* I, 54; Beck, *Das Ebersignum* p. 40; Senn, *Handbuch* I, 22 f.; Fromm in Much, *Die Germania* p. 508 with other literature.

¹ *ZfdA* 88, 1957, 312.

² This is also the view of Schwarz, although he thinks that the loan-words in question were taken over from the Sithones, whom he regards as Swedes and locates in Estonia: *Germ. St.* pp. 204 f. »An der Ostsee gerieten die Ostseefinnen unter den Einfluss der an der Küste wohnenden Germanen, wobei Thomsen an Goten dachte, doch sind die dafür geltend gemachten

Merkmale nicht beweiskräftig. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass Goten und Finnen jemals direkte Nachbarn waren. Vielmehr wird es sich um nordgermanische Stämme aus Schweden handeln, die früh am Ostufer der Ostsee sesshaft geworden sind. . . . Doch setzen die ältesten Lehnwörter eine sehr alte germanische Gestalt voraus, die fast als urgermanisch bezeichnet werden kann. Aber da der Norden sehr beherrsamt war, ist eine Erklärung gut möglich, wenn man ab Christi Geburt mit dem Beginn der sprachlichen Beziehungen zwischen Finnen und Germanen rechnet . . . Zuerst dürften sich die Finnen im heutigen Estland angesiedelt haben, wo sie an der Küste mit den von Tacitus erwähnten germanischen *Sithonen* bekannt wurden . . .»; even Noreen (*Fornvännen* 15, 1920, 35 f.) was inclined to connect the German population of the Baltic coast with the Scandinavian Swedes.

CHAPTER III

THE SITHONES

THEIR LOCATION

The location of the Suiones of Tacitus cannot, in my opinion, be discussed at all without also taking into consideration the names *Guiones* and *Σούλωνες*. In the preceding chapter my aim was to establish that these otherwise unknown names belong to the south-eastern shore of the Baltic and can easily be emended to the form *Suiones*. I also came to the conclusion that the name *Hilleviones* should be considered a corruption of **Leviones* and identical with that of the Ptolemaic *Λεύωνοι* and the Tacitean *Lemovii/Lemonii*, and thus cannot have any connection with the Suiones at all. The critical examination of the names *Guiones*, *Σούλωνες*, *Hilleviones* confirms my opinion of the location of the Suiones of Tacitus. Only now that the oldest sources on the Suiones have been critically examined one by one, can the location of the Sithones be discussed.

According to the usage of the Latin language, the wording of Tacitus *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur* implies that the Sithones were immediately adjacent to the Suiones, in other words, the two groups had a common boundary.¹ This was already the categorical opinion of Müllenhoff.² Since there were several tribes (*gentes*) of the Sithones, they need not have all bordered on the Suiones. The verb *continuari* can equally well imply that one part of the Sithones lived next to the Suiones, the other tribes coming after them.³ According to Tacitus, there were Suiones both *ipso in Oceano* and *dextro Suebici maris litore*, but it is out of the question that the former could have been the neighbours of the Sithones, since it is not conceivable

¹ *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* s. v. *continuari*: »continuum facere, sine intermissione coniungere: 1 de loco: a complures res inter se . . . b eandem rem continuam facere . . . 2 de tempore: a complures res continuas facere, coniungere . . . b eandem rem perpetuare . . . s y n o n y m a: cohaerere, coniungere, conectere, conserere, copulare, iungere, perpetuare. o p p o s i t a: intermittere, interrumpere»; Germ. 45, 6 is included in group 1 a.

² *DA* II, 7, quoted on p. 67 below. Cf. also Persson, *Eranos* 13, 1913, 33 »Om en sådan förbindelse (scil. över Östersjön via Åland) kan väl enligt latinskt språkbruk *continuari* ej användas; detta verb måste syfta på kontinuitet mellan landområdena».

³ Cf. Cic. nat. deor. 1, 54 *atomi cohaerescunt inter se et aliae alias apprehendentes continuantur*.

that Tacitus, having already passed on in his account to the coast, would have returned to the Ocean.¹ This being the case, the Sithones cannot be located anywhere else than in the closest proximity to those of the Suiones who lived on the same shore as the Aestii.

Tacitus does not expressly state where the Suiones bordered on the tribes of the Sithones, but in my opinion it is quite evident from his account. The north is out of the question, since that quarter was already discussed in c. 45, 1. In the west the Aestii and the Suiones along the Baltic shore bordered on the Lemovii.² The eastern boundary of Germany northwards from the lower Danube and the Carpathians was occupied by the Peucini, Venethi, and Fenni,³ the last mentioned of which belonged east of the Aestii and the Baltic Suiones. It is worth noticing even in this connection that Ptolemy explicitly mentions the Sulones (= *Suiones) as next to the Finns. In these circumstances the only possibility is to locate the Sithones to the south of the Baltic Suiones. This solution is a most natural one because the tribe of the Peucini, mentioned next after the Sithones, was also in the southern quarter, i. e. to the north of the eastern Carpathians and on the lower Danube.⁴

Before Tacitus starts to discuss the Peucini, his words read *Hic Suebiae finis*. These words have generally been attached by editors to the beginning of c. 46, but in the MSS. Wm V and in the Viennese edition of 1500, on the evidence of which, according to Robinson,⁵ any attempt to restore the paragraph division of the Hersfeld *Germania* must be based, the words in question are at the end of c. 45, and c. 46 begins with *Peucinorum* etc.⁶ To be frank, I do not see any reason why the words *Hic Suebiae finis* should be moved from the place best established by the MS. tradition to another paragraph. These words are perfectly natural at the end of the short paragraph on the Sithones. When the *Suebiae finis* is mentioned in this connection, it cannot imply anything else than that the region inhabited by the *Sithonum gentes* was known as *Suebiae finis*. If we move the words to the beginning of c. 46, the difference of meaning would not be great; in that case, however, the words would rather imply that the *Suebiae finis* ran between the Sithones and the Peucini.

¹ This was the opinion of even Müllenhoff, *DA* II, 8, quoted on p. 10 above.

² See pp. 24, 28 f. above.

³ Germ. 46, 1, quoted on p. 23 above.

⁴ For the sources on the Peucini see Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* s. v.

⁵ *The Germania* p. 264.

⁶ See Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 266.

In both cases the *Sithonum gentes* must, nevertheless, be thought of as tribes dwelling on the eastern frontier of Suebia.

It is now generally agreed that Tacitus had some kind of map at his disposal when he was writing his *Germania*;¹ otherwise the expressions he uses when enumerating the different tribes in the latter section of his work cannot be understood.² An attempt to reconstruct the kind of map Tacitus used has been made by Miller.³ The wording *Hic Suebiae finis* has its equivalents in the explanatory remarks written on many of the oldest maps that have been preserved. I have collected the following examples from the texts of the maps published by Miller in *Mappae mundi*:

I, 31 Fines Viensum; Fines Francorum; Fines Longobardorum; Fines Romanorum; 32 hic caput Europae; 37 Asiae finis; Hic abe fenix; 38 fines egipti; 39 Hic caput Garope; Hic finis Asiae; 40 cuius finibus antipodas babulose inabitare produntur; 49 In hac regione gens Amazonum habitasse fertur; 53 Hoc mare dicitur mortuum; In his regionibus India est; 54 In his locis elefanti nascuntur; In his locis scorpiones nascuntur; 56 Haec regio gignit simias et struthiones; 57 Hii montes subiacent paludi simili meotide; 58 Hec pars ab ardore solis incognita nobis et inhabitabilis; 60 Hic ortus est sol; 61 Hoc mare septem stadiis stringitur; Hoc mare in D passus coarctatur; III, 5 Hic initium orientis estivi; 9 hec et Nisibi; hec et aran; 11 Mesia hec et uulgaria; 13 Hic sunt Scitarum gentes; Hic sunt Massagete; 17 Hic Paulus et ceteri heremite; 18 Nilus hic oritur qui et Geon dicitur; 24 Terminus Danorum et Saxonum; Hic habitant Griffes homines nequam; Terminus Asiae et Europe; 25 Apterofon. Hic frigus eternum; 27 Hic mergitur; 32 Hic abundant leones; 34 Hic arenis inmergitur; 35 Hic dicitur esse mons super ardens; Hic Barbari Getuli; Hic Ethiopes; Hic oberrant Gangines Ethiopes; 39 Amazones hic manent; 48 Hic inclusit Alexander regna XXXII; Hic Griffes; Hic Pannothi; Hic mons Taurus et Caucasus; Hic leones et fenix; Hic symie; 49 Hic pigmei et fauni et reges gentium; Hic arbores solis et lune; 50 Hic antipodes nostri habitant; 65 Hic fuit crux inventa ab Helena; Hic flagellatus est Jesus; 66 Hic pavit Jacob pecora sua; 67 Hic pedes discipulorum lavit; 72 hic predicavit Philippus apostolus; 75 Hec pars respicit Norwegiam a borea; Hec pars respicit Holandiam ab oriente, hec Alemanniam, hec pars respicit Braib' ab oriente; Hec pars respicit Flandriam ab oriente; Hec pars respicit confinia inter Normanniam versus euroaustrum; 78 hec et Albania dicta est; 93 Hic sed procul versus boream manet Vetus de monte; Hic conversantur optimi mercatores; Hic habundant cameli bubali muli et asini; 101 Hic habitant homines solum nocte videntes. Huius terrae canes leones occidunt; 103 Hec terra habet silvestres homines hirsuto corpore cum dentibus caninis; Hic sunt Bragmanni; Hic Alexander petebat responsum ab arboribus; Hic homines cum odore pomi vivunt; Hic femine quinquennes pariunt et X^m annum non excedunt; Hic homines canescunt in iuventute et nigrescunt in senectute; 105 Hic gentes sine naribus deformem vultum habent; Hic gentes habent ora conserta et cum avenarum

¹ Gudeman, *De Germania* (1916) pp. 29, 198; Norden, *Die germ. Urgeschichte* pp. 39 f.; Melin, *Die Heimat der Kimbern* p. 60; Much, *Die Germania* pp. 403, 474, Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 10.

² *Germ.* 30, 1 *Ultra hos*, 32, 1 *Proximi Chattis*, 33, 1 *Iuxta Tencteros*, 34, 1 *a tergo . . . a fronte*, 35, 1 *in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit*, 36, 1 *In latere Chaucorum*, 41, 1 *ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar*, 42, 1 *Iuxta Hermunduros*, 43, 1 *Retro . . . terga . . . claudunt*, 44, 1 *Trans Lugios, ib. protinus deinde ab Oceano*, 44, 2 *Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano*, 45, 1 *Trans Suionas*, 45, 2 *ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore*.

³ For Miller's reconstruction see p. 65 below.

calamis liquidum cibum potant; Hic gentes carent linguis, nutibus pro sermonibus utuntur; 107 Hic habitant homines patroticanes; In hac insula sunt homines equinos pedes habentes; Hic sunt ins(ule) obitorum (?); Hic Ciophegi bellue marine in mari magno viventes; 119 Hic Petrus praedicavit; 127 Hec climata versus polum multas habitatas insulas continent; 128 Hec climata versus equinoctialem et ultra multas habitationes continent; 135 Hic stat magnus Canis; Hic fuerunt inclusi Tartari; Hic convenit multitudo Tartarorum; Finis Indie; Hic elefantes nascuntur; 136 Hic inveniuntur smaragdi; 137 Hic est Paradisus; Hic sunt inclusi Gog et Magog; 144 In (h)ac parte est maximum frigus; Hic fuit imperium Sirie; 146 Hic sub polo antartico terra est inhabitabilis propter nimium calorem; Hic sub polo artico terra est inhabitabilis propter nimium frigus; 147 Eufrates. hic vadit per caldeam; Phison. hic circuit Indiam et terram habet arenarum aurearum; Hic sunt columpne Herculis propter pericula fugienda; Mulieres hic sunt barbatae; Hy habent longas aures; Hic sunt Gigantes pugnantes cum draconibus; Hic piper venditur; 148 Hy habent labia maxima; Hy vivunt de odoribus pomorum; Hy unum tantum habent oculum; Hy habent vultum in pectore; Hy homines monopedes sunt velocissimi cursus; Hic homines latent sub pedibus suis ex pluvia; Hy habent caudas vulpium; Hy habent canum capita; Hic fons die algidus nocte ferventissimus; 149 Hic mons Caucasus collibus usque in orientem excedit; Indus fl. Hic lapides, aromata infinita. Hic etiam homines magna cornua habentes longitudine quatuor pedum; 150 Hic mulieres irsute, ferocissime, sine maribus partum faciunt; 152 Hic est multum versus aquilonem; Hic mons ubi nobilis abbatia; 154 Hic crevit crux; Hic natus fuit J. Bapt. et eius caput conditum; IV, 10 Terminus Europe; 16 Dacia. Hec et Rusia; Germania inferior, hec et Saxonia; Hic habitant Griffa homines nequissimi; 17 Terminus Danorum et Saxonum; 18 In hoc tractu sunt Cinocephales; 21 Minorga. In his primitus invente sunt fonde; 24 Hec regio Apterophon dicitur; Hic post nives longa deserta; Essedones Sithe hic habitant; 25 Hic initium orientis estivi; Hic sont homines truculenti nimis, humanis carnibus vescentes, cruorem potantes, filii Caini maledicti. Hos inclusit Dominus per magnum Alexandrum; 26 Fluvius Acheron. Hic fluvius infernalium esse creditur; 28 Hic vivunt bestie Minotauro similes; 33 Omnes hec regiones situ terrarum montuoso sive aspero; 39 Hic locus dicitur Moyse id est aque ortus; Hic congregatus populus Israel; 41 Hic Barbari, Getuli, Natabres et Garamantes habitant; 42 Hic fons apud Trocoditas fures cecitate arguens; 45 Hic grandes formice aureas eruunt arenas; Hic Sirene abundant; V, 11 Haec ipsa Yspania habet VI provincias; 17 Hic olim terra Hunorum fuit; 21 Hec regio dicitur Athica; Hec regio Boecia dicitur; 22 Haec regio Epyrus dicitur; 25 Riga Livonie civitas hic; 26 Hic fama est Alexandrum Magnum per obsidum federa accessisse, ut profundum maris in eorum colinchis id est navibus experiretur; Hic estivo solstitio XV diebus lux est; 27 Chyos. In hac insula mastix gygnitur; 32 Haec regio Amazonum. Hec sunt mulieres ut viri preliantes; Bactria regio; dicitur hec a Bactro fluvio; Haec regio Caspia Hyrcania a Caspio monte nominatur; Hic phylosophi fingunt auream pellem; Cumeri populi hic sunt; Hic inclusit Alexander duas gentes immundas Gog et Magog; 33 Hic sunt Antropofagi, homines veloces; Hic sancti patres in deserto multa pertulerunt pro Christo; Hec gens cum Hyrcanis semper dimicat, ne exeant ad perdendum orbem; Hic sunt Massate gentes; 35 Hic homunculi cubitales inveniuntur; Hic sunt Ponothi, tante magnitudinis aurium, ut his omne corpus suum contegant; Haec regio Armenia est dicta ab Armenia Jasonis comite. Haec autem sita est inter Taurum montem et Caucasum montem; 36 Hec civitas Capadocia dicitur; 38 Hic mons Aureus dicitur. In hoc monte optimi equi nutriuntur; Hec regio a civitate eiusdem nominis dicta . . . Huic versus aquilonem coniungitur Licia. Huic Persidia, huic Pamphilia; He V. civitates Sodomorum; 39 Hec regio protenditur ab Eufrate usque ad mare Mediterraneum; 42 Haec a Perseo facta est et constructa; 44 Caldea. In hac primum inventa est astronomia; Elamite hic sunt; Hec regio Media Minor dicitur; Hic montuosa et aspera sunt loca; Hic nulli habitant propter leones et ursos et pardes et tigrides. Hec terra etiam (serpenti)bus est referta; 45 Persida regio. In hac primum or(t)a est ars magica; 46 Edissa hic; Hic est sepulchrum Darii; Hic

Scs. Matheus corpore requiescit; Susis civitas. Hec dicta quod immineat Susi fluvio; 47 Hunc lacum Tygris influit; 48 Hic nulli habitant propter leones et ursos et pardos et tigrides. Hec terra etiam serpentibus est referta (cf. 44); In hoc est lignum vite . . . In hoc fons oritur; India. Haec multa oppida habet; 49 Hic situs terrarum asper est et montuosus; Hii odore vivunt pomi et moriuntur, si pravum odorem sentiunt; Hic nascuntur multiplicia genera pigmentorum; 51 Hoc promunctorium alii Septameram alii Drepanum nominant; 52 Hec prius Euxia dicta . . . Hec fluvio Nylo undique cincta . . . Hanc nubes non obscurant; Hic Satyri; Hic finit Egyptus deserta; In hoc latifundio; Hic Scs. Marcus evangelista passus est; 53 Has urbes edificaverunt filii Israel Pharaoni; 54 In hac Mauritius principabatur et ab hac Thebei dicuntur. Hic Arabes etiam et commercia undique subeunt; Clara fl., Hic terra sorbetur; In his montibus Africa sumit initium; Hic cocodrilli in Indo sunt; 55 Huius gens est pusille stature; Hic Rubrum mare vocatur; Hec in oriente a Nilo flumine surgit . . . Huius prima provincia est Lybia. Hinc Cyreneica dicta Pentapolis; Has Cornelius Balbus ditioni Romane subegit; Hic Scs. Marcus evangelista predicavit; 56 Hic Scs. Matheus apostolus . . . predicavit; 57 Hec terra est arenosa; Hic multitudo bestiarum, serpentium, onagrorum; 58 Hic sunt fontes calidi; Hic Septem Montes; 60 Hic sunt deserte solitudines; 61 Hec terra basiliscum creat; Hic est pantera et alie multe immanes bestie; Hic satyri nascuntur.

The examples given show that the demonstrative pronoun *hic haec hoc* and especially the adverb *hic* were most common in the explanations written on the oldest Latin maps. Because of this, Miller thought it proper also to include formulas of the same kind on the map he reconstructed on the evidence of Tacitus: *hic olim Helvetii, hic limes actus est, hic olim Boii, hic olim Bructeri, hic ferrum invenitur, hic terra feminarum esse dicitur, hic succinum legitur*. These sentences as such do not appear in Tacitus, but they have been freely formulated by Miller himself on the basis of the *Germania*. Miller, however, left out one explanation which he could have taken directly from Tacitus: the words *Hic Suebiae finis*. On the maps published by Miller there are many examples to prove that it was not unusual to mark off the frontiers of tribes, countries, and continents in writing on the map.¹ The example I, 39 *Hic finis Asiae* corresponds exactly to the formula used by Tacitus.

From the evidence set forth above my conclusion is that Tacitus' words *Hic Suebiae finis* originate from the map he used when writing his *Germania*. On that map, these words marked the eastern frontier of Suebia, which was at the same time the frontier between Germany and Sarmatia. The tribes of the Sithones were living on this frontier.

Both before Tacitus and after him, it is true, the eastern boundary of Germany was thought to run along the river Vistula.² Tacitus himself, how-

¹ See the examples I, 31, 37—39; III, 24, 135; IV, 10, 17; V, 52.

² This river was mentioned for the first time as the eastern boundary of Germany in the geographical work and map of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, on which *Divisio orbis* and *Dimensuratio provinciarum* are based (cf. *RE IX A: 1, 1271*): *Divisio orb. 11 (GLM p. 17) Germania omnis et*

ever, does not mention the Vistula, nor does he name any other fixed geographical point east of the Elbe. In the beginning of his work he mentions that the Germans were separated from their eastern neighbours by »mutual fear»,¹ which implies that the eastern limit of Germany was not thought of as a line but as a zone, in other words it was not a boundary but a frontier in the sense defined by W. G. East.² When Tacitus mentions this frontier in connection with the Sithones, it is evident from his words that he thought their tribes lived in the zone forming the eastern frontier of Suebia.

The relative position of the Sithones among the other tribes mentioned by Tacitus should be defined as follows: in the north they bordered on the Suiones of the Baltic coast, in the west their closest neighbours were the Lemovii/Lemonii and south of these the Goths and the Lugii. The southern frontier was formed by the same range (*continuum montium iugum*) which also separated the Lugii from the tribes living to the south of them.³ In the east the Sithones bordered on the Venethi, in the south-east the Peucini. This location is not very far from that suggested by Miller in his reconstruction of the map used by Tacitus.

In his article »Die Swioneninsel und die Sithonen bei Tacitus,» *Eranos* 61, 1963, 121—142, J. Svennung came to the conclusion that the Sithones dwelt in Finland.⁴ Since this interpretation is most inconsistent with my standpoint, it is necessary to examine the arguments closely which S. presented to support his opinion.⁵

Dacia. Finiuntur ab oriente flumine Vistla; Dimens. provinc. 19 (GLM p. 12) Germania, Raetia, ager Noricus ab oriente flumine Vistula et silva Hercynia, ab occidente flumine Rheno, a septentrione oceano, a meridie iugis Alpium et flumine Danubio; Plin. nat. 4, 81 also refers to Agrippa when mentioning the Vistula, but he does not call it the boundary of Germany; Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 4 Τὴν δὲ ἀνατολικὴν πλευρὰν (scil. τῆς Γερμανίας) ὁρίζει ἢ τε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης ἐπιστροφῆς πρὸς τὰ ὑπερκείμενα Σαρματικά ὄρη διάστασις . . . καὶ ἢ μετὰ τὰ ὄρη ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρημένην κεφαλὴν τοῦ Οὐιστούλα ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτὸς ὁ ποταμὸς ἕως θαλάσσης; cf. ibid. 3, 5, 1; Iord. Get. 17 haec a fronte posita est Vistulae fluminis, qui Sarmaticis montibus ortus in conspectu Scandzae septentrionali Oceano trisulcus inlabitur, Germaniam Scythiamque disternans; cf. ibid. 31. Mela 3, 3, 3 also mentions the Vistula, but it is not clear whether he thought it was the boundary of Germany; cf. DA II, 3; Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer III: 2, 433; Miller, Mappae mundi VI, 105; Cuno, Forschungen I, 139 n. 1.

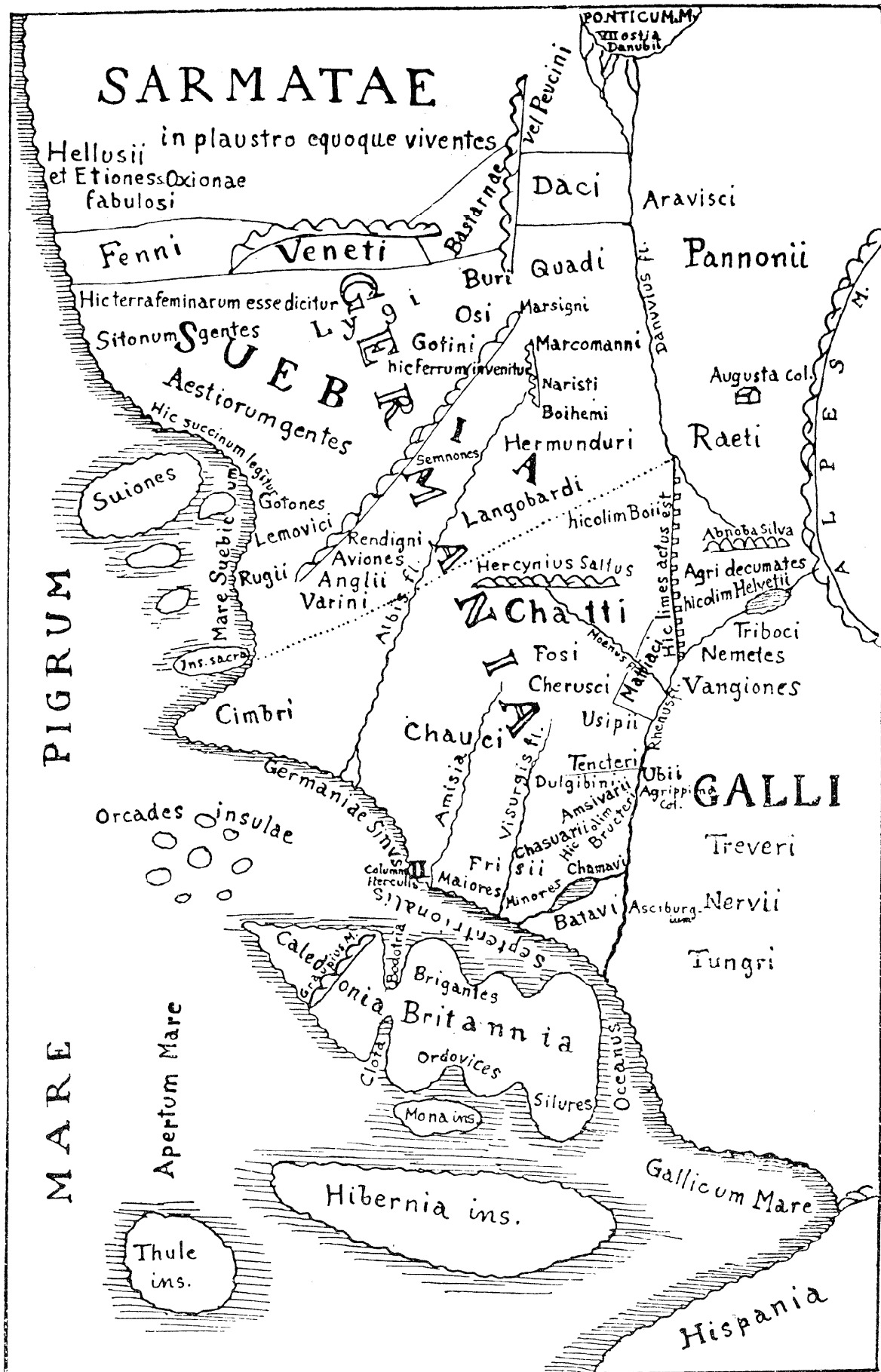
¹ Germ. 1, 1 *Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur.*

² *The Geography Behind History* p. 98.

³ See p. 23 above.

⁴ For similar views presented by others before Svennung, see pp. 12—14 above.

⁵ The archaeological material referred to by Svennung (art. cit. pp. 123 ff.) has no bearing on the problem of the Sithones if we cannot be sure about their German nationality in the modern sense of the word (cf. pp. 76 ff. below). The value of this material has been contested by Fromm in Much, *Die Germania* p. 520; therefore I can confine my criticism to Svennung's further arguments.



Britannia and Germania according to Tacitus. A reconstruction by K. Miller, *Mappae mundi* VI, III.

At first, S. alludes to the well-established fact that the *Germania* of Tacitus is essentially a work ethnographic in character, in which geographical matter is comparatively scanty. He continues as follows:¹

»Wie wir sehen, handelt es sich hier überall um Völker, nicht um Länder. Demnach und mit Rücksicht auf den allgemeinen ethnographischen Charakter der *Germania* ist es also nicht richtig, aus dem Ausdruck *gentes continuantur* den Schluss zu ziehen, Tacitus habe gemeint, dass die Landgebiete der Swionen und der Sithonen zusammenhängen. Er sagt nur, in ethnographischer Hinsicht, dass sie selber eine Fortsetzung der Swionen bilden, sich an sie anschliessen.

— — —

Aber — in alten Zeiten waren Verbindungen zu Wasser oft leichter als zu Lande. Ist es denn undenkbar, dass sich zwei Volksstämme über eine Inselgruppe oder eine leichtüberwindliche Meerenge an einander schliessen?

Nehmen wir an, dass die Sithonen — ganz oder zum grössten Teil — im jetzigen Finnland gewohnt haben!»

— — —

Ib. pp. 129 f. »Können wir annehmen, dass die Sithonen auf der Insel Gotland ansässig gewesen sind? Schwerlich: wenn dies der Fall sein sollte, würden ja auch diese *ipso in Oceano* verlegt worden sein. Gotland ist nicht erwähnt. Tacitus ist kein Geograph, erstrebt auch keine Vollständigkeit.

Nach den Goten — im Weichselgebiet — hat unser Autor die Swionen behandelt, nach den Aestiern — im Ostpreussen usw. bis etwa zum Finnischen Meerbusen — erwähnt er die Sithonen. Erst nach diesen vier Völkern kommen die drei, die *Peucini*, *Venethi*, *Fenni*, die den Übergang zu den Sarmaten bilden.

Betreffs der vier erstgenannten ist er also sozusagen im Zickzack gegangen. Wegen dieser eigenartigen Reihenfolge dürfte man vermuten können, dass er wohl hauptsächlich durch die Goten seine Nachrichten über die Pelzhandel treibenden Swionen im NW, und ebenso durch die mit Bernstein und Pelzwerk handelnden Aestier seine Kenntnisse von den Sithonen, im NW von ihnen wohnhaft, erhalten hat. Da die *Aestii* (nord)östlich von den Goten wohnen, ist es natürlich, dass die Sithonen östlich oder nordöstlich von den Swionen zu suchen sind, also in Westfinnland (was ja nicht hindert, dass eventuell ein kleiner Teil auch an der Westküste des Bottnischen Meerbusens wohnte). Aber östlich von allen Germanen, als Grenzvölker gegen das sarmatische Osteuropa, hielten sich, vom S nach N gerechnet, die *Peucini*, *Venethi*, *Fenni* auf. Da die Sithonen ja *Suionibus continuantur*, dürften sie zwischen den Swionen und den *Fenni* ansässig gewesen sein».

To begin with it must be noticed that like all others who have formerly discussed the location of the Sithones, S. defines the habitat of the Suiones too narrowly, paying no attention to the undeniable fact that Tacitus mentions the Suiones for the third time after he has already passed on to the right shore of the Baltic; S. does not even mention the Sulones and the Guiones,

¹ Art. cit. p. 123.

nor does he take any notice of the opinions put forward in favour of their identity with the Suiones. Since S. thus sets out to look for the Sithones in the neighbourhood of those Suiones who lived *ipso in Oceano* not from the *dextrum Suebici maris litus*, even his starting point is wrong.

S. holds the view that the wording *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur* does not imply that the territories of the Suiones and the Sithones were connected with each other. The only authority form which he (p. 123 n. 8) seeks support for this view of his is Müllenhoff. According to *DA II*, 7, referred to by S., the opinion of Müllenhoff, however, is just the opposite to that of S.: »der gewählte ausdrück 'Suionibus Sitonum gentes c o n t i n u a n t u r' erlaubt schlechterdings nicht die beiden völker durch einen meerbusen wie den bottenischen getrennt und die Sitones den Svien gegenüber auf der nördlichen fortsetzung des rechten ufers des 'suebischen meeres' neben oder vielmehr über den Aestiern zu denken: davon dass die küste schon von den Aestiern an sich in nördlicher richtung hinziehe, hatte Tacitus offenbar noch keine vorstellung». This being the case, S. himself alone stands for the opinion that the verb *continuari* does not imply a common borderland between the Suiones and the Sithones. It does not make any difference that Tacitus, when speaking of the Suiones and the Sithones, uses tribal names, since the corresponding territorial ones did not exist at all. S. does not believe that the Sithones could have dwelt on the island of Gotland, because Gotland is not mentioned and if they had, Tacitus ought to have located them, like the Suiones, *ipso in Oceano*. Accordingly, S. seems to think that Tacitus thought the Sithones lived on the mainland. This mainland S. identifies as Finland. This interpretation implies that Tacitus' conception of the geography of Northern Europe was more lucid than that of any other ancient writer.

S. has established that comparatively late in the Middle Ages, Scandinavia was still regarded as an island.¹ The most prominent representative of ancient geography was Claudius Ptolemy, whose geographical work reflects the picture of the world of antiquity at its most advanced stage.² With regard to Jutland, Ptolemy was comparatively well-informed.³ Scandinavia, however, is reduced by him to an island of ordinary dimensions and described as situated opposite the mouth of the Vistula.⁴ Ptolemy was clear on the fact

¹ *Scadinavia und Scandia* pp. 12—14; *Belt und baltisch* p. 20.

² For Ptolemy's geographical work see Polaschek, *RE Suppl.* X, 680—833.

³ *Ptol. Geog.* 2, 11, 2. 7.

⁴ *Ptol. Geog.* 2, 11, 16, quoted on p. 48 above.

that the Baltic coast east of the Vistula gradually turned away to the north, but the parallel of Thule, 63° N, was the limit of his knowledge of this area.¹ S. admits that Tacitus used a map when writing the *Germania*.² I have established above that Tacitus' words *Hic Suebiae finis* correspond to a common formula of the oldest Latin maps preserved.³ From the fact that the statement about the frontier of Suebia is made at the end of the paragraph on the Sithones, it is quite evident that the Sithones must also have had a place on the map of Tacitus. If the Sithones had lived in Finland, it would be necessary for us to assume that this map was much more accurate in regard to Northern Europe than the Ptolemaic ones.

It is a well-known fact that in the *Germania* of Tacitus, more detailed ethnographic information on many tribes has been preserved than elsewhere in Greek and Roman literature. The most important works among the probable sources of Tacitus, e. g. book CIV of Livy's History and the *Bella Germaniae* of the elder Pliny, however, have been lost,⁴ and so we have no right to conclude that Tacitus was better informed on the ethnography of ancient Germany than his learned predecessors and contemporaries. Even if this had been the case, it should be noticed that familiarity with ethnography does not necessarily mean a special knowledge of geography as well, and vice versa. The geographical work of Ptolemy does not allow us to conclude that he was also acquainted with the institutions and customs of the hundreds of tribes enumerated by him. Nor does the familiarity of Tacitus with the ways of the Germans prove his competence with regard to the geography of their country.

If Tacitus had known something new about the cartographical shape of Northern Europe, there is every reason to suppose that he would have made a point of introducing it. In reality, however, the reverse is the case. When discussing the northern frontier of Germany, he alludes to the expeditions made to Northern Germany during the principate of Augustus as something unknown before.⁵ The Ocean lying to the north of Germany is to him (Germ. 2, 1) *adversus Oceanus* and *horridum et ignotum mare*. He expressly

¹ Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 1.

² Art. cit. p. 122.

³ See pp. 61—63 above.

⁴ *DA* IV, 18 f.

⁵ Germ. 1, 1 *cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit*; cf. Melin, *Eranos* 58, 1960, 130; Hennig, *Terrae incognitae* I, 316—319, 331—343.

points out that the districts around the Elbe were only known to his contemporaries by hearsay.¹ On the whole, it is evident that Tacitus did not know anything about the geography of Northern Europe that was not quite generally known by the time of Augustus at the latest.²

S. admits that Tacitus was not a geographer,³ but at the same time he takes it for granted that Tacitus was better informed on the geography of Northern Europe than Ptolemy, the most prominent geographer of antiquity. Melin's view that Tacitus was not even aware of the existence of the Jutland peninsula is well-founded.⁴ How then could he have been familiar with a continent different from the shores inhabited by the Aestii, situated to the north-east or east of the islands of the Suiones? If some knowledge of an area such as Finland had by way of commerce reached the Romans after the expeditions carried out by Drusus and Tiberius, the literary sources would not have passed it over in silence; nor could Tacitus in c. 45, 1 with the words *illuc usque — et fama vera — tantum natura* have considered the region beyond the Suiones as the end of the world. It seems to me that when locating the Sithones in Finland, S. tries to interpret the text of Tacitus in terms of a modern map.⁵

Tacitus does not discuss the Sithones immediately after the Aestii («nach den Aestiern»), as S. states, but discusses them only after having mentioned the Suiones for the third time. The opinion of S. implies that Tacitus, having discussed the Aestii, should have turned back towards the north, which was already considered impossible by Müllenhoff.⁶ According to S. Tacitus, when telling about the Goths, the Suiones, the Aestii, and the Sithones, zig-zagged («Betreffs der vier erstgenannten ist er also sozusagen im Zickzack gegangen»), i. e. he first passed from the southern shores of the Baltic to the islands of the Suiones, then back to the shore of the Aestii, then again to the islands of the Suiones, and from there to Finland. Finally, he jumped over the enormous distance from Finland to the area of the Peucini in the eastern Carpathians.

In order to prove that the location suggested by Svennung is most incon-

¹ Germ. 41, 2 in *Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.*

² Cf. Norden, *Die germ. Urgeschichte* p. 40.

³ Art. cit. p. 129.

⁴ *Die Heimat der Kimbern* pp. 51, 60.

⁵ Miller's opinion of this kind of interpretation is quoted on p. 21 above.

⁶ *DA II*, 8 quoted on p. 10 above.

sistent with the general manner of presentation used by Tacitus, I will discuss the order of the other tribes as it appears in the *Germania*.

Having first discussed some non-German tribes and those living in the frontier region (c. 28 *Helvetii, Boii, Aravisci, Osi, Treveri, Nervii, Vangiones, Triboci, Nemetes, Ubii*) Tacitus sets out to describe the inhabitants of Germany proper, first mentioning the Batavi (c. 29, 1), who occupied the island formed by the bifurcation of the Rhine:

- 29, 1 *Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt . . .*
 2 *est in eodem obsequio et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt . . .*
 3 *Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent . . . mox limite acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.*
- 30, 1 *Ultra hos Chatti initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohant, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit, durant siquidem colles, paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit.*
- 32, 1 *Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum quique terminus esse sufficiat Usipi ac Tencteri colunt.*
- 33, 1 *Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur . . .*
- 34, 1 *Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubini et Chasuarrii cludent aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae, a fronte Frisii excipiunt. maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. utraeque nationes usque ad Oceanum Rheno praetextuntur ambiuntque inmensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos.*
- 35, 1 *Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus;*
in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. tam immensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent . . .
- 36, 1 *In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci . . .*
 2 *tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens . . .*
- 37, 1 *Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Gimbri tenent . . .*
- 38, 1 *Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur. . . .*
- 39, 1 *Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; . . . 3 centum pagi iis habitantur . . .*
- 40, 1 *Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti*

non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt.

2 *Reudigni deinde et Aviones*
et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuitones flumi-
nibus aut silvis muniuntur. . . in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt . . .
 3 *est in insula Oceani castum nemus . . .*

41, 1 *Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur:*

propior, ut, quo modo
paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida
Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidis-
sima Raetiae provinciae colonia. . . 2 in Hermunduris Albis oritur . . .

42, 1 *Iuxta Hermunduros Naristi ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt.*
praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute
parta. . . eaque Germaniae velut frons est, quatenus Danuvio peragitur. . .

43, 1 *Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque*
claudunt. . . 2 omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices mon-
tium [iugumque] insederunt. dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum,
ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures
civitates diffusum. valentissimas nominasse sufficiet: Harios Helveconas Ma-
nimos Helisios Nahanarvalos. apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis
lucus ostenditur . . .

44, 1 *Trans Lugios Gtones regnantur . . .*

protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; . . .

2 *Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, . . . 45, 1 Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum*
ac prope immotum, . . .

45, 2 *ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, . . .*

6 *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur . . .*

46, 1 *Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinorum Venethorumque et Fennorum natio-*
nes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam dubito. . . .

C. 29, 1—3 are connected by the fact that the Batavi, Mattiaci and the inhabitants of the *decumates agri* were all subjects of the Roman Empire. Of the independent Germans the first discussed are the Chatti, from whose territory the Hercynian forest (*saltus Hercynius*) is mentioned as a fixed geographical reference point for the reader. All the tribes, coming after them in cc. 32—34, are presented in such a way that the author each time consistently passes on to the tribe geographically nearest the one just discussed: *Proximi Chattis . . . Usipi ac Tencteri . . . Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim . . . nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios . . . Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubini et Chasuarii cludunt . . . a fronte Frisii excipiunt*. The words *Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus* conclude the passage 30—34, making it a whole geographically.

In the beginning of c. 35 the author lets his reader know that he is about to discuss the tribes dwelling towards the north: *in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit*. The Chauci, mentioned first in this group, are indicated, however, as the neighbours of the Frisii, the last tribe in c. 34: *Chaucorum gens . . . incipiat a Frisiis*. From the Chauci the author passes to the Cherusci, their immediate neighbours (*In latere Chaucorum . . . Cherusci*), whereupon *Fosi, contermina gens* follow. The name of the Fosi is not mentioned a second time by Tacitus and it is even unknown in other sources. It is evident from the words *tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in secundis minores fuissent* that this tribe had already in Tacitus' time lost its independence, and perhaps been totally exterminated. This fact explains why Tacitus does not define the habitat of the Cimbri as *in latere Fosorum Cimbri* or *iuxta Fosos Cimbri*, which could be anticipated from the foregoing. Nevertheless, when defining their habitat as *Eundem . . . sinum . . . tenent* he makes it clear that the Cimbri form the continuation of the Chauci, Cherusci, and (previous) Fosi. Melin has established in a convincing manner that the *idem sinus* must be considered as the shore of an enormous gulf of the sea, on which the tribes enumerated in cc. 35—37 were living.¹

All the tribes mentioned from c. 38 onwards to the end of c. 45 are called by Tacitus Suebi: c. 38, 1 *Nunc de Suebis dicendum est* — 46, 1 *Hic Suebiae finis*. He discusses them in two groups and states in plain words that the region inhabited by the tribes belonging to the former group (cc. 38—40) was less well-known in his time: c. 41, 1 *Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur*. These words explain why the author does not define the habitat of the tribes mentioned in this group as clearly as in the other sections. There is, however, no reason to suppose that he did not even now follow his previous order and each time pass on to the tribe he considered as geographically next to that last discussed. Since Tacitus does not give any new geographical point of reference in the beginning of the section on the Suebi, it must be assumed that he regarded the Semnones, the first tribe among the

¹ *Die Heimat der Kimbern* p. 40 »Von dem *ingens flexus*, der Küstenlinie des gewaltigen Meerbusens, im Norden begrenzt, drängt sich also dieser *sinus* tief in das Innere Germaniens ein. Seine bewohner sind die Chauken, die Cherusker, die Fosen und schliesslich die Kimbern . . . endlich ist nach unserer Analyse Kap. 36 über die Cherusker und Fosen keine Parenthese, wobei die Worte im Kap. 37 *eundem Germaniae sinum* sich auf den Anfang des Kap. 35 (*in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit*) beziehen müssen, sondern alle die im 35—37 erwähnten Völkerschaften gehören zu demselben grossen *sinus*, dem Landstrich, den sich Tacitus südlich des gewaltigen Meerbusens im Norden vorstellt».

Suebi, as neighbours of the Cimbri, mentioned at the end of the foregoing section. This assumption is proved right by the fact that the Cimbri, Charudes, and Semnones are expressly called inhabitants of the same region in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.¹ After the Semnones follow the Langobardi, whose habitat is not defined at all. We know, however, from other sources that they were neighbours of the Semnones.² The positions of the Reudigni, Aviones, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones and Nuitones, who formed a religious union for the worship of the goddess Nerthus, do not appear from the description of Tacitus. So much, however, is clear that the adverb *deinde* meaning 'next to' implies that the habitat of the Nerthus union was thought by the author to border on that of the Langobardi.³ Consequently it can be summarized that cc. 30—40 form a whole in so far that in his narrative Tacitus consistently passes to the tribe which he has regarded as next to the one he has just discussed.

When in the sequel the author deviates from his previous manner of proceeding, he makes it perfectly clear that the position of the tribe next in order will be fixed by means of a new geographical starting point: c. 41, 1 *Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur: propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuviam sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis*. From the territory of the Hermunduri, discussed at the beginning of a new geographical section, exceptionally many topographical points have been fixed: *Danuvius, ripa* (scil. *Danuvii*), *Albis*. The words *ut . . . nunc Danuvium sequar* show that the description now follows the course of the Danube, proceeding downstream, i. e. from west to east. C. 42, 1 *Iuxta Hermunduros* 'beside the Hermunduri' is in these circumstances equivalent to 'east of the Hermunduri'. The territory of the Marcomani is expressly mentioned as the former home of the Boii, called *Boihaemum* in c. 28, 2. To show that the Hermunduri, Naristi, Marcomani, and Quadi were living side by side from west to east along the northern bank of the Danube, the writer adds: *eaque Germaniae velut*

¹ Mon. Ancyran. 26 and Melin, *Die Heimat der Kimbern* p. 74 are quoted on p. 40 n. 1 above.

² Vell. 2, 106, 2 *fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior; denique quod numquam antea spe conceptum, nedum opere temptatum erat, ad quadringentesimum miliarium a Rheno usque ad flumen Albim, qui Semnonum Hermundurorumque fines praeterfluit, Romanus cum signis perductus exercitus*; Tac. ann. 2, 45, 1 *Igitur non modo Cherusci sociique eorum, vetus Arminii miles, sumpsere bellum, sed e regno etiam Marobodui Suebae gentes, Semnones ac Langobardi, defecere ad eum*. Together with Germ. 40, 1 these passages are the oldest references to the Langobardi; cf. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* p. 150. For the habitat of the Semnones and Langobardi cf. also: Much, *Die Germania* p. 443; Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen* p. 571.

³ Cf. Much, op. cit. p. 445; Melin, art. cit. p. 51.

frons est, quatenus Danuvio peragitur. The word *frons* is in contrast to c. 43, 1 *terga*, which implies that the following four tribes were thought to be neighbours of the Marcomani and Quadi to the north: c. 43, 1 *Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum Quadorumque claudunt.*¹ These words denote a change of direction and show that the description is now going to proceed from south to north. At the same time a new geographical point of reference is given, near which the tribes enumerated from the Hermunduri onwards also belong: c. 43, 2 *omnesque hi populi pauca campestrium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium [iugumque] insederunt. dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum montium iugum.* All the remaining Suebi have been located by the writer to the north of this anonymous range of mountains: c. 43, 2 *ultra quod (scil. iugum) plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum . . .* 44, 1 *Trans Lugios Gotoes regnantur . . . protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii . . .* 44, 2 *Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano.* The Lugii, Gotoes, Rugii, and Lemovii are thus located between the range dividing Suebia, and the Ocean; the communities of the Suiones were located even in the Ocean. Chapters 41–44 thus form a whole geographically, similar to that formed by cc. 30–40, for in both of them the description follows the same consistent geographical order: the writer proceeds in his narrative by passing each time he changes subject to the tribe thought by him to be the immediate neighbour of the one last discussed.

Chapters 30–44 consist of three sections, cc. 30–34, 35–40, and 41–44, which are clearly separated from one another by transitional sentences. These transitions (c. 35, 1 and 41, 1) correspond stylistically to each other in that in both of them the writer first intimates that the range of his knowledge does not extend farther (cf. c. 35, 1 *Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus* — 41, 1 *Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur*), whereupon he turns back to regions which are better known, fixing a new topographical point of reference in the new direction (cf. 35, 1 *in septentrionem ingenti flexu redit. ac primo statim Chaucorum gens* — 41, 1 *propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas*). The tribes mentioned after these transitions are close to the new point of reference fixed by the author. Nobody has ever tried to locate the tribes enumerated in cc. 35–40 along the Rhine, or the Hermunduri and their neighbours in the same regions as the Nerthus tribes. The position of the Frisii is of special interest,

¹ Cf. Much, *Die Germania* p. 474.

as they are mentioned as the last tribe living along the Rhine (c. 34, 1) and on the other hand as neighbours of the Chauci (c. 35, 1), who belong to the next geographical section. The Frisii thus belong both *in occidentem* and *in septentrionem*. As Tacitus mentions the Frisii in both sections, the reader is at once able to look for the first new tribe of the section cc. 35—40, the Chauci, in the right area.

C. 45 begins with a transition which stylistically corresponds exactly to the two transitions discussed above. First, the writer intimates that the range of his knowledge does not extend farther (c. 45, 1 *Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adicit. illuc usque — et fama vera — tantum natura*), then he turns back and fixes a new reference point in the new direction (ib. *ergo iam dextro Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur*). This last transition, however, is more sharply defined than the others: the Frisii and the tribes of the Nerthus union have been described as living in regions beyond which no information was to be obtained, whereas beyond the farthest communities of the Suiones was the legendary ultimate edge of the whole world.

In my opinion, the tribes mentioned after the third transition, the most sharply defined of them all — not only the Aestii but also the Suiones and Sithones — belong to the »right» side of the Baltic as certainly as the tribes discussed in cc. 35—40 belong to Northern Germany, and the Hermunduri and their neighbours (cc. 41—42) to the northern bank of the Danube. To locate the Suiones, mentioned in c. 45, 6, and the Sithones elsewhere than the same side of the Baltic as the Aestii seems to me, considering the clear and consistent geographical order followed by Tacitus, as impossible as transplanting the tribes of the Danube region to Northern Germany or looking for the habitat of the Nerthus tribes in the areas bordering on the Rhine.

In their location, the Suiones of Tacitus are comparable with the Frisii, for they are also mentioned both before and after a transition (c. 45, 1): first (c. 44, 2) as next to the Lemovii, then (c. 45, 6) in connection with the Aestii, who are discussed in the beginning of the new geographical section. The occurrence of the name of the Frisii in two different sections is due to the fact that this group belonged geographically both to Western (*in occidentem*) and Northern (*in septentrionem*) Germany. It has been my aim to establish that the position of the Suiones was of the same kind, since there were communities

of them both on the islands of the Baltic and on the »right» shore of it among the Aestii.

The geographical order followed by Tacitus in cc. 30—44 is quite clear and consistent. All the way through the author 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. On the evidence of other sources, it is possible to establish that this is the case even when he does not explicitly mention the new tribe as the neighbour of the previous tribe.¹ The only time (c. 41, 1) he deviates from this order he is most careful to give the reader a new geographical reference point. »To zigzag» without a word to make the reader familiar with the new geographical surroundings is most incompatible with the general order of treatment used by Tacitus.

If the Sithones had been neighbours of the Aestii in the north or north-west (»im NW von ihnen»), as Svennung believes, Tacitus ought to have said *ultra* or *trans Aestios Sithonum gentes*. He does not, however, but says *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur*. If the Sithones had dwelt between the Suiones and the Fenni (»zwischen den Swionen und den Fenni»), Tacitus, of course, ought to have discussed them in such a location and enumerated the tribes living on the eastern frontier of Germany in the order Fenni, Venethi, Peucini. He has not, however, done so, but discusses the Sithones between the Suiones of the Baltic coast and the Peucini.

THEIR NATIONALITY

The statement of Tacitus *Hic Suebiae finis* implies that he thought the tribes of the Sithones lived in the zone which formed the eastern frontier of Suebia. However, only in regard to the Peucini, Venethi, and Fenni — but not the Sithones — does he express doubt as to whether they are Germans or Sarmatians; from this it must be inferred that he regarded the Sithones as Germans. What Tacitus meant by Germans is another matter. Even nowadays, nationality is not an unambiguous concept. J. Czekanowski distinguishes between three different conceptions of nationality:²

Cf. p. 73 above.
Race 3, 1961, 68 f.

1) linguistic nationalism; a person's nationality is determined by his mother tongue;

2) passport nationalism; nationality is determined by citizenship;

3) denominational nationalism; the native's nationality is associated with religious denomination.

Czekanowski gives examples to show that the feelings of ethnic separateness of the European peoples have assumed different forms in West, East, and Central Europe, nationalism being political in the West, linguistic in Central Europe and denominational on the periphery.

V. Kiparsky regards it as most important that a person's nationality is determined by his individual will («Persönlicher Wille») — an attitude which may be called subjective nationality.¹

There is no reason to believe that ideas of nationality in ancient times were less ambiguous than they are now. As to what was meant by the concept *Germani* in ancient sources, there is considerable difference of opinion,² and it is thus necessary to resort to Tacitus himself and examine closely the criteria by which he separates tribes of different nationality from each other.

When we leave out of account the legendary *Hellusii* and *Oxiones*, the *Daci*, *Galli*, *Pannonii*, *Raeti*, and *Sarmatae*, which are mentioned as bordering Germany, the generic designation *Germani* and the names *Parthi*, *Poeni*, *Romani*, *Samnis*, which have no bearing on the subject under consideration, the names of sixty-five tribes or groups of tribes appear in the *Germania* of Tacitus. According to the view of the author himself these names are divided between different nationalities as follows:

1) As Gauls (*Galli*) are regarded the five tribes of the *Boii*, *Cotini*, *Helvetii*, *Nervii*, *Treveri*, one of which (*Cotini*) lives in Germany, the other four in Gaul.

2) Among the Pannonians (*Pannonii*) are classed the *Aravisci* and *Osi*, the former of which are said to dwell in Pannonia to the south of the Danube, the latter in Germany.

3) There are three tribes which the author is in doubt whether to call them Germans or Sarmatians: *Peucini-Bastarnae*, *Venethi*, and *Fenni*. Since the names *Peucini* and *Bastarnae* refer to the same people, there are, however, four names in this group.

4) The names denoting German tribes or tribal groups number in all fifty-four. Five of these tribes, the *Nemetes*, *Triboci*, *Tungri*, *Ubii*, *Vangiones*, are mentioned as living to the west of the Rhine. The remaining forty-nine names denote tribes or tribal groups living in the area defined as Germany (*Germania*) by the author. The names *Gambriuii*, *Herminones*, *Ingaevones*, *Istaevones*, *Marsi*, *Vandilii* appear in c. 2 only, and Tacitus regards them as designations of

¹ *Die Kurenfrage* pp. 32 f.

² For the opinion of Hachmann see pp. 21. f. above; cf. Lange in Much, *Die Germania* pp. 20, 70 ff.; Rosenfeld, *AGAR* p. 17; Reche in Ebert, *Reallexikon* IV, 273, 285; Norden, *Die germ. Urgeschichte* pp. 425 ff.

tribal groups. In the second part of his book (cc. 28—46), however, he takes no account of these groups and does not explain how the different tribes of the Germans were divided between them. Of the forty-three names that are included in the second part, the names *Suebi* and *Lugii* are generic. The name *Suebi* embraces all the tribes mentioned from c. 38, 1 to the end of c. 45, so that in all, twenty-six names belong to the Suebic group: *Aestii*, *Anglii*, *Aviones*, *Buri*, *Eudoses*, *Gotones*, *Harii*, *Helisii*, *Helvecones*, *Hermunduri*, *Langobardi*, *Lemovii*, *Manimi*, *Marcomani*, *Marsigni*, *Nahanarvali*, *Naristi*, *Nuitones*, *Quadi*, *Reudigni*, *Rugii*, *Semnones*, *Sithones*, *Suardones*, *Suiones*, *Varini*. The five Lugian tribes of *Harii*, *Helisii*, *Helvecones*, *Manimi*, *Nahanarvali* are also included in this group. The non-Suebic tribes number fifteen, four of which, the *Chauci*, *Cherusci*, *Cimbri*, and the *Fosi*, lived in Germany towards the north (*in septentrionem*), the remaining eleven towards the west (*in occidentem*), the *Angrivarii*, *Batavi*, *Bructeri*, *Chamavi*, *Chasuarii*, *Chatti*, *Dulgubini*, *Frisii*, *Mattiaci*, *Tencteri* *Usipi*.

The criteria of nationality appear only for the tribes living in or near the borderlands of Germany. Even in these instances, the Gallic origin of the *Helvetii* and *Boii* is stated without further comment: c. 28, 2 *Helvetii* . . . *Boii*, *Gallica utraque gens*. The *Treveri* and *Nervii* themselves claimed a German descent, but Tacitus intimates that their indolence (*inertia*) revealed them as Gauls: c. 28, 4 *Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur*. But in another passage, he mentions the same trait as a German characteristic: c. 45, 3 *pro solita Germanorum inertia*.

The criterion of nationality of the *Cotini* and *Osi* is their language (*lingua*) and, moreover, the fact that they submitted to tribute (*quod tributa patiuntur*): c. 43, 1 *Cotinos Gallica, Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod tributa patiuntur*. As to the *Aestii*, however, their language appeared to Tacitus not to be German but sounded more like 'British', and he included them among the Germans, apparently on the evidence of their Suebic customs and outward appearance: c. 45, 2 *Aestiorum gentes . . . quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior . . . 3 frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant*. On the other hand, the fact that the *Peucini* in language, way of life, and fixity of habitation (*sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis*) conducted themselves like Germans, did not convince him of their German nationality, but the squalidness, indolence, and degraded appearance of the *Sarmatians* (*sordes, torpor, habitus Sarmatarum*) left him undecided: c. 46, 1 *Peucinorum Venethorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis ascribam dubito. quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. sordes omnium ac torpor procerum. conubiis mixtis non-nihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur*. The question of nationality also remained

unsettled in regard to the Fenni, among whom neither German nor Sarmatian characteristics are mentioned. The Venethi, on the contrary, are classed as Germans, since they have fixed abodes (*domos figunt*), carry shields (*scuta gestant*) and delight in using their feet and running fast (*pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent*): c. 46, 2 *Venethi multum ex moribus (scil. Sarmatarum) traxerunt; nam quicquid inter Peucinos Fennoque silvarum ac montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant. hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent: quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus.*

In Tacitus, the geographical position of a tribe can also serve as a criterion of nationality: the Osi, who because of their Pannonic language and their submission to tribute are excluded from the Germans in c. 43, 1, are nevertheless referred to in another passage as *Germanorum natio*, because they lived in the area called *Germania*: c. 28, 3 *sed utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis, Germanorum natione, an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint, cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem utriusque ripae bona malaque erant.*

The conception of German nationality in Tacitus is also illustrated by his statement that the red hair and the large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia proclaim their German origin: Agr. 11, 2 *rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem asseverant.*

The most important criterion of nationality for Tacitus is outward appearance (*habitus*). After it come customs and ways of life (*ritus, cultus*). Language (*lingua, sermo*) takes the third place. This order of criteria can be gathered from the fact that the Aestii with their Suebic customs and outward appearance are classed among the Germans in spite of their non-Germanic language; on the other hand, the Peucini of Sarmatian appearance are not classed among them although their language and way of living are regarded as German. The submissive character of the Aravisci is placed on a par with their language as a criterion of nationality. As for the Treveri and Nervii, their indolence is for the author a criterion of greater importance than their subjective conception of their own nationality.

It can be gathered from the fact that Tacitus regards the Sithones as Germans that these tribes in outward appearance and way of life corresponded to the conception he had of the tribes he so classified; at least, he did not know anything about the appearance and the way of life of the Sithones that could have led him to express doubt about their nationality as he does

about that of the Peucini, Venethi, and the Fenni. Accordingly, the next question is what kind of outward appearance and what way of living was considered by Tacitus as characteristic of the Germans?

In the outward appearance of the Germans Tacitus has fixed his attention on the colour and expression of their eyes (*truces et caerulei oculi*), the colour of their hair (*rutilae comae*) and the size of their body (*magna corpora*). He emphasizes that the peoples of Germany are a race untainted by intermarriage with other races, a pure people resembling no one but themselves: Germ. 4 *Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniae populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur. unde habitus quoque corporum, tamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.* Cf. also Agr. 11, 2. The Sarmatians are looked upon by him as ugly (*foedi*) in comparison with the Germans, for he states that the Peucini, owing to intermarriage, show to some extent a similar debased appearance: Germ. 46, 1 *conubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur.* About the clothing of the Sarmatians Tacitus knows that they wore loose trousers like the Parthians: c. 17, 1 *locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente.* When discussing the tribes of the eastern frontier, however, he does not pay attention to this trait of outward appearance.

It is easy to discover that the physical features which Tacitus insists are characteristic of the Germans, are commonplace and stereotyped. According to Norden, the whole description of the characteristics of the Germans in c. 4 reflects Posidonius' exposition of the Celts and the Scythians.¹ It has also been pointed out that the physical features which Tacitus ascribes only to the Germans — blue eyes, reddish hair, and large frames — are precisely those which, according to the elder Pliny, were typical of the inhabitants of Ceylon.² This being the case, if Tacitus classes the Sithones as Germans on account of their outward appearance, their linguistic nationality may have been of any kind.

According to Tacitus, fixity of habitation is characteristic of the German way of living and particularly distinguishes them from the Sarmatians: c. 46, 1 *sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt*; ib. 2 *domos figunt*, cf. c. 16. In their military

¹ *Die germ. Urgeschichte* p. 115.

² Plin. nat. 6, 88 *ipsos vero excedere hominum magnitudinem, rutilis comis, caeruleis oculis, oris sono truci*; cf. Anderson, *Germania* p. xxx.

forces there is more strength in the infantry, in the armament of which the shield plays an important part: c. 6, 1 *nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distinguunt*; ib. 3 *in universon aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris*; c. 46, 2 *hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia . . . scuta gestant et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent*. He knows that the Sarmatians live in wagons and on horseback, do not carry shields and are most inefficient as footsoldiers: c. 46, 2 *Sarmatis . . . in plaustro equoque viventibus*; hist. 1, 79, 2 *namque mirum dictu, ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos. nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavom: ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit . . . 4 Romanus miles . . . levi gladio inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto defendi mos est) comminus fodiebat*. The different military tactics of the Germans and Sarmatians are naturally due to a different way of living, for a nomad who lives in a wagon and on horseback is by nature untrained to fight on foot.

It can be gathered from the facts stated above that according to their way of living Tacitus divides the tribes dwelling on the eastern frontier of Germany into stationary Germans and nomadic Sarmatians. The difference he makes between the Germans and Sarmatians is for him the same that appears everywhere between an agricultural and a pastoral population. If the German nationality of the Sithones is based on this criterion, we can only say that they were a stationary people living principally on agriculture, or that Tacitus had no knowledge of their being nomads.

Today, when considering the nationality of the Sithones, the only reasonable way is to ask what the linguistic nationality of this group of tribes was, i. e. what language was spoken by them and in which of the modern linguistic groups they ought to be classified. It does not follow from the fact that Tacitus seems to regard the Sithones as Germans that they were Germans in the modern linguistic sense of the word, for Tacitus' idea of German nationality is not a linguistic one. Even if it were, we have no positive evidence of his knowledge of the German language. Apart from scattered words, he most probably did not know it at all.¹ His statement concerning the 'British' language of the Aestii, which is the only case that allows us to test his knowledge of barbarian languages, shows that his idea of the kinship of languages was rather primitive. Furthermore, it should be noticed that with regard to the nationality of the tribes living on the eastern frontier of Germany Tacitus has only two alternatives, German and Sarmatian. He has no equivalents

¹ Cf. also Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 14.

for concepts like Finno-Ugric, Baltic, Slavic, Illyrian. Yet peoples of these linguistic groups must have lived within the area in which Tacitus knows only Germans and Sarmatians. The Aestii, whom without any further consideration Tacitus regards as Germans, are nowadays commonly regarded as Balts,¹ although it cannot be denied that some of the most eastern of their tribes may have been of Finnic origin.² The Venethi, whom Tacitus after some hesitation is inclined to regard as Germans, are classed among the Slavs,³ although the name may originally have belonged to an Illyrian tribe and been transferred by the Germans to the Slavs, who replaced the Illyrians as their eastern neighbours.⁴ As for the Fenni, both their name and location bears evidence of their Finnic origin.⁵

We know nothing of the language of the Sithones. Our only linguistic starting point is their name, but we must notice that the name of a tribe need not be of the same language as that spoken by the tribe itself.⁶ Besides, the etymologies suggested for the name of the Sithones are mere hypotheses which scarcely have any bearing on their nationality.⁷

A close examination of the criteria of nationality in Tacitus proves that the Sithones, in spite of the fact that Tacitus does not seem to have any doubt about their German nationality, need not be regarded as Germans in the linguistic sense of the word. In these circumstances the solution to the problem

¹ Senn, *Handbuch* I, 22 f.; Wagner, *Getica* p. 90; Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 22; eadem, *Bronze Age Cultures* p. 439; cf. also the literature mentioned on p. 56 n. 5.

² Cf. Kiparsky, *BL* I, 52–54; Fromm in Much, *Die Germania* p. 509; Engel & La Baume, *Kulturen* p. 153.

³ Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 225; Falkenhahn *ZfS* I: 2, 1956, 74; Bräuer, *Slavische Sprachwissenschaft* I, 30; Diels, *Die slavischen Völker* p. 19. For the *Venedi* of Pliny and the *Oὔενέδαι* of Ptolemy see below pp. 88, 93–96.

⁴ Rosenfeld, *AGAR* p. 19; Krahe, *Sprache und Vorzeit* pp. 44 f.; Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 32 f.; Much, *Die Germania* pp. 524 f.; cf. Pokorny, *Keltologie* p. 83; Kiparsky, *SUST* 125, 1962, 225. Filip, *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch* I, 529 takes a very critical attitude to the theory of the northern Illyrians: »Ein archäologischer Beweis für die illyrische Herkunft der Lausitzer Kultur wurde niemals geliefert u. auch die Annahme vom Bestehen eines eigenständigen nördlichen Zweiges der Illyrier ist nicht nachgewiesen, obgleich dieser noch heute in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur auftritt».

⁵ See p. 51 above.

⁶ Cf. Kiparsky, *Die Kurenfrage* p. 61 »Stammesnamen, die von den Angehörigen des Volkes selbst und nicht nur von dessen Nachbarn gebraucht werden, pflegen in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle einheimischen Ursprungs zu sein, doch sind hier Ausnahmen nicht so selten, dass man aus der Etymologie des Stammesnamens sichere Schlüsse auf die Sprache aller seiner Träger ziehen dürfte»; Kretschmer, *RE* II A, 11 »die Etymologien der Völkernamen führen meines Erachtens nicht zu einwandfreien Schlussfolgerungen hinsichtlich der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit, denn nur zu oft haben die Völker sich diese Namen nicht selbst gegeben, sondern sie stammen von einem Nachbarvolk, das sie so benannte».

⁷ The different suggestions are quoted on pp. 10–14 above.

of the linguistic nationality of the Sithones cannot be found in Tacitus. Nevertheless, I think there is hope of solving this problem if we succeed in identifying their different tribes with some of those mentioned in other literary records as inhabitants of the area established by the geographical order in Tacitus' *Germania* as the habitat of the Sithones. Since the conclusion to be drawn from this passage is that the Sithones need not have been Germans in the linguistic sense of the word, we can then search for their tribes even among non-Germanic groups and among those tribes the nationality of which is so far unsettled.

THEIR TRIBES

In his *Germania*, Tacitus uses the word *gens* not only of tribal groups but also of separate tribes, i. e. in the same meaning as *natio*.¹ It is quite clear that the expression *Sithonum gentes* implies that the group known by the name *Sithones* was divided into parts, each of which consisted of one *gens* (= *natio*) 'tribe'. Since I hold the view that the Sithones dwelt on the eastern frontier of Suebia between the Lugii and the Venethi,² their different tribes may be found in other literary sources describing this geographical area.

Much has established that Tacitus derived his information about the Peucini (Germ. 46, 1) from a source which must have been the same as that on which Strabo (7, 3, 17) relied when speaking of the Bastarnae.³ This conclusion is based on the fact that both the authors express a similar doubt as to the ethnic origin of the Bastarnae. Much, however, did not associate the names *Sithones* — Σιδόνες, which must also be derived from the common source of Strabo and Tacitus. When we compare the passages in question *in extenso*, the striking similarities between them show in a convincing manner that the Sithones and the Sidones cannot be separated from one another:

Str. 7, 3, 17 ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Βαστάρναϊ μὲν τοῖς Τυρεγέταις ὄμοροι καὶ Γερμανοῖς, σχεδόν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους ὄντες, εἰς πλείω φῶλα διηρημένοι. καὶ γὰρ Ἄτμονοι λέγονταί τινες καὶ Σιδόνες, οἱ

¹ Gerber & Greef, *Lexicon Taciteum* s. v. *gens*; cf. Much, *Die Germania* p. 93; Wenskus, *Stammesbildung* pp. 46 f.; Norden, *Die germ. Urgeschichte* pp. 314 ff.

² See p. 64 above.

³ *Germanistische Forschungen* p. 15.

δὲ τὴν Πεύκηνην κατασχόντες τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰστροῦ νῆσον Πευκῖνοι, Ῥωξολανοὶ δ' ἀρκτικώτατοι τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ Τανάιδος καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένους νεμόμενοι πεδία.

Tac. Germ. 45, 6—46, 1 *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.*

Hic Suebiae finis. Peuciniorum Venethorumque et Fennorum nationes Germaniis an Sarmatis ascribam dubito. quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt.

When comparing the passages particular attention should be paid to the fact that the Sidones of Strabo are placed, like the Sithones of Tacitus, before the Peucini. Three of the names (*Peucini, Germani, Bastarnae*) in Strabo and Tacitus are the same. I am fully convinced that in the fourth pair (*Sithones* — *Σιδόνες*) the names must also be identical.

Phonetically, the names *Sithones* — *Σιδόνες* can easily be equated. They are in the same relation to each other as Tac. Germ. 46, 1—2 and Iord. Get. 119 *Venethi* to Plin. nat. 4, 97 *Venedi* and Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 7 *Οὐενέδαι*, both forms of which may be considered original.

That fact that Strabo classes the Sidones among the Bastarnae is not an impediment to equating the names *Sithones* — *Σιδόνες*. The truth is that Strabo is the only author who divides the Bastarnae into separate tribes with different names.¹ The tribes classed by Strabo as Bastarnae mostly appear in the other sources as separate from this group. The Ἰστρονοί, a name otherwise unknown, have been identified by Schütte with the Ὀμανοί of Ptolemy and the *Manimi* of Tacitus,² tribes which according to these authors belong to the Lugian group.³ Apart from in Strabo and Tacitus, the Sidones also appear in Valerius Flaccus and Ptolemy.⁴ Only Valerius, however, is aware of the connection between them and the Bastarnae, whereas Ptolemy mentions them separately, although he also knows of the Bastarnae.⁵ Never-

¹ For the sources on the Bastarnae see Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* pp. 44 f., 183; Heeren, *De chorographia* pp. 60 f.

² *Ptolemy's Maps* p. 109; cf. Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 51; Wenskus, *Stammesbildung* p. 230 n. 590.

³ Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 10 *Λοῦγοι οἱ Ὀμανοί* (ed. Müller), *Λοῦγοι οἱ Ἰόμανοι* (ed. Cuntz); Tac. Germ. 43, 2 (quoted on p. 103 below).

⁴ Val. Fl. 6, 95 ff. *ast ubi Sidonicas inter pedes aequat habenas, | illinc iuratos in se trahit Aea Batarnas, | quos, duce Teutagono, crudi mora corticis armat | aequaque nec ferro brevior nec rumpia ligno*; cf. Heeren loc. cit.; Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 10 *ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀσκιβουργίῳ ὄρει Κόγκοντοι καὶ Λοῦγοι οἱ Βοῦροι μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Οὐιστούλα ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ δὲ τούτους πρῶτοι Σίδονες* (var. *σίδωνες, σιδῶνες*), *εἶτα Κόγνοι, εἶτα Οὐισβούργιοι ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὀρκύνιον δρυμόν.*

⁵ Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 7 *καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν Δακίαν Πενκίνοι τε καὶ Βαστέρναι.*

theless, the Ptolemaic and Strabonian Sidones are regarded as the same tribe.¹ As for the Peucini, only Pliny apart from Strabo and Tacitus connects them with the Bastarnae, but not even in this case is it clear whether Pliny thought that the Peucini belonged to the Bastarnae or were a separate tribe.²

The identity of the names *Sithones* — Σιδόνες (Σίδονες) need not, however, imply that all the tribes of the Sithones are to be identified with the Sidones of Strabo, Ptolemy, and Valerius Flaccus. This is already improbable by reason of the fact that according to Strabo the Sidones were only one part of the Bastarnae, a large group divided into several tribes (εἰς πλείω φῶλα διηρημένοι). It is also evident from the Ptolemaic passage that his Σίδονες were only one among other tribes, not a group of tribes. On the other hand, it should be noticed that Tacitus does not say anything about different tribes when discussing the *Peucini*, *quos quidam Bastarnas vocant*. In these circumstances it seems to me that the many tribes (πλείω φῶλα) into which the Bastarnae were divided according to Strabo, in the account of Tacitus are for the most part included in the group of the Sithones, in other words *Sithonum gentes* = Βαστάρναι . . . εἰς πλείω φῶλα διηρημένοι, with the exception of the Peucini and the Atmoni. From the wording of Strabo λέγονταί τινες it is evident that the Ἄτμονοι, Σιδόνες, Πευκῖνοι are only examples of the Bastarnic tribes and that Strabo knew well that there were more of them than the three he mentions. In another passage Strabo expressly points out that it was only in his own time that the Bastarnae had become better known in the Graeco-Roman world: 2, 5, 12 Μάλιστα δ' οἱ νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχοιεν ἂν τι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ Βρεττανούς καὶ Γερμανούς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τοὺς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός, Γέτας τε καὶ Τυρεγέτας καὶ Βαστάρνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάυκασον, οἷον Ἀλβανούς καὶ Ἰβηρας. With regard to the tribes living beyond Germany, he says that they were called Bastarnae by most people, but it was not easy to determine whether this was so: 7, 2, 4 τί δ' ἐστὶ πέραν τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ τί τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐξῆς, εἴτε Βαστάρνας χρὴ λέγειν, ὡς οἱ πλείους ὑπονοοῦσιν, εἴτ' ἄλλους μεταξὺ ἢ Ἰάζυγας ἢ Ῥωξολανούς ἢ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν Ἀμαξοίκων οὐ ῥᾶδιον εἰπεῖν· οὐδ' εἰ μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ παρήκουσι

¹ Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 50 f.; Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch* p. 204.

² Plin. nat. 4, 100 *quinta pars Peucini, Basternae supra dictis contermini Dacis* (ed. Detlefsen 1904); *quinta pars Peucini, Basternae, supra dictis contermini Dacis* (ed. Mayhoff 1906); cf. Chadwick, *The Origin* p. 207. All the sources on the Peucini are quoted in Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* s. v.

παρὰ πᾶν τὸ μῆκος, ἢ ἐστὶ τι ἀοίκητον ὑπὸ ψόχους ἢ ἄλλης αἰτίας, ἢ εἰ καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων ἄλλο διαδέχεται μεταξὺ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τῶν ἐφῶων Γερμανῶν ἰδρυμένον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγνόημα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐφεξῆς προσαρκτίων ἔλεγεν· οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς Βαστάρνας οὔτε τοὺς Σαυρομάτας καὶ ἀπλῶς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πόντου οἰκοῦντας ἴσμεν, οὔθ' ὅπόσον ἀπέχουσι τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς θαλάττης, οὔτ' εἰ συνάπτουσιν αὐτῇ. It is evident from this statement that according to the information gathered by Strabo there were different opinions as to which tribes should be classed among the Bastarnae and which not. If we presume that Tacitus supplemented the common source he shared with Strabo with later information, we could conclude that the connection between the northern and southern tribes of the Bastarnae, which in Strabo's time was still thought to exist, had definitely been broken during the first century A.D. Strabo's words in 7, 2, 4 show that this connection, although it was generally accepted (cf. ὡς οἱ πλείους ὑπονοοῦσιν), was not undisputed even among his contemporaries.

Although the identity of the Sithones and Sidones has been pointed out earlier in passing,¹ this suggestion has been rejected on very superficial grounds.² I think the principal mistake that has been made over these names is that both of them have been separately transferred to a modern map — the Sithones to Scandinavia, the Sidones too far to the south — and these transferences, not the accounts of Tacitus and Strabo themselves, have been compared with each other. When we put our sources together, we are in a position to define the habitat, not only of the Sithones-Sidones but also of the Bastarnae more accurately than has been possible hitherto. From Tacitus we know that the northernmost tribe of this group extended to the neighbourhood of the Suiones living on the southern Baltic coast; the account of Strabo, supplemented by that of Ptolemy, allows us to establish that the southern part of them dwelt near the Ἀτμονοί (= Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 10 Ὀμανοί, Tac. Germ. 43, 2 *Manimi*), not far from the source of the river Vistula.

¹ See p. 16 above.

² Cf. Ahlenius, *Eranos* 3, 1898—99, 35 »Ptolemaeus kennt die Bastarnen nur oberhalb, d. i. nördlich von Dacien (3, 5, 7). Damit stimmt aber die Angabe des Tacitus gar nicht überein; nach ihm sollten die Suionen und die Sitonen neben einander wohnen (*continuatur*), also beide 'ipso Oceano', d. h. im Skandinavien»; Lundström, *Xenia Lideniana* p. 267 »Ett så svårt misstag som att placera ett mellan Karpaterna och Pontus boende bastarniskt folk uppe hos svearna vill man väl dock knappast tilltro Tacitus, som ju på det hela taget känner germanerna synnerligen väl».

From the short reference by Valerius Flaccus nothing definite can be gathered about the location of the Sithones-Sidones. The Geography of Ptolemy, however, being the most systematical description in ancient literature of the area occupied by them, deserves more attention than it has so far been given in this connection. As the Sidones in Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 10 scarcely cover more than the southernmost part of the whole group mentioned by Tacitus, it is most probable that Ptolemy mentioned by separate names most of those tribes that Tacitus includes in the *Sithonum gentes*. It is, however, very difficult to establish which of the numerous tribal names mentioned by Ptolemy between the Baltic coast and the upper Vistula might be connected with the Sithones. It is a characteristic feature of Ptolemy's geographical work that the same tribes are often mentioned in it by names which differ slightly from each other. These repeated references are due to the fact that the author did not take the trouble to examine whether barbarian names re-appearing in his different sources were identical or separate. This has been particularly stressed by Schütte, who holds the view that half of Ptolemy's Germanic details can be proved to be duplication or triplication of this kind and that two thirds of the names along the northern coast of *Sarmatia Europaea* have been transplanted thither from southern regions.¹ Schütte did not, however, point to any duplicate for the name of the Ptolemaic Sidones. On the contrary Schwarz has suggested that Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 7 Σιδινοί (var. σιδηνοί, σειδινοί, σειδηνοί, σιδεινοί) might refer to the Sidones, who, according to him, originated from Northern Germany.² Rather than this suggestion I would prefer Schütte's opinion that Σιδινοί is only a transferred repetition of Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 9 Σουδινοί (var. Σουδηνοί).³ Stichtenoth connects the Σιδινοί directly with the Tacitean Sithones.⁴ This implies that the Sithones and the Aestii were located near the river Oder, an arbitrary guess based only on the phonetic similarity of the two names. In Geog. 2, 11, 10 immediately before the Σίδονες, Ptolemy mentions Λούγοι οἱ Βοῦροι and after them the Κόγνοι. These two tribes are commonly regarded as identical to the Buri and Cotini in Tac. Germ. 43, 1,⁵ and therefore they cannot have any connection with the Sithones, which otherwise might be presumed from the context. In these circumstances it does not

¹ *Ptolemy's Maps* p. 29.

² *Germ. St.* p. 51.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 103.

⁴ *ZfdA* 86, 1955—56, 177, quoted on p. 17 above.

⁵ Much, *Die Germania* pp. 474 ff.

seem possible to find out which names mentioned by Ptolemy from the region around the upper Vistula — in addition to the Σίδονες themselves — might have reference to the southern tribes of the Sithones.

Ptolemy does not mention the Aestii. K. Müller¹ already paid attention to the fact that Ptolemy² located the Οὐενέδαι along the same coast that, according to Tacitus, was occupied by the Aestii. From this A. Senn has drawn the conclusion that »there is only one solution to the problem, namely, the amber-fishing Aestii of Tacitus are called Οὐενέδαι by Ptolemy»³ and I can see no reason to disagree with him. Since I hold the view that the Sithones, according to the geographical order in Tacitus' *Germania*, must be placed to the south of the Suiones living among the Aestii along the Baltic coast, their separate tribes may also be found among the tribes enumerated by Ptolemy south of the Οὐενέδαι:

Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 8 Ἐλάττονα δὲ ἔθνη νέμεται τὴν Σαρματίαν παρὰ μὲν τὸν Οὐϊστούλαν ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς Οὐενέδας Γύθωνες, εἶτα Φίννοι, εἶτα Σούλωνες· ὑφ' οὗς Φρουγουδίωνες, εἶτα Ἀυαρινοὶ παρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Οὐϊστούλα ποταμοῦ· ὑφ' οὗς Ὀμβρωνες, εἶτα Ἀναρτοφράκτοι, εἶτα Βουργίωνες, εἶτα Ἀρσιῆται, εἶτα Σαβῶκοι, εἶτα Πιενγῆται καὶ Βίεσσοι παρὰ τὸν Καρπάτην τὸ ὄρος. 9 Τῶν δὲ εἰρημένων εἰσὶν ἀνατολικώτεροι ὑπὸ μὲν τοὺς Οὐενέδας (πάλιν) Γαλινδαὶ καὶ Σουδινοὶ καὶ Σταυανοὶ μέχρι τῶν Ἀλανῶν· ὑφ' οὗς Ἰγυλλίωνες, εἶτα Κοιστοβῶκοι καὶ Τρανσμοντανοὶ μέχρι τῶν Πενκινῶν ὀρέων.

The tribes dwelling to the south of the Οὐενέδαι have been divided by Ptolemy into two groups, the first consisting of twelve, the latter of six names. The Γύθωνες, mentioned as the northernmost tribe of the former group, are, according to the generally accepted view, identical with the Gotones of Tac. Germ. 44, 1.⁴ There is, however, a difference between the accounts of the two writers in that Tacitus locates the Rugii and Lemovii between the Gotones and the Ocean, whereas Ptolemy mentions only the Οὐενέδαι between the Γύθωνες and the Οὐενεδικὸς κόλπος. The five names following the Γύθωνες (Φίννοι, Σούλωνες, Φρουγουδίωνες, Ἀυαρινοί, Ὀμβρωνες) have already been

¹ Ptol. Geog. vol. I: 1, 412, 421.

² Geog. 3, 5, 1 Ἡ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Σαρματία περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῶ τε Σαρματικῶ ὠκεανῶ κατὰ τὸν Οὐενεδικὸν κόλπον καὶ μέρει τῆς ἀγνώστου γῆς . . . Ibid. 7 Κατέχει δὲ τὴν Σαρματίαν ἔθνη μέγιστα οἷ τε Οὐενέδαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν Οὐενεδικὸν κόλπον.

³ PCIL p. 140

⁴ Much, *Die Germania* p. 487; Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 83.

discussed above, when it was established that in fact they belonged to the Baltic coast.¹ The remaining six names of this group are otherwise unknown. Since even the northernmost of them is in all probability to be connected with the Dacian Ἐναρτοί, *Anartes* in Ptol. Geog. 3, 8, 3 and Caes. Gall. 6, 25, 2,² it is quite evident that different tribes of the Sithones cannot be distinguished in this group.

In the latter group of six names, the chances of identification with the Sithones are better. This group has been located immediately to the east of the former, its southern boundary being formed by the Mountains of the Peucini (τὰ Πευκινὰ ὄρη). Since Tacitus locates the Sithones between the Aestii and the Peucini, and the Ptolemaic Γαλίνδαι, Σουδινοί, Στανανοί, Ἰγυλλίωνες, Κοιστοβῶκοι, Τρανσμοντανοί dwell ὑπὸ τοὺς Οὐενέδας — μέχρι τῶν Πευκινῶν ὄρέων, there is every reason to suppose that at least some of the Ptolemaic tribes are represented by the Sithones — provided that we accept Senn's well-founded view of the identity of the Οὐενέδαι and the Aestii. It must, however, be admitted that the Ptolemaic tribes in question may also partly be included with the Venethi, whom Tacitus mentions as northern neighbours of the Peucini. In these circumstances the connection of the southern tribes in this group with the Sithones remains rather hypothetical, but the probability of identity becomes the greater the closer we come to the Baltic shore occupied by the Aestii — Οὐενέδαι, for this is the geographical starting point of both Tacitus and Ptolemy. This means that among the six Ptolemaic tribes the Γαλίνδαι is the one more likely to belong to the Sithones than the others, whereas the inland tribes of Σουδινοί, Στανανοί, Ἰγυλλίωνες, Κοιστοβῶκοι, Τρανσμοντανοί may have been either unknown to Tacitus or included by him with the Venethi.

It seems to me that the identity of the Γαλίνδαι with the northernmost part of the Sithones, made plausible by the geographical order of Ptolemy compared with that of Tacitus, is supported by other facts concerning these two groups. It was established above that the Tacitean words *Hic Suebiae finis* were written across the map he used to indicate the eastern frontier of Suebia occupied by the Sithones.³ Now the Ptolemaic name Γαλίνδαι is in all probability identical with that of the *Galindite*, the Galindians,⁴ mentioned in

¹ See pp. 49—54.

² *DA* II, 82.

³ See pp. 61—63.

⁴ Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* p. 271; Kiparsky, *BL* I, 54; Wagner, *Getica* p. 90; Senn, *Handbuch* I, 37.

1326 by Peter of Dusburg, the chronicler of the Teutonic Order.¹ In the Laurentian and Hypatian texts of the earliest native Russian chronicle, the Galindians appear in 1058 and 1147 in the Slavic form *Goljad*'.² The etymology of this name is explained by the Lithuanian word *gālas*, 'end', and it has been translated as 'people of the frontier' ('Grenzbewohner', 'Grenzleute', 'Markmänner').³ The eastern Galindians were so named because they were the Baltic tribe farthest to the east. The western Galindians, with whom the Ptolemaic *Γαλίνδαι* are identical, had the same name because they lived farthest to the west of the Prussian tribes.⁴ The western frontier of the Prussians, occupied by the *Γαλίνδαι*, is naturally identical with the eastern frontier of Suebia, *Suebiae finis*, on which the Sithones were living, a fact which gives strong support to the presumed identity of these two groups. It has been suggested that the name *Sithones* might be derived from the German **sīðōn-* 'side', 'edge' ('Seite', 'Rand') and be translated as 'inhabitants of the seashore' ('Küstenbewohner').⁵ I think it might equally be possible to take the German word in the sense of 'side', 'border' and to translate *Sithones* as 'inhabitants of the border', which would be equivalent to *Γαλίνδαι*. The name of the Sithones, if we take it to be a German one, might in that case be a translation of the Prussian name of the Galindians. Nor is the fact that the Sithones were said to have been ruled by a woman (*femina dominatur*) in any way inconsistent with the above considerations. On the contrary, this decidedly confirms the assumption that the Galindians belonged to them, for even among the latter, according to Peter of Dusburg,⁶ there was *quaedam domina, que secundum ritum ipsorum sacra et prophetissa reputabatur, ad cuius imperium hujus terre facta singula regebantur*. The fact that the *Γαλίνδαι* belonged to the Sithones is also supported by archaeological evidence. As the Romans never came into political or military contact with most of the tribes mentioned in Tac. Germ. 43—46, it is generally agreed that Tacitus' information about them must for the most part have been derived from the reports of merchants engaged in the amber trade, who traversed the route from Carnuntum to the mouth of

¹ *Cronica terre Prussie*, published by M. Töppen in *SRP* I (1861), 21—219.

² Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 28; Kiparsky, *BL* I, 57.

³ Vasmer, *OV* p. 123; idem, *REW* I, 290; Schmid, *Alteuropa und der Osten* p. 8; Gimbutas, loc. cit.; Kiparsky, loc. cit.

⁴ See the literature mentioned in nn. 2—3 above.

⁵ See pp. 12 f. above.

⁶ *Cronica terre Prussie* 3, 4, quoted in full on pp. 104 f. below.

the Vistula and Samland.¹ The fact that Tacitus mentions the Sithones immediately after his long account of amber may, at least to some extent, be due to their connection with amber. This is also suggested by their geographical position between the Aestii and the Peucini. Viewing matters from this standpoint it may be noticed that Ed. Šturms has connected the so-called Masurian-Germanic culture (in 550—570 A.D.) with the western Galindians, who according to him were »anscheinend eine Vereinigung fahrender Kaufleute, die, zunächst auf die ausgiebigen Bernsteingruben im eigenen Lande gestützt, im Laufe der Zeit den Bernsteinhandel Ostpreussens an sich gerissen haben, hierfür die Streuung ihrer Volksgenossen in Ost- und Mitteleuropa effektiv ausnützend».² On the other hand, E. Petersen holds the view that the amber trade between the Prussian coast and Southern Europe was carried on by the Bastarnae.³ One might, of course, presume that the trade was formerly carried on by the Bastarnae and later taken over by the Galindians. Since the Sithones, however, being identical with the Sidones of Strabo, also represent the northern group of the Bastarnae, I think the view of Petersen coincides with that of Šturms. By placing the *Γαλίνδαι* among the tribes of the Sithones, we may conclude that the amber merchants, at one period Bastarnae, at another Galindians, were actually of the same group in both periods: the amber trade was not taken over by the Galindians from the Bastarnae, but the *Γαλίνδαι* of Ptolemy, part of the Sithones, already represented the northern group of the amber-trading Bastarnae. These conclusions give a most interesting approach to the much disputed problem of the ethnic origin of the Bastarnae, to be more closely examined in the last chapter.

The next Ptolemaic tribe after the *Γαλίνδαι*, the *Σουδινοί* (var. *Σουδηνοί*), are generally considered identical with the Prussian Sudovians (*Sudowite*), mentioned by Peter of Dusburg among the neighbours of the Galindians.⁴ Their belonging to the Sithones remains a hypothesis based solely on their

¹ Norden, *Die germ. Urgeschichte* pp. 445 ff.; Hjärke, *Bernstenriddaren och Tacitus* p. 14; cf. Lewis, *The Northern Seas* p. 37.

² *Die ethnische Deutung* p. 9; cf. Spekke, *Balts and Slavs* p. 58; idem, *The Ancient Amber Routes* pp. 55 f.

³ *VDS* III, 902.

⁴ For references see p. 89 n. 4 above. For the earliest habitat of the Sudovians, cf. Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 27 »The archaeological finds show that present Podlasie in eastern Poland and Polesie in western Byelo-Russia belonged to the Baltic Sudovians until the beginning of history. Only after the long wars with the Russians and Poles during the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. did the southern limits of the Sudovian tribe fall back to the River Narew line, and in the thirteenth century they even retreated as far north as the Ostrówka (Osterode)-Olsztyn (Allenstein) line».

geographical position. We do not know what the bond of union between the different tribes of the Sithones was. The most plausible hypothesis is that it was at least to some extent of a religious nature.¹ A common cult in itself does not necessarily imply the use of the same language, although this use naturally facilitates and promotes the spread of religious ideas. From this point of view, it is probable that among the Sithones there were other tribes that spoke the same language as the Galindians. The Ptolemaic names *Γαλίνδαι* and *Σουδινοί* show that Prussian tribes had had their own individual names at a very early period. Peter of Dusburg mentions ten of them and, apart from the *Galindite* and *Sudowite*, also includes the *Pomesani*, *Pogesani*, *Warmienses*, *Nattangi*, *Sambite*, *Nadrowite*, *Scalowite*, and *Barthi* with the Prussians.² It is quite possible that some of these groups already existed in Tacitus' time, although the Sudovians and Galindians are the only individual Prussian tribes that we know by name from the ancient sources. In these circumstances, it cannot be denied that, besides the Galindians, the Sudovians and even other Prussian tribes, enumerated by Peter of Dusburg, may also have been among the tribes of the Sithones.

The third Ptolemaic tribe in the group, whose identity with the Sithones is suggested by their geographical position, is the *Σταυανοί* (var. *Σταύανοι*, *Σταυᾶνοι*, *Σταῦνοι*). This otherwise unknown name has been corrected by Šafařík to *Στλαυανοί* or *Σλαυανοί* and connected with the *Σκλαβηνοί* (< *slo-věne*),³ the name of the Slavs, known for the first time from Pseudo-Caesar, who wrote in the beginning of the sixth century.⁴ Šafařík also thinks that Ptol. Geog. 6, 14, 9 *Σουοβηνοί* is a transferred repetition of the same name. His suggestion, however, is disapproved of by Müllenhoff, who considers the *Σταυανοί* an otherwise unknown Baltic tribe.⁵ Even Diels considers the views of Šafařík untenable, and writes as follows: »Slaven' werden mit Sicherheit erst am Beginn des 6. Jh. genannt . . . Dass schon Kl. Ptolemaios (100—170 n. C.) den Namen gekannt und genannt habe, is eine blosse Vermutung, die im einen Falle eine Verderbnis des Textes (*Σταυανοί*), im anderen (*Σουοβηνοί*) einen groben Irrtum über die Sitze der S. voraussetzen lässt». ⁶ In his work

¹ This is above all suggested by the fact that the Sithonian tribes are said to be ruled by a woman, the functions of which must have been connected with religion, as will be established on pp. 100 ff. below.

² *Cronica terre Prussie* 3, 3; cf. Gimbutas, *The Balts* pp. 22 f.

³ *Slawische Alterthümer* I, 208, 212.

⁴ *DA* II, 367 ff.; Rubin, *RE* XXIII: 1, 481 ff.

⁵ *DA* II, 21.

⁶ Ebert, *Reallexikon* XII, 273 f.

Die slavischen Völker (1963) Diels does not even mention these Ptolemaic names. Yet as late as 1952 Schütte undertook to defend the theory of the Slavonic origin of the Στανανοί.¹ If we accept this hypothesis and at the same time also consider the Στανανοί a Sithonian group, the conclusion would be that the Sithones, who represented the northern group of the Bastarnae, consisted of both Baltic and Slavonic tribes. Reflections of this kind in this connection are rather hypothetical, but in the light of the evidence presented in the last two chapters of this book they may not be wholly unjustified.

As for the Ἰγυλλίωνες, Κοιστοβῶκοι, and Τρανσμοντανοί, whose habitat reached southwards to the neighbourhood of the Peucini, there remains little to say. The last of these names is certainly the Latin word *transmontani* and it may be considered as a generic designation for the tribes living beyond the Mountains of the Peucini, but it has, however, been misconceived as the name of a separate tribe.² The Κοιστοβῶκοι appear in Ptol. Geog. 3, 8, 3 as a Dacian tribe.³ Ἰγυλλίωνες, which is otherwise unknown, is regarded by Schütte as a repetition of Ptol. Geog. 2, 11, 9 Ἐλοναίωνες, Tac. Germ. 43, 2 *Helvecones*,⁴ which according to Tacitus belong to the Lugian group. In these circumstances the hypothesis of the connection of these three Ptolemaic tribes with the Sithones, although suggested by their being neighbours of the Peucini, may be rejected as resting on insufficient grounds.

The Venethi, mentioned by Tacitus in Germ. 46, 1—2 as inhabitants of the hills and forests lying between the Peucini and the Fenni, are regarded by most scholars as Slavs.⁵ It may also be taken as a generally accepted view that the Aestii of Tacitus consisted at least for the greatest part of Baltic tribes,⁶ although being coastal dwellers they cannot include them all.⁷ When accepting the well-founded opinion of Senn about the identity of the Ptolemaic Οὐενέδαι with the Aestii of Tacitus,⁸ it must be concluded that the name

¹ *Classica et mediaevalia* 13, 1952, 246.

² Cf. *DA* II, 84 ff.; Herrmann, *RE* VI A, 2174.

³ Šafařík (*Slawische Alterthümer* I, 209 ff.) and Niederle (*Slovanské Starožitnosti* I, 405 ff.) regard this name as Slavonic, but v. Premerstein (*RE* XI, 1505) thinks it more probable that the tribe in question was of Thracian origin. See also Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* p. 256.

⁴ *Ptolemy's Maps* fig. 24; cf. *DA* II, 18, 22 ff.; Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* pp. 677, 699.

⁵ See p. 82 above.

⁶ See p. 82 above.

⁷ Cf. Senn, *PCIL* p. 141 ». . . both the *Aestii* of Tacitus and the *Aesti* of Jordanes being coastal dwellers, they cannot include the totality of the Baltic tribes, some of whom lived several hundred miles inland, north of the Pripet Marshes. They can only be Prussians, as had already been pointed out by the Lithuanian scholar K. Būga four decades ago».

⁸ See p. 88 above.

Venethi-Oῦενέδαι was used in ancient records about both the Balts and the Slavs.¹ On the other hand, if my view that the *Γαλίνδαι* belong to the Sithones is accepted, we may conclude that at least some of the Baltic tribes were also thought of as Bastarnae, for the Sithones, being identical with the Sidones of Strabo, also represent the northernmost part of the Bastarnic group of tribes. If we admit that both the Balts and the Slavs were called by the same name (*Venethi, Oῦενέδαι*) among their western neighbours and in addition to that take for granted that some of the Baltic tribes were also known as Bastarnae, we might easily be led to the daring hypothesis that not only the name *Venethi-Oῦενέδαι* but also that of the Bastarnae referred to tribes of both Baltic and Slavonic origin. Certain facts would appear to support this hypothesis.

Pliny mentions the Venedi when describing the northern coast of Europe: nat. 4, 94 *Exeundum deinde est, ut exera Europae dicantur, transgressisque Riphaeos montes litus oceani septentrionalis in laeva, donec perveniatur Gadis, legendum . . .* ib. 97 *quidam haec* (scil. *exera Europae*) *habitari ad Vistlam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt* etc. From the words of Pliny it is quite evident that in his description of this coast (*litus oceani septentrionalis*) he proceeds from east to west towards Cadiz (*donec perveniatur Gadis*). According to his sources of information (*quidam . . . tradunt*) this coast as far as the river Vistula (*ad Vistlam usque fluvium*) was inhabited by the *Sarmatae, Venedi* (-ae), and *Sciri*, the last mentioned of which dwelt near the river Vistula, the Venedi between the Sciri and the Sarmatae.² Pliny thus locates the Venedi in the same way as Ptolemy does the *Oῦενέδαι* in Geog. 3, 5, 7.³ It should, however, be noticed that in nat. 4, 94—120, the subject matter of which is the coast of Europe, Pliny discusses the coastal area far inland, and therefore the word *litus* must

¹ This is also the opinion of Wenskus (*Stammesbildung* p. 228) and Fromm (Much, *Die Germania* p. 525). Cf. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée* I, 14 »On s'est demandé si les Vénèdes de la Baltique, qui ont donné aux Slaves leur nom allemand, *Wenden*, étaient des Slaves ou des Baltes: au temps de Pline et de Tacite qui les mentionnent, les Slaves et les Baltes devaient bien peu se distinguer, et c'est un anachronisme que de vouloir mettre sur des noms de tribus anciennes les noms de peuples plus récents. Il faut, bien entendu, se représenter la langue commune balto-slave sous la forme d'un faisceau de parlers»; Senn, *PCIL* p. 141 »The picture presented by historical records certainly refutes the idea of a single Balto-Slavic community for the time claimed by Vaillant [loc. cit.], though it need not necessarily deny the existence of a linguistic unity, just as we have today a large number of English-speaking, French-speaking, and Spanish-speaking countries». For the break-up of the Balto-Slavic community see also: Kiparsky, *BL* I, 52; Vahros, *Zur Geschichte und Folklore* etc. pp. 53 ff.

² For the *Hirri* see p. 27 above.

³ This was already noticed by Müller, *Ptol. Geog.* vol. I: 1, 421. Even Detlefsen in the index of his edition defines the Venedi of Pliny as »gens ad oceanum septentr(ionalem)».

be taken in a rather wide sense. In these circumstances, the area occupied by the Venedi of Pliny may have comprised not only the coast inhabited by the *Οὐενέδαι* of Ptolemy but also those inland regions between the Peucini and Fenni which Tacitus ascribes to his Venethi. Since Pliny expressly mentions the northern coast as the starting point of his description, his Venedi must in the first place be regarded as coastal-dwellers and identical with the *Οὐενέδαι* of Ptolemy, but, by reason of the wide sense of the word *litus*, it cannot be denied — and is even well-nigh probable — that they also included the Venethi of Tacitus. The separate Baltic tribes like the Ptolemaic *Γαλίνδαι*, with which the northernmost group of the Sithones was identified above, are not mentioned by Pliny and, as far as his informants were conscious of their existence, they are included by him with the Venedi. It is most interesting to notice that Pliny in nat. 4, 97 does not mention the Bastarnae at all, although they ought to be placed between the Venedi and the Sciri. Much paid attention to this striking fact and thought that the missing Bastarnae in this case might have been included with the Sciri.¹ The other alternative, which Much, as he took the Bastarnae for Germans, did not at all take into consideration, would be that the Bastarnae in Plin. nat. 4, 97 are included with the Venedi. As long as the question of the origin of the Bastarnae is unsettled, this alternative, which is supported by the identity of the *Γαλίνδαι* with the Bastarnic Sithones, cannot be dismissed. In favour of this assumption it is worth noticing that the Venedi (Venethi) do not appear in the Geography of Strabo at all. He calls the eastern neighbours of the Germans *Βαστάρναι* in several passages: 2, 1, 41 *καὶ νῦν δ' εἰρήσθω, ὅτι καὶ Τιμοσθένης καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ οἱ ἔτι τούτων πρότεροι τελέως ἠγγύουν τὰ τε Ἰβηρικὰ καὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ, μυρία δὲ μᾶλλον τὰ Γερμανικὰ καὶ τὰ Βρεττανικὰ, ὡς δ' αὐτως τὰ τῶν Γετῶν καὶ Βασταρῶν;* 2, 5, 12 *Μάλιστα δ' οἱ νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχοιεν ἂν τι λέγειν περὶ τῶν κατὰ Βρεττανούς καὶ Γερμανούς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τοὺς τε ἐντὸς καὶ τοὺς ἐκτός, Γέτας τε καὶ Τυρεγέτας καὶ Βαστάρνας;* 2, 5, 30 *φέρεται δ' οὗτος (scil. Ἰστρος) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ λιπὼν τὴν τε Γερμανίαν ὅλην ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τὸ Γετικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ τῶν Τυρεγετῶν καὶ Βασταρῶν;* 7, 1, 1 *ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ τε Γαλατικὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ Γερμανικὰ μέχρι Βασταρῶν καὶ Τυρεγετῶν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Βορυσθένους;* 7, 2, 4 *τί δ' ἐστὶ πέραν τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ τί τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐξῆς, εἴτε Βα*

¹ *Deutsche Stammeskunde* pp. 130 ff.

στάρνας χρὴ λέγειν, ὡς οἱ πλείους ὑπονοοῦσιν, εἴτ' ἄλλους . . .; 7, 3, 17 ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ Βαστάρναι μὲν τοῖς Τυρρεγέταις ὄμοροι καὶ Γερμανοῖς . . . He expressly points out (7, 2, 4) that it was the most common opinion among his contemporaries that the inhabitants of the area beyond Germany (πέραν τῆς Γερμανίας) were called by that name.¹ The account of Strabo agrees with the information gathered from Plin. nat. 4, 97, if we presume that the same group of tribes dwelling to the east of the Germans was called *Βαστάρναι* by the former, and *Venedi* by the latter.

The fact that Tacitus and Ptolemy keep the Venethi and the Bastarnae apart, but Strabo and Pliny seem to include both of them in the same group, suggests that the name *Venethi* (*Venedi*, *Οὐνέδαι*) could be used both in a wide sense to denote all the non-Sarmatic tribes living to the east of the area known as *Germania* (Pliny), and in a narrow sense to denote only a part of these tribes, whether they lived on the Baltic coast east of the river Vistula (Ptolemy) or inland between the Peucini and the Fenni (Tacitus). When the name was used in its narrow sense, the remaining parts of the group were mentioned by separate names, which in Tacitus are *Aestii*, *Sithones*, and *Peucini-Bastarnae*.

The above hypothesis of the close connection between the Bastarnae and the group known by the name *Venethi*, *Venedi*, *Οὐνέδαι* may also be examined in the light of information about the Venethi gathered from Jordanes:

Get. 34 *introrsus illis Dacia est, ad coronae speciem arduis Alpibus emunita, iuxta quorum sinistrum latus, qui in aquilone vergit, ab ortu Vistulae fluminis per immensa spatia Venetharum natio populosa consedit. quorum nomina licet nunc per varias familias et loca mutantur, principaliter tamen Sclaveni et Antes nominantur.*
 35 *Sclaveni a civitate Novietunense et laco qui appellatur Mursiano usque ad Danastrum et in boream Viscla tenus commorantur: hi paludes silvasque pro civitatibus habent. Antes vero, qui sunt eorum fortissimi, qua Ponticum mare curvatur, a Danastro extenduntur usque ad Danaprum, quae flumina multis mansionibus ab invicem absunt.*
 36 *ad litus autem Oceani, ubi tribus faucibus fluenta Vistulae fluminis ebibuntur, Vidivarii resident, ex diversis nationibus adgregati; post quos ripam Oceani item Aesti tenent, pacatum hominum genus omnino. — — — 119 post Herulorum cede item Hermanaricus in Venethos arma commovit, qui, quamvis armis despecti, sed numerositate pollentes, primum resistere conabantur. sed nihil valet multitudo inbellium, prae-*

¹ Str. 7, 2, 4 is quoted *in extenso* on pp. 85 f. above. Müller (*Strabonis Geographica* II, 754) has understood that the area beyond Germany is the coast lying to the east of the northernmost Germans, for he summarizes the Strabonian passage as follows: »Bastarnas esse etiam ab ortu Germanorum septentrionalium juxta Oceanum plerique putant, at incerta res est».

sertim ubi et deus permittit et multitudo armata advenerit. nam hi, ut in initio expositionis vel catalogo gentium dicere coepimus, ab una stirpe exorti, tria nunc nomina ediderunt, id est Venethi, Antes, Sclaveni; qui quamvis nunc, ita facientibus peccatis nostris, ubique deseviunt, tamen tunc omnes Hermanarici imperiis servierunt. 120 Aestorum quoque similiter nationem, qui longissimam ripam Oceani Germanici insident, idem ipse prudentia et virtute subegit omnibusque Scythiae et Germaniae nationibus ac si propriis laboribus imperavit.

From the passages quoted we can observe that Jordanes uses the name *Venethae* (-i) in two senses. First, he explains that there was a populous nation called *Venethae* (*Venetharum natio populosa*), but adds that it was divided into various families with different names, the most important of which were the *Sclaveni* and *Antes* (Get. 34). In Get. 119 he makes this explanation more complete by stating that the *Venethi* group, which had a common origin, was known by three names, i. e. *Venethi*, *Antes*, and *Sclaveni*. Jordanes thus uses the name *Venethae* (-i) in a wide sense to cover all the tribes which he knew to be of the same origin, and in a narrow sense to exclude the *Sclaveni* and *Antes*. If we assume that in Plin. nat. 4, 97 the name *Venedi* (-ae) also includes the *Bastarnae*, missing in the context, and bear in mind that Tacitus separates these two groups from each other, the *Bastarnae* correspond to the *Sclaveni* and *Antes* of Jordanes at least in so far that even they could either be included with the *Venedi* (-ae, *Venethi*, -ae) or be excluded from them.

A comparison between Jordanes and Tacitus shows that the inhabitants of the Baltic coast are by both of them called *Aestii* (*Aesti*). The western neighbours of these in Jordanes, the *Vidivarii*, occupy the same area as the *Rugii* and *Lemovii* of Tacitus.¹ The *Venethi* of Tacitus correspond in Jordanes to those called by the same name in its narrow sense. The *Bastarnic* tribes do not appear in Jordanes at all;² instead of them he has the two names *Sclaveni* and *Antes*. It may naturally be presumed that the *Bastarnae* had meanwhile completely vanished from history and been replaced by the *Sclaveni* and *Antes*. The other alternative, however, which has not hitherto been considered, would be that the population itself had remained essentially the same and only the names had been changed, the *Bastarnae* being the forefathers of the later *Sclaveni* and *Antes*.

Procopius, a contemporary of Jordanes, tells in Goth. 3, 14, 29 that the

¹ For the location of the *Rugii* and *Lemovii* see pp. 24 f. above.

² In Get. 74 Jordanes has the name *Bastarnae*, but there he speaks about the times of King *Coryllus*, who probably lived in the first century B.C.; cf. *RE* II A s. v. *Scorylo*.

Σκλαβηνοί and *Ἄνται* were both called *Σπόροι* in ancient times. My hypothesis concerning the close connection between the Bastarnae and the Venedi, and the above theory of the possible identity of the Bastarnae with the Sclaveni and Antes, in these circumstances implies that the *Σπόροι* mentioned by Procopius are identical with those earlier called *Bastarnae*. It seems to me that in the literary records a connection between these two groups can be established. The key to the riddle lies, I think, in Tacitus' statement about the degeneracy of the Sithones and in their already established identity with the northern group of the Bastarnae. The literary evidence in favour of this hypothesis will be presented after the question of the female ruler of the Sithones has been settled.

THEIR FEMALE RULER

The Sithones are distinguished from the other tribes mentioned in Tacitus' *Germania* in that they are said to have been ruled by a woman, *quod femina dominatur*. It was this fact that made Müllenhoff transpose paragraph 45, 6 to the end of c. 44 so that he could locate the Sithones in North-Eastern Scandinavia and identify them with the Kvaens. Müllenhoff believed that the name of the Kvaens, the Finnish *Kainulaiset*, had early been associated with the German word for woman, whence the legend of an Amazon kingdom in the north would have arisen.¹ The transposition suggested by Müllenhoff has been rejected by all modern editors, but, curiously enough, his theory of the identity of the Kvaens and Sithones has found supporters till quite recently.² To Müllenhoff himself, however, the transposition of the paragraph in question was necessary for the location of the Sithones in Scandinavia and their identity with the Kvaens. If we do not accept the transposition, we cannot place the Sithones in Scandinavia, and if we do not place them in Scandinavia, we cannot identify them with the Kvaens. In my opinion, the geographical position of the Sithones and the riddle of their female ruler should be considered as two different questions. The first question I have dealt with above on the basis of the geographical order followed by Tacitus.³ It remains to explain the statement concerning the female ruler of the Sithones

¹ See pp. 9 f. above.

² See pp. 10 ff. above.

³ See pp. 59—76 above.

in the light of their location on the eastern frontier of Suebia in the neighbourhood of the Aestii.

Tacitus' tendency to overstate shows itself in many passages of his *Germania*.¹ This tendency becomes particularly noticeable towards the end of the work. It has been pointed out by many scholars that the statement concerning the female ruler of the Sithones is also to be understood as part of a rhetorical climax.² The political freedom of the tribes discussed in cc. 44—45 is described in a way that makes it appear to be more limited the farther the narrative proceeds. The Goths are said to have been ruled by kings more strictly than the other German tribes, but not so strictly as to destroy their freedom: c. 44, 1 *Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem*. Among the Suiones, on the other hand, one man was supreme, with unlimited power and with an unchallenged claim to obedience: c. 44, 3 *est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non precario iure parendi*. The tripartite climax culminates in the passage on the Sithones, the ruler of which was a woman: c. 45, 6 *Suionibus Sithonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur: in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant*.

The statement concerning the female ruler of the Sithones cannot, however, be ascribed merely to rhetoric. The writer must have had factual information to enable him to connect the female ruler with this particular group of tribes.

The words of Tacitus *cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur*, in my opinion, imply no more than that the Sithones, according to the information available to him, resembled the Suiones in all respects, differing only in that their ruler was a woman.³ When it is said about the Suiones c. 44, 3 *unus imperat* and about the Sithones c. 45, 6 *femina dominatur*, the antithesis should make it quite clear that the *femina* of the Sithones was a female counterpart of the monarch (*unus*) of the Suiones and that the domination of this woman (*dominatur*) was comparable with the power of the monarch of the Suiones (*imperitat*).⁴

In the first part of his work Tacitus makes it clear that as a rule the powers

¹ See p. 31 above.

² *DA* II, 8; Malone, *AJPh* 46, 1925, 175; Svennung, *Eranos* 61, 1963, 136.

³ I think Valmaggi (*Germania* p. 86) is quite right when suggesting that *similes* especially refers to the form of government. Tacitus has not said a word about the language of the Suiones; therefore it would be rather rash to conclude from this word that the Suiones and the Sithones spoke the same language.

⁴ Cf. Persson, *Tacitus' mindre skrifter* p. 259; Lönborg, *Eranos* 4, 1900, 27.

of the kings among the Germans were not particularly great: c. 7, 1 *Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant, admiratione praesunt*. Cf. hist. 4, 76, 2 *Germanos . . . non iuberi, non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere*; ann. 13, 54, 1 *auctore Verrito et Malori[g]e, qui nationem eam regebant, in quantum Germani regnantur*. The limited powers of the kings in general can also be gathered from the fact that Velleius regards the powerful position of Maroboduus, King of the Marcomani, as exceptional: Vell. 2, 108, 2 *Maroboduus . . . non tumultuarium neque fortuitum neque mobilem et ex voluntate parentum constantem inter suos occupavit principatum, sed certum imperium vimque regiam complexus*.¹ Tacitus, it is true, is of the opinion that monarchy was stricter among the eastern tribes than elsewhere in Germany,² but the statement concerning the absolute monarchy among the Suiones is, however, highly incompatible with the facts gathered from later records.³ Therefore, most scholars agree that Tacitus was mistaken in his account of the monarchy among the Suiones. The Swedish royal power is considered to have been in reality of a priestly character.⁴

The duties of the priests and kings among the Germans were partly shared. The king, along with the priest, took part in certain religious rites: Germ. 10, 2 *proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. publice aluntur iisdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant*. In public assemblies (*concilium*) silence was enjoined by the priest, who had coercive powers on such occasions: c. 11, 2 *silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coercendi ius est, imperatur*. Punitive powers, according to Tacitus, belonged to the priests even on the battlefield: c. 7, 1 *ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincire, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt*. Although Tacitus says emphatically that it was only the priests to whom these powers were

¹ Cf. Much, *Die Germania* p. 157.

² Cf. Germ. 44, 1, quoted on p. 99 above.

³ Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii* 26 (*MG. SS. II* [1829], 712) *Sic quippe apud eos (scil. Sueones) moris est, ut quodcumque negotium publicum magis in populi unanima voluntate, quam in regia constet potestate; Adam of Bremen 4, 22 (MG. SS. VII [1846], 377) Reges habent (scil. Sueones) ex genere antiquo, quorum tamen vis pendet in populi sententia; quod in commune omnes laudaverint, illum confirmare oportet, nisi eius decretum potius videatur, quod aliquando secuntur inviti*.

⁴ Cf. *DA II*, 5 f. »die übertriebene vorstellung von der macht des schwedischen einvalds kann nur bei fremden Südmännern entstanden sein, die ihn allein in seiner festlichen herlichkeit und als verwalter und schiermer des festfriedens kennen lernten»; Much, op. cit. pp. 500 ff.; Collinder, *Afnf* 59, 1944, 28; Thompson, *The Early Germans* p. 34 n. 1.

given, Caesar, on the contrary states that the power of life and death lay in the hands of the leader chosen to conduct a war: Gall. 6, 23, 4 *cum bellum civitas aut inlatum defendit aut infert, magistratus qui ei bello praesint et vitae necisque habeant potestatem deliguntur*. Of German priests Caesar says nothing. The discrepancy between Tacitus and Caesar can be explained in different ways.¹ It is, however, very difficult to conceive of punitive powers being exercised independently of the military commander or the king. Our sources of information do not allow us to establish in detail how the powers and functions were divided between the priests and kings among different tribes and in different periods, what the functions of the kings in various religious rites were and, on the other hand, what the extent and character of the judicial power of the priests was. Naturally, the royal and priestly powers may at times have rested in the hands of one and the same person.

As the functions of the priests and kings were thus closely connected with each other, confusion easily arose. An outsider might easily have mistaken a king performing his priestly duties for a priest and, vice versa, a priest administering justice in time of war or in the public assembly or presiding over the religious ceremonies might easily have been mistaken for a sovereign with secular powers.

Several of the functions of the priests among the Germans were also discharged by holy women: Germ. 8, 2 *inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt. vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Veledam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas*. Albruna is otherwise unknown, but we are well-informed concerning Veleda's position by Tacitus himself:² hist. 4, 61, 2 *Munius Lupercus legatus legionis inter dona missus Veledae. ea virgo nationis Bructerae late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas. tuncque Veledae auctoritas adolevit; nam prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum praedixerat; 4, 65, 3—4 *arbitrum habebimus Civilem et Veledam, apud quos pacta sancientur. sic lenitis Tencteris legati ad Civilem ac Veledam missi cum donis cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere; sed coram adire adloquique Veledam negatum: arcebantur adspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. ipsa edita in turre; delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque ut internuntius numinis portabat; cf. also 5, 22, 3; 5, 24; 5, 25, 2 *et si dominorum electio sit, honestius principes Romanorum quam Germa-***

¹ Cf. Thompson, op. cit. pp. 37—38; Chadwick, *The Origin* p. 312; *DA* IV, 253.

² For evidence about Veleda see *L'année épigraphique* 1953, 13 f. and *RE* VIII A, 620 f.

norum feminas tolerari. It is worthy of note that Tacitus uses the same verb to describe the authority of Veleda (hist. 4, 61, 2 *ea virgo . . . imperitabat*) as he does for the autocracy of the king of the Suiones (Germ. 44, 3 *unus imperitat*) and the powers of the Roman emperor (ann. 12, 65, 2 *si Nero imperitaret*). In a rhetorical climax he also compares Veleda to the Roman emperors (hist. 5, 25, 2 *principes Romanorum . . . Germanorum feminas*). The priests of the Germans were regarded as the servants of the gods (Germ. 10, 2 *ministros deorum*), Veleda, on the other hand, as a deity (*numen*, cf. hist. 4, 65, 4). It is generally believed that Veleda had no actual political power.¹ She is, however, a historically well-known example of how easily a priestess of high standing could be placed on the same footing as a political ruler.

Seen against the background outlined above, the position of the female ruler of the Sithones is understandable. According to the ancient custom of the peoples thought of by Tacitus as Germans (hist. 4, 61, 2 *vetere apud Germanos more*) this woman was widely held in high esteem (cf. Germ. 8, 2 quoted above). This kind of position could be described by Tacitus with the verb *dominatur* just as the authority of Veleda in hist. 4, 61, 2 is expressed with the words *late imperitabat*. In the culmination of a tripartite climax (Germ. 44, 1—44, 3—45, 6) Tacitus placed the woman revered by the Sithones on the same footing as the kings of the Suiones and Goths in exactly the same way as he compared Veleda to the Roman emperors in hist. 5, 25, 2 for rhetorical reasons. The placing of her on the same footing as the king of the Suiones is partly understandable even in the light of the fact that his power was erroneously thought to be greater than it actually was.²

Even if we considered the power of the female ruler of the Sithones to be of a political character — considering the information available on the functions of the rulers among peoples thought of as Germans — her functions must at least partly have been connected with religion. As the Sithones were a group of several tribes (*Sithonum gentes*), it is essential to pay attention to the religious character of the other tribal groups of a similar kind mentioned by Tacitus.³

¹ Walser, *RE VIII A I*, 620; Chadwick (*The Origin* p. 338), however, basing himself on Tacitus, thinks that the position of the sacred women of the Germans »resembled that of the queens and princesses of the early Anglo-Saxon age». He is also inclined to interpret the female ruler of the Sithones in this sense, although he locates them in Northern Scandinavia (*ibid.* p. 337).

² See p. 100 above.

³ For the Ingaevones, Herminones, Istaevones (Germ. 2, 2), which are also regarded by many scholars as religious confederations, see Much, *Die Germania* pp. 53 ff.; Chadwick, *op. cit.* pp. 225 ff.

In Germ. 40, 2 Tacitus describes a group of six tribes who all worshipped the goddess Nerthus: *Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuitones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis arbitrantur.* The centre of the cult of these tribes was a holy grove on an island: *ib. in insula Oceani castum nemus.* When telling about the Semnones Tacitus likewise mentions a sacred forest in which all the tribes of the same blood gathered at fixed seasons: c. 39, 1 *Vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.* Since the Semnones are described as the most ancient and most noble tribe of the Suebi (*vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum*), the sacred forest of their territory can be regarded as having originally been the common sanctuary of all the Suebic tribes.¹ Tacitus also mentions that the tribes of the Aestii worshipped the same goddess: c. 45, 2 *Aestiorum gentes . . . matrem deum venerantur. insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant.* The Lugii provide the fourth example. Among the Lugian tribe of the Nahanarvali there was a grove which was the site of an ancient rite: c. 43, 2—3 *latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum. valentissimas nominasse sufficiet: Harios Helveconas Manimos Helisios Nahanarvalos. apud Nahanarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur.* The prevalent opinion is that the cult of the Nahanarvali was originally common to all the tribes of the Lugii, the grove being the centre of an amphictyony.² Collinder holds the view that a common cult likely to have resembled that of the Semnones as described by Tacitus was the bond of union even for the communities of the Suiones.³

According to the foregoing, the neighbours of the Sithones both in the west (*Lugiorum nomen*) and the north (*Suionum civitates, Aestiorum gentes*) can

¹ Cf. Collinder, *Afnf* 59, 1944, 28.

² Much, *Die Germania* p. 480; Collinder, loc. cit.

³ Loc. cit. »Tacitus tells us nothing about the religious customs of the Suiones, but we know from more recent sources that the *Sviar* formed a group of independent states, connected, as it seems, by a common cult, the centre of which was the fane of Upsala. The king of Upsala was originally a kind of prince-primas, who presided at the religious performances and raised the cult taxes. From the account of Adam of Bremen we know that human sacrifices were practised at Upsala as late as the 11th century, and the cult of the *Suiones* is likely to have resembled that of the *Semnones* as described by Tacitus».

be regarded as amphictyonies connected by a common cult. I think this justifies the assumption that the bond of union for the different tribes of the Sithones was also of the same character. A priest in female dress (*sacerdos muliebri ornatu*) presided over the worship of the Lugian tribes. The difference between this kind of priest and a priestess was not great. If the cult of an amphictyony could be presided over by a priest in female dress, it is just as possible that the same function could be discharged by a woman.

The Tacitean words *Hic Suebiae finis* imply that Tacitus thought of the tribes of the Sithones as living in the zone which formed the eastern frontier of Suebia. When comparing the accounts of Ptolemy and Tacitus, I concluded that the Ptolemaic Galindians must be considered as belonging to the tribes of the Sithones.¹ This conclusion of mine was additionally confirmed by the fact that the commonly accepted etymology of the name *Γαλίνδαι* (< Lithuanian *gālas*) indicates that the western Galindians were thought of as inhabitants of the western frontier of the Balts, which, on the other hand, must be identical with the *Suebiae finis* mentioned by Tacitus.

It was established above that the female ruler of the Sithones should be considered as a sacred woman of the same kind as Veleda, the prophetess of the Bructeri. That being so, and since the Galindians of Ptolemy were identified with the northern group of the Sithones, we have evidence of the fact that in the beginning of the Christian era there were holy women among the Baltic tribes who by reason of their high standing could easily, and especially by a foreigner, be mistaken for political rulers. This view of mine is strongly supported by the conclusions arrived at by Otto Huth in his article on the fire-cult of the Germans.² In his comparative study, Huth, being principally concerned with the Indo-European origin of the Vesta cult, has also discussed the position of Veleda and the other holy women of the same kind among the Germans and their neighbours. With regard to the results set forth above it is most significant that in the materials collected by Huth there is even a Baltic counterpart to Veleda.³ The priestess of the Galindians, described by Peter of Dusburg, corresponds closely, not only to Veleda, but also to the female ruler of the Sithones:

Cronica terre Prussie 3, 4 (SRP I, 52) *De desolacione terre Galindie.*

¹ See pp. 89—91 above.

² »Der Feuerkult der Germanen,» *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 36, 1939, 108—134. Cf. Bickel, *RhM* 89, 1940, 25; Koch, *RE* VIII A: 2, 1719.

³ Art. cit. pp. 114—115, 122.

Galindite creverunt et quasi germinantes multiplicati sunt, et roborati nimis, et inpleverunt terram suam, sic quod eos non potuit ammodo sustinere. Unde sicut Pharaos ad opprimendum populum Israëliticum dixit obstetricibus: si masculus natus fuerit, interficite ipsum, si femina reservate, ita ergo istis videbatur consultum, quod quicquid nasceretur sexus feminini, occideretur, et masculi ad bellum servarentur. Et dum hoc edicto non proficerent, quia mulieres videntes eleganciam nascencium conservabant occulte eas, idcirco de communi consilio et consensu, ut omnis materia nutriendi pueros tolleretur, omnium uxorū suarū ubera preciderunt. Super quo contemptu et detestabili facto mulieres indignate accesserunt ad quandam dominam, que secundum ritum ipsorum sacra et prophetissa reputabatur, ad cujus imperium hujus terre facta singula regebantur, petentes sibi super hoc negocio salubriter provideri. Que compaciens sexui suo, convocatis ad se pocioribus totius terre, ait ad eos: dii vestri volunt, ut omnes sine armis et ferro vel aliquo defensionis amminiculo contra Cristianos bellum moveatis. Quo audito statim obediunt, et omnes, qui ad bellum habiles fuerant, ad viciniorem Cristianorum terram leto animo sunt profecti . . .

The woman in authority over the Galindians was looked upon as sacred and as a prophetess (*sacra et prophetissa*), but at the same time she was a ruler (*domina*) in whose hands the affairs of the country rested (*ad cujus imperium hujus terre facta singula regebantur*). It is also told that this authority of hers was based on the custom of the Galindians (*secundum ritum ipsorum*). The word *ritus* in itself implies that the high standing of the priestess of the Galindians was upheld by the traditions of the country. Huth has, with good reason, gathered from his material that there were priestesses of this kind among the Balts as early as among the Germans. The female ruler of the Sithones, of whom Huth did not take any notice, can in these circumstances be regarded as a predecessor of the priestess known from the description of Peter of Dusburg. The view of Huth concerning the Indo-European origin of the position of the Baltic priestesses is thus confirmed by the Tacitean account of the Sithones. On the other hand, the results of Huth, which are gathered from sources different from mine, seem to confirm in a remarkable manner my view of the identity of the northernmost tribe of the Sithones with the Ptolemaic Galindians.

In his above-mentioned article, Huth also came to the conclusion that the functions of the German and Baltic priestesses were originally connected with the cult of fire and that therefore these women should be regarded as

counterparts of the Vestal virgins of the Romans.¹ This view, however, remains rather hypothetical. In our sources on the holy women of the Germans there is nothing directly related to the cult of fire.² The tower of Veleda, mentioned by Tacitus in *hist.* 4, 65, 4, need not have housed a sacred flame like that of the Samogitians. Nor is there anything in the passage of Peter of Dusburg on the priestess of the Galindians that might be connected with the fire-cult. It is true that Peter of Dusburg in another passage mentions a priest of the Prussians named *Criwe*, who was charged to keep the sacred flame perpetually burning,³ but this fact in itself does not imply that the priestesses of the Galindians and the Germans had a similar function.

The position of the priesthood among the Prussians is unknown from sources prior to Peter of Dusburg.⁴ Therefore it has been suggested that the emergence of priestly power among the Balts in the fourteenth century might have resulted from the old religion being endangered at this particular period by the invasion of Christian enemies.⁵ Nevertheless, it would be tempting to agree with Huth that powerful priests like *Criwe* had taken over their duties from priestesses like those of the Galindians.⁶ The priest in female dress

¹ Art. cit. p. 115 »Die litauischen Vestalinnen brauchen nicht erst spät bei dem Vergleich des baltischen Feuerkultes mit dem altrömischen erfunden zu sein, wie sich aus dem Bericht über den Untergang des altpreussischen Stammes der Galinden ergibt. Die in dieser Erzählung genannte Herrin . . . ist wie Weleda und die anderen germanischen Seherinnen als Obervestalin aufzufassen. Diese baltischen Überlieferungen sind deshalb von besonderer Bedeutung, weil wir uns hier in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft Germaniens befinden und die engen nachbarlichen Beziehungen der beiden Indogermanenvölker bekannt sind»; *ibid.* p. 121 f. »Dem hohen Ansehen der römischen Vestalin, ihrem Erhobensein in eine sakrale Sphäre und ihrer Stellung zu Seiten des Königs als dessen Ratgeberin entspricht genauestens die Stellung der germanischen Seherin. Der Bericht des Tacitus über das Hausen der Veleda auf dem Turme und die Überbringung der Nachrichten durch einen ihrer Verwandten lassen ihre Absonderung erkennen. Sie ist wie die Vestalin den Göttern näher als der gewöhnliche Mensch. Es darf angenommen werden, dass im Turm der Veleda das heilige Stammesfeuer gebrannt hat, das unter ihrer Aufsicht von einer priesterlichen Schwesternschaft gehütet wurde. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es wichtig, dass Longinus-Dlugoss in seiner Geschichte Polens uns berichtet, dass das Zentralfeuer des litauischen Stammes der Samogiten in einem Turme brannte».

² See de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* I §§ 214—215.

³ *Cronica terre Prussie* 3, 5 (*SRP* I, 53 f.) *De ydolatria et ritu et moribus Pruthenorum. . . . Fuit autem in medio nationis hujus perverse, scilicet in Nadrowia, locus quidam dictus Romow, trahens nomen suum a Roma, in quo habitabat quidam, dictus Criwe, quem colebant pro papa, quia sicut dominus papa regit universalem ecclesiam fidelium, ita ad istius nutum seu mandatum non solum gentes predictae, sed et Lethowini et alie nationes Lyvonie terre regebantur. Tante fuit auctoritatis, quod non solum ipse vel aliquis de sanguine suo, verum etiam nuncius cum baculo suo vel alio signo noto transiens terminos infidelium predictorum a regibus et nobilibus et communi populo in magna reverencia haberetur. Fovebat etiam prout in lege veteri jugem ignem.*

⁴ See Thomas, *Die slawische und baltische Religion* pp. 73—75.

⁵ Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 73; Gimbutas, *The Balts* pp. 183 f.

⁶ Art. cit. p. 130.

(*sacerdos muliebri ornatu*), who presided over the cult of the Lugian Nahanarvali, might in that case be regarded as a transitional form and that his female dress remained as a legacy from his female predecessors.¹

In conclusion, there is reason to discuss the manner in which the female ruler of the Sithones has been treated in the most recent study on this particular subject.

The Tacitean words *femina dominatur* have led Svennung² to discuss the subject »die Frauenherrschaft bei den Sithonen». Particular attention has been paid by S. to the fact that on the evidence of our literary sources the women among the Sarmatians used to go hunting on horseback, waged war, and dressed themselves like men. S. has also discussed several of the literary sources on the Amazons. With his words »Frauenregiment» and »Frauenherrschaft» S. seems to suggest a matriarchal society in which the part played by men in various fields of daily life was reduced to the minimum. S. calls special attention to the fact that Tacitus, when describing the eastern tribes, mentioned many non-German features in them:

»Man findet, dass Tacitus bei den drei letzten von ihm beschriebenen Völkern viele nicht-germanische Züge anführt. Die *Aestii* . . . haben, sagt er, eine Sprache, die eher der britanischen als der swebischen ähnelt; bei der Landarbeit zeigen sie mehr Ausdauer als die faulen Germanen. Die *Peucini* erhalten durch Mischehen das hässliche Aussehen der *Sarmaten*. — Die *Veneti* haben vieles von den Sitten der *Sarmaten* angenommen. — Bei den *Fenni* herrscht entsetzliche Wildheit. Sie haben keine Wohnung . . . Die ethnographische Monographie des Tacitus kulminiert mit den Worten über die Fabelwesen Osteuropas, die auch in körperlicher Hinsicht Mischwesen sind: sie haben zwar Menschenköpfe, aber Leib und Glieder von wilden Tieren».

S. formulates his final conclusion as follows:

»Unser Blick auf die Darstellung der obengenannten Grenzvölker — mit Zügen von Sarmaten und besonders mit den Männern wenigstens ebenbürtigen Stellung der Frauen — könnte uns einen Hinweis geben, um den Ursprung der Notiz über die sithonische Frauenherrschaft zu finden: ein osteuropäischer Volkstamm mit sarmatischen Sitten hat in der Nähe der Sithonen gelebt und sie beeinflusst (the typographical spacing is mine) — falls nicht ganz einfach Tacitus selber oder seine Gewährsmänner Angaben über Sithonen und irgendeinen derartigen Stamm verwechselt haben».

At first it must be noticed that S. does not discuss the female ruler of the Sithones at all, but tries to explain the reason for there being a matriarchal state of society among them. Tacitus, however, does not say a word about

¹ Chadwick, *The Origin* p. 339 actually thinks that »it is by no means improbable that the *sacerdos muliebri ornatu* of Germ. 43 had taken the place of a woman».

² *Eranos* 61, 1963, 136 ff.

the position of women in general among the Sithones, but only says that they were ruled by a woman (*femina dominatur*). In all other respects he regards them as similar to the other tribes known by him in the same area. Accordingly, S. has first drawn a conclusion from the words of Tacitus and then explained this conclusion and not the words of Tacitus himself. S. concluded that a female ruler implies a matriarchal society. As he has not found evidence of this among the Germans, he has resorted to the Sarmatians and thinks that there was an East-European tribe with Sarmatian customs living near the Sithones and influencing them. In this interpretation of S. there remains one problematical question of great importance from the Finnish point of view: what tribe with Sarmatian customs and a matriarchal society lived near the Sithones in Western Finland and exercised an influence upon them?

THEIR DEGENERACY

The latter part of Tacitus' short passage about the Sithones, the words *in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant*, has as a rule been regarded as an epigram invented by Tacitus himself and no importance has been attached to it in attempts to settle the question about the ethnic origin of these tribes. It seems to me, however, that the key to the whole riddle lies in this very statement.

It was established above that the Sithones, being identical with the Sidones of Strabo, represent the northern group of the Bastarnic tribes.¹ Much established that Tacitus derived information about the Peucini-Bastarnae from the same source as Strabo in 7, 3, 17. Tacitus, however, may have supplemented this source with later records, in which the connection between the northern and southern tribes of the Bastarnae was no longer accepted. I also arrived at the conclusion that the tribes of the Sithones, *Sithonum gentes*, are identical with Str. 7, 3, 17 *Βαστάρωναι . . . εἰς πλείω φύλα διηρημένοι* except for the Peucini and Atmoni. This conclusion is based on the fact that Tacitus does not mention the different tribes when discussing the Peucini-Bastarnae. This implies that with one particular group of the Bastarnae he has associated information — that they were divided into individual tribes — information which in Str. 7, 3, 17 is connected with all of them. In these circumstances there is enough reason to presume that the idea of the Sithones

¹ See above, pp. 83—86.

being degenerate may originally have also had some bearing on the main group, i. e. degeneracy may have been thought of as a characteristic of all the Bastarnae, although in Tacitus' account it is connected only with the northern group. In support of this assumption the following facts may be presented.

Much has compared the name *Bastarnae*, *Basternae* with the Gothic *widuwairna* 'orphan', actually 'son of a widow' ('Waise', 'Witwensohn'), **þiwairnō* 'harlot', actually 'daughter of a menial' ('Dirne', 'Knechtstochter').¹ In his opinion the name should be considered as a compound, the latter part of which has a common origin with the Greek *ἔρνος* 'shoot', 'sprout', 'offspring' ('Spross', 'Sprössling'). The first part of it he connects with Old French *bast* 'unlawful intercourse' ('Kebsehe'), which he considers to be of German origin, and the meaning of the compound is thus 'the Offspring of unlawful intercourse', 'the Bastards'. The opposite of this name would be that of the Sciri, which is derived by Much and other sfrom German **skīra-* (cf. Gothic *skeirs*, Old Nordic *skírr*) 'clear', 'bright', 'sheer', 'unblemished' ('glänzend', 'hell', 'lauter', 'unvermischt'), cf. Old Nordic *skírborinn*, *skírgetinn* 'of genuine birth' ('von echter Geburt'). Much's etymology has been widely accepted among scholars,² although — as Fromm points out³ — it does not rest on a firm enough foundation.

In support of his etymology Much also referred to Tacitus' statement in Germ. 46, 1 *Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant . . . conubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur*. Since he was convinced of the essentially German origin of the Bastarnae, he thought that this group should be considered as offspring of marriages between German conquerors and women of Sarmatic origin.

Much's explanation that the Bastarnae actually were 'bastards' implies that this group of tribes had got its name because it was considered to be of low birth or degenerate. Therefore, Tacitus' statement about the degeneracy of the Sithones fits well my earlier conclusion that they represent in reality

¹ *PBB* 17, 1893, 37; *Germanistische Forschungen* p. 22; *Die Germania* p. 528; *OV* p. 104.

² Gutenbrunner, *Germanische Frühzeit* p. 93 »Die Bastarnen sind also 'Sprösslinge aus nicht ebenbürtigen Ehen'; ihr Name bestätigt also, was Tacitus aus der teilweise ungermanischen Körpergestalt geschlossen hat, dass sich nämlich die Bastarnen auf dem Zug nach dem Südosten mit Angehörigen fremder Völker verbunden hatten. Dass die Germanen selbst den Namen so verstanden haben, zeigt der entgegengesetzte Sinn des Namens der Skiren»; Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 49; Fehrle & Hünnerkopf, *Germania* p. 134; Petersen *VDS* III, 868; Kluge & Mitzka, *Etymol. Wörterbuch* s. v. Bastard; Wenskus, *Stammesbildung* p. 22; Klein, *Südosteuropa* I, 1959, 34 n. 9.

³ In Much, *Die Germania* p. 528.

the northern Bastarnic tribes. And if the name of the Bastarnae bears evidence of the fact that they were looked upon as degenerate, there is, as it seems to me, every reason to assume that Tacitus' statement about the degeneracy of one Bastarnic group is ultimately derived from a source dealing with all of them. Much's etymology implies, as Schmidt points out,¹ that the Bastarnae must already have been considered degenerate at the time when their name first appears in history, i. e. in the latter half of the third century B.C. However, no evidence of their degeneracy at such an early date has thus far been found; Schmidt is therefore apt to reject Much's etymology altogether. Nevertheless, it seems to me that such evidence can be found in the extant literary records.

Our most important source about the early history of the Bastarnae is the anonymous *Periegesis ad Nicomedem regem* (= Nic.), generally known as Pseudo-Scymnus.² The poem was in all probability written between 133—116 B.C.³ The Bastarnae appear in Nic. 794 as neighbours of the Thracians: *Θρακίης τε Βαστάρωναι τ' ἐπήλυδες . . .* Müllenhoff concluded that Pseudo-Scymnus derived his information about the Bastarnae from Demetrius of Callatis,⁴ whom he mentions by name in vv. 117, 719, 793(796), 879, and Müllenhoff's views have generally been accepted.⁵ The adjective *ἐπήλυδες* gives evidence of the fact that Demetrius, who lived circa 200 B.C., was aware of the arrival of the Bastarnae to the regions around the mouth of the Danube. On the evidence of Pomp. Trog. prol. 28 the time of the Bastarnic migration has been fixed to 233—230 B.C.⁶

From Nic. 794 we know that the Bastarnae were regarded as newcomers, but we do not know exactly from where they came. Neither is the extent of their habitat at that early date at all clear. These difficulties are to a great extent due to the fact that the text of Pseudo-Scymnus is preserved in a very fragmentary state.⁷ Only about half of the work is preserved in codex D, the only one we have, but additional fragments of it are embedded in the

¹ *Die Ostgermanen* p. 88 n. 6 »Die Deutung des Namens durch Much als 'Bastarde' im Hinblick auf die durch Tacitus bezeugte Mischung mit Sarmaten ist durchaus abzulehnen, da zu der Zeit, als der Name zuerst auftritt, von einer *D e g e n e r a t i o n* (the typographical spacing is mine) keine Rede sein konnte».

² Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* p. 165.

³ Ginsinger, *RE* III A, 674.

⁴ *DA* II, 104; III, 38; cf. Ginsinger, *RE* III A, 685.

⁵ Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen* pp. 87 f.; Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 47.

⁶ Schmidt, loc. cit.

⁷ Published by Müller, *GGM* I, 196—237; vv. 722—1026 by Diller, op. cit. pp. 165—176.

Periplus Ponti Euxini (= Eux.), likewise anonymous, which according to Diller is not earlier than the latter half of the sixth century A.D.¹ Nic. describes the coast of Europe from the Pillars of Heracles to Mt Haemus on the left side of the Euxine Sea, where the text breaks off and the end of the codex is lost. The remaining part of Nic., from v. 744 onwards, thus consists of reconstructions only, based on Eux.; Nic. 794 has been reconstructed from Eux. 63 οὔτοι Θραῖκες καὶ Βαστάρωναι ἐπήλυδες. The reconstruction Θραῖκές τε Βαστάρωναι τ' ἐπήλυδες . . . is that of Diller himself; Müller gives in brackets the suggestion of Holsten (1630) Οὔτοι δὲ Θραῖκες Βαστάρωναι τ' ἐπήλυδες. Both editors, Müller and Diller, place the verse in question so that there is a lacuna both before and after it. In these circumstances, we do not know what the original context was in which the Bastarnae appeared. The only thing about which we may be sure is that the Bastarnae were mentioned in it as newcomers and neighbours of the Thracians. As Nic. is a description of the coast, we can also say that the name Βαστάρωναι belonged to those who lived on the western shore of the Euxine Sea in the neighbourhood of the Thracians. Since Nic. describes the coast from south to north, the mutual order of these two groups must have been such that the first mentioned of them, the Thracians, were farther to the south and the Bastarnae to the north of them. That being so, it is worth while examining the information the same author gives in the other parts of his poem about the northern neighbours of the Thracians.

When commencing his description of Thrace, Pseudo-Scymnus says that the Thracians occupied the land extending to the river Danube in the north: Nic. 664 f. Τὴν ὑπεράνω χώραν δὲ μέχρι τοῦ Ποντικοῦ / Ἰστρου παρεκτείνουσι Θραῖκες νεμόμενοι. Later on he makes this definition more accurate by stating that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Odessos (modern Varna) were still Thracian Crobyzi, but that Dionysopolis lay in the frontier between the Crobyzi and the Scythians: Nic. 748 ff. (Ὀδησσὸς πόλις) Μιλήσιοι / κτίζουσιν Ἀστύαγης ὅτ' ἦρχε Μηδίας· / Θραῖκας Κροβύζους ἐν κύκλῳ δ' αὐτῆς ἔχει. / (Διονυσόπολις) πρῶτον ὠνομάζετο / Κροννοὶ διὰ τὰς τῶν ἐγγύς ὑδάτων ἐκρούσεις· / Διονυσιακοῦ δὲ προσπεσόντος ὕστερον / ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης τοῖς τόποις ἀγάλματος, / Διονυσπόπολιν λέγουσι κληθῆναι πάλιν· / ἐν μεθορίοις δὲ τῆς Κροβύζων καὶ Σκυθῶν / χώρας μιγάδας Ἑλληνας οἰκητὰς ἔχει. Cf. Eux. 78 and 80. In the sequel, Tomi is mentioned as surrounded by

¹ Op. cit. p. 113; the text of Eux. *ibid.* pp. 118—138.

Scythians on every side: Nic. 764 f. (*Τομέοι πόλις*) ἄποικοι γενόμενοι *Μιλησίων*, / ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν κύκλω <δὲ περι>οικούμενοι. Cf. Eux. 72. The northern frontier of the Thracians on the coast of the Euxine Sea is defined in the passages quoted in a completely unambiguous way, for the region of Dionysopolis is expressly mentioned as being the frontier between the Crobyzi, the northernmost of the coastal tribes of the Thracians, and the Scythians. On the other hand, in Nic. 794 the Bastarnae are also mentioned as the northern neighbours of the Thracians on the same coast. It seems to me a reasonable solution to assume that the neighbours of the Thracians, who in Nic. 794 are called *Βαστάρναι* and in Nic. 756, 765 *Σκύθαι*, were in reality *Σκύθαι Βαστάρναι*, in other words the same group had two names, the connection between which, however, is difficult to perceive owing to the fragmentary state of Nic.¹

As a matter of fact, compound names are not unusual in Nic., particularly when the author mentions tribes living in the frontier area between two main groups of nations. So, for example, in his description of the Adriatic coast he separates the *Ἰστροί* from the *Ἐνετοί*, which he mentions as of Paphlagonian origin, by saying that they are *Θραῦκες Ἰστροί*: Nic. 387 ff. *Ἐνετῶν δ' εἰσὶ πεντήκοντά πον / πόλεις ἐν αὐτῷ κείμεναι πρὸς τῷ μυχῶ, / οὓς δὴ μετελθεῖν φασιν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγόνων / χώρας κατοικῆσαι τε περὶ τὸν Ἄδριαν. / Ἐνετῶν ἔχονται Θραῦκες Ἰστροί λεγόμενοι*. In a similar manner in the actual description of Thrace (Nic. 664 ff.) the names of the southernmost and northernmost Thracian tribes, the *Βίστονες* and *Κροβύζοι* are given with the attribute *Θραῦκες*: Nic. 673 ff. *ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολήν / μερῶν λαβοῦσα τοῦνομ' ἀπὸ τῶν Βιστόνων / Θρακῶν προμήκης ἐστὶ λίμνη Βιστονίς; ib. 750 Θραῦκας Κροβύζους ἐν κύκλω δ' αὐτῆς ἔχει*. In these circumstances it is quite reasonable to expect that, when beginning his description of the coastal area after Thrace with Scythia, the author would provide the first individual name with an explanation. The reconstruction *Σκύθαι Βαστάρναι* corresponds perfectly to Nic. 391 *Θραῦκες Ἰστροί*, 674 f. *Βίστονες Θραῦκες*, and 750 *Θραῦκες*

¹ In the later sources the Bastarnae are classed among the Scythians by Dio Cassius and Zosimus: D. C. 28, 10, 3 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μυσία ποιήσας (scil. C. Antonius) ἠπτήθη <πρὸς> τῇ τῶν Ἰστριαῶν πόλει πρὸς τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν Βαστάρνων, ἐπιβησάντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπέδρα; 51, 23, 2 ὁ Κράσσοσ ὁ Μάρκος ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἔς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεμφθεὶς τοῖς τε Λακοῖς καὶ <τοῖς> Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἐκείνων, οὔτινες τέ εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἐπολεμώθησαν, εἰρηται. Βαστάρναι δὲ Σκύθαι τε ἀκριβῶς νενομίδαται κτλ.; Zos. 1, 71, 1 Βαστέρνας δέ, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, ὑποπεσόντας αὐτῷ προσέμενος κατῶκισε (scil. Probus) Θρακίοις χωρίοις.

Κρόβυζοι and therefore it is quite possible that in the original context the connection between the names *Βαστάρνοι* and *Σκύθαι* was still apparent. One might easily complete Diller's reconstruction of Nic. 794 by adding the missing *Σκύθαι* so that the result would be *Θοῤῥᾶκές τε Βαστάρνοι τ' ἐπήλυδες <Σκύθαι>*.

Even if we suppose that in the original context of Nic. the Bastarnae were not *expressis verbis* called Scythians, the fact in itself that both the *Σκύθαι* and the *Βαστάρνοι* were said to be neighbours of the Thracians along the same coast already justifies us assuming their identity. The truth is that a tribe or group of tribes known by a compound designation like the reconstructed *Σκύθαι Βαστάρνοι* is quite commonly mentioned in the ancient records by only one part of the compound. Our literary sources on the Bastarnae alone abound in examples of this wide-spread practice: Plu. Aem. 9, 6 *Γαλάτας . . .*, *Βαστέρνοι καλοῦνται*; ib. 12, 4 *Βαστέρνοι*; ib. 13, 1 *τοὺς Γαλάτας*; Plb. 25, 6 (26, 9) *τῶν Γαλατῶν*, but later in the same passage *τοὺς Βαστάρνας*; Liv. 40, 5, 10; 40, 57—58; 41, 19, 4 ff.; 42, 11, 4; perioch. 134 *Bastarnae (Basternae)*, but the same group 44, 26, 2 ff. *Galli*; App. Mac. 18 *Γέται* (cf. Liv. 44, 26, 2 ff. *Galli*); App. Mac. 11; App. Mith. 15; 69; App. Ill. 4; 22 *Βαστάρνοι (Βαστέρνοι)*; App. Syr. 6 *Γαλάται*. In all these cases the context and the historical facts mentioned in it prove that these different names relate to one and the same group of tribes, the Bastarnae.¹ If the context had been corrupted, as it is in Nic. 794, the *Γαλάται (Galli)* and *Γέται* of the sources enumerated might very easily be regarded as different groups bearing no relation to the Bastarnae.

The Scythians bordering on the Thracian Crobyzi on the western coast of the Euxine Sea are also known from other sources. An important argument in support of the above assumption of their identity with the Bastarnae is that the elder Pliny in nat. 4, 80 describes them as *Scythae degeneres et a servis orti aut Trogodytae*, although, as Müller points out,² he has transferred them together with the Crobyzi,³ mentioned in nat. 4, 82, too far north. The identity of the *Scythae degeneres . . . aut Trogodytae* with the northern neighbours of the Crobyzi in Nic. 756 is based on the comparison of the following sources, quoted by Müller: Nic. 756 *Κροβύζων καὶ Σκυθῶν . . .*; Str. 7, 5, 12

¹ For the history of the Bastarnae cf. DA II, 104—112; Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen* pp. 86—99; RE III, 110—113; Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 47—53.

² Ptol. Geog. vol. I: 1, 463.

³ For this tribe see Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* p. 268.

Κρόβυζοι καὶ οἱ Τρωγλοδύται . . . ; Ptol. Geog. 3, 10, 4 Τρωγλοδύται . . . Κρόβυζοι. Since the neighbours of the Crobyzi are called alternately Σκύθαι and Τρωγλοδύται in these sources, their identity with the group called by Pliny *Scythae . . . aut Trogodytae* is in my opinion quite indisputable. The *Scythae degeneres* might quite well be called 'Bastard-Scythians' and as a matter of fact Cuno calls them by this name,¹ although he is not in any sense aware of their connection with the Bastarnae, whose name, according to Much's widely-accepted explanation, means 'the Bastards'. That being so, we know 'bastards' from two different sources and both these sources allow us to place them in the immediate neighbourhood of the northernmost Thracians on the western shore of the Euxine Sea. I am fully convinced that it is absolutely impossible to separate these 'bastards' from one another and therefore I regard the *Scythae degeneres et a servis orti* as identical with the Βαστάρναι of Nic. 794, and the Σκύθαι of Nic. 756, 765. These combinations allow us to establish that the Bastarnae appeared as a 'degenerate' group from the very beginning of their history, which gives strong support to Much's explanation of their name, and at the same time refutes the objections raised by Schmidt against it. It also becomes quite evident that Tacitus' statement about the degeneracy of the Sithones cannot be an invention of his own but must have been derived from the same tradition which appears in the Plinian words *degeneres et a servis orti*. As a matter of fact, there is a striking similarity in these words to Tacitus' expression *non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant*. The verb *degenerant* in this expression is equivalent to *degeneres sunt*² and considering the inconcinnity, a well-known characteristic of Tacitus' style,³ it seems to me quite possible that *a servitute* is even equivalent to *a servis*, the lack of symmetry being in this case expressed with the parallelism of two abstract nouns (*a libertate — a servitute*), the latter, however, having a secondary, concrete meaning. The words *a servitute degenerant* may in this way be understood in the sense of *a servis degeneres sunt*, thus making the similarity to the Plinian *degeneres et a servis orti* more pronounced.

The arrival of the Scythians across the Danube to Dobrudja is recorded in Str. 7, 4, 5: καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ χώρα πᾶσα αὕτη, σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ ἔξω τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ μέχρι Βορυσθένους, μικρὰ Σκυθία· διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνθένδε

¹ *Forschungen* I, 125.

² Persson, *Tacitus' mindre skrifter* p. 259.

³ Gudeman, *De Germania* (1928) p. 372; Voss, *Der pointierte Stil des Tacitus* p. 13.

περαιουμένων τόν τε Τύραν καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ ἐποικούντων τὴν γῆν καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ὀλίγη μικρὰ προσηγορεύθη Σκυθία, τῶν Θρακῶν τὰ μὲν τῆ βία συγχωρούντων, τὰ δὲ τῆ κακία τῆς χώρας· ἐλώδης γάρ ἐστὶν ἢ πολλὴ αὐτῆς; cf. ib. 7, 5, 12 τὰ ἔλη τὰ τῆς μικρᾶς καλουμένης Σκυθίας τῆς ἐντὸς Ἰστροῦ. Accordingly, Strabo knew that the Scythians came to Dobrudja from the area which in the east was bounded by the river Borysthenes (Dnieper). Since they are said to have crossed the river Tyras (Dniester), we may conclude that they originally lived between these two rivers, the Borysthenes and the Tyras. Minns assumes that these immigrants might have been the representatives of the Royal Scythians,¹ but this hypothesis is inconsistent with the account of Herodotus, according to whom the habitat of the Royal Scythians was to the east of the Borysthenes. Of the four principal groups of Scythians enumerated in Hdt. 4, 17—20 only the Scythian ploughmen (Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες) lived west of the Borysthenes. If we assume that the relative position of these four Scythian groups had been roughly the same since the time of Herodotus, there is every reason to regard the Scythian immigrants of Dobrudja as belonging to the Scythian ploughmen. This view is confirmed by the fact that in nat. 4, 44, when Pliny mentions these Scythians from a source which must have been different from that in nat. 4, 80, he expressly calls them *Scythae Aroteres*.²

So far it has not been possible to fix the time of the Scythian migration to Dobrudja with any accuracy. Minns thinks that the Scythian immigrants might be the ones ruled over by Atheas who in 339 B.C. was defeated by Philip of Macedon.³ Since no Scythians appear in the sources concerning the expedition of Alexander to the same area in 336 B.C., Minns nevertheless thinks it quite possible that Atheas actually was »a Getan, called a Scythian just because he lived north of the Danube«. ⁴ The latter alternative implies that the migration to Dobrudja did not take place until between

¹ *Scythians and Greeks* p. 118.

² *Namque Thracia altero latere a Pontico litore incipiens, ubi Hister amnis inmergitur, vel pulcherrimas in ea parte urbes habet, Histropolin Milesiorum, Tomos, Callatim, quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur, Heracliam. habuit et Bizonem terrae hiatus raptam; nunc habet Dionysopolim Crunon antea dictam; adluit Zyran amnis. totum eum tractum Scythae Aroteres cognominati tenuere. eorum oppida Aphrodisias, Libistos, Zygere, Rhocobae, Eumenia, Parthenopolis, Gerania . . .*; the same Scythians are also mentioned in nat. 3, 149 as *Pontoque contermini Scythae*. Cf. Detlefsen, *Die Anordnung* p. 62.

³ Op. cit. p. 123; for Atheas cf. Alexandrescu, »Ataias,« *Studii Clasice* 9, 1967, 85—91; Wiesner, *Die Thraker* pp. 137 ff.; Weiss, *Die Dobrudscha im Altertum* pp. 24, 28; Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* p. 49.

⁴ Loc. cit. (n. 1).

Alexander's expedition and the time of Demetrius of Callatis (circa 200 B. C.). In these circumstances, the Scythian immigrants might well have been considered as *ἐπήλυδες* in the third century B.C. Instead of assuming that there were two different immigrations in the same century to the regions around the mouth of the river Danube, i. e. that of the Bastarnae and that of the Bastard-Scythians, the only migration recorded in our sources, it seems to me quite reasonable to regard these bastard-immigrants as one and the same group and to relate the account of Strabo (7, 4, 5) to the expansion of the Bastarnae, dated as 233—230 B. C.

The results of the above analyses may be summarized as follows:

1) Tacitus' statement about the degeneracy of the Sithones is ultimately derived from a source that concerned all the Bastarnae, whose name ('the Bastards') already suggests that they were considered as degenerate from the very beginning of their history.

2) Nic. 794 *Βαστάρναι* are identical with Nic. 756, 765 *Σκόθαι*, i. e. the northern neighbours of the Thracians on the western shore of the Euxine Sea were in reality *Σκόθαι Βαστάρναι*.

3) The *Σκόθαι Βαστάρναι* are called *Scythae degeneres et a servis orti* in Plin. nat. 4, 80. Tacitus' wording *a servitute degenerant* is derived from the same tradition and it may be interpreted in the sense of *a servis degeneres sunt*.

4) The Bastard-Scythians originally lived between the rivers Borysthenes and Tyras and were representatives of the Scythian ploughmen (*Σκόθαι ἄροστῆρες*), a name by which they are expressly called in Plin. nat. 4, 44.

5) Strabo's account of the coming of the Scythians to Dobrudja (7, 4, 5) should be related to the expansion of the Bastarnae in 233—230 B.C.

According to the above conclusions, the origin of the Bastarnic group of tribes should be related to the tradition of a degenerate population considered as being descended from slaves (*a servis orti*). This tradition can be traced in several Greek and Latin sources, the oldest of which is Herodotus. These sources will be closely examined in the next chapter. On the other hand, it was established in the section on the tribes of the Sithones that the northernmost tribe should be considered identical with the Prussian *Γαλίνδαι* of Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 9.¹ I also arrived at the daring hypothesis that not only the name *Venethi* (*Venedi*, *Οὐενέδαι*), but also that of the Bastarnae referred

¹ See pp. 89—91 above.

to tribes of both Baltic and Slavonic origin.¹ I gathered from a comparison between Jordanes and Tacitus that the Bastarnae might by reason of their geographical position be regarded as the ancestors of the Sclaveni and Antae (Antes), which are included by Jordanes with the Venethi in the wider sense of this designation.² It seems to me that the origin of the Sclaveni and Antae can be found in the same tradition as that of the Bastarnae; the next chapter will therefore be an attempt to combine the different conclusions I have reached in examining the different tribes of the Sithones and their degeneracy.

¹ See pp. 93 f. above.

² See pp. 96 f. above.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCYTHAE DEGENERES

SOURCES

The tradition of the degenerate Scythians can be traced in the following sources, which are here quoted in chronological order:

Hdt. 4, 1 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τείσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίης ἦρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης. τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτου κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὗρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην· αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθῶν γυναῖκες, ὡς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτων παρὰ τοὺς *δούλους*. 2 τοὺς δὲ *δούλους* οἱ Σκύθαι πάντα τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι, ποιεῦντες ᾧδε τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες. 3 ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὧν σφι τῶν *δούλων* καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπετράφη νεότης, οἱ ἐπέιτε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἠντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυξάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσαν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὀρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην, τῇ πέρ ἐστι μεγίστη· μετὰ δὲ πειρωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο. γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθῶν τῇ μάχῃ, εἷς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε· Οἴα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι. *δοῦλοισι* τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοί τε κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. νῦν ὧν μοι δοκῆει αἰχμᾶς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μᾶστιγα ἰέναι ἄσσον αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὄρων ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὁμοιοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μᾶστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας,

μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνόντες τοῦτο οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι.
 4 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίηον ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δ' ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ
 τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἤρξαν
 καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Μήδων κατήλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην.
 τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖος τείσασθαι βουλόμενος συνήγειρε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύμα.

Callistr. Hist. (FGrH 433, 4 = FHG 4, 354) Τάφραι· καὶ Τάφρη ἐνικῶς·
 χώρα ταφρευθεῖσα περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην ὑπὸ δοῦλων ταῖς δεσποίναις
 συμμιγέντων κατὰ τὸν πολυχρόνιον πόλεμον τῶν Σκυθῶν, τῶν δεσποτῶν πολε-
 μούντων τοῖς Θραιξῖν ἢ τοῖς ἐντὸς Ἰστρου, ὡς Καλλίστρατος ἐν γ'. ταύτην τὴν
 χώραν κατοικῆσαι Σατορχαίους.

Plin. nat. 4, 80 *Ab eo (scil. Histro) in plenum quidem omnes Scytharum sunt gentes,
 varie tamen litori adposita tenere, alias Getae, Daci Romanis dicti, alias Sarmatae,
 Graecis Sauromatae, eorumque Hamaxobii aut Aorsi, alias Scythae degeneres
 et a servis orti aut Trogodytae, mox Alani et Roxolani.*

Val. Fl. 6, 84 ff.

*linquitur abruptus pelago Tyra, linquitur et mons
 Ambenus et gelidis pollens Ophiusa venenis.
 degeneresque ruunt Sindi glomerantque paterno
 crimine nunc etiam metuentes verbera turmas.
 hos super aeratam Phalces agit aequore nubem
 cum fremitu, densique levant vexilla Coralli,
 barbaricae quis signa rotae ferrataque dorso
 forma suum truncaequae Iovis simulacra columnae.*

Polyaen. 7, 44, 2 (Latyšev I, 566) Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν κατέτρεχον. αἱ
 Σκυθίδες γημάμεναι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο. ἐπανελθόντας οἱ δοῦλοι
 τοὺς δεσπότης οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. πόλεμος ἦν. οἱ μὲν οἰκέται φαλαγγηδὸν ἐπήεσαν
 ὀπλισμένοι· Σκύθης δὲ ἀνὴρ δείσας αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξ ἀπονοίας μάχην συνεβούλευσεν
 ὄπλα μὲν καὶ τόξα καταβαλεῖν, μαστιγὰς δὲ ἀνατειναμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας
 βαδίζειν. οἱ μὲν ἀνατεινάμενοι τὰς μαστιγὰς ἐφόρμησαν, οἱ δὲ τὸ συνειδὸς τῆς
 δουλείας οὐ φέροντες ἀντίκα φεύγοντες ᾤχοντο.

Iust. 2, 5 (Latyšev II, 58 f.) *Scythae autem tertia expeditione Asiana cum annis
 octo a coniugibus ac liberis afuissent, servili bello domi excipiuntur. Quippe coniuges*

eorum longa expectatione virorum fessae nec iam teneri bello, sed deletos ratae s e r v i s ad custodiam pecorum relictis nubunt, qui reversos cum victoria dominos velut advenas armati finibus prohibent. Quibus cum varia victoria fuisset, admonentur Scythae mutare genus pugnae, memores non cum hostibus, sed cum s e r v i s proeliandum, nec armorum sed dominorum iure vincendos, verbera in aciem, non tela adferenda, omissoque ferro virgas et flagella ceteraque servilis metus paranda instrumenta. Probato omnes consilio instructi, sicut praeceptum erat, postquam ad hostem accessere, inopinantibus verbera intenta; adeoque illos perculerunt, ut quos ferro non poterant, metu verberum vincerent, fugamque non ut hostes victi, sed ut fugitivi servi capesserent. Quicumque capi potuerunt, supplicia crucibus luerunt. Mulieres quoque male sibi consciae partim ferro, partim suspendio vitam finierunt. Post haec pax apud Scythas fuit usque tempora Ianthyri regis.

Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio IV, Contra Iulianum I, 109 (PG 35, 645 = Latyšev I, 713) . . . Πρῶτος γὰρ Χριστιανῶν ἐπανάστασιν τῷ Δεσπότη, καθάπερ οἱ δ ο ὕ λ ο ἰ ποτε τοῖς Σκύθαις . . . ἐπενόησας.

Amm. 22, 8, 40 *dein Borysthenes a montibus oriens Nerviorum, primigeniis fontibus copiosus, concursuque multorum amnium adolescens, mari praeruptis undarum verticibus intimatur, cuius in marginibus nemorosis Borysthenes est civitas, et Cefalonesus, et arae Alexandro Magno, Caesarique Augusto sacratae. 41 longo exinde intervallo, paene est insula, quam incolunt S i n d i i g n o b i l e s, post eriles in Asia casus, coniugiis potiti dominorum et rebus, quibus subiectum gracile litus Ἀχιλλέως vocant indigenae δρόμον, exercitiis ducis quondam Thessali memorabilem. eique proxima est civitas Tyros, colonia Foenicum, quam praestringit fluvius Tyras.*

Claud. 18, 506 ff. (Latyšev II, 383)

*. . . Non est iaculis hastisve petendus:
Conscia succumbent audito verbere terga,
Ut Scythae post multos rediens exercitus annos,
Cum sibi s e r v i l i s pro finibus obviam p u b e s
Iret et arceret dominos tellure reversos,
Armatam ostensis aciem fudere flagellis:
Notus ab inceptis i g n o b i l e reppulit horror
V u l g u s, et adductus sub verbera torpuit ensis.*

Nonnus Abbas ad S. Gregorii orat. I contra Iulianum 73 (PG 36, 1024 = Latyšev I, 716) Περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δ ο ὕ λ ω ν.

Τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν μέρος τι ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθίας πλανώμενον ἐπὶ ληστεία. Εἶασαν δὲ οὗτοι οἰκέτας, ὥστε μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τυρεύειν τὸ γάλα. Τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἐξετύφλουν οἱ Σκύθαι ζηλοτυποῦντες, καὶ οὕτω παρείχον αὐτοῖς τυρεύειν τὸ γάλα. Χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐξεληθόντων μὴ ὑποστρεφόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτῶσι πρὸς τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἐκτυφλωθέντας καὶ συγγίνονται αὐτοῖς, καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι, καὶ γεννῶσι· καὶ γίνονται παῖδες ἀντὶ τῶν ἐξεληθόντων Σκυθῶν. Ἦσαν δὲ δούλοι οἱ τεχθέντες κατὰ τὸ σπέρμα. Οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἐξεληθόντες Σκύθαι ὑποστρέφαντες εὖρον τούτους τοὺς γεννηθέντας ἐκ τῶν δούλων ἠβήσαντας καὶ ἐπαντιουμένους αὐτοῖς· καὶ γενομένου πολέμου μεταξὺ τῶν δουλοσπόρων καὶ τῶν ἐπανεληθόντων Σκυθῶν, ἠττῶνται πάνυ οἱ ἐπανεληθόντες. Τούτοις οὖν ἠττηθεῖσιν εἰς συνεβούλευσέ τις μὴ ὄπλοις αὐτοὺς πολεμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ μαστίγων. Τὸ γὰρ δι' ὄπλων, φησὶ, πολεμῆσαί τινας, ὡς ἀπὸ ἴσων πρὸς ἴσους ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ μαστίγων αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν, ὡς ἀπὸ δεσποτῶν εἰς δούλους ἐστίν. Οἱ οὖν δουλοσποροὶ, θεασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας μετὰ τῶν μαστίγων, ὑπέκνυψαν ὡς οἰκείοις δεσπόταις, καὶ οὕτω κατελύθη ὁ πόλεμος.

Cosmas Hierosolymitanus 22 (PG 38, 627) *Περὶ δουλοσπόρων Σκυθῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν.*

Τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν μέρος τι ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθίας πλανώμενον ἐπὶ ληστεία· εἶασαν δὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τυρεύειν τὸ γάλα, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας αὐτῶν ἐξετύφλουν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτως παρείχον αὐτοῖς τυρεύειν. Χρόνου οὖν ἐγγενομένου, καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν ἐξεληθόντων μὴ ὑποστρεφόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτῶσι παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτυφλωθεῖσι δούλοις, καὶ συγγίνονται παῖδες ἀντὶ τῶν ἐξεληθόντων Σκυθῶν· ἦσαν δὲ δούλοι κατὰ τὸ σπέρμα. Οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἐξεληθόντες Σκύθαι ὑποστρέφαντες εὖρον τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δούλων γεννηθέντας ἠβήσαντας καὶ ἐναντιουμένους αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς· καὶ γενομένου πολέμου μεταξὺ τῶν δουλοσπόρων καὶ τῶν ἐπανεληθόντων Σκυθῶν, ἠττῶνται πάνυ οἱ ἐπανεληθόντες. Τούτοις οὖν ἠττηθεῖσιν εἰς τις συνεβούλευσεν μὴ ὄπλοις αὐτοῖς πολεμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ μαστιγῶν. Τὸ γὰρ δι' ὄπλων, φησὶ, πολεμῆσαί τινας ὡς ἀπὸ ἴσων πρὸς ἴσους ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος, τὸ δὲ διὰ μαστίγων αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν ὡς ἀπὸ δεσποτῶν εἰς δούλους ἐστίν. Οἱ οὖν δουλοσποροὶ θεασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας μετὰ τῶν μαστίγων ὑπέκνυψαν ὡς ἰδίοις δεσπόταις, καὶ οὕτως κατελύθη ὁ πόλεμος.

Tab. Peut. 9, 1 (Miller, *Itineraria Romana* p. 618) *Fossa facta per seruos Scutarum.*

There is no doubt that the literary tradition of the degenerate Scythians is preserved by Herodotus in its earliest form.¹ According to Callistratus 'the bastards' were born during the war between the Scythians and the Thracians, whereas Herodotus says that this war was between the Scythians and the Medes. As it has been established in the previous chapter that the *Scythae degeneres* are identical with those Scythians who according to Str. 7, 4, 5 waged war against the Thracians and occupied a part of their country,² it seems to me that Callistratus has confused two wars, both of which were connected with the bastards in question: the war between the Scythians and the Medes, during which the bastards were born, and that between the bastards themselves and the Thracians. Callistratus also mentions the *Σατορχαῖοι* in the same context in which he tells about the slaves of the Scythians. Therefore, Müllenhoff has suggested that the *Scythae degeneres* of Pliny might be the same tribe.³ In my opinion this view will not bear closer investigation. Callistratus only tells that the trench in question (*Τάρραι*) was dug by the slaves of the Scythians and adds that the region was occupied in his time by the *Σατορχαῖοι*. He does not in any way identify the slaves with the later inhabitants of the area known by the name *Τάρραι*. The *Σατορχαῖοι*, known also by the name *Satarchae*, are, however, in certain respects connected with the subject of this book and therefore they will be discussed separately on pp. 144 ff.

In chapter III, I came to the conclusion that the *Scythae degeneres et a servis orti* in Plin. nat. 4, 80 must be identical with the **Σκύθαι Βαστάρραι* of Nic.⁴ The Alani, mentioned by Pliny next to them, seem to be derived from another source of information of a later date and they may be regarded as those already mentioned by Seneca, who locates them in the area of the lower Danube.⁵ It is most interesting to notice that Nonnus and Cosmas call the degenerate group *δουλόσποροι* (*δουλοσπόροι*) or *δουλόσποροι Σκύθαι*.⁶ Nonnus wrote in the sixth century,⁷ and Cosmas lived two centuries later.⁸

¹ Cf. *FGrH*, commentary on no. 433, p. 266; Heeren, *De chorographia* pp. 52 f.; Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus* I, 55.

² See pp. 114 ff. above.

³ *DA* III, 51; cf. also Weissbach, *RE* II A, 60.

⁴ See pp. 113 f. above.

⁵ Thy. 629 f. *an feris Hister fugam | praebens Alanis*; cf. Heeren, op. cit. pp. 26—27; Tomaschek, *RE* I, 1282 ff.

⁶ Cf. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* s. v.

⁷ *RE* XVII, 904 s. v. *Nonnos* 14.

⁸ Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* p. 674.

However, the Plinian wording *Scythae . . . a servis orti* corresponds exactly to the above Greek expression, and it thus seems to me quite evident that it already existed in the Greek source which Pliny used.¹ At all events, the fact is that the Bastard-Scythians, which I take to be the same group as the Bastarnae, were also known among the Greeks as *Σκύθαι δουλόσποροι*. Since a comparison between Jordanes and Tacitus suggests the identity of the Bastarnae with the Sclaveni and Antes (Antae),² the similarity of the name *Σκύθαι δουλόσποροι* with the *Σπόροι* of Procopius cannot be fortuitous. This name, which according to Procop. Goth. 3, 14, 29 was the earlier designation of both the Sclaveni and the Antes (Antae) will be discussed in more detail on pp. 133 ff.

The designation *Trogodytae* (*Τρωγοδύται*, *Τρωγλοδύται*) is given in ancient literature to barbarians living in subterranean abodes or caves.³ A comparison between Plin. nat. 4, 80 — Nic. 756 — Str. 7, 5, 12 — Ptol. Geog. 3, 10, 4 shows that the northern neighbours of the Crobyzi were called either *Σκύθαι* or *Τρωγλοδύται* (*Trogodytae*),⁴ from which it is quite evident that these two groups must be at least to some extent identical, i. e. the degenerate Scythians, because of their abodes, could be called Trogodytae, a fact which need not, however, imply that all the Trogodytae in the area should be regarded as Scythians.⁵ It also remains unsettled whether this mode of dwelling came to Dobrudja with the degenerate Scythians or was already known among the earlier inhabitants. Since there is reason to connect the degenerate Scythians with the *Σπόροι* of Procopius, it must, however, be remembered that semi-subterranean huts were well-known among the ancient Slavs from their very earliest history.⁶

Valerius Flaccus and Ammianus Marcellinus call the degenerate group by the name *Sindi*. The former mentions as next after them the Thracian Coralli; according to the latter they dwelt between the rivers Borysthenes and Tyras.

¹ About this source, however, nothing definite can be said; for the sources of Plin. nat. 4, 79—91 cf. Detlefsen, *Die Anordnung* pp. 62—65.

² See p. 97 above.

³ *RE* VII A, 2497.

⁴ See pp. 113 f. above.

⁵ Cf. Weiss, *Die Dobrudscha im Altertum* p. 26 »Das (scil. 'Troglodyten') ist aber wohl nur ein Name, den die griechische Küstenbevölkerung für Bewohner des Inneren, Skythen oder Geten, in Hinsicht auf deren Wohnweise aufgebracht hat. Noch heute gibt es in der rumänischen Dobrudscha Dörfer, in denen ein Teil der Bewohner in Räumen haust, die . . . in den Löss gegraben sind».

⁶ Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* II, 96 ff.; Rhamm, *Die altslawische Wohnung* p. 95; Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 108; *DA* III, 51.

They can therefore scarcely be the same as the Sindi of the Taman peninsula.¹ According to Heeren, Valerius and Ammianus derived their information about the Sindi from a common source, probably Sallustius.² He also holds the view that Herodotus' account of the slave-born Scythians has been applied to the Sindi at second hand. In this he may be right. Nevertheless, the similarity of the names *Sithones* (*Sidones*) — *Sindi* remains. If *Sithones* (*Sidones*) is the German equivalent of the Baltic *Γαλίνδαι*, as suggested above,³ the phonetic similarity of the two names must be fortuitous. If it is non-Germanic, there is the possibility that *Sithones* (*Sidones*) and *Sindi* are derived from the same root. It is worth noticing that Mela 1, 19, 110—111 calls the *Sindi* of the Taman peninsula by the name *Sindones*. At all events, the truth is that the tradition of the degenerate Scythians is not connected with the Sindi in the extant sources until circa 700 years after the historical events described in Hdt. 4, 1—4; therefore it cannot have any great bearing on my conclusions based on Herodotus himself.

As the whole tradition of the degenerate Scythians began with Herodotus' account in 4, 1—4, there is reason to give these passages special attention, for not only the origin of the Bastard-Scythians but also that of the Sclaveni and Antes (*Antae*) seems to be closely connected with this tradition.

HERODOTUS 4, 1—4

According to Herodotus, the expedition of the Scythians to Asia, during which the Bastard-Scythians were born, took place during the reign of Cyaxares and lasted for twenty-eight years.⁴ The chronological difficulties connected with it have recently been discussed in detail by von Fritz, who arrives at the conclusion that in reality the first Scythian attacks on the Medes took place prior to Cyaxares (633—593 B.C.) and their return to Europe already began circa 630 B.C.⁵

Herodotus' account of the war between the Scythians and the slave-born

¹ This is even the opinion of Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus* I, 55, who connects Plin. nat. 4, 84 *Scythia Sindica* with these Sindi: »Nicht umsonst setzt er (scil. Plinius) *Sindica* zwischen Dnjepr und Donau, an den Flüssen Buces, Gerrhus und Hypanis».

² *De chorographia* p. 53.

³ See p. 90 above.

⁴ Hdt. 1, 103. 106; 4, 1.

⁵ *Die griechische Geschichtschreibung* I (Berlin 1967), 381 ff., 384.

class has been interpreted as historical in its broad outlines.¹ It is not clear where the trench (τάφρος), dug out by the sons of the slaves, should be located on a modern map.² In the actual struggle it did not play any part. Herodotus compares the opponents by whom the Scythians were encountered on returning to their country with the Medes, which indicates that their numbers were considerable. It seems to me that Herodotus' account can be interpreted as indicating that a part of the East-European population subject to the Scythians had become independent during the protracted absence of the ruling class and was prepared to defend this independence when the Scythians returned to their country.³ As a matter of fact, it is already evident from the words attributed by Herodotus to one of the Scythians, *δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοί τε κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν*, that this war was in fact already conceived by Herodotus not only as that of the slaves against their masters but also as that between the ruling-class of the country and its subjects. This kind of ambiguity is possible since the word *δοῦλος* in Herodotus means both 'slave' and 'subject'.⁴

M. Rostovtzeff has defined the social structure of the area ruled over by the Scythians as follows: »the Cimmerians were driven out and conquered by the Scythians; the Scythians gave up their sovereignty under the pressure of the Sarmatians; but the main structure of the states successively formed by these tribes was almost the same. A small minority of nomads with a strong and effective military organization ruled over a large majority of conquered peoples and tribes. Some of these tribes were themselves nomads, but most of them were agriculturalists established on the rich plains of South Russia or half-nomadic hunters and bee-keepers in the forests and marshes of Central Russia. The relations between the rulers and the ruled were of the simplest description: the ruled paid their masters a tribute . . . and were probably forced to serve them in their military expeditions. The fact that so many 'Scythians' were sold in the Greek colonies of South Russia and went abroad

¹ Kretschmer, *RE* II A, 940; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* p. 84; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks* p. 39; Peisker, *Die älteren Beziehungen* p. 24; cf. v. Fritz, *op. cit.* p. 147.

² Cf. How & Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* I, 303 f.; Minns, *op. cit.* p. 31; *DA* III, 50; Herrmann, *RE* IV A, 2258 f.; *FGrH*, commentary on no. 433.

³ Even Kretschmer, *loc. cit.* is inclined to interpret the story of Herodotus in this manner: »Jedenfalls trafen sie (scil. die Skythen) veränderte Zustände an und mussten erst mit Gewalt sich ihre Rechte wieder erzwingen».

⁴ Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* s. v.; for the meaning of the word *δοῦλος* cf. also Lencman, *Die Sklaverei im mykenischen und homerischen Griechenland* pp. 190 f.; Wickert, *Gnomon* 1967, 597 f.

as slaves . . . seems to bear witness to a free disposal of the conquered population by the conquerors, to a kind of potential slavery. I must emphasize . . . my conviction that most of the slaves sold to the Greeks under the name of Scythians did not belong to the ruling tribes of Iranian conquerors but to the conquered native pre-Scythian population».¹ According to Rostovtzeff, the position of the conquered population was »a kind of potential slavery», the ruled were at the disposal of the rulers. If we agree with him in this, then the *δοῦλοι*, discussed by Herodotus in 4, 1—4, can be considered as representing the »large majority of conquered peoples and tribes», their Scythian masters being the »small minority of nomads with a strong and effective military organization».

The return of the Scythians from Asia took place at the end of the seventh century B.C. Herodotus' description of it dates from the latter half of the fifth century. His account of the war connected with the return of the Scythians cannot be traced in earlier literary records.² A considerable amount of the information on the Scythians was collected by Herodotus himself on his travels in Scythia, and it has been established that he was in Colchis, Sindica, Exampaeus, and Olbia.³ It may also be assumed with some confidence that he went up the river Borysthenes as far as Gerrhus.⁴ With regard to the sources of information on the war of the Scythians against their subjects (slaves) we can only conjecture that Herodotus' account of it is based on material collected during these travels.

According to the view of Rostovtzeff quoted above, the main structure of the states formed successively by the Cimmerians, the Scythians, and the Sarmatians was almost the same. The ruling minority of nomads was gradually changed, but the large majority of conquered peoples and tribes, most of whom were farmers, remained to a great extent the same. On this assumption it is permissible to look for information about the conquered population, represented by the »slave-born» class in Hdt. 4, 1—4, in Herodotus' general account of the Scythians and other literary sources.

In 4, 17—20 Herodotus gives the tribes of Scythia in geographical order from west to east, in each case mentioning the tribes known to live farther inland: ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἐμπορίου . . . πρώτοι Καλλιπίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες

¹ *Iranians and Greeks* p. 211; cf. also Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* pp. 52 f.

² For the sources of Herodotus see v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtschreibung* I, 407 ff.

³ v. Fritz, op. cit. pp. 129 f.

⁴ v. Fritz, loc. cit.; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* p. 29.

Ἑλληνες Σκύθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οἱ Ἀλιζῶνες καλέονται . . . ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλιζῶνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄροτῆρες . . . τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί . . . ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὑπανιν ποταμὸν ἐστι ἔθνεα πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένης. 18 ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἢ Ὑλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί . . . οὔτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κέεται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένα ἡμερέων ἕνδεκα· ἢ δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἔρημός ἐστι ἐπὶ πολλόν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον Ἀνδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὼν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν . . . 19 τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμὸν νομάδες ἤδη Σκύθαι νέμονται . . . οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὔτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν νέμονται χώραν κατατείνουσιν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρον. 20 πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρον ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλούμενα βασιλήϊα ἐστι καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὔτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλεῖται Κορημοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τανάϊν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν. . . . 21 Τανάϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική . . . In this classification Herodotus gives the name Σκύθαι to four different groups: Σκύθαι ἄροτῆρες ('the Scythian ploughmen'), Σκύθαι γεωργοί ('the Scythian farmers'), νομάδες Σκύθαι ('the Nomad Scythians'), βασιλήϊοι Σκύθαι ('the Royal Scythians'). The last of these groups is also described as Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι (»the best and most numerous of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their subjects»). Consequently, according to Herodotus, one of the four Scythian groups was in a ruling position and this group regarded the other as δούλοι. Apart from in 4, 1—3, the word δούλος only occurs in Herodotus' account of Scythia in 4, 20, quoted above.¹ In my opinion the meaning of the word is the same in both cases. We can translate it as either 'subject' or 'slave'. When Hdt. 4, 1—4 is interpreted in the light of the explanation given in 4, 20, the δούλοι in 4, 1—4 may be identified with οἱ ἄλλοι Σκύθαι, i. e. the Scythians not belonging to the Royal Scythians.

Now it should be noticed that Herodotus in 4, 2 seems to identify the Scy-

¹ See Powell's *Lexicon to Herodotus* s. v.

thians who returned from Asia with the Nomads: *οὐ γὰρ ἄρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες*. One gets the impression that in spite of the difference made between the Royal Scythians and the Nomads in 4, 19—20 he regarded these two groups as identical. When discussing the meaning of the word 'Scythian' (*Σκύθης*) in general, Minns is concerned with this very problem and holds the view that the Nomads and the Royal Scythians may well be the same tribe under different names.¹

It also seems hard to establish a distinction between the Scythian ploughmen and the Scythian farmers. According to Hdt. 4, 17—18, the Scythian ploughmen lived between the Alizones and the Neuri along the river Hypanis (the Bug), west of the Borysthenes (the Dnieper). On the left side of the Borysthenes nearest to the sea was the district by the name of Hylaea, north of which the Scythian farmers dwelt. These farming Scythians inhabited a land stretching a three-day journey eastward to a river called Panticapes (not identified), and northward as far as an eleven-day voyage up the Borysthenes. The accurate position of these tribes cannot be fixed on a modern map.² Minns, however, arrived at the conclusion that the Scythian farmers seem to have been continuous with the Scythian ploughmen and very likely identical with them.³

If we accept Minns' views about the identity of the Royal Scythians with the Nomads, and the Scythian ploughmen with the farmers, the four Scythian groups in Hdt. 4, 17—20 can be reduced to two, *Σκύθαι βασιλῆιοι* or *νομάδες* and *Σκύθαι ἄροτῆρες* or *γεωργοί*. The former were according to Hdt. 4, 20 rulers, the latter their subjects (*δοῦλοι*).

¹ Op. cit. p. 35 »We may take it that Herodotus used the word (scil. 'Scythian') in a narrow sense to include only the Royal Scyths, possibly together with the Nomads, for it seems hard to establish any clear distinction between them; and in a wide sense to denote all those tribes, whatever their affinities or state of civilisation, that were under the political domination of the Royal Scyths»; cf. *ibid.* p. 30.

² Cf. Minns, op. cit. p. 31 »Seeing there are such difficulties in identifying the rivers, which must have remained substantially the same, we cannot hope to fix the place of the various Scythian tribes (cc. 17—20) with any accuracy: we can determine their relative positions but we have no idea of the relative extent of the lands they occupied and only one or two definite statements».

³ Op. cit. p. 27 »Georgi who may well be the same as Aroteres . . .»; *ibid.* p. 31 »We cannot even say whether the Georgi and Aroteres may not be the same people traversed and described by different travellers . . . the northern part of the same (scil. the Government of Kherson) and some of Ekaterinoslav and perhaps some of Kiev were occupied by the Aroteres . . . Travellers towards the ENE. from Olbia passed the Scythae Georgi occupying the valley of the lower Dnêpr included in a belt three days journey wide and extending ten or eleven days upstream to about the borders of Ekaterinoslav. Hence they would seem to have been continuous with the Aroteres and very likely identical. That is to say the two names between them represent a congeries of tribes in the same more or less agricultural stage».

The Scythian ploughmen were bounded by the Neuri in the north (Hdt. 4, 17). For the time being it may be regarded as an established view that the Neuri were among the ancestors of the Balto-Slavic group. There is only a difference of opinion whether they were the still unified Balto-Slavs or representatives of either the Balts or the Slavs.¹ This ambiguity is due to the fact that we cannot accurately determine the extent of the area occupied by the Scythian ploughmen in order to establish the frontier between them and the Neuri. In this discussion I cannot put forward any fresh viewpoint.

It is most important for the theme of this work to notice that the Scythian ploughmen and farmers have been classed by many scholars as ancient Slavs.² Nevertheless, this view has remained more or less hypothetical; Diels in his book *Die slavischen Völker* (1963) does not even mention such a theory. The archaeological evidence has been considered insufficient and nobody has been able to point to any kind of connection between the Scythians practising agriculture and the Slavs in the literary sources. Yet it seems to me that in the available sources this connection can be established.

¹ Kiparsky, *BL* I, 51 »Das erste Volk, dessen Zugehörigkeit zum baltischen Stamme ernstlich diskutiert werden kann, sind die bei Herodot erwähnten *Neurier* . . .»; Diels, *Die slavischen Völker* p. 18 »Von den Stämmen aber, die Herodot nicht Skythen nennt, ist nur der der ‚*Neuroi*‘ mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit von der Wissenschaft den Slaven zugeteilt worden»; Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 101 arrives at the conclusion that »it is . . . highly probable that Herodotus' Neuri were eastern Balts . . .»; eadem, *Bronze Age Cultures* p. 443 »From all what we hear from Herodotus and from what we know from linguistics and archaeology, it can be concluded that the Neuri are the earliest Balts known to written history»; Dittrich, *JGO* 9, 1961, 498; Trautmann, *Die slav. Völker und Sprachen* p. 21; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* p. 102; *DA* III, 124; Dvornik, *The Slavs* pp. 13, 53; Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* I, 174; Falkenhahn, *ZfS* I: 2, 1956, 56; Bräuer, *Slavische Sprachwissenschaft* I, 30; Schwarz, *Südostforschungen* 15, 1956, 86; Herrmann, *RE* XVII, 160; Arumaa, *Urslavische Grammatik* I, 46 (32).

² Gimbutas, *The Balts* p. 99 »There can be no other explanation than that the 'Scythian farmers' and their predecessors were the ancient Slavs»; eadem, *Bronze Age Cultures* p. 443; Dvornik, op. cit. p. 13 »It might also be that the 'Scythian Plowmen', whom he (scil. Herodotus) distinguishes from other Scythians, were also partly Slavs»; Šafařík, *Slawische Alterthümer* I, 185 »auch im skythischen Reiche selbst waren die sogenannten ackerbauenden Skythen am Dniepr und im heutigen Podolien sicherlich kein skythisches, sondern ein slawisches, von den Skythen unterjochtes Volk, unter welchen die Sieger als Herren und Adel lebten»; *ibid.* p. 271 »Sie (scil. die ackerbautreibenden Skythen) waren ohne Zweifel nicht skythischer sondern slawischer Herkunft. . . . Wahrscheinlich hatten die eigentlichen Skythen sie unterworfen und geknechtet, und hielten sich dann als Adel unter ihnen auf»; Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* I, 27 f. »Je n'hésite pas à me déclarer convaincu que, parmi les voisins septentrionaux des Scythes mentionnés par Hérodote, non seulement les Neuriens, en Volynie et dans le pays de Kiev, et probablement aussi les Boudines, entre le Dniéper et le Don, mais encore les Scythes dits laboureurs (*Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, γεωργοί*) situés par Hérodote au nord des steppes proprement dites entre le Bug supérieur et le Dniéper moyen, étaient sans doute des Slaves ayant subi l'influence de la civilisation gréco-scythe ainsi que le prouvent nombre de *tumuli* . . . des gouvernements de Kiev et de Poltava»; cf. *ibid.* p. 173; Falkenhahn, loc. cit.; Treimer, »Die Nachrichten Herodots» p. 417; cf. Kiparsky, *NPhM* 48, 1947, 40 ff.; Dittrich, loc. cit.

I came to the conclusion above that in Hdt. 4, 1—3 οἱ δοῦλοι should be regarded as representatives of the group of tribes conquered and ruled over by the Scythians;¹ on the other hand it was concluded that in Hdt. 4, 17—18 the group of conquered tribes is represented by the Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες — γεωργοί and that the meaning of the word δοῦλος must be regarded as the same both in Hdt. 4, 1—3 and in 4, 20.

According to the account of Herodotus the δοῦλοι, from which the new race sprang, were blind: 4, 2 τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι . . . τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι; cf. 4, 20 οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι. As far as I know, the last to have dealt with this most extraordinary statement were Diesner,² O'Neil and Helmbold,³ who accepted the blindness of the slaves as a fact. In my opinion their interpretation is naive and quite impossible if only for the reason that Herodotus stresses the great number of the sons of the slaves and compares them with the Medes: Hdt. 4, 1 . . . οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὔρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιήν οὐκ ὀλίγην. More reasonable is the explanation of Stein, which is therefore quoted in full: »blinde Sklaven sind für Viehwirtschaft, zumal als Hirten, noch unbrauchbarer als für Ackerwirtschaft. Wahrscheinlich liegt ein sprachliches Missverständnis zu Grunde. Die Skythen mochten ihre Sklaven, oder auch die ihnen botmässigen Stämme (zu c. 20, 4), mit einem Namen bezeichnen, den die Hellenen fälschlich οἱ τυφλοί . . . übersetzten und entsprechend erklärten».⁴ Stein's standpoint implies that the tribes subject to the domination of the Scythians might have been called by their rulers by a name wrongly translated by the Greeks as οἱ τυφλοί, and explained in accordance with the translation. It is astonishing that this sound standpoint of Stein's has so far been neglected by scholars. As far as I know, nobody has yet taken the trouble to examine the equivalents of the Greek adjective τυφλός in the Iranian languages and to compare them with the names used for the Slavonic tribes in the Byzantine sources. The equivalent of the Greek τυφλός 'blind' is Sanskrit *andhā-*, Avestan *anda-* 'blind', 'dark'.⁵ From the ambiguous

¹ See p. 126 above.

² *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther Universität Halle—Wittenberg, Ges.-Sprachw.* VIII 4/5, 1959, 687—688.

³ *CPh* 47, 1952, 159 f.

⁴ Herodotus vol. II: 2, 2; cf. also How & Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus I*, 303 »The idea that the slaves were blind may be due to a mistaken etymology for some Scythian word for 'slave'».

⁵ Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms* 4, 97; Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique* s. v. τυφλός; Pokorny, *Indogerm. etymol. Wörterbuch I*, 41.

meaning of the Iranian adjective it can be gathered that the Scythians called their subjects by the name 'the Dark', which was translated into Greek as οἱ τυφλοί, 'the Blind', equivalent to the second meaning of the same Iranian word. I am fully convinced that this misinterpretation was due to the same name which appears in the Byzantine sources in the forms Ἄνται, Antae, Antes, Anti as the generic name for the eastern Slavonic tribes.¹

The etymology of the name Ἄνται has until lately been regarded as unexplained.² On the evidence given above, I connect it with Sanskrit *andhá-*, Avestan *anda-* 'blind', 'dark'. The original meaning of the name was 'the Dark', but it could easily be misunderstood as 'the Blind', οἱ τυφλοί. My explanation is supported by the fact that the names of colours, especially those of dark and light ones, are very common among the names of historically well-known tribes of Eastern Europe and Asia.³

When Herodotus states in 4, 2 τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι . . . τυφλοῦσι, »the Scythians blind their slaves«, this statement is actually equivalent to τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι Ἄντας καλέουσι, »the Scythians call their subjects Ἄνται (the Dark)« or οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι τῶν Σκυθῶν Ἄνται εἰσιν, »the subjects of the Scythians are the Ἄνται (the Dark)«. Since it has been established that the subjects of the Scythians were also called Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες — γεωργοί, we are led to the conclusion that the name, which in later sources appears in the forms Ἄνται, Antae, Antes, Anti, was already given in the 7th century B.C. by the Iranian population of South Russia to the tribes ruled over by them. It seems to me that this conclusion provides the literary evidence long sought for the Slavonic origin of the Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες — γεωργοί. On the other hand, it is also evident that the tradition of the δουλοσπόροι from the very beginning is inseparably connected with the early history of the Slavonic peoples.

The account in Hdt. 4, 1—3 of a new race born of the δοῦλοι and the Scythian women may also be interpreted as indicating that the agricultural population ruled over by the Scythians was to a great extent mixed with Iranian elements. According to Gimbutas, the lands occupied by the Scythian far-

¹ The sources on the Antae are enumerated in Šafařík, *Slawische Alterthümer* II, 19—22; Vernadsky, *JAOS* 59, 1939, 56—57; cf. idem, *The Origins of Russia* p. 24.

² Kiparsky, *Russische historische Grammatik* I, 13 »Zwar ist der Name Antes, Antae immer noch nicht gedeutet worden und er verschwindet auch spurlos nach dem 7. Jh., man verbindet ihn jedoch vor allem auf Grund prähistorischer Funde mit den seit dem 5. Jh. n. Chr. sich nordwärts ausbreitenden Slaven, den Vorfahren der späteren Ostslaven»; cf. Vernadsky, *JAOS* 59, 1939, 63; Stender-Petersen, *Slavisch-germanische Lehnwortkunde* pp. 180 f.

³ Ludat, *Saeculum* 4, 1953, 138 ff. and esp. 142; cf. also Vasmer, *REW* III, 326 s. v. černyj.

mers coincide with the distribution of the so-called 'Chernoleska' culture of the seventh to fifth centuries B.C., which shows continuity with the preceding culture in Podolia and the middle Dnieper basin, known by the names 'Belogrudovka' ('Byelogrudovka') for the Late Bronze Age, 'Komarov' for the Middle Bronze Age, and 'Belopotok' ('Bilyj Potok') for the Early Bronze Age.¹ Although Gimbutas connects the Chernoleska culture with the Slavs, she also points to its being strongly influenced by the Scythians. From an archaeological point of view, one might in this case speak about a Slavo-Iranian mixture, in which, however, the Slavonic element dominated. The archaeological interpretation of the culture connected with the Scythian farmers thus seems to tally with the account of Herodotus of the half-Iranian origin of the *δουλοσπόροι*.

In Hdt. 4, 1—4 there is still the most curious fact that Herodotus has inserted in his account of the return of the Scythians a detailed description of the making of koumiss. The whole of chapter 4, 2 has nothing to do with 4, 1 and 4, 3, and Stein's suggestion that it was a later addition of Herodotus is also supported by How and Wells.² Nevertheless, since Herodotus expressly says that it was the *τυφλοί* who were employed in making koumiss, one might perhaps be tempted to infer that making koumiss was characteristic of the group, the name of which was translated with *οἱ τυφλοί*, i.e. the later Antae. It must, however, be noted that the products of mare's milk were commonly used among the nomadic tribes of South Russia and the custom of making koumiss cannot be limited to any particular national or linguistic community.³

Nevertheless, I would like to point out that according to Peter of Dusburg the drinking of mare's milk was a wide-spread custom among the Prussians in ancient times: *Cronica terre Prussie* 3, 5 (SRP I, 54) *Pro potu habent* (scil. *Prutheni*) *simplicem aquam et mellicratum seu medonem, et lac equarum, quod lac quondam non biberunt, nisi prius sanctificaretur. Alium potum antiquis temporibus non noverunt.*⁴ Alfred the Great's emissary, Wulfstan, tells that »the land of the Aestii is very large and there are many castles in it and in each castle there is a king. . . . And the king, together with the wealthy drinks mare's milk, but the poor drink 'met'. There are many quarrels among them . . .»⁵ It cannot

¹ *The Balts* p. 99; eadem, *Bronze Age Cultures* pp. 440, 443.

² *A Commentary on Herodotus* I, 303.

³ Aalto, *Reşid Rahmeti Arat İçin* p. 1; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen* I, 301; Schrader, *Reallexikon* pp. 541 f.

⁴ Cf. also Nesselmann, *Thesaurus linguae Prussicae* s. v. *aswinan*.

⁵ The translation is that of Spekke, *Balts and Slavs* p. 71.

be established for sure whether this custom was inherited from Indo-European times or taken over from the Scythians.¹ The latter alternative implies contacts between the Balts and the Scythians. The fact that the Sithones of Tacitus seem to be connected with the tradition of the *δουλοσπόροι* might be considered as historical evidence of this kind of connection. As for the Slavs, in the reports of the Arab writers of the eleventh century a Slavonic country is mentioned governed by a king who lived on mare's milk.² The country in question has been interpreted as Croatia, but Dvornik is of the opinion that the statement about the king drinking mare's milk, »not a Slavonic diet», should be classed among the facts which »would seem to point to the conclusion that the original Croats and Serbs were of non-Slavonic stock and that they imposed their dominion on Slavonic tribes which ended by absorbing them and adopting only their name».³

THE SPORI OF PROCOPIUS

It was established above that the *δοῦλοι* in Hdt. 4, 1—3 should be considered as representatives of the non-Iranian population ruled over by the Royal Scythians. In Herodotus' general account of the Scythians in 4, 17—20, this population is represented by the *Σκόθαι ἀροσιήρες — γεωργοί*. The Slavonic origin of this group, suggested by several scholars,⁴ is supported by the fact that Herodotus calls the subjects of the Scythians 'the Blind' (*οἱ τυφλοί*). The 'blind slaves' of the Scythians were in reality their subjects, the Iranian name of which meant 'the Dark'. These conclusions of mine suggest that the *τυφλοί* in Hdt. 4, 1—4 and 20 can be considered as the ancestors of the Slavonic Antae (Antes) of the Byzantine sources.

In this connection it must also be remembered that *οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι* (Hdt. 4, 20) are called *Scythae degeneres et a servis orti* (nat. 4, 80) by Pliny, which may be translated into Greek as *Σκόθαι ἀγενεῖς καὶ δουλόσποροι*. If we substitute the name *Ἄνται* for *τυφλοί* in Hdt. 4, 20, we can also say that *οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἄντων γενόμενοι* are equivalent to *οἱ δουλοσπόροι*. We can go even further: since a race born of the Antae were

¹ Schrader, loc. cit.

² Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* pp. 271, 273.

³ Op. cit. p. 273.

⁴ See p. 129 n. 2 above.

the Antae themselves in the next generation, the above equation may be reduced to "Ανται = δουλοσπόροι.

In the light of these conclusions, it is very important to note that according to Procopius the Sclaveni and Antae were both called Σπόροι in ancient times: Procop. Goth. 3, 14, 29 καὶ μὴν καὶ ὄνομα Σκλαβηνοῖς τε καὶ "Ανταις ἐν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦν. Σπόρους γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάλουν, ὅτι δὴ σποράδην, οἶμαι, διεσκηνημένοι τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦσι. It seems to me quite evident that the name Σπόροι must be identical with the latter half of the word δουλοσπόροι. Procopius himself was aware of the Greek origin of the name, since he gives it a Greek etymology. It is clear from the word οἶμαι that this etymology was an invention of his own. The explanation shows that Procopius did not know the longer form of the name and was not aware of its original meaning.

Procopius wrote his books on the Gothic War between the years 545—550.¹ The name Σπόροι, by which the Sclaveni and Antae were both known in ancient times, is as such otherwise unknown. The first positive literary evidence of the Slavs comes from Pseudo-Caesarius, who wrote in the beginning of the 6th century,² but the adverbial τὸ παλαιόν shows that Procopius knew the name Σπόροι from sources which antedated him by at least several centuries.³ The deciphering of the name of the Spori has with reason been deemed one of the most important problems of Slavonic antiquity. Šafařík writes as follows: »Auf die Zeugnisse des Jornandes und des Prokop, wonach der slawische Völkerstamm ursprünglich nach dem Einen Winiden, nach dem Andern Sporen hiess, Namen, welche sich auf den ersten Anblick zu widersprechen scheinen, gründet sich das Grundproblem im ganzen Umfange der slawischen Alterthümer. H i e r ist der Uebergang aus dem sichern und hellen Zeitraume in den unsicheren und dunkelen; ein wichtiger Schritt, von dem Alles abhängt».⁴ Niederle entertains a similar opinion in the matter: »Die angeführte Stelle ist allbekannt, sehr oft erklärt, commentiert, — und sie gilt bis heutzutage für eine der wichtigsten Überlieferungen aus der slavischen Vorzeit».⁵ In the next paragraph I will briefly review the different

¹ Colonna, *Gli storici Bizantini* I, 105; Rubin, *RE* XXIII: 1, 354.

² See p. 92 above.

³ Cf. Šafařík, *Slawische Alterthümer* I, 61 f. »Also waren die Slawen schon seit alter Zeit (τὸ παλαιόν), also wenigstens seit einigen Jahrhunderten, denn von einem dergleichen Zeitraume war dieser Ausdruck in Brauch, den Griechen und Römern unter einem allgemeinen Stammnamen bekannt, der nach Prokop S p o r e n lautete».

⁴ *Op. cit.* I, 69.

⁵ »Über die Σπόροι des Prokopios,» *AfslPh* 23, 1901, 130.

contributions which have so far been presented towards the solution of this problem.¹

Up to the latter half of the 18th century, attempts to explain the origin of the Spori were limited to arbitrary etymologies. In 1782, Dobrovsky suggested the combination *Spori* — *Sorbi* — *Srbi* and found many supporters. His suggestion was accepted and vindicated by L. Schlözer, K. G. Anton, J. Chr. Engel, P. Šafařík, E. Eichwald, L. Georgii, K. Kaulfuss, and others. In 1837, however, K. Zeuss offered a new explanation. Zeuss did not definitely reject the earlier solution, but he held it more likely that Σπόροι was a corruption of *Spali*, the name of a people mentioned by Jordanes and the elder Pliny as inhabitants of almost the same region in which the Spori could be located.² This explanation was supported by R. Pallman, J. Cuno, R. Rössler, and J. Perwolf. Niederle held the view that the name Σπόροι could be regarded as an abbreviation of *Βόσποροι*, found before Procopius in Pseudo-Callisthenes.³ His view, however, has not found favour among other scholars.

During this century the theory of Dobrovsky has been rejected altogether and the suggestion of Zeuss concerning the identity of the Spori and the Spali seems to have established itself. It has been supported by C. Jireček,⁴ E. Schwyzer,⁵ Ensslin,⁶ Fluss,⁷ G. Vernadsky,⁸ F. Dvornik,⁹ and B. Rubin.¹⁰

¹ The first part of my survey is based on the article of Niederle, mentioned in the previous footnote.

² The sources on the Spali may be quoted in this connection: Plin. nat. 6, 22 *alii influxisse eo Scythas Auchetas, Atherneos, Asampatas, ab iis Tanaitas et Napaeos viritim deletos. aliqui flumen Ocharium labi per Canticos et Sapaeos, Tanain vero transisse Satharcheos Herticheos, Spondolicos, Synhietas, Anasos, Issos, Cataeetas, Tagoras, Caronos, Neripos, Agandaeos, Meandaraeos, Satharchoos Spalaeos (spaleos R)*; Iord. Get. 28 *haec ergo pars Gothorum, quae apud Filemer dicitur in terras Oium emenso amne transposita, optatum potiti solum. nec mora ilico ad gentem Spalorum adveniunt consertoque proelio victoriam adipiscunt, exindeque iam velut victores ad extremam Scythiae partem, quae Ponto mari vicina est, properant. quemadmodum et in priscis eorum carminibus pene storicu ritu in commune recolitur: quod et Ablavius descriptor Gothorum gentis egregius verissima adtestatur historia. Cf. Iord. Get. ed. Mommsen index locorum s.v. Spali »Superatis Volhyniae paludibus quod Gothi in terris Oium Spalos, non Venethas vicisse perhibentur, sane est quod mireris; neque tamen certi quicquam in hac re inde lucramur, quod gigas vetere lingua Slavica *spolin* sive *ispolin* dicebatur et inter permultas alias gentes Spalaeos quondam Tanain transisse Plinius (6, 22) narravit»; cf. also Wagner, »Zum Weg der Goten ans Schwarze Meer», in *Getica* pp. 223 ff.*

³ Art. cit.; cf. idem, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* I, 34.

⁴ *Geschichte der Serben* I, 65—66.

⁵ *Festgabe Hugo Blümner* p. 305.

⁶ *RE* III A, 697 f. s. v. *Slaveneinfälle*.

⁷ *RE* III A, 1878 s. v. *Sporoi*.

⁸ *Byzantion* 13, 1938, 263—266.

⁹ *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* pp. 279 f.

¹⁰ *RE* XXIII: 1, 327.

The view of the identity of the Spori and Spali is based on the position of the Spali and also on the phonetic similarity of the two names. Since I regard the name *Σπόροι* as identical with that of the *δουλοσπόροι*, it is clear that the Spori and Spali can only be connected with each other geographically. My explanation implies that the Spori and Spali can be regarded as living in roughly the same area, but they need not be identical with each other.

The name *Spali* (*Spalaei*) has been explained by Kiessling as *σπηλαῖοι* 'cave-dwellers' ('die höhlenbewohnenden').¹ On the other hand, it seems to be the established opinion that the Slavonic word *spolin*, *ispolin* 'giant' derives its origin from the name of the Spali.² It is quite clear that this opinion is inconsistent with the etymology proposed by Kiessling. If the name is Greek, it cannot have any connection with *spolin*, *ispolin*, and on the other hand, if *Spali*, *Spalaei*, *spolin*, *ispolin* are one and the same word, it cannot be of Greek origin.

The explanation Slav. *spolin*, *ispolin* < *Spali* means that the Slavs must have known the Spali and have had close contact with them. The view of Dvornik is that »the Spali were in control of the Slavonic tribes of the Donets and the Dnieper basins . . . If then the Spali were for some time the rulers of the primitive Slavs in the country that is now the Ukraine, it is quite understandable that their subjects honoured them with a name that expressed their concept of a giant and a super-man». ³ The Spali, according to Dvornik, »must have belonged to the Alanic group of the Sarmatians», but he assumes »that there . . . was a time in primitive Slavonic history when the Slavonic tribes of the Dnieper and Donets basins were called Spali . . . after their Alanic masters».

Dvornik has not paid any attention to the fact that according to Plin. nat. 6, 22 the Spali must be classed among the tribes known as Satarchae.⁴ Therefore, the supposed identity of *Spali* with *spolin*, *ispolin* also implies contact between the Slavs and the Satarchae. If the primitive Slavs were ruled

¹ *RE* VIII, 1150 s. v. *Hertichei*.

² Vernadsky, *Byzantion* 13, 1938, 263; idem, *Ancient Russia* p. 105; Berneker, *Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch* I, 434; Schwarz, *Saeculum* 4, 1953, 22; Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave* I § 30; Kiparsky, *Die gemeinsl. Lehnwörter* p. 213; Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* p. 279; idem, *The Slavs* pp. 22 f.; Vasmer, *REW* I, 489; Matl, *Festschrift für Max Vasmer* p. 294; Šafařík, *Slawische Alterthümer* I, 319.

³ *The Making* p. 279.

⁴ Cf. Kiessling, loc. cit. (n. 1); *AGAR* pp. 61, 9 and 139,5.

over by the Spali, they must also have been dependent on the Satarchae. Since I hold the view that Σπόροι = (δουλο)σπόροι = Σκύθαι ἀροσῆρες — γεωργοί, it could be assumed that the Satharchei Spalaei (Plin. nat. 6, 22) derived their origin from the Σκύθαι βασιλῆιοι. This hypothesis will be discussed on pp. 144 ff.

Although Procopius himself explains the name Σπόροι as being of Greek origin, up to now it has been taken for granted that the name was not Greek. Yet Greek names of barbarian tribes and peoples are most common in ancient records.¹ It is also common for names of this kind to be translated from one language to another.² Šafařík, it is true, already thought that the name Σπόροι might have been that used by the Greeks,³ but, as he could not find it in the Greek sources, this alternative was definitely rejected by him and his followers. The possibility that the name might have been preserved as a translation in some other language has been completely overlooked.

Procopius expressly states that Σπόροι was once the common name of the Sclaveni and Antae. According to him *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα . . . ἅπαντα ἑκατέροις ἐστὶ τε καὶ νενόμισται τούτοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς βαρβάροις* (Goth. 3, 14, 22) . . . *ἔστι δὲ καὶ μία ἑκατέροις φωνὴ ἀτεχνῶς βάρβαρος. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἀλλήλους τι διαλλάσσουν. εὐμήκεις τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλκιμοι διαφερόντως εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας οὔτε λευκοὶ*

¹ The following names may serve as examples, the number of which, however, could easily be multiplied (The references are to pages and lines in Latyšev I): Ἀμαξόβιοι 200, 41; 213, 36; 303, 5; 513, 4; Ἀκριδοφάγοι 304, 3; (Ἀγριοφάγοι 898); Ἀμάξιοι 309, 34; 371, 4; Ἀνδροφάγοι 16, 32; 40, 41; 41, 8; 42, 8; 46, 37; 49, 12; 89, 848; 454, 7; 590, 4, 76; Ἀνθρωποφάγοι 541, 35; Γαλακτοφάγοι 455; 647, 7; Γλακτοφάγοι 115, 19, 25; 299, 6; Γυμνοσοφισταί 707, 12; Γυναικοκρατούμενοι 85, 12—13; 90, 885; 281, 15; 460, 4; Ἡμίκυνες 391, 9; Ἡνίοχοι 202, 39; Ἰππημολγοί 291, 29; 299, 5; 308, 17, 22, 24, 29; 309, 39; 310, 14; 578, 2; 782, 24; 852, 29; (Μολγοί 353, 11 for Ἰππημολγοί corresponds exactly to Σπόροι for Δουλοσπόροι); Ἰπποπόδες 182, 2; 194, 30; 291, 30; Λιμναῖοι 89, 850; Μακρόβιοι 303, 2; 917, 5; Μακροκέφαλοι 58, 1; 86, 19; 589, 8; Μακροπώγωνες 130, 10; Μελάγχλαινοι 1, 3; 17, 2; 40, 42, 50; 41, 8; 42, 16; 46, 38; 49, 9, 25; 85, 34, 37; 173, 40; 182, 1; 194, 28; 196, 8; 291, 28; 590, 4, 76; Μετανάσται 294, 18; Μοσσύνιοι 79—83; 86, 23; 90, 900; (οἱ μόσσυνας ἔχουσι 186, 774); 208, 8, 16, 22; 413, 379; 414, 1016; 426, 9; 479, 1, 26; 707, 19; Νομάδες 60, 10; 61, 51 κτλ.; Ὑπερβόρειοι 15, 27; 20, 31; 189, 25; 197, 30 κτλ.

² Cf. Hdt. 3, 116 Ἀριμασπὸς ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους (cf. 4, 13; 4, 27); 4, 67 Ἐνάρεις οἱ ἀνδρογόνοι (cf. 1, 105); 4, 110 Οἰόρατα . . . ἀνδροκτόνοι. For these names see Vasmer, *Die Iranier* pp. 12, 13, 15.

³ *Slawische Alterthümer* I, 93 f. »Der Name war entweder bei den Slawen oder bei den Griechen üblich. Im ersteren Falle würden sich sicherlich einige, wenn auch noch so geringfügige Ueberbleibsel desselben, wie von fast allen anderen speciellen Namen längst verschwundener slawischer Völkerschaften, entweder in Städte-, Dörfer-, Personen- und anderen Localnamen, oder doch wenigstens in der Sprache selbst erhalten haben; dies ist nicht der Fall».

ἑσάγαν ἢ ξανθοί εἰσιν οὔτε πη εἰς τὸ μέλαν αὐτοῖς παντελῶς τέτραπται, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθροί εἰσιν ἅπαντες (ibid. 26—27). From the passage quoted it is quite evident that Procopius thought that the Sclaveni and Antae represented one nationality with the same institutions and customs, the same language, a similar physical appearance, and a common history. In his account, these two groups are distinguished from one another only by their geographical position. He mentions two main groups of the Antae, one north of the lower Danube (Goth. 1, 27; 3, 14 and 40) and the other north of the Sea of Azov (Goth. 4, 4, 9). The native haunts of the Sclaveni according to him were along the Danube (Goth. 2, 26, 19) and they were said to be immediate neighbours of the Antae (Goth. 3, 40, 5). Procopius' statements concerning the geographical position of the Sclaveni and Antae are supplemented by Jordanes, according to whom the Antae occupied the territory close to the Black Sea between the Dniester and Dnieper rivers, and the Sclaveni inhabited the countries between the lower Danube, the Dniester, and the Vistula (Get. 35, quoted on p. 96). The established opinion is that the Antae represent the Eastern, the Sclaveni the Southern Slavs.¹

The name of the Antae is, as established above, of Iranian origin and it can be gathered from the account of Herodotus that it was the name used by the Royal Scythians for the population ruled by them.² This explanation of mine fits together well with the fact that the name of the Antae disappears from the Byzantine chronicles after the beginning of the 7th century.³ On the other hand, it can be regarded as a commonly accepted and well-established opinion that the designation *Σκλαβηνοί* represents the name used by the Slavs of themselves.⁴ This being the case, the names *Σκλαβηνοί* and *Ἄνται* may be regarded as originally pertaining to one and the same group. The former was used among the group itself, the latter was the designation used by its Iranian neighbours. The geographical distinction may be regarded as being of secondary origin: in the written records of the 6th century the Slavonic name established itself as a designation for the southern tribes of the Slavs, with whom the Byzantines were better acquainted, whereas the Iranian name was used, as earlier, of the eastern tribes, which the Greeks had originally learnt to know through the Iranian population of South Russia.

¹ Kiparsky, *Russische historische Grammatik* I, 13; Arumaa, *Urslavische Grammatik* I, 46 f.; cf., however, Filip, *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch* I, 34.

² See pp. 130 f.

³ See the literature mentioned on p. 131 nn. 1—2.

⁴ Vasmer, *REW* II, 656.

From the fact that Procopius uses the name Ἄνται even of the Slavs north of the lower Danube it may be gathered that the limits within which the names were used were not clear.

Since the names of the Antae (= Hdt. 4, 2 and 20 οἱ τυφλοί) and the Spori (= δουλοσπόροι = Plin. nat. 4, 80 *Scythae . . . a servis orti*) have been preserved as translations from a date much earlier than that from which these names themselves are known, it cannot on principle be denied that the name of the Sclaveni may also be preserved in ancient records translated into some other language. The attempts to settle the etymology of this name, however, have so far not yielded any plausible results, and we have, therefore, no reliable starting point among the Slavonic languages which might help us in the search for these possible translations into other languages.¹ As it can be taken for granted on the evidence of Herodotus that the relations between the ancient Slavs and the Scythians were very close,² one might expect that the name of the Slavs was also known in an Iranian translation.

The names Ἄνται and Σκλαβηνοί probably cannot be connected with each other semantically. A most interesting starting point, however, is provided by the name of the *Sarmatae Limigantes*, who lived in the basin of the middle Danube in the 4th century A.D.³ The sources concerning this group are as follows:

Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 4, 6 Σαυρομάτας δ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τοῖς Κωνσταντίνου ποσὶν ἤλαυνεν, ὧδέ πη τοὺς ἄνδρας βαρβαρικῶ φρονήματι γαυρουμένους χειρωσάμενος. Σκυθῶν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπαναστάντων τοὺς οἰκέτας ὠπλιζόν οἱ δεσπότηαι πρὸς ἄμυναν τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκράτουν οἱ δολοί, κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἤραντο τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντας τε ἤλαυνον τῆς οἰκείας. οἱ δὲ λιμένα σωτηρίας οὐκ ἄλλον ἢ μόνον Κωνσταντίνον εὗραντο, ὁ δὲ οἷα σώζειν εἰδὼς τούτους πάντας ὑπὸ τῆ Ῥωμαίων εἰσεδέχετο χώρα, ἐν οἰκείοις τε κατέλεγε στρατοῖς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τῶν πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν εἴνεκα χώρας εἰς γεωργίαν διένεμεν, ὡς ἐπὶ καλῶ τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογεῖν γεγενῆσθαι Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντὶ βαρβάρου θηριωδίας ἀπολαύουσιν.

Hieron. Chron. ad annum 334 p. Chr. *Sarmatae Limigantes dominos suos, qui nunc Argaragantes (ardaragantes B arcaragantes P argaragantes [argarag i. Ras.] N) vocantur, facta manu in Romanum solum expulerunt.*

¹ Vasmer, loc. cit.; Diels, *Die slavischen Völker* p. 15.

² Cf. also Arumaa, *Urslavische Grammatik* I, 33 (21).

³ For these Sarmatians see Kretschmer, *RE* I A, 2547 f.; the sources on them are quoted in Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti* II, 128 f., but partly from out-of-date editions.

Amm. 17, 12, 18 *potentes olim ac nobiles erant huius indigenae regni (scil. Sarmatarum), sed coniuratio clandestina seruos armavit in facinus. atque ut barbaris esse omne ius in viribus adsuevit, vicerunt dominos ferocia pares, et numero praeminentes etc.*

. . . 17, 13, 1 *His (ut narratum est) secundo finitis eventu, ad Limigantes, Sarmatas seruos, ocius signa transferri utilitas publica flagitabat, quos erat admodum nefas, inpune multa et nefaria perpetrasse. nam velut obliti priorum, tunc erumpentibus Liberis, ipsi quoque tempus aptissimum nacti, limitem pererrupere Romanum, ad hanc solam fraudem dominis suis hostibusque concordēs. . . . ib. 4 has enim terras Parthiscus inruens obliquatis meatibus, Histro miscetur etc. . . . 19, 11, 1 Inter haec ita ambigua, Constantium Sirmi etiam tum hiberna quiete curantem, permovebant nuntii metuendi et graves, indicantes id quod tunc magnopere formidabat, Limigantes Sarmatas quos expulisse paternis avitisque sedibus dominos suos ante monstravimus, paulatim posthabitis locis, quae eis anno praeterito utiliter sunt destinata, ne (ut sunt versabiles) aliquid molirentur inicum, regiones confines limitibus occupasse, vagarique licentius genuino more (ni pellerentur,) omnia turbaturos. Cf. 19, 11, 5—9 and 29, 6, 15.*

Origo Const. 6, 32 (*MG. Auct. IX, 10*) *sed servi Sarmatarum adversum omnes dominos rebellarunt, quos pulsos Constantinus libenter accepit et amplius trecenta milia hominum mixtae aetatis et sexus per Thraciam Scythiam Macedoniam Italiamque divisit.*

Consul. Constant. ad annum 334 p. Chr. (*MG. Auct. IX, 234*) *Optato et Paulino. His cons. Sarmatae servi universa gens dominos suos in Romaniam expulerunt.*

Šafařík,¹ Niederle,² and Vernadsky³ hold the view that the Sarmatae

¹ *Slawische Alterthümer I, 344* »Um 334 empörte sich das unterjochte, wie wir glauben, slawische Volk (*Sarmatae servi*) gegen die Jazygen (*Sarmatae liberi*) und befreite wenigstens einen Theil ihres Landes vom Joche»; the free Sarmatians, however, are not called *Iazyges* in the sources available.

² Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave I, 54* »Il n'est pas douteux que ces événements de 334 se ramènent à une guerre entre les deux grandes classes fixées dans la plaine hongroise. Qu'on admette que l'une fût libre, maîtresse de l'autre asservie, qu'en même temps la première vécût d'une vie nomade, et la seconde d'une vie villageoise, pratiquant l'agriculture et cultivant surtout le millet, et l'on tiendra pour infiniment vraisemblable que les Sarmates nomades, c'est-à-dire iraniens, dominaient en Hongrie une population d'une autre origine, consacrée à l'agriculture. Cette population ne pouvait être qu'une population slave».

³ *The Origins of Russia p. 24* »When an agricultural tribe was conquered by a pastoral tribe, it had to till land for the benefit of the conquerors. Of this pattern were the relations of an 'outer' Sarmatian tribe, Acaragantes (Acarag-Antes) and a Slavic tribe, Limigantes (Limig-Antes), both residing in the fourth century of our era in the basin of the middle Danube River»; *ibid. p. 70* »In Ossetic *əqarəg* means 'voiceless', and *læmæg* 'weak', 'meek'. The Limig-Antes were obviously Slavs . . . The name *Læmæg*, survives in that of the Lemki (singular Lemak), a tribe in the Carpathian Ukraine. The Acarag-Antes were Iranians».

Limigantes (= *Sarmatae servi*) were Slavs. This view seems to be supported among other things by the conclusions concerning the Slavic origin of the Scythian farmers and ploughmen at which I arrived above. If we agree with Rostovtzeff that the main structure of the states formed successively by the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians was almost the same, a small minority of nomads ruling over a large majority of conquered peoples and tribes,¹ it must in principle be permissible to assume that the population, formerly dependent on the Scythians, continued its existence under the domination of the Sarmatians. Since the subjects of the Scythians (οἱ τυφλοί) were identified with the Antae, it is quite natural that the Antae should also be represented among the subjects of the Sarmatians, the Sarmatae Limigantes. On the other hand, if the subjects of the Sarmatians can be proved to be of Slavonic origin, there is every reason to presume that the Slavs were also represented among the subjects of the Scythians. In these circumstances I find Vernadsky's etymology *Limigantes* < *Limig-Antes* 'the Weak Antes' (cf. Ossetic *læmæg* 'weak', 'meek') very plausible, since it allows us to connect the subjects of the Scythians even by name with those of the Sarmatians.²

If we agree with Šafařík, Niederle, and Vernadsky on the Slavonic origin of the Limigantes and also accept Vernadsky's etymology of their name, we can say that the Iranian conquerors of South Russia called their Slavonic subjects by the name 'the Weak', 'the Meek'. I do not see any reason why the name used by the Sarmatians of the Slavs could not be a translation of a Slavonic name that was in use among the Slavs themselves. The equivalents of Ossetic *læmæg* 'weak' in the principal Slavonic languages are as follows: Church Slavic *slabŭ*, Serbo-Croatian *slab*, Czech *slabý*, Polish *słaby*, Russian *slabyj*.³ The variants of the name of the Slavs in the Greek and Latin sources have been collected by Niederle,⁴ Dölger,⁵ and Moravcsik.⁶ Pseudo-Caesarius writes *Σκλανηνοί*, Procopius *Σκλαβηνοί*, *Σκλαβῖνοι*. In the Arabic sources the Slavs are called by the name *saqlāb* (pl. *saqāliba*).⁷ The form *Σκλάβοι* appears for the first time in Malalas (circa 491—578) and is frequently used in later sources, e. g. Chronicon Paschale, Theophanes, Constantine Por-

¹ *Iranians and Greeks* p. 211, quoted on pp. 125 ff. above.

² For the name *Argaragantes*, see below p. 149.

³ Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms* 4. 82.

⁴ *Slovanské starožitnosti* II, 477 ff.

⁵ »Ein Fall slavischer Einsiedlung im Hinterland von Thessalonike im 10. Jhdt.,» *SB Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist.* 1952: 1, p. 23 n. 2.

⁶ *Byzantinoturcica* II, 278.

⁷ Moravcsik, loc. cit.

phyrogenitus, etc. It is generally agreed that the element *k* in this name is a secondary addition to avoid the combination *sl-*, which is alien to Greek.¹

The prevalent opinion is that the form *Σκλάβοι* should be considered as an abbreviation of *Σκλαβηνοί*.² Although the etymology of this name has remained undecided, there seems to be a consensus of opinion among Slavists that its stem was originally *slov*.³ As far as I know, it has not been connected with the stem *slab*. Now, even if we accept that the form *Σκλαβηνοί* has been derived from a stem *slov*, I do not think that it is also necessary to connect the form *Σκλάβοι* with the same stem. If there was a Slavonic group which was called 'the Weak' by its Iranian neighbours and if we presume that it also had a Slavonic name with the same meaning, this name must appear in the Greek and Latin sources as *Σκλάβοι*, *Sclabi*. Precisely this form appears in our literary records from Malalas onwards. In my opinion, the connection between this well-established form *Σκλάβοι* and the Slavic *slab* 'weak', cannot be denied. After the phonetic development *b > v* had taken place in Greek and Latin,⁴ the form derived from the stem *slab* was confused in the literary records with another from the stem *slov*, the *o* of which was not pure and could therefore be transcribed as *a*.⁵ In these circumstances the forms *Σκλάβοι* (< *slab*) and *Σκλαβηνοί* (< *slov-*) could no longer be distinguished from one another and were used from the very beginning of the Byzantine records on the Slavs as equivalents.

The name of the Limigantes (= *Limig-Antes*) could be rendered as *Σκλάβοι Ἄντες* (*Ἄνται*), if the first component is left in its Slavonic form. Since the Limigantes, being *servi Sarmatarum*, represent the *δουλοσπόροι* group during

¹ Dölger, art. cit. p. 19 n. 1. thinks that the Latin forms *Sclavini*, *Sclavi* have been derived from Greek; but this need not have been the case, since the combination *sl-* is alien even to Latin, for there are no Latin words with an initial *sl*.

² Kretschmer, *AfslPh* 27, 1905, 232 »Die kürzere Form *Σκλάβοι* . . . ist vielleicht auf griechischem Boden in der Weise entstanden, dass *Σκλαβηνοί* nach Analogie von *Περγαμηνός*, *Λαμψακηνός*, *Κυζικηνός*, *Ἄρτακηνός* u. s. w. als adjektivische Ableitung aufgefasst und dazu gleichsam als substantivisches Stammwort *Σκλάβοι* gebildet wurde»; the same explanation is given by Vasmer, *ZfdW* 9, 1907, 22 (cf. *REW* II, 656 f.), and it is even accepted by Dölger, loc. cit.

³ Diels, *Die slavischen Völker* p. 15; Vasmer, *REW* II, 656; Arumaa, *Urslavische Grammatik* I, 74 (43).

⁴ In Latin *b* intervocally already became a bilabial fricative in the beginning of the principate, as is evidenced by the frequent interchange of *b* and *v*; see Leumann & Hofmann & Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* I, 130 (§ 114. b); Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire* p. 51 (89). In Attic-Ionic e. g. *Λειβία* for *Livia* appears about the beginning of the Christian era; see Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I, 207 f.; cf. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* p. 58 (62).

⁵ Arumaa, loc. cit.

the Sarmatian period, we can arrive at the equation Σκλάβοι "Αντες = δουλοσπόροι. Now, if there was a Slavonic group, the name of which meant 'the Weak', there is every reason to suppose that this name might also have been translated into Greek or Latin. It seems to me that such a translation is very easy to find.

It is common to the tribes classed among the δουλοσπόροι that they are called in our sources *degeneres* 'degenerate': Plin. nat. 4, 80 *Scythae degeneres*; Val. Fl. 6, 86 *degeneresque ruunt Sindi*; Tac. Germ. 45, 6 *in tantum . . . degenerant*. The Greek equivalent of the Latin *degener* is ἀγενής. As has already been established, the words of Pliny in nat. 4, 80 can be translated as Σκύθαι ἀγενεῖς καὶ δουλόςποροι. In Church Slavic, the Greek ἀγενής is *slab*.¹ It seems to me that the epithet *degener* (ἀγενής), when used of the δουλοσπόροι, can be considered as a translation of a Slavonic name with the stem *slab*. If the name had not been translated, the important words in Plin. nat. 4, 80 would run *Scythae Sclabi et a servis orti*, in Greek Σκύθαι Σκλάβοι καὶ δουλόςποροι.² I think the idea that the δουλοσπόροι were 'degenerate' should be accepted in this sense. Just as the translation of the Iranian name of the Antae led to the idea that the slaves of the Scythians were blind, so the translation of a Slavonic name with the stem *slab* explains why the tribes of the δουλοσπόροι are called *degeneres* in our written records.

On the evidence discussed above, the problem of the Spori seems to be settled in a way which is in agreement with the earlier literary tradition and also confirms the presumed Slavonic origin of the Σκύθαι ἀροσῆρες — γεωργοί and the Sarmatae Limigantes. The explanation given by Procopius for the name Σπόροι corresponds exactly to the conditions which can be gathered from earlier literary records, for the group known as δουλοσπόροι was earlier known both as τυφλοί (= "Ανται) and as *degeneres*, *Limig*-[*Antes*] (= Σκλάβοι). Procopius only substituted the form Σκλαβηνοί for Σκλάβοι, which was possible, since these two names had become fused in the Greek and Latin literary records.

The analysis of the names *Argaragantes* and *Limigantes* in the manner suggested by Vernadsky (see p. 140 n. 3)³ shows that the name *Antae*, *Antes*

¹ Meyer, *Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch des Codex Suprasliensis* p. 229 s. v.

² The Slavs are called by this very compound in *Chrestomathiae ex Strabonis libro VII*, 47 (GGM II, 574): Καὶ νῦν δὲ πᾶσαν Ἡπειρον καὶ Ἑλλάδα σχεδὸν καὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Μακεδονίαν Σκύθαι Σκλάβοι νέμονται; cf. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* p. 17; Dölger, art. cit. p. 28.

³ Cf. also p. 149 below.

was not only that of the tribes in South Russia ruled over by the Iranian Scythians and Sarmatians but could also have included the Iranian rulers who lived among their subjects. When necessary, the rulers and subjects could be distinguished from each other by means of prefixes (*Argarag-*, *Limig-*). The Slavo-Iranian character of the 'Chernoleska' culture, which has been connected with the Scythian farmers, corresponds in a significant manner with this bipartition.¹ In the period described by Herodotus, the Iranian name meaning 'the Dark' pertained, as far as can be proved, only to the subjects of the Royal Scythians. The form *Argaragantes* (*Argarag-Antes*) shows that the same name, at some stage or other, also began to be used for those belonging to the dominating Iranian population. This was possibly to some extent the case even in Herodotus' time. Later, when the Antae became totally slavonized as their Iranian rulers were either driven away (cf. the sources quoted on pp. 139 f.) or became fused with them, there was no further need for the distinguishing prefixes (*Argarag-*, *Limig-*), which could therefore be done without.

THE SATARCHAE — SADAGARII

Above I arrived at the conclusion that the Sarmatae Limigantes (*Limig-Antes*, *servi Sarmatarum*) represent the same subjected population called *Σκώθαι ἄροστῆρες* — *γεωργοί* by Herodotus. The ruling Iranian class was in Herodotus' time the *Σκώθαι βασιλῆιοι*, and in the 4th century A.D. it was known by the name *Sarmatae Argaragantes* (*Argarag-Antes*, *domini*). It was also established that according to the accepted opinion the Slavonic word *spolin*, *ispolin* 'giant' derives its origin from the name of the Spali (Iord. Get. 28 *Spali*, Plin. nat. 6, 22 *Spalaei*). As Pliny in nat. 6, 22 classes the Spali among the tribes known as Satarchae (Satharchei), the presumed identity of *Spali* with *spolin*, *ispolin* implies that not only the Spali, as Dvornik thinks, but also the Satarchae were in control of the primitive Slavs. On these assumptions the Royal Scythians, Satarchae, and Sarmatae Argaragantes are at least comparable in that in relation to the Slavs they represent the ruling population in different periods. Therefore it is possible that other connections might also exist between these three groups.

As a matter of fact Müllenhoff has already pointed out that the Satarchae

¹ Gimbutas, *The Balts* pp. 99, 108; eadem, *Bronze Age Cultures* pp. 440, 443.

(Σατορχαῖοι) of Callistratus occupied approximately the same area as the Royal Scythians of Herodotus.¹ The location of these two groups suggests that the Satarchae may have been remnants of the Royal Scythians.² This hypothesis is to some extent also supported by the fact that in Plin. nat. 4, 85 the Satarchae are expressly called Scythians.³

It seems to me possible that the name of the Satarchae may have a connection with the *Sadagarii* of Iord. Get. 265. The last to have discussed this name is Wagner,⁴ who rejects the suggestion of Zeuss that the *Sadagarii* may be the same group which in Iord. Get. 272—273 is called *Sadagis*.⁵ Wagner, however, has paid no attention to the variants of these two names found in the MSS. of Jordanes: Get. 265 *Sauromatae vero quos Sarmatas dicimus et Cemandri et quidam ex Hunnis parte Illyrici ad Castramartenam urbem sedes sibi datas coluerunt. ex quo genere fuit Blivila dux Pentapolitanus eiusque germanus Froila et nostri temporis Bessa patricius. Scyri vero et Sadagarii (sadagari A, satagarii B, sa . . . rii [sagagorii O²] O¹, sadacarii XY) et certi Alanorum cum duce suo nomine Candac Scythiam minorem inferioremque Moesiam acceperunt. . . . ib. 272 Postquam ergo firma pax Gothorum cum Romanis effecta est, videntes Gothi non sibi sufficere ea quae ab imperatore acciperent simulque solitam cupientes ostentare virtutem, coeperunt vicinas gentes circumcirca praedari, primum contra Sadagis (satagis O, satagas B, sadages XZ, sagades Y, sadares A), qui interiorum Pannoniam possidebant, arma moventes. . . . ib. 273 quod conperto Gothi ibi, ubi erant, expeditionemque solventes, quam contra Sadagis (sadages AXZ, sagades Y, satagas B) collegerant, in Hunnos convertunt et sic eos suis a finibus inglorios pepulerunt, ut iam ex illo tempore qui remanserunt Hunni et usque actenus Gothorum arma formident.* The view of Wagner is unfounded because of the mere fact that the variants of the latter name can be understood only if we consider the original form to have been **Satagares* or **Sadagares*: *sadares* A < **sada[ga]res*; *sadages* XZ (A in 273) < **sadag[ar]es*; *sagades* Y < *sadages* < **sadag[ar]es*; *satagas* B < **sataga[re]s*; *satagis* O <

¹ DA III, 51.

² Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* p. 127 thinks that »the Scythae Satarchae in the Crimean steppe may be either relics of Scyths or a Sarmatian tribe»; Werner (*AGAR* p. 139, 4) regards the Satarchae as Sarmatians, but v. Barloewen (ib. p. 61, 9) suggests that the Spali were a Hunnic tribe. For the Satarchae see also: Weissbach, *RE* II A, 60; Kiessling, *RE* VIII, 1150; *FGrH*, commentary on no. 433; Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus* I, 10 ff., 45, 64 (n. 1), 87 (n. 1); Heeren, *De chorographia* pp. 84 f.

³ In Plin. nat. 4, 85 the MSS. read *sataucis* ED *saraucis* R, which Müllenhoff loc. cit. (n. 1) corrected to *Satarcis* (abl.): *iugum ipsum Scythotauri tenent; cluduntur ab occidente Cherroneso Nea, ab ortu Scythia Satarcis.*

⁴ *Getica* p. 7 n. 16.

⁵ *Die Deutschen* p. 709.

satag[ar]es*. The fact that the names *Sadagarii* (*Satagarii*) — **Sadagares* (Satagares*) have been inflected in different declensions is by no means an obstacle to their identification, for the same inconsistency also appears in Jordanes in the inflection of other names, e. g. *Antes* (Get. 34, 35, 119) — *Anti* (Get. 247), *Bulgares* (Rom. 388, Get. 37) — *Bulgari* (Rom. 363), *Venethae* (Get. 34) — *Venethi* (Get. 119).

I also hold the view that the *Σαγάδαρες* (*σαδάγαρες* A) mentioned in Iul. Ep. 75 cannot be separated from the *Sadagarii* (**Sadagares*) of Jordanes: Ἴδού γὰρ πᾶν γένος βαρβάρων μέχρις ὀρίων Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῦ δῶρά μοι κομίζον ἦκε παρὰ ποσὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σ α γ ἄ δ α ρ ε ς (*σαδάγαρες* A) οἱ παρὰ τὸν Δάνουβιν ἐκτραφέντες, οἱ εὐμορφοποικιλοκαθαρόμορφοι, οἷς οὐκ ἔστι θέα ὁμοιοειδῆς ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ μορφή ἀγριαίνουσα. Οὗτοι κατὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν προκαλινδοῦνται ἴγνεσι τοῖς ἑμοῖς, ὑπισχνούμενοί μοι ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνα, ἅπερ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρμόζει βασιλείᾳ. Although Bidez and Cumont like previous editors have chosen the form *Σαγάδαρες* in their text, I am fully convinced that the variant *σαδάγαρες* must be given preference because it corresponds exactly to the form used by Jordanes. It may also be noticed that the people mentioned in Iul. Ep. 75 lived *παρὰ τὸν Δάνουβιν*, and can therefore equally well be located in *Pannonia interior*, occupied by the **Sadagares* of Jordanes. In these circumstances the etymology given by Abaev for *Σαγάδαρες* must be rejected as being based on an incorrect reading of the MSS.¹

Zeuss has also connected the *Sadagarii* of Jordanes with the *Σαργάτιοι* (var. *Σαγάρτιοι*) of Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 10 and the *Sargetae* of Amm. 22, 8, 38 and he thinks that the name may be of Iranian origin.² It should be noticed that Zeuss did not know the variant *Σαγάρτιοι* because the editions of Wilberg (1838) and Nobbe (1843) in Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 10 give only the reading *Σαργάτιοι*. Like his predecessors, Müller (1883) has chosen *Σαργάτιοι* for his text, but the variant *Σαγάρτιοι* draws from him the comment: »Num eadem gens sint *Σαγάρτιοι* Mediae (Ptol. Geog. 6, 2, 6; Hdt. 1, 125) quaeritur».³ The difference between the views of Zeuss and Müller is that the former only speaks of the name, whereas Müller thinks it possible that the tribe itself might have had a common origin («*eadem gens*») with the *Σαγάρτιοι* in Media.

¹ *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor* I, 163, 179; Vasmer, *Die Iranier* p. 49 also mentions this name, but he does not give it any etymology; as he does not know the variant *Σαδάγαρες*, he separates it from *Sadagarii*, which he explains as 'inhabitants of the hundred mountains' ('Bewohner der 100 Berge'), = *satagairya*.

² *Die Deutschen* p. 703.

³ Ptol. Geog. vol. I: 1, 430.

As for the *Sargetae* of Ammianus, Th. Mommsen was already led to the conclusion that in 22, 8, 38 Ammianus derived his information from Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 10, a conclusion implying that the *Sargetae*, Σαργάτιοι, are identical.¹ Polaschek accepts the identification but thinks that the immediate source of Ammianus was a chorography based on Ptolemy, not Ptolemy himself.²

It seems to me that the suggestion of Zeuss about the identity of the *Sadagarii* (Iord. Get. 265) with the Σαργάτιοι, var. Σαγάρτιοι, (Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 10) is supported by the fact that both names appear in connection with that of the Alani: Iord. Get. 265 *Sadagarii et certi Alanorum* — Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 10 μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀμαξοβίων Καρίωνες καὶ Σαργάτιοι. They can also be easily connected with each other phonetically. In order to establish the value of the variant Σαγάρτιοι, the same name known from Media must be examined briefly.³

The name Σαγάρτιοι appears in Herodotus three times: 1, 125 Σαγάρτιοι; 3, 93 Σαγαρτίων (Σαργατίων ABC); 7, 85 Σαγάρτιοι (Σαργάτιοι RSV).⁴ Ptolemy (apart from Geog. 3, 5, 10) has it once: Geog. 6, 2, 6 Σαγάρτιοι. Stephanus of Byzantium (s. v.) mentions a peninsula in the Caspian Sea by the name Σαγαρτία and its inhabitants as Σαγάρτιοι. The Greek names enumerated have been connected with *Asagarta*, the province in North-Western Persia, known from the inscriptions of Darius I.⁵ On the evidence of these inscriptions it is certain that in Herodotus the form Σαγάρτιοι is to be regarded as the right one. Consequently, the variant Σαργάτιοι in Hdt. 3, 93 and 7, 85 is only a corrupted form of it, i. e. Σαργάτιοι has developed from Σαγάρτιοι, not vice versa. Since even Ptolemy's MSS. have the same two forms, Σαργάτιοι — Σαγάρτιοι in Geog. 3, 5, 10, it seems to me reasonable to accept the latter as the correct one. However, it cannot be denied that the Greeks may have used both forms alongside each other.

Provided that the reading Σαγάρτιοι is given preference in Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 10, the *Sadagarii* (*Satagarii*) — **Sadagares* (**Satagares*) of Iord. Get. 265, 272—273 may have developed from it in the following manner: Σαγάρτιοι has been changed by metathesis to *Σατάργιοι, the existence of which

¹ *Hermes* 16, 1881, 614.

² *RE* Suppl. X, 767.

³ For the sources see Weissbach, *RE* I A, 1736 f. and Herrmann, *ibid.* 1737 ff.

⁴ The variants have been taken from the critical apparatus of C. Hude.

⁵ Weissbach and Herrmann, *loc. cit.*; Kent, *Old Persian* p. 173.

is to some extent suggested by Plin. nat. 6, 22 *Satharchei*; **Σατάργοι* was used as a parallel form alongside the original *Σαγάρτιοι*, and finally these two forms were mutually contaminated to *Σαταγάριοι* (= Iord. Get. 265 *Satagarii*, 272—273 **Satagares*, Iul. Ep. 75 *Σαδάγαρες*). To summarize the development: 1) *Σαγάρτιοι* > **Σατάργοι* (metathesis), 2) *Σαγάρτιοι* + **Σατάργοι* > *Σατα-γάρ-ιοι* (contamination).

On the evidence presented above, I am of the opinion that Zeuss' suggestion concerning the identity of the *Sadagarii* - *Satagarii* (Iord. Get. 265) and the *Σαργάτιοι* — *Σαγάρτιοι* (Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 10) can with good reason be accepted. This identification suggests that the name is of Iranian origin. Its etymology must, of course, be determined on the basis of the primary form *Σαγάρτιοι*, not its corruptions. The etymologies discussed by Wagner must be rejected because they are based on a secondary reading.¹ The only suggestion worthy of notice is that of R. G. Kent, who derives *Asagarta* from Iranian *asan-* 'stone' + **garta-* 'cave' (cf. Sanskrit *gárta-*) and translates it as 'Land of Stone-Cave Dwellers'.² The same explanation is given by Chr. Bartholomae, who further thinks that the name of the province comes from that of its inhabitants.³ In accordance with this etymology, the name *Σαγάρτιοι* can be translated as 'Stone-Cave Dwellers'. I do not think, however, that there is any reason for regarding the *Σαγάρτιοι* of Media as the same tribe as those known in Europe, a possibility which Müller thought worth consideration. As the name *Σαγάρτιοι* seems to be the Iranian equivalent of the Greek name *Τρωγλοδύται*, *Τρωγοδύται*,⁴ it may have appeared independently in both areas, i. e. it may have been attached to those Iranian tribes of whom it was characteristic to dwell in caves independent of their tribal relationships.

In *RE* I A, 2498 s. v. *Sargatioi* there is a reference to the article on the *Satarchae* in *RE* II A, 60, but under this heading the Ptolemaic name in question has been neglected altogether. Nevertheless, I think it most likely that the names *Satarchae* and *Σαργάτιοι*, *Σαγάρτιοι* are of the same origin. This is suggested above all by the fact that according to Mela 2, 1, 10 the *Satarchae* used to live in caves and dugouts,⁵ and therefore the designation

¹ *Getica* p. 7 nn. 16, 18.

² Loc. cit.

³ *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* p. 207.

⁴ For this name see p. 123 above.

⁵ *Satarchae* . . . *demersis in humum sedibus, specus aut suffossa habitant.*

'cave-dwellers' would apply to them quite well. It can be assumed that the original *Σαγόρτιοι* has been changed by metathesis to **Σατάργιοι*, as was suggested above, and this form has been connected by popular etymology with the Greek *ἀρχή* or *ἀρχαῖος*, which would explain the *ch*.¹

The name *Sarmatae Argaragantes* (*Argarag-Antes*) remains to be discussed in this connection. According to Amm. 17, 13, 4 (quoted above on p. 140) the *Sarmatae Limigantes* and *Argaragantes* lived along the river *Parthiscus* (*Theiss*), which is not far from Lower Moesia and Pannonia, occupied by the *Sadagarii* of *Jordanes*. The variants of the name *Argaragantes* in the MSS. of *Hieron. Chron.* are: *ardaragantes* B, *arcragantes* P, *argaragantes* (*argarag i. Ras.*) N. The etymology given by *Vernadsky*² for the first part of the name is based on a form *Acaragantes* which *Helm*, the most recent editor of the *Chronicle of Hieronymus*, has not even included in his critical apparatus. Since it is quite evident that the beginning of the name has been corrupted, the variant *ardaragantes* B might perhaps be emended to **Sadagar-Antes*. Were it possible to establish this emendation by further evidence, the free *Sarmatians*, who ruled over the Slavonic *Limig-Antes* would be connected by name with the *Sadagarii* — *Satarchae*, who could then be regarded as remnants of the *Royal Scythians*. As for the *Satarchae* of *Callistratus*, this hypothesis was even suggested by their geographical position.

¹ For similar explanations of other names see *Vasmer, Die Iranier* pp. 7, 31.

² *The Origins of Russia* p. 70, quoted on p. 140 n. 3 above.

CHAPTER V

THE ORIGIN OF THE BASTARNAE¹

The identity of the Sithones with the Sidones of Str. 7, 3, 17 means that they represent the northern Bastarnic tribes (pp. 83 ff.). This identification makes it possible to define the habitat of the Bastarnae more accurately than was earlier possible; we may conclude that the area occupied by their northernmost tribes extended as far as the neighbourhood of the Suiones and the Aestii of the Baltic coast (p. 86). From a comparison between Ptolemy's Geography and Tacitus' *Germania* it may be gathered that the northernmost group of the Sithones was identical with the western Galindians (pp. 89 ff.). This conclusion of mine is confirmed by a comparison of the etymology of the name *Γαλίνδαι* with Tacitus' words *Hic Suebiae finis* (p. 90). The statement that the Sithones were ruled over by a woman is also consistent with the facts known about the Galindians (pp. 104 ff.). On this evidence, I was led to the conclusion that the existence of Balts among the northern Bastarnic tribes cannot be denied.

From a comparison between Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy, it may be concluded that the name *Venethi* (*Venedi*, *Οὐενέδαι*) was used in these sources for tribes of both Baltic and Slavonic origin (pp. 93 ff.). Since this designation is that used by the Germans for their eastern neighbours (p. 82), I was led to the hypothesis that the name *Bastarnae* might also denote, besides Balts, Slavonic tribes. This hypothesis is also suggested by the fact that Pliny in nat. 4, 97 enumerates the *Sarmatae*, *Venedi*, and *Sciri* from east to west, but does not mention the Bastarnae, the place of whom would be between the Venedi and the Sciri (p. 95). Much thought that the Bastarnae could in this case be included among the Sciri, but since the ethnic origin of the Bastarnae is still undecided, it is equally possible that the missing Bastarnae are included in Plin. nat. 4, 97 among the Venedi. This assumption is supported by the fact that the eastern neighbours of the Germans are cal-

¹ Since the Bastarnae have already been discussed in several connections above, the first half of this chapter is essentially a summary of my earlier conclusions concerning them.

led by Strabo *Βαστάρωναι* in several passages, but the Venedi are not mentioned by him at all. A comparison between Pliny and Strabo thus suggests that the same group of tribes was called *Venedi* by the former in nat. 4, 97, and *Βαστάρωναι* by the latter (p. 96). Since Tacitus and Ptolemy keep the Venethi (*Οὐενέδαι*) and the Bastarnae apart, but Strabo and Pliny include both of them in the same group, it can be inferred that the name *Venethi* (*Venedi*, *Οὐενέδαι*) could be used in a wide sense (Pliny) and in a narrow sense (Tacitus, Ptolemy). In the latter case, the remaining part of the group was mentioned by separate names, which in Tacitus are *Aestii*, *Sithones*, and *Peucini-Bastarnae* (p. 96). This conclusion concerning the two different usages of the name *Venethi* fits together well with the evidence of Jordanes, who in Get. 34—36 and 119—120 uses the name *Venethae* (-i) in a wide sense to cover all the tribes he knew to be of common origin, and in a narrow sense to exclude the Sclaveni and Antae. Since the inhabitants of the Baltic coast by both Tacitus and Jordanes are called by the same name (*Aestii*, *Aesti*), a comparison between these two authors suggests the identity of the Sclaveni and Antae with the Bastarnae, in Tacitus represented by the Sithones and the Peucini (p. 97). This assumption of mine implies that the population of the area occupied by the Bastarnae had remained essentially the same from the first century onwards. Since the Sclaveni and Antae according to Procop. Goth. 3, 14, 29 were both called *Σπόροι* in ancient times, the above assumption means that the Spori and the Bastarnae are the same group under different names.

The widely accepted etymology of the name *Bastarnae*, *Basternae* ('the Offspring of unlawful intercourse', 'the Bastards') implies that this group of tribes was considered of low birth, or degenerate from the very beginning of its history (p. 109). Therefore Tacitus' statement concerning the degeneracy of the Sithones cannot be an invention of his own, but must have come from his sources. Since Tacitus does not mention the different tribes when discussing the Peucini-Bastarnae, it is probable that he connected most of the Bastarnic tribes, the *φῶλα* of Str. 7, 3, 17, with the Sithones. In these circumstances, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the statement concerning the degeneracy of the Sithones also refers to the main body of the Bastarnae (p. 110).

The above conclusions are supported by a close examination of the *Periegesis ad Nicomedem regem* (= Nic.) of Pseudo-Scymnus. The northern neighbours of the Thracians on the western shore of the Euxine Sea are called *Βαστάρωναι*

in Nic. 794, but in 756, 765 *Σκύθαι*. It is therefore reasonable to infer that they were in reality *Σκύθαι Βαστάρναι*. A decisive argument in favour of this assumption is the fact that in Plin. nat. 4, 80 the same Scythians are described as *Scythae degeneres et a servis orti*, i. e. Bastard-Scythians (pp. 111—114).

The arrival of the Scythians across the Danube to Dobrudja is recorded by Strabo (7, 4, 5), who expressly says that they came from the area bounded by the rivers Borysthenes (Dnieper) and Tyras (Dniester). Of the four principal groups of Scythians enumerated in Hdt. 4, 17—20 only the Scythian ploughmen, *Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες*, lived west of the Borysthenes; the Scythian immigrants of Dobrudja can therefore be considered as representatives of this group. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in Plin. nat. 4, 44, which must be based on a source different from that used in nat. 4, 80, the Scythians of Dobrudja are expressly called *Scythae Aroteres*. After the Bastarnae and the Bastard-Scythians have been identified, the time of their expansion southwards can be fixed to 233—230 B.C. (pp. 114—116).

The above results of mine imply that the Bastarnae derived their origin from the group known as *Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες*, i. e. it was this group of Scythians that was thought to be so degenerate that from circa 200 B.C. onwards it became known to its neighbours as 'Bastards'. The degeneracy of this group, however, seems to have been known even to Herodotus, according to whom (4, 1—3) the Bastard-Scythians were born of the marriages between the Scythian women and the subjects of the Royal Scythians during the latter half of the 7th century B.C. (pp. 116, 124 ff.).

According to Hdt. 4, 17—20, the Scythians were divided into four groups, which can be reduced to two, since it is not possible to make a distinction between the Royal Scythians and the Nomads, or between the Scythian ploughmen and the Scythian farmers (pp. 126 ff.). According to Hdt. 4, 20, the Royal Scythians were the rulers, and the Scythians practising agriculture were their subjects (*δοῦλοι*). Since the *δοῦλοι* mentioned in Hdt. 4, 1—3 cannot be separated from those in Hdt. 4, 20, the Bastard-Scythians were the offspring of the women of the Royal Scythians and the men belonging to the Scythian ploughmen-farmers.

According to Hdt. 4, 2, the *δοῦλοι* of the Scythians were blind (*τυφλοί*). This absurd statement must be based on a misunderstanding by Herodotus. Even Stein thought that the tribes subject to the domination of the Scythians might have been called by their rulers by a name, wrongly translated by the Greeks as *οἱ τυφλοί*. Since the Royal Scythians were of Iranian origin, I ar-

rived at the conclusion that the designation used by the Royal Scythians for the tribes ruled over by them must have been 'the Dark' (cf. Sanskrit *andhá-*, Avestan *anda-* 'blind', 'dark'), which was misunderstood as 'the Blind' and translated as οἱ τυφλοί. This misinterpretation was due to the name appearing in the Byzantine sources as Ἄνται, *Antae*, *Antes*, *Anti*, the generic designation of the eastern Slavonic tribes (pp. 130 f.).

The above conclusions provide literary confirmation long sought for of the theory concerning the Slavonic origin of the Scythian ploughmen-farmers, which has so far been based merely on archaeological evidence. Since the Bastard-Scythians were the offspring of the subjects of the Royal Scythians (cf. Hdt. 4, 20 οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι), i. e. the ancestors of the Antae, the origin of the Bastarnae is also inseparably connected with that of the Slavs, which is already suggested by a comparison between Jordanes and Tacitus (p. 97).

The Bastard-Scythians are called by Pliny in nat. 4, 80 *Scythae* . . . *a servis orti*, which may be translated into Greek as Σκύθαι . . . δουλόσποροι. According to Procop. Goth. 3, 14, 29 the Sclaveni and Antae were both called Σπόροι in ancient times. Since the Bastard-Scythians on the evidence gathered from Herodotus can already be identified with the ancestors of the Antae, the identity of the name Σπόροι, which according to Procopius was of Greek origin, with the final component of the designation δουλοσπόροι cannot be denied. This conclusion also suggests the identity of the Spori and the Bastarnae. The final component of the name *Bastarnae* has been connected etymologically by Much with the Greek ἔρνος 'offspring' and the whole name has been translated by him as 'Offspring of unlawful intercourse' (p. 109). This explanation of his fits together perfectly with Hdt. 4, 1—3, for the δουλοσπόροι were the offspring of unlawful intercourse between the women of the Royal Scythians and their subjects. It may also be noticed that the Greek words σπόρος and ἔρνος both mean 'offspring', a fact which in itself would suggest without any further evidence a connection between the Spori and the Bastarnae.¹

According to Šafařík, Niederle, and Vernadsky, the Slavonic tribes ruled over by the Iranians were represented in the 4th century A.D. by the Sar-

¹ Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* s. v. gives the following examples of this meaning of the word σπόρος: Lycophr. 221 Τέταρτον ἐξ Ἄτλαντος ἀθλίου σπόρον· 750 Τῆς κηρύλου δάμαρτος ἀπτῆνα σπόρον· 943 Φύξηλιν ἦνδρωσαν σπόρον. Apollinar. Ps. 21, 47 Ἄπας σπόρος Ἰσραήλον.

matae Limigantes. The name *Limigantes* is explained by Vernadsky as *Limig-Antes*, 'the Weak Antes', cf. Ossetic *lemæg* 'weak', 'meek' (pp. 140 f.). The first component of this Iranian designation is equivalent to the Church Slavic *slabŭ*, also used as a translation of the Greek ἀγενής (= Latin *degener*). Since the Bastard-Scythians are referred to in Plin. nat. 4, 80 as *degeneres*, this epithet may be regarded as a translation of the same Iranian designation for the Slavs which appears as the first component of the name *Limig-Antes*. If we assume that the same group was also known by a Slavic name with the same meaning, the name in question should appear in our Greek and Latin records as Σκλάβοι, *Sclabi*. As it is a fact that in our extant sources the Slavs are also called by this very name, I came to the conclusion that the phonetic and semantic connection between the well-established designation Σκλάβοι and Slavic *slab* 'weak' cannot be denied (pp. 142 f.). Since the Church Slavic *slabŭ* is also equivalent to the Greek ἀγενής (= Latin *degener*), the name Σκλάβοι may be translated as either 'the Weak' or 'the Degenerate'. Since Much's widely accepted etymology of the name *Bastarnae*, as Schmidt has pointed out (p. 110 n. 1), implies that the Bastarnae were also regarded as degenerate, it seems that the names *Bastarnae* and Σκλάβοι are even connected with each other semantically.

Wenskus has pointed out that the name *Bastarnae* by reason of its disparaging significance can scarcely have been that used by the Bastarnae themselves.¹ He thinks that this designation might have been given to them by the Sciri, whose name stands in contrast to that of the Bastarnae and may be translated as 'the Pure', 'the Unblemished'. This suggestion of Wenskus' fits together well with Plin. nat. 4, 97, in which the name of the Bastarnae is missing between the *Sciri* and *Venedi*. If we assume, as I suggested above (p. 95), that the missing Bastarnae in Plin. nat. 4, 97 are included with the *Venedi*, we may infer that the designation *Bastarnae* was an abusive name given by the Sciri to their eastern neighbours of Slavonic origin. The semantic connection between *Bastarnae* and Σκλάβοι, however, suggests that the former designation may have been semantically influenced by the latter, or, which seems to me more probable, the origin of both names is connected with the same ethnographic fact which already found expression in Herodotus' account of the origin of the δουλοσπόροι, and still in Tacitus' time could give the impression that the Bastarnic Peucini were the offspring of intermarriage.

¹ *Stammesbildung* pp. 22, 34, 63.

If we accept Much's etymology of the name *Bastarnae* and also agree with Wenskus that it was the designation given by the Sciri to their neighbours, and not that used among the Bastarnae themselves, we are inevitably led to the conclusion that their name first became known in the Graeco-Roman world through the Sciri, who in the so-called Protogenes-inscription¹ of Olbia (dated between 290—200 B.C.) are already mentioned as persecutors of the Scythians and Sarmatians living between the rivers Hypanis (Bug) and Borysthene (Dnieper).² One could assume that the expansion of the Bastard-Scythians southwards recorded in Str. 7, 4, 5 was initiated by the invasion of the Sciri, who followed them to the region around the lower Danube and formed a German element among them. This assumption is not inconsistent with my results concerning the origin of the Bastarnae, and it also explains the German etymology of their name adequately. Since the Bastarnae, particularly in the beginning of their history,³ are mentioned as warriors, one could think that their leaders⁴ — such as the *nobiles iuvenes et regii quidam generis* in Liv. 40, 5, 10 — who had outside contacts, were at least to some extent Germans, but the main body of them, the actual Bastarnae, were of Slavonic origin.

The above assumption of a German element among the Bastarnae, which is necessary in order to explain the German origin of their name, fits together well with the archaeological evidence. It was E. Petersen who came to the conclusion that the archaeological finds named after the cemetery of Zaru-binec south of Kiev on the Dnieper should be connected with the Sciri and the Bastarnae.⁵ On the other hand, Gimbutas⁶ and Lehr-Spławiński⁷ think that the same finds relate to the Slavs. Minns held the view that »the cemeteries of Zarubintsy, Cherniakhovo, and Pomashki (scil. of the mid-Dnieper) . . . form a bridge connecting the Scythic type of these regions with the Slavonic type of the later times».⁸ Since it is possible to connect the same archaeological remains not only with the Bastarnae and the Sciri but also with the Slavs, my view that the Bastarnae were Slavs with a German element among them is quite consistent with the conclusions reached by the

¹ Published in Fiebiger & Schmidt, *Inscriptensammlung zur Geschichte der Ostgermanen* no. 1.

² Cf. Schwarz, *Germ. St.* pp. 47 ff.

³ For the history of the Bastarnae see the literature mentioned on p. 113 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung* p. 306.

⁵ *VDS* III, 874, 925 ff.

⁶ *The Balts* pp. 107 f.

⁷ Falkenhahn, *ZfS* I: 2, 1956, 77.

⁸ *Scythians and Greeks* p. 192.

above-mentioned archaeologists and settles the apparent controversy between them in a satisfactory manner.¹

Students of population dynamics have not been able to understand completely the growth of the Slavs, increasingly numerous in the period between the 2nd and the 5th centuries A. D.² When we identify the Spori with the Bastarnae, no explanation for the growth of the Slavic population is needed, for the Bastarnae were very numerous from the beginning of their history. According to Livy and Plutarch, the auxiliaries promised by the Bastarnae to Perseus, King of Macedon, in 168 B.C. consisted of 20,000 men,³ and on this evidence Müllenhoff estimated that their whole army may have numbered some 200,000 and the Bastarnic population in that direction alone at least 700,000.⁴

Since according to the literary sources the Bastarnae belong to the area which Jordanes and Procopius assign to the Sclaveni and Antae, it has been suggested by K. F. Wolff that some of the anthropological characteristics of the Slavs might be due to the fact that the Bastarnae, whom he considers as Germans, were absorbed by them.⁵ The same view is also held by I. Schwidetzky, who thinks, however, that the anthropological influence of the Goths upon the Slavs was of greater significance than that of the Bastarnae.⁶ E. Schwarz also seems inclined to admit that part of the face-urn people of Eastern Germany, whom he identifies with the Bastarnae, may have been absorbed by the Slavs.⁷ It may be noticed, however, that according to Lehr-Splawiński⁸ and Coon⁹ the ancient Slavs were Nordic in stature and pigmentation, and they do not make any anthropological distinction between the ancient Slavs and Germans. In these circumstances, the German influence

¹ For this controversy see: Filip, *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch* I, 95, 401; Hellmann, *JGO* 7, 1959, 197 f.; Vasmer, *NoB* 21, 1933, 114; Kivikoski, *Suomen esihistoria* p. 122; Dvornik, *The Slavs* pp. 8 ff.; Rhode, *Kleine Geschichte Polens* p. 2. For the habitat of the early Slavs cf. also: Bräuer, *Slavische Sprachwissenschaft* I, 29 ff.; Diels, *Die slavischen Völker* p. 21; Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic* p. 11; Kiparsky, *Russische historische Grammatik* I, 14 (cf. Birnbaum, *ZfslPh* 32, 1965, 385); Falkenhahn, *ZfS* I: 2, 1956, 66; Arumaa, *Urslavische Grammatik* I, 41 ff.

² Coon, *The Races of Europe* p. 217.

³ Liv. 44, 26, 2 *Veniebant X milia equitum, par numerus peditum et ipsorum iungentium cursum equis et in vicem prolapsorum equitum vacuos capientium ad pugnam equos*; Plu. Aem. 12, 4 ἦγον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δεηθέντι Βαστέρνοι, μύριοι μὲν ἵππεις, μύριοι δὲ παραβάται, μισθοφόροι πάντες.

⁴ *DA* II, 105 n.; but cf. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen* p. 97.

⁵ Mannus 7, 1915, 146.

⁶ *Rassenkunde der Altslaven* pp. 59 f., cf. Rubin, *RE* XXIII: 1, 477.

⁷ *Südostforschungen* 15, 1956, 91.

⁸ Falkenhahn, *ZfS* I: 2, 1956, 57, cf. *ibid.* 59 f.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

assumed by Wolff and Schwidetzky is not necessary for the understanding of the anthropological characteristics of the ancient Slavs. Nevertheless, the fact that these two scholars have connected the Bastarnae and the Slavs anthropologically is sufficient proof that my view concerning the identity of the Spori and Bastarnae is at any rate not in contradiction with the results of anthropological research.

It has been assumed that during his expedition to Dacia, the Emperor Trajan also fought against the Bastarnae, though this is not expressly stated in our literary sources. Thus, some of the barbaric figures in Trajan's column in Rome are commonly explained as representing the Bastarnae.¹ As modern anthropology makes no distinction between the ancient Slavs and Germans, the barbarians of Trajan's column might represent Slavs as well as Germans, at least in appearance. In this connection it is most interesting to note the fact that the Eastern and the Balkan Slavs recognized a divine being called *Trojan*, which is none other than the Emperor Trajan.² Dvornik thinks that »Trajan's victories over the Dacians so impressed the peoples who were involved in the results of his conquests that the Emperor became a legendary figure».³ It would be natural to assume that those most impressed by Trajan's victories were his opponents, i. e. the Bastarnae, the identity of whom with the Slavs is even in this way indirectly suggested by historical facts.

In my efforts to establish the ethnic origin of the Sithones I have thus been led to the conclusion that the extant literary records allow us to identify them with the northern group of the Bastarnae, whose origin, on the other hand, seems to be inseparably connected with that of the Slavs. Since the northernmost group of the Sithones was identified with the western Galindians, the Bastarnic group of tribes must have consisted of both Balts and Slavs. As the designation *Bastarnae* is of German origin, it can be regarded as an abusive name for the population also called by the name *Venethi*, *Venedi*, *Οὐενέδαι* by its western neighbours. The fact that Tacitus discusses the Sithones and the Peucini separately but Strabo regards them as the same group suggests that the connection between the northern Bastarnic tribes and their main group was definitely broken during the first century A.D. I cannot decide whether this fact has any bearing on the problem of the

¹ Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 49; Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen* p. 93.

² Dittrich *JGO* 9, 1961, 504; Dvornik, *The Slavs* p. 51.

³ Loc. cit.

break-up of the Balto-Slavic community, a matter in which the difference of opinion among specialists is very great.¹

The assumed German origin of the name *Bastarnae* implies that it was the Germans through whom the Bastarnae first became known in the Graeco-Roman world. The striking contrast between the name of the Sciri, 'the Pure', and that of the Bastarnae, 'the Bastards', suggests, as Wenskus with good reasons infers, that it was the Sciri by whom this abusive designation was implanted on their neighbours.² This evidence alone makes it necessary to admit that there were also Germans among the immigrants who in the latter half of the 3rd century B.C. appeared on the lower Danube. There may have been a thin German element among the Bastarnae, but I am fully convinced that the main group is to be connected with the Spori of Procopius.

I think the mistake common to earlier writers on the origin of the Bastarnae is that they have attempted to find one answer to the riddle and based their research on the conviction that the conceptions of nationality in ancient times were mainly linguistic in character. The result of these efforts is, as it seems to me, that Müllenhoff,³ Schmidt,⁴ Petersen,⁵ and Much⁶ have established in a convincing manner that the Bastarnae cannot be Celts, whereas Bauer⁷ has presented arguments for their not being Germans. At the same time archaeologists have been disputing whether the archaeological remains in the area which can be ascribed to the Bastarnae should be connected with the Slavs or the Germans.⁸ Students of population dynamics have been amazed by the vast number of Slavs in the 6th century who would seem to have appeared from nowhere.⁹ It seems to me that the belonging of the Sithones to the Bastarnic group definitely excludes Bauer's theory about the Celtic origin of the Bastarnae, for a Celtic population in the neighbourhood of the Suiones of the Baltic coast is inconceivable. The attempts of A. Šachmatov¹⁰ to establish a connection between the Aestii and the Celts

¹ See the literature mentioned on p. 94 n. 1.

² See p. 154 above.

³ *DA* II, 104—112.

⁴ *Die Ostgermanen* pp. 86—97.

⁵ *VDS* III, 867—940.

⁶ *Germanistische Forschungen* pp. 10—24, cf. *Die Germania* pp. 523—524; the views of Petersen, Schmidt, and Much about the German origin of the Bastarnae are accepted even by K. Klein, *Südosteuropa* I, 1959, 34.

⁷ »Die Herkunft der Bastarnen,» *SB Akad. d. Wiss. Wien, Phil.-hist.* 185: 2, 1918.

⁸ See pp. 155 f. above.

⁹ See p. 156 above.

¹⁰ *AfslPh* 33, 1911, 51—99.

have already proved a complete failure.¹ In these circumstances, it only remains for me to examine the grounds on which the wide-spread belief that the Bastarnae were Germans is ultimately based.

Müllenhoff and his followers have striven to establish that the Bastarnae were considered by the ancient writers as *Germani*, Γερμανοί and — without any further consideration — identified the latter with the ancestors of the modern linguistic group known as Germans («die Germanen»), i. e. they have taken for granted that the concept *Germani* was predominantly linguistic in character in ancient times. A sound standpoint in this question is to be found in the excellent book of R. Hachmann & G. Kossack & H. Kuhn, *Völker zwischen Germanen und Kelten* (Neumünster 1962), which — as it seems to me — is of a pioneering nature in many respects. These three German scholars have convincingly established that at the beginning of the Christian era the population of the area now formed by N. W. Germany, Holland, and Belgium constituted a separate national and linguistic group, which was neither Germanic nor Celtic.² Yet in the ancient records this population is classed either among the Celts or the Germans, due to the fact that the Greeks and Romans had only these two alternatives. It must be assumed that the ancient writers knew the population living near the Rhine much better than that of the Vistula basin and Sarmatia. If the concept *Germani* was not a linguistic one in the west, how could it have been such in the east? The criteria of nationality used by Tacitus were discussed in chapter III and it was established that he had only two alternatives concerning the ethnic origin of the Peucini, Venethi, and Fenni, and his only problem was whether he should regard them as *Germani* or *Sarmatae*. The most important characteristic distinguishing these two groups for him was their outward appearance. If for Tacitus, our greatest authority concerning the ancient Germans, the concept *Germani* was only the opposite of the concept *Sarmatae*, and if he also regarded the Aestii and Venethi as Germans, how could his statement about the German characteristics of the Peucini-Bastarnae provide any evidence against their presumed Slavonic origin? If *Germanus* was for him the opposite of *Sarmata*, how could his statement concerning the *sermo Germanicus* of the Peucini mean anything but that it was a *sermo non Sarmaticus*? If his remark about the *lingua Britannica* of the Aestii betrays the primitive character of his conceptions of linguistic

¹ Cf. Arumaa, *Urslavische Grammatik* I, 33 (22) f.; Senn, *Handbuch* I, 22.

² Cf. also Aalto, *Proceedings of the Finnish Academy of Sciences and Letters* 1963, 111.

relationships, how could there be any reason for praising his competence concerning the language of the Peucini?

When Caesar's *de bello Gallico* and Tacitus' *Germania* appeared in print for the first time in 1469 and 1470, the names »Germanen» and »Teutsche» were soon identified by German humanists.¹ The erroneous nature of this identification has definitely been proved by Hachmann, Kossack, and Kuhn, as far as the western group of the *Germani* is concerned; it is time to admit the falsity of it even with regard to those mentioned as the easternmost *Germani*, i. e. the Bastarnae.

It seems to me that the value of those sources which may be presented in support of the wide-spread belief in the German origin of the Bastarnae has also been greatly overestimated and their weak points concealed. It has often been stressed that according to Str. 7, 3, 17 the Bastarnae were *σχεδόν τι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ γένους*, but it has been forgotten that elsewhere (2, 1, 41; 2, 5, 12; 2, 5, 30; 7, 1, 1; 7, 2, 4; quoted on pp. 95 f.) the same author carefully separates the *Βαστάρνοι* and *Γερμανοί* and that in 7, 1, 2, he explains that the latter were *γνήσιοι Γαλάται*. It is quite true, too, that in nat. 4, 81 and 4, 100 Pliny classes the Bastarnae among the Germans, but we do not know the criteria of nationality on which this view was based.² It would be rather rash to assume that his criteria were linguistic, all the more so as it is most probable that he himself neither understood nor spoke the language concerned.³ In nat. 4, 98 Pliny draws special attention to the fact that the disagreement among those writing about the Germans was unlimited, thus making it impossible for him to determine the extent of their territories.⁴ It is also worth noticing that in nat. 8, 38 he makes *Germania* border upon *Scythia*⁵ and in nat. 4, 81 has only three alternatives concerning the nationality of the tribes in the area east of the Vistula, the *Scythae*, *Sarmatae*, and *Germani*.⁶ — In *CIL VI*, 4344, dating from the period after Nero, a man is mentioned called

¹ Hachmann & Kossack & Kuhn, op. cit. p. 17.

² Zeuss, *Die Deutschen* pp. 70—71 probably is quite right, when he says about Pliny's classification of the *Germani* (nat. 4, 100): »des Plinius Anordnung zeigt sich näherer Betrachtung bald als eigenmächtige Compilation. . . . Plinius stellt ohne Rücksicht auf Art und Bedeutung willkürlich nur weit verbreitete Namen zusammen».

³ Cf. Schwarz, *Germ. St.* p. 14.

⁴ *Toto autem mari ad Scaldim usque fluvium Germaniae accolunt gentes, haud explicabili mensura: tam inmodica prodentium discordia est.*

⁵ *Paucissima (scil. animalia) Scythia gignit inopia fruticum, pauca contermina illi Germania.*

⁶ *Scytharum nomen usquequaque transit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. nec aliis prisca illa duravit appellatio quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus, degunt.*

Nereus nat(ione) Germanus Peucennus. Bauer thinks that the adjective *Germanus* merely proves that the man belonged to the German bodyguard of the Roman Emperor,¹ whereas Much regards the inscription as a decisive argument in favour of his view concerning the German origin of all the Bastarnae.² Norden, however, stresses the fact that in cases like this the designation *Germanus* was adopted by the barbarians from the Romans and was not brought with them from their native country.³ We may conclude, it is true, from the words *Germanus Peucennus* that the Peucinian in question was considered to be a German in the Roman sense of the word by those who wrote his epitaph. However, we must remain undecided about the criteria on which this designation was based. Was he called *Germanus* because he belonged to the German bodyguard of the Emperor or was it simply because he originated from a tribe that was neither Scythian nor Sarmatian? There are several possibilities, one of them being that the man belonged to the linguistically German element among the Bastarnae, the existence of which I am prepared to admit. Be that as it may, *CIL VI*, 4344 involves only the question of the nationality of one man, not that of a tribe or group of tribes.

Apart from Str. 7, 3, 17, Plin. nat. 4, 81, 100, Tac. Germ. 46, 1, and *CIL VI*, 4344 there are no other literary sources to support the theory concerning the German origin of the Bastarnae. Nevertheless, Schmidt in his review of Bauer's »Die Herkunft der Bastarnen« sharply criticizes him for having passed over Dionysius Periegeta in silence: »bestimmt werden sie (scil. die Bastarnen) als solche (scil. Germanen) genannt . . . von dem Periegeten Dionysius v. 304 (Zeit Hadrians)«. ⁴ Much joins in this criticism⁵ and even in the third edition

¹ Art. cit. (p. 158 n. 7) p. 18 n. 1.

² *Germanistische Forschungen* p. 18 »Wenn es überhaupt dessen noch bedürfte, so würde dieses wichtige Denkmal zugunsten germanischer Bastarnen den Ausschlag geben«.

³ *Die germ. Urgeschichte* pp. 423—428. In *Deutsche Stammeskunde* p. 66 (quoted by Norden p. 423) Much himself was prepared to admit that »gewiss ist, dass sich die Germanen selbst nicht mit diesem Namen (scil. *Germani*) benannten, und wahrscheinlich hat es überhaupt eine für ihre Gesamtheit geltende Bezeichnung in ihrer Sprache nicht gegeben«.

⁴ *PhW* 1919, 107.

⁵ *Germanistische Forschungen* p. 17 »Am auffallendsten und befremdlichsten in A. Bauers Beweisführung ist die Art, wie er sich mit zwei anderen Zeugnissen für das Germanentum der Bastarnen auseinandersetzt, einem bei dem in hadrianischer Zeit schreibenden Periegeten Dionysios v. 304 und einer aus der Zeit nach Nero stammenden Inschrift . . . Auch den Vers des Periegeten darf man nicht als eine Null behandeln«. E. Petersen (*VDS III*, 868), having discussed the evidence of Pliny, Tacitus, and *CIL VI* 4344, points out: »Auch sonst besteht unter den Schriftstellern der römischen Kaiserzeit Übereinstimmung darüber, dass die Bastarnen als Germanen zu betrachten seien»; the truth is, however, that — except for Strabo, whose evidence does not allow the use of the word 'Übereinstimmung' — such authors do not exist at all.

of his *Die Germania*, revised and edited by Jankuhn & Lange in 1967, we can read on p. 523: »auch bei dem in hadrianischer Zeit schreibenden Periegeten Dionysius 304 erscheinen die Bastarnen als Germanen«. It is worth noticing that neither Schmidt nor Much, important as the evidence of Dionysius is to them, take the trouble to quote the passage in question: Dion. Perieg. 303 ff. (GGM II, 119) πολλὰ μάλ' ἐξείης Μαιώτιδος ἐς στόμα λίμνης, / Γερμανοὶ Σαμάται τε Γέται θ' ἄμα Βαστάρωναι τε, / Δακῶν τ' ἄσπετος αἶα καὶ ἀλκήμεντες Ἀλανοί etc. The names *Γερμανοί* and *Βαστάρωναι*, it is true, appear in the same verse of Dionysius, but what bearing has this on the German nationality of the Bastarnae? In my opinion only negative, as the Germans and Bastarnae have been regarded as different groups. If this kind of evidence is sufficient to convince scholars like Much and Schmidt, it is very easy to prove the German nationality not only of the Bastarnae but of all the tribes from different parts of Europe mentioned in the ancient records.

CONCLUSION

I hope to have established in this study that the Sithones are by no means to be connected with the Finns or Finland but represent the northernmost part of the Bastarnic tribes. The 'degeneracy' of the Bastarnae makes it possible to trace their origin in the extant literary sources to the 7th century B.C. The Bastarnae, who in the latter half of the 3rd century B.C. appeared on the lower Danube, derived their origin from the *Σκύνθαι ἀροτῆρες — γεωργοί*. Their degeneracy is already suggested in Herodotus' account (4, 1—4) of the war between the Scythian rulers of South Russia and their subjects; it also appears in the designations *Scythae degeneres*, *Σκύνθαι Βαστάρναι*, *Σκύνθαι δουλόςποροι*, and *Limigantes*, used of them in later literary records. Procopius' statement about the identity of the *Σπόροι* with the *Σκλαβηνοί* and *Ἄνται* confirms my conclusions, based on Hdt. 4, 1—4, 17—20, that the ethnic origin of the *Δουλοσπόροι* or the Bastard-Scythians is inseparably connected with that of the Slavs.

My hypothesis (p. 94) that the name *Bastarnae*, like that of the Venedi, refers to tribes of both Baltic and Slavonic origin is supported by the fact that the southern Bastarnae can be connected with the *Σπόροι* of Procopius, whereas a comparison of Tac. Germ. 45, 6, Str. 7, 3, 17, and Ptol. Geog. 3, 5, 9 makes it possible to identify the northernmost Bastarnic tribe with the western Galindians. Nevertheless, many questions still remain unsettled. We cannot ask the ancient writers things they did not know themselves. Every transference of tribes, known only from the ancient literary records, to a modern map involves anachronism; the lack of definite criteria of nationality makes the connecting of ancient tribes and nations with modern linguistic groups extremely precarious. I am fully aware of the shortcomings of my study, but I hope it will stimulate discussion and criticism to the advantage of new attempts to solve the many problems connected with the interpretation of the ancient literary sources on regions peripheral to the Greeks and Romans.

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—»— *SS.* = *Scriptores*.

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