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NOTES ON TAC. GERM. 46,3

Tuomo Pekkanen

Despite the use of commonplace ethnographic phraseology and rhetorical embellishment, Tac. Germ. 46,3 is a surprisingly detailed and truthful description of the Lapps of eastern Fennoscandia,¹ when the philosophic interpretations and conclusions of the author are separated from the facts stated.² One inconsistency of the passage, however, is the reading of the MSS. *spes* (*solae in sagittis spes*) instead of the emendation of Meiser *opes*, accepted in the Lexicon Taciteum but rejected by most modern editors.³ In my discussion of the Fenni I shall present some new material from medieval and humanistic sources for the interpretation of the passage and offer evidence in favour of the correction *opes*, which I regard as essential.

Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas: non arma, non equi, non penates; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus; solae in sagittis opes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit; passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt. nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu conte-

¹ See Arctos 17 (1983) 49.

² Cf. G. Perl, Die 'Germania' des Tacitus. Historisch-politische Aktualität und ethnographische Tradition. Acta classica Univ. scient. Debrecen. XIX, 1983, 86.

³ Wolff 1915, Gudeman 1916, Fehrle—Hünnerkopf 1959, Much 1967 *sola in sagittis spes* (*sola* in the reading of the codex Aesinas lat. 8): Reeb 1930, Robinson 1935, Perret 1949, Lenchantin de Gubernatis 1949, Anderson 1958, Koestermann 1962, Forni—Galli 1964, Mariotti 1982, Önnersfors 1983 *solae in sagittis spes*. Except in my own Finnish edition (Helsinki, Gaudeamus 1976), the reading *solae in sagittis opes* only appears in the Loeb Classical Library issue of M. Hutton, first printed 1914.

gantur; huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, illaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare: securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam assecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset.

"The Fenni live in astonishing savageness and disgusting poverty: they have no arms, no horses, no fixed homes; herbs are their food, furs their clothing, and the ground is their bed; their only wealth arises from arrows, which they tip with sharp bones through lack of iron. This same hunting is the support of the women as well as of the men, for they accompany the men everywhere and do their share in securing the spoil. Nor have their infants any shelter against wild beasts and rain, except the covering afforded by a few intertwined branches; to these the young men return, and they are the refuge of the elderly. But they think it happier this way than to groan over field labour, toil over house-building, and barter with their own and other people's property, alternately hoping and fearing. Secure against men and secure against gods they have achieved the most difficult consummation, as a result of which they have nothing even for which to ask."

The two main characteristics of the Fenni, *feritas* 'savageness' and *pau-pertas* 'poverty', are respectively exemplified in the two following tricolons. The order is chiasitic: *non arma, non equi, non penates* illustrate the *pau-pertas*; *victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubile humus* put forward three features of the *feritas*. Thereafter the author once more takes up the argument for the poor life of the Fenni but, having already told what they do not have, he now proceeds to tell what they do have, i.e. how, notwithstanding their poverty, they are able to support themselves: *solae in sagittis opes ... idem venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit ... nec aliud ... suffugium quam ut aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur*. The wealth of the Fenni arises from their arrows, they earn their livelihood from hunting, and a few intertwined branches are the shelter of the people of all ages.

The following (*sed beatius arbitrantur*, etc.) consists of Tacitus' own conclusions, drawn from the facts he knew about the way of life of the Fenni. As they obtained their livelihood from hunting alone (*idem venatus ... alit*), he concluded that they did not like to be engaged in farming (*ingemere agris*). As they had no fixed homes (*non penates, nec*

aliud ... suffugium quam ... ramorum nexu contegantur), his conclusion was that they did not want to toil over house-building (*illaborare domibus*). As they had no wealth apart from their arrows (*solae in sagittis opes*), he thought that the Fenni preferred to be free from the anxious alternation of hopes and fears that comes with property (*suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque versare*).

Securi adversus homines, etc. is Tacitus' philosophic explanation of the condition of the Fenni. Tacitus was "a cultured philosopher of the Stoic school, wont to garnish facts with reflections" (Anderson p. xxvii). The Stoic solution of the ancient problem of happiness was that unhappiness arose from desiring the unobtainable; the way to happiness was to desire only the obtainable.⁴ Expounding this doctrine Seneca states (epist. 17,6) that poverty (*paupertas*), and even hunger, must be endured to acquire wisdom which gives the promise of everlasting liberty and the assurance that we need fear neither god nor man (*perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec dei timor*). It was in this Stoic sense that Tacitus thought the Fenni to be free from all fear (*securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos*) and from all desire (*ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset*).⁵ This freedom from desire, which they achieved, was *res difficillima*, i.e. something that the civilized peoples could not easily obtain with all their wisdom.⁶ A very close parallel to this kind of ideological attitude

⁴ Cf. W. Tarn—G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization* 1927, repr. 1966, 334.

⁵ Cf. Sen. dial. 9,8,3 *laetiores videbis quos numquam fortuna respexit quam quos deseruit ... 4 Tu istud paupertatem inopiam egestatem voca, quod voles ignominiosum securitati nomen impone*. What was called *paupertas*, was to the Stoics *securitas*, and from this point of view the Fenni with their *foeda paupertas* were all the same *securi*.

⁶ I do not agree with Anderson, who thinks (221) that the section *beatius arbitrantur*, etc. "is an ironical allusion of the Stoic and Epicurean doctrine that the highest good is attainable only by freedom from material wants". Seneca was much admired by the young men of his time (cf. Quint. inst. 10,125 *tum autem solus hic sc. Seneca fere in manibus adolescentium fuit*), and, as suggested by E. Flinck (later Linkomies) in his Finnish article on the Fenni (Aika 1921, 247), it was very probably as result of the influence of Seneca that Tacitus had been led to the idea that the Fenni in their poverty were happier than the civilized peoples. Cf. also Sen. epist. 90,10 and 41, quoted on p. 202 below. Tacitus' description is very rhetorical, but not ironical, when we read *solae in sagittis opes*. It is true that *lectio vulgata solae in sagittis spes* ('their only

towards primitive peoples is found in Justin's (Pompeius Trogus') account of the Scythians: 2,2 *Neque enim agrum exercent, nec domus illis ulla aut tectum aut sedes est . . . Iustitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus . . . Aurum et argentum non perinde ac reliqui mortales adpetunt . . . Lanae his usus ac vestium ignotus . . . pellibus tamen ferinis ac murinis utuntur. Haec continentia illis morum quoque iustitiam dedit, nihil alienum concupiscentibus; quippe ibidem divitiarum cupido est, ubi et usus. Atque utinam reliquis mortalibus similis moderatio abstinentiaque alieni foret; profecto non tantum bellorum per omnia saecula terris omnibus continuaretur, neque plus hominum ferrum et arma quam naturalis fatorum condicio raperet, prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Graeci longa sapientium doctrina praeceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores incultae barbariae conlatione superari.*

Half-civilized or primitive peoples, who did not practise agriculture and had no fixed homes, they were mostly clothed in skins, were sometimes vegetarians, and skilfully used their bows and arrows. In the ancient ethnographic tradition identical customs were described with similar phraseology. There were certain questions that the author had to answer in his description, and, at least in some cases, the answers were also predetermined by tradition.⁷ It is possible that some of the similarities between Iust. 2,2 and Germ. 46,3 go back to Posidonius, as has been suggested by Gudeman

hope are arrows') may easily be understood in the sense that Tacitus considered the state of the Fenni as almost hopeless. This statement would be contradictory to *illis ne voto quidem opus esset* ('they have nothing even for which to ask') and make it necessary to regard the latter as an ironical comment on the Stoic doctrine that Tacitus himself represented. For the general idea that people were happier, when they had no precious metals, which brought with them unhappiness and misfortune, cf. Germ. 5,2 *Aurum et argentum propitiine an irati dii negaverint dubito*; Hor. *carm.* 3,3,49 *aurum inreperitum et sic melius situm, cum terra celat*; Verg. *Aen.* 3,57 *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, auri sacra fames?* Ov. *met.* 1,140 *effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum*; Mela 2,10 *Satarchae auri argentique, maximarum pestium ignari*; Sen. *nat.* 5,15,3 *quae tanta necessitas hominem . . . in fundum telluris intimae mersit, ut erueret aurum non minore periculo quaerendum quam possidendum?* Val. Fl. 6,131 *ignotis insons, Arimaspe, metallis*. Cf. Perl, *art.cit.* 88.

⁷ Cf. Perl, *art.cit.* 87.

(1916, 33 and 235), but this kind of transference must be limited to phraseology and the philosophic (Stoic) interpretation of the respective primitive conditions. The facts themselves remain valid, unless the contrary is proved.⁸ In the following I shall give some other examples, in which words and phrases similar to those used by Tacitus about the Fenni appear, although the transference of facts is out of the question:

feritas: Hirt. Gall. 8,25,1 *Treverorum civitas ... cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat*. Liv. 34,20,2 *Lacitanos ... insita feritas continebat in armis*. Liv. 38,48,11 *si possent mitigari Gallorum animi a feritate insita*. Plin. nat. 37,82 *mira Antoni feritas atque luxuria propter gemmam proscribentis*. Tert. adv. Marc. 1,1 *nihil illis (sc. gentibus circa Pontum habitantibus) nisi feritas calet*. Amm. 31,2,1 *Hunno- rum gens ... omnem modum feritatis excedit*. Sil. 3,360 *Massageten monstrans feritate parentem*. Sidon. carm. 5,329 *Scythicam feritatem / non vires sed vota tenent*.

victui herba: Ov. ars 2,475 *silva domus fuerat, cibus herba, cubilia frondes*. Plin. nat. 21,86 *herbae sponte nascentes, quibus pleraeque gentium utuntur in cibus*. Lucr. 5,816 *terra cibum pueris ... herba cubile*.

vestitui pelles: Sen. epist. 90,16 *Non pelles ferarum et aliorum animalium a frigore satis abundeque defendere queunt? ... Non hodieque magna Scytharum pars tergis vulpium induitur ac murum, quae tactu mollia et impenetrabilia ventis sunt*. Ov. trist. 3,10,19 (= 5,7,49) *pellibus et sutis arcent mala frigora braxis* (sc. Sarmatae). Mela 1,41 *primores sagis velantur, vulgus bestiarum pecudumque pellibus; humi quies epulaeque capiuntur* (sc. apud orae Africanae habitatores).

cubile humus: Cic. Tusc. 5,90 *mibi* (sc. Anacharsidi) *amictui est Scythicum tegimen, calciamentum solorum callum, cubile terra, pulpamentum fames; lacte, caseo, carne vescor*. Sen. dial. 12,10,7 *maiores nostri ...*

⁸ Perl (ib. 89) has recently formulated this important principle in the following manner: "Da Tacitus am Ende einer langen Kette ethnographischer Tradition steht, ist es nahezu unvermeidlich, dass wir auf Schritt und Tritt den Motiven und Darstellungsmitteln dieser Gattung begegnen. Die 'Germania' ist ein Werk im Kontext der antiken Literatur, sie darf nicht gesehen werden. Tacitus verwendet diese vorgeprägten Formen für gleichartige Verhältnisse besten Gewissens und in der Mehrzahl der Fälle mit gutem Recht, um einen wirklichen Sachverhalt in einer der Gattung entsprechenden Weise auszudrücken."

quibus terra cubile erat. Lucr. 5,81,6 *herba cubile* (quoted above). Curt. 3,2,15.

solae in sagittis opes: Itin. Alex. 95 *sat divites sunt Abii libertatis pariter et paupertatis. ... Enim arcus Abiis et sagitta (quo deis totum est) et vitae quaestus et hereditas: sola sagitta venantibus, carne altis abunde et lacte et munitis pellibus ad tolerantiam: cetera pro opibus hospitales et loqui blanda cum moribus.* Cf. Arrian, Anab. 4,1,1, Curt. 7,6,11.

nec aliud infantibus, etc.: Sen. epist. 90,10 *Spissatis ramalibus ac fronde congesta et in proclive disposita decursus imbribus quamvis magnis erat. Sub his tectis habitavere, sed securi. Culmus liberos textit, sub marmore atque auro servitus habitat.* Ib. 90,41 *Arma cessabant incruentaeque humano sanguine manus odium omne in feras verterant. Illi quos aliquod nemus densum a sole protexerat, qui adversus saevitiam hiemis aut imbris vili receptaculo tuti sub fronde vivebant, placidas transigebant sine suspirio noctes. Sollicitudo nos in nostra purpura versat et acerrimis excitat stimulis; at quam mollem somnum illis dura tellus dabat.* Cf. Sen. dial. 7,4,3 *quid enim prohibet nos beatam vitam dicere liberum animum ... extra metum, extra cupiditatem positum,* ib. 5,1 *potest beatus dici, qui nec cupit nec timet.* Manil. 4,1 *quid tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis / torquemurque metu caecaque cupidine rerum / ... nullo votorum fine beati / ... pauperiorque bonis quisque est, quia plura requirit / nec quod habet numerat, tantum quod non habet optat.*

As is evident from the quoted examples, *feritas* 'savageness' is attributed to Germans, Gauls, Huns, Scythians, etc. (cf. TLL s.v. 519,71—526,44). It has been thought that Tacitus used the word in connection with the Fenni simply because he considered it suitable to describe their lack of civilization and, furthermore, for the alliteration *Fenni—feritas—foeda* (cf. *victui—vestitui, solae—sagittis, venatus viros, passim—partemque praeda petunt, infantibus—imbriumque, arbitrantur—agris*).⁹ There is, however, evidence to suggest that 'wild, savage' was an epithet of the Lapps

⁹ Gudeman 233 "mira feritas. Ein rein rhetorischer Zusatz, um das rauhe Barbarentum lebhafter zu veranschaulichen"; Mariotti 75.

derived by Tacitus from his source of information. Procopius (de bellis 6,15,16) says of the *Scythiphini* that they "live a way of life akin to that of the beasts", θηριώδη τινὰ βιοτήν ἔχουσι. The adjective θηριώδης ('beast-like, wild, savage') is the exact equivalent of the Latin *ferus*. Paulus Diaconus describes the Scritobini (Hist. Lang. 1,5) as *feris ipsis ratione non dispares*. On the map of Claudius Clavus (c. 1426) *Wildblappelandi* appears and in its Viennese text *Wildlappmanni, qui sunt homines omnino sylvestres et pilosi*.¹⁰ Johannes Schöner, *Luculentissima quaedam terrae totius descriptio* (1515) *Vuiddlappmanni*; Martin Behaim, *Globus* (1492) *Wildt Lapland*; Hieronymus Münzer in *Liber Chronicorum* of Hartmann Schedel (1493) *Wildlappen*; Franziscus Irenicus, *Germaniae exegeseos volumina duodecim* (1518) *Viddlappmanni, Vuiddlappenland*; Laurentius Frisius in his edition of Ptolemaeus (1522) *Wildlap*; Pierre Descellier on his map (1546) *Vuillappia*. In the late medieval Latin maps and texts *silvester*, which in its meaning 'wild' is the synonym of *ferus*, is also frequently used to describe the Lapps: The statute of Tälje of the year 1328 (Diplom. Suec. 4,73) *homines silvestres et vagos, vulgariter dictos Lappa, in suis venacionibus nullus debeat impedire*; Claudius Clavus' Nancy-text of 1427 *Finnalappi silvestres*, Viennese text (see above) *homines ... sylvestres*; Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) *Lappones sylvestres*; Pietro Coppo on his map of the year 1520 has both *vinlapelant* and *homines silvestres*; Andreas Althamer, *Scholia in Cornelium Tacitum* (1529) *Vuiddlappen a sylvestri habitu cognominati*; Willibald Pirckheimer, *Germaniae ex variis scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio* (1530) *Homines sylvestres, qui ob mores feroces wildlappmanni uocantur*; Erik Walkendorf, *Finmarkens Beskrivelse* (c. 1520) p. 12 *regio quedam, Trenes nuncupata, terra nemorosa et densissimis siluis consita ab oriente Finmarkie contermina est, quam homines plane feri et silvestres non multum (quantum ad rationis usum) a simiis distantes colunt*.¹¹ In Russian the equivalent of *ferus* is *dikij*, which appears as the epithet of the

¹⁰ A. Biörnbo—C. Petersen, *Der Däne Claudius Claussøn Swart* (Claudius Clavus), 1909, 144, 234. For further literature on Claudius Clavus, see E. Kunze, 'Wild lapen, Pylappenlandt', *Neuphil. Mitteil.* 67 (1966) 332, n. 4. The following 15—16th century references to the Lapps and Lappland have been collected by Kunze, art.cit. 342ff.

¹¹ Cf. Kunze, *ib.*

Lapps in the documents of the early 16th century: 1526 *iz Dikoj Lopi* 'from the land of the wild Lapps', 1534 *Lop' Dikaja* 'the wild Lapps'.¹² Also reminiscent of the ancient attribute of the Lapps is the Swedish name *Willmanstrand* 'shore of the wild men' (i.e. Lapps of the Finnish Karelian town *Lappeenranta*, 'shore of *Lappvesi*' or 'lake of the Lapps').¹³

In c. 46 the first concern of Tacitus is whether to count the Peucini, Venethi, and Fenni as Germans or Sarmatians. Although in language, way of life, and degree of permanence of habitation (*sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis*) the Peucini conducted themselves like Germans, he was not convinced of their German nationality, but the squalidness, indolence, and degraded appearance of the Sarmatians (*sordes, torpor, habitus Sarmatarum*) left him undecided. The Venethi are classed by him as Germans, since they have fixed abodes (*domos figunt*), carry shields (*scuta gestant*) and delight in using swift-footed infantry (*peditum usu ac pernecitate gaudent*).¹⁴ All these traits, says Tacitus, are opposite to those of the Sarmatians, who live in wagons and on horseback (*quae omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plastro equoque viventibus*). The question of nationality remains undecided with regard to the Fenni, among whom neither German nor Sarmatian characteristics are mentioned. It should be clear that Tacitus' words about the Fenni *non arma, non equi, non penates* must be interpreted in the light of what was said before them about the Venethi and Sarmatians, i.e. *non arma* refers back to *scuta gestant*, *non equi* to *in plastro equoque viventibus*, and *non penates* to *domos figunt*. Among the Germans, the principal arms were shield and spear (Germ. 6,1 *et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est*, 13,1

¹² M. Vasmer, Beiträge zur historischen Völkerkunde Osteuropas IV. Die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Lappen und Permian in Nordrussland. Berlin 1936, 10—11.

¹³ Cf. Vasmer, op.cit. 5.

¹⁴ It is surprising that Lipsius' correction *pedum* for *peditum* of the MSS. has found so much favour among modern editors. As the preceding *scuta gestant* shows, Tacitus is speaking of the military forces of the Venethi, who in this respect resembled more the Germans than the Sarmatians. Cf. Germ. 6,3 *plus penes peditem roboris ... velocitate peditum*, hist. 1,79,2 *nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavom (sc. quam Sarmatae)*. Of the recent editors only Mariotti preserves *peditum*. For Tacitus' criteria of nationality, see Arctos, Suppl. I, 1968, 76ff., for *peditum*, Riv. di filologia 1971, 274f.

scuto frameaque iuvenem ornat, cf. Much 1967, 137). Tacitus knew that the Sarmatians did not carry shields (hist. 1,79,4 *neque enim scuto defendi mos est*). Therefore, it is probable that in the statement *non arma* the word *arma* in the first place refers to the fact that the Fenni had no defensive armour, i.e. no shields.¹⁵ As they did not even have fixed homes (*non penates*), they could by no means be classed among the Germans; and as the horses, that were vital to the nomadic Sarmatians, were also lacking, Tacitus was not able to determine their nationality. According to their way of life, he divided the tribes dwelling on the eastern frontier of Germany into stationary Germans and nomadic Sarmatians. The difference he made between them is the same as that which appears everywhere between an agricultural and a pastoral population. The Lapps, who obtained their livelihood from hunting, could not be included in either of these two alternative categories.

Although the words *non arma*, *non equi*, *non penates* express an anti-thesis to what is said about the Venethi and Sarmatians, the truth and validity of the statement need not be doubted, because it is fully consistent with what is known about the way of life of the Lapps from later sources. Peaceful behaviour, which has been their characteristic through the ages, is mentioned already by Jordanes, Get. 23 *Finni mitissimi, Scandzae cultoribus omnibus minores*.¹⁶ Instead of horses the Lapps have had their reindeer right up to modern times: Ziegler, Syria, Palestina, etc. (1532) 95^a *Equos non habent (sc. Lapones) sed eorum loco feram domant, Reen ipsi dicunt, haec est iustae magnitudinis mulae, pilo prope asini hirsuto, ungulas habent bifidas, et cornua ramosa instar cervi, sed humiliora et ramis rarioribus*; Paulus Diaconus, hist. Lang. 1,5 *apud hos (sc. Scritobinos) est animal, cervo non satis absimile, de cuius ego corio, ut fuerat pilis hispidum, vestem in modum tunicae genu tenus aptatam conspexi, sicut iam fati, ut relatum est, Scritobini utuntur*.¹⁷ As to their not having fixed

¹⁵ In every case, the arrows mentioned below are not counted by Tacitus as *arma* of the Fenni.

¹⁶ The MSS. have *mitiores*; *minores* is the emendation of Müllenhoff, approved of by Mommsen in the critical apparatus of his edition of Jordanes. Cf. J. Svernung, Jordanes und Skandia 1967, 92.

¹⁷ Cf. K. Meuli, Scythica Vergiliana, Beiträge zur Volkskunde der Universität Basel, 1960, 100.

habitation (*non penates*), cf. Adam of Bremen, schol. 137 *Halsingland regio est Scritefingorum ... Homines ibi gelu decocti tecta domorum non curant*; Saxo Grammaticus 5,13,1 *Incerta illis (sc. Finnis) habitatio est, vagaque domus, ubicunque feram occupaverint, locantibus sedes*; Historia Norwegiae (Monumenta historica Norvegiae, 1880) p. 82 *Sunt equidem (sc. Finni) ... solivagi et instabiles, tugurea coriacea pro domibus insidentes ... est enim illorum incerta mansio, prout copia ferarum tempore instante eis dictaverit venationis loca*; Ziegler, op.cit. p. 94^b *Domos non habent (sc. Lapones), sed tabernacula quasi castrensia, mansionesque saepe transferunt*. A. Krantzius, *Historiae rerum gestarum regni Sueciae, Gothorum, etc.* (1575) p. 329 *Lappones agrestes et vagi*.

As is pointed out by Gudeman (1916, 233), *victus ... vestitus* is a standing alliterative combination (cf. Ter. Heaut. 968, Varro ling. 5,105, Lucr. 4,1131, Cic. Quinct. 46 Sest. 59, Liv. 45,32,5, Nep. Ages. 7,3, Sen. rem. 10,8, etc). The questions of food and clothing are also treated together in some later descriptions of the Lapps: Proc. de bellis 6,15,16, "they (sc. Scrithiphini) neither wear garments of cloth nor do they walk with shoes on their feet, nor do they drink wine nor derive anything edible from the earth ... 19 they feed exclusively upon the flesh of the wild beasts slain by them, and clothe themselves in their skins"; Paul. hist. Lang. 1,5 (sc. Scritobini) *crudis agrestium animantium carnibus vescuntur; de quorum etiam hirtis pellibus sibi indumenta peraptant*; Adam of Bremen, schol. 137 (Scritefingi) *...carne ferarum pro cibo et pellibus earum pro indumento fruuntur*; Historia Norwegiae, p. 82 *Est igitur vastissima solitudo affinis Norwegiae, dividens eam per longum a paganis gentibus, quae solitudo Finnis et bestiis incolitur, quarum carnibus semicrudis vescuntur et pellibus induuntur*.

H. Fromm (in Much 1967, 530) thinks that "vielleicht hat die Angabe (sc. *victui herba*) keinen sachlichen Hintergrund und ist aus dem Bilde primitivster menschlicher Kultur, das man sich gemacht hatte, auf sie als Vertreter einer solchen übertragen". Anderson (220) holds the opinion that "the statement is not quite consistent with what is said of their hunting, but the meaning is that they had no agricultural produce". In favour of the latter view there are several later sources referring to the Lapps in which it is emphasized that they do not care for agriculture: Jordanes, Get. 21 *aliae vero ibi sunt gentes Screnefennae, que frumentorum non*

queritant victum, sed carnibus ferarum atque ovis aviumque vivunt; Proc. de bellis 6,15,17 "For they (sc. Scythiphini) neither till the land themselves, nor do their women work it for them"; Ziegler, op.cit. 94^b *Agrum non colunt* (sc. *Lapones*). Nevertheless, for the correct understanding of the expression *victui herba* it must be taken into consideration that several herbs, e.g. sorrel (*Rumex acetosa* and *R. acetosella*), angelica (*Angelica archangelica*), oxyria (*Oxyria digyna*), and mulgedium (*Mulgedium alpinum* or *Lactuca alpina* and *Mulgedium sibiricum* or *Lactuca sibirica*), berries, and leaves have up to this day formed a part of the diet of the Lapps.

For the fur-clothing of the Lapps, cf. further Proc. de bellis 6,15,19 "since they have neither flax nor any implement with which to sew, they fasten these skins together with the sinews of the animals, and in this way manage to cover the whole body"; Paul. hist. Lang. 1,5 on reindeer fur coat (see p. 205 above); Ziegler, op. cit. 94^a *Veste utuntur* (sc. *Lapones*) *stricta et toti aptata corpori, nequid impedimenti faciat operi. Hieme utuntur veste pellibus integris phocarum sive ursorum artificiose laboratis, eas nodo adstringunt supra caput, solique oculi patent, corpore reliquo toti contecti sunt quasique in culeum insuti, nisi quod haec expressa per membra omnia ad commoditatem non ad poenam laborata est*; A. Krantzius, loc.cit. *Lappones ... ferarum solis pellibus in tanto regionis frigore usi pro vestibus*.

The intertwined branches (*ramorum nexus*), used by the Fenni as protection against wild beasts and rain, probably comprised a shelter built of poles and spruce sprigs. In these shelters, which are temporarily used in Lapland even today, the only bed is the ground (*cubile humus*). Although the quoted passages of Seneca (epist. 90,10 and 41, see p. 202 above) have many words in common with Tacitus, it should not be concluded that Tacitus transferred to the Fenni Seneca's description of primitive people in general. Even in this case the similarity of expression is merely due to the similarity of facts described. Cf. also Ziegler, op.cit. 94^b *Lapones perferunt foris hiemes et aquilones et omnem iniuriam a coelo ...* 95^a *In itinere hospicium aut omnino tectum non subeunt, sed agunt noctes sub divo*.

The statement *idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit, passim enim comitantur partemque praedae petunt* is fully consistent with Proc.

de bellis 6,15,17, "the women regularly join the men in hunting, which is their only pursuit"; cf. further *Historia Norvegiae* p. 82 *Sunt equidem* (sc. *Finni*) *venatores peritissimi ... levigatis asseribus pedibus subfixis ... et per condensa nivium ac devexa montium agitantibus cervis cum coniugibus et parvulis ave velocius transferuntur; est enim illorum incerta mansio, prout copia ferarum tempore instante dictaverit venationis loca.* Olaus Magnus (4,12) explains that in the vast woods of the arctic regions there is such a rich variety of species of wild animals that men need the help of women to hunt them. Therefore, he says, women are as skillful hunters as their men, if not more so. The man, however, divides the prey and decides what should be roasted on the spit, and what should be given to the servants and neighbours. According to Ziegler, op.cit. 94^b *etiam religio est* (sc. *apud Lapones*), *ne* (sc. *mulier*) *manu contingat feram captam, sed vir porrigit mulieri veru praefixum quantum illi carnis impertit.* The expression *partemque praedae petunt* is somewhat ambiguous. Gude-man (1916, 234) explains *petunt* as 'fordern als ihr Recht'. Svennung (*Scandinavia und Scandia* 1963, 58) translates the words 'fordern ihren Anteil an der Beute', and Anderson (220) has 'they claim a share in securing the spoil'. The verb *petere* as such may have both of the suggested meanings, but I think Anderson is right when he says that 'claim a share of the spoil' would be "an absurd statement when the game was destined for household consumption". The man and woman, who hunted together, were of the same family, and the woman, as is clear from the evidence of Procopius and Olaus Magnus, did her share in securing the spoil. *Praeda* is used in a collective sense meaning 'hunted animals, game', while *pars* refers to the animals slain by women, not to their portion of the flesh when the spoil was prepared for the meal.

I believe that the inconsistency between *venatus ... alit* and *victui herba* is merely apparent. The verb *alere* often means in Latin 'to support' (cf. Anderson 220), wherefore *venatus ... alit* may be understood in the sense that the Fenni gained their livelihood from hunting. From the hunted animals they obtained furs, not only for their clothes but also for commerce (cf. Germ. 17,1 and Much 272). The bones, with which they tipped their arrows, were naturally other by-products of hunting. Of course the animal flesh must have been important for their nourishment in all ages, but as they did not practise farming, the absence of grain-producing plants

was compensated for by certain herbs (*victui herba*). The relatively frequent mentions of the Lapps in ancient and medieval literature (Tacitus, Ptolemaeus, Procopius, Jordanes, Paulus Diaconus, Adam of Bremen, etc.) give evidence for the supposition that they must have been important producers of furs. It is probable that at least some of the furs that, according to Jordanes (Get. 21), were transmitted by the Swedes through numerous tribes (*commercio interveniente per alias innumeras gentes*) to the Romans, came from the Lapps (*Screrefennae*), mentioned in the same passage before the Swedes. Hunting, however, did not bring much wealth to the Lapps themselves, since they did not even in later times fully understand the value of their merchandise: cf. Ziegler, op.cit. 95^b *olim quando sub imperio domestico vixit (sc. Laponum gens) et nulla commertia cum vicinis habuit et suas opes ignoravit, nec praecium novit domesticarum pellium sub orbe nostro atque earum multam copiam levium rerum repensione commutavit*. The assumption that the Lapps delivered furs for commerce as early as the time of Tacitus is therefore in no way inconsistent with his statement that arrows were their only wealth (*solae in sagittis opes*).

The similarity of the phrase *solae in sagittis opes* to Itin. Alex. 95 *arcus Abiis et sagitta ... totum ... et vitae quaestus et hereditas: sola sagitta ... pro opibus hospitales* (see above p. 202) is noticeable. The bow and arrow were the sole property of the Abii, their means of earning their living (*vitae quaestus*) and their inheritance (*hereditas*). These arms were their only wealth, *opes*, as it is said of them that they were *pro opibus hospitales* 'hospitable in proportion to their wealth'. The Abii are mentioned as early as Ilias 13,3—5 together with the Hippemolgi (mare-milkers) and the Galactophagi (curd-eaters), and are called "men most just". Strabo (7,3,2) defines these peoples as "the wagon-dwelling Scythians and Sarmatians". Posidonius (see Strabo 7,3,3) identified them with some of the Thracians, who lived a peaceable life "with freedom from every fear". By Arrian (Anab. 4,1,1) and Curtius (7,6,11) the Homeric Abii are identified with the Scythians that sent envoys to Alexander the Great. In Itin. Alex., written about 341—345 (see TLL Indices s.v.), they are mentioned in a similar context (cc. 81 and 95). The similarity between Germ. 46,3 and Itin. Alex. 95 suggests that the idea that bows and arrows were the only property of barbarians living

in extreme poverty, already existed in pre-Tacitean ethnographic stock of commonplaces (topoi). The available evidence points to Posidonius as its originator, but this conclusion remains no more than a hypothesis.

The correction *opes* for *spes* is also supported by stylistic arguments, above all, because it restitutes the double antithesis *paupertas—opes—inopia* (*Fennis ... paupertas ... solae in sagittis opes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant*). Cf. Tac. Agr. 30,4 *si locuples hostis est, avari* (sc. *Romani sunt*), *si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt*; hist. 1,48,4 *testamentum Titi Vini magnitudine opum irritum, Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit*; ann. 4,44,1 *Lentulo ... gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnae opes innocenter partae et modeste habitae*; 14,57,5 *Sullam inopem ... Plautum magnis opibus ...*; 16,3,1 *consumebanturque veteres opes ... et divitiarum exspectatio inter causas paupertatis publicae erat*. The contraposition *paupertas / egestas—opes* or *opes—inopia/inops* is also fairly frequently used by other authors: Sall. Iug. 14,7 *inops alienas opes exspecto*; Catil. 37,3 *Nam semper in civitate quibus opes nullae sunt bonis invident ... quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno*; Cic. Quinct. 91 *huius inopia ... illius opes*; Nep. Att. 2,4 *saepe suis opibus inopiam Atheniensium ... publicam levavit*; Hor. carm. 3,16,28 *magnas inter opes inops*; Sen. contr. 2,1,1 *nam quid ex summis opibus ad egestatem devolutos loquar*; Lygd. 3,21 *non opibus mentes hominum curaeque levantur ... sit mihi paupertas tecum iucunda, Neaera*; Val. Max. 4,3,8 *cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam urbis nostrae paupertatem ... satiasset*; Sen. dial. 12,11,4 *qui naturalem modum excedet, eum in summis quoque opibus paupertas sequetur*; Auson. 8,4 p. 311 *P cum ... misceret opes pauperiemque simul*; 134,1 p. 425 *P non est dives opum felix nec pauper inopsque infelix*.

The word *opes* can be used in Latin with special reference to gold and silver: Tac. ann. 16,1,3 *Dido Phoenissam ... condita Carthagine illas opes* (sc. *magnam vim auri*) *abdidisse, ne novus populus nimia pecunia lasciviret*; hist. 4,74,3 *vobis maximum discrimen (est), penes quos aurum et opes, praecipuae bellorum causae*; Schol. Verg. Veron. Aen. 2,217 *aurum opesque alias*; Prud. perist. 2,115 *habet ... ecclesia opumque et auri plurimum*; Hier. epist. 22,36,3 *aurum et argentum et ceteras opes*.

In Germ. 5, in which the country and its products are discussed, *opes* refers to cattle, which, compensating for the lack of gold and silver, is said to be the sole wealth of the Germans: *ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae opes sunt. argentum et aurum propitiine an irati dii negaverint dubito.* Cf. 6,1 *Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur.* According to Trüdingen,¹⁸ "*eaeque solae et gratissime opes sunt* leitet berechnend, aber scheinbar von selbst zu den *opes*, welche sonst allein als solche gelten: Silber und Gold". I think that the association of ideas is the same in 43,3: *solae in sagittis opes* intentionally, although seemingly spontaneously, leads to the next topic, the lack of metals, which is made evident by the mere statement that the Fenni, because of a lack of iron (*inopia ferri*), tipped their arrows with bones. The parallelism of ideas is quite evident in 5,1—2 and 46,3: among the Germans the lack of precious metals was compensated for by cattle, which were their only wealth (*solae ... opes*), while among the Fenni there were not even resources of iron, the lack of which was compensated for by sharp bones. A further connection between 46,3 and Tacitus' discussion of metals in 5,2—6,1 is that 46,3 *inopia ferri* forms the culmination of the three-part climax beginning in 6,1: *Ne ferrum quidem superest* — 45,3 *rarus ferri usus* — 46,3 *inopia ferri*. Among the Germans iron was not abundant, while among the Aestii it was seldom used and among the Fenni, who in other respects also represent the culmination of poverty, it was totally lacking.

In 6,1 it is concluded from the character of the weapons (*ex genere telorum*) that there is a scarcity of iron among the Germans: in 45,2—3 the statement *rarus ferri ... usus* is preceded by the description of the talismans of the Aestii, which in place of arms protect them everywhere: *insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostis praestat.*

In 46,3 the lack of iron (*inopia ferri*) is also a conclusion (Tacitean or pre-Tacitean) drawn from the character of the weapons. When it was known that the Fenni tipped their arrows with bones instead of iron, which was used for this purpose by most other peoples, it was thought

¹⁸ Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie, Diss. Basel 1918, 156.

that they had no iron at all, and certainly lacked more precious metals such as gold and silver, on which human wealth is usually based. As bones took the place among them even of iron, the cheapest of metals, it was logical for Tacitus to say that arrows, tipped with bones, were their only wealth, in the same sense that cattle, compensating for gold and silver, are, in Germ. 5,1 said to be the sole wealth of the Germans.

Both the character of the weapons and the resources of minerals are also discussed by Herodotus in his account of the Massagetae: 1,215 "it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They always use gold and bronze; all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds." The similarity between Tacitus and Herodotus is that the objects, made of metal, are connected by both authors with the resources of the respective metals. Among the Massagetae, the spear-points and other items were of gold or bronze, as these metals abounded in their country; on the contrary, they never used iron or silver, since — as believed by Herodotus — they had no resources of these metals. Among the Germans, the most commonly used weapon was the spear (*framea*) with a narrow and short iron-head, which, together with the fact that swords or longer lances were rarely used, was for Tacitus the basis of his conclusion that their resources of iron were not abundant: (Germ. 6,1 *Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur: hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent.*)

His discussion of the Fenni resembles the Herodotean account of the Massagetae to such an extent that the absence of iron in arrow-heads and from natural resources of the respective countries is mentioned by both authors. No further significance, however, should be attached to these correspondences, for, in the ancient ethnographical literature the adoption of form does not imply the adoption of matter. For my purpose, which is to convince the reader that the only reading to make sense of Germ. 46,3 is *opes*, by non means *spes*, it is important to emphasize that

in the established ethnographic tradition of the Greeks and Romans the treatment of wealth (*opes*), based on the mineral resources of a country (*aurum, argentum, ferrum*), is closely connected to that of weapons. Therefore the Tacitean antithesis *opes—inopia ferri* is not only in fully consistent with the old established ethnographic technique, but is also demanded by it, leaving aside purely stylistic reasons, for the correct understanding of Germ. 46,3.



Vignette from Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) 4,12.